

Sheridan R. Jones. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE MacKNIGHT SHIPYARD WRECK (0001NCR). (Under the direction of Dr. Lawrence E. Babits) Department of History, Summer 1996.

This thesis presents an archaeological and historical analysis of the MacKnight Shipyard Wreck. Four questions guided the research: who built the vessel, where was it built, what function did it serve, and how does this vessel fit into the maritime history of Indiantown, North Carolina? The approach to these questions was both historical and archaeological. Research conducted in archives, supplemented by personal interviews and underwater field research, which included a survey of the vessel's physical remains, provided the answers to some questions and raised others.

The investigation revealed that the wreck at the MacKnight Shipyard, located on Indiantown Creek, Currituck County, North Carolina, was a schooner of the late colonial/early Federal period. It was probably built in northeastern North Carolina where it engaged in the riverine, sound, and coastal trade. This trade was conducted from a site with historical and archaeological significance to northeastern North Carolina, Belville Plantation of Thomas MacKnight. Several authorities believe the vessel is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION
OF THE MacKNIGHT SHIPYARD WRECK (0001NCR)

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by
Sheridan R. Jones
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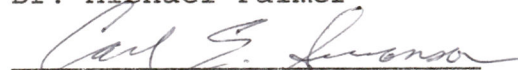
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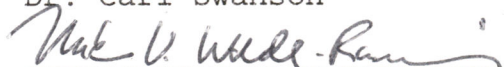
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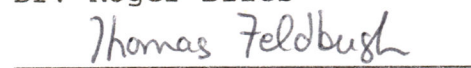
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DEDICATION TO

My wife Elizabeth

who gave me the greatest gift of all,
a family.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis reports archaeological findings and presents interpretations relating to vessel remains adjacent to Thomas MacKnight's 18th century plantation located along the banks of the North River, Indiantown, Currituck County, North Carolina. The wreck focuses attention on the late-18th/early-19th century maritime history of northeastern North Carolina. A thorough examination of the vessel *in situ* enables researchers to interpret archaeological evidence and construction features of the vessel, and in turn provides probable dates of construction and use and suggests how the vessel came to be at its present location. The vessel's construction, use, and demise relate to the maritime history of the region.

The shipyard came to the attention of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources Underwater Archaeology Unit (UAU) in 1992. The UAU surveyed the shipyard and surrounding waters in 1993. During remote sensing, the UAU discovered vessel remains in the North River, or Indiantown Creek, as it is known at that location.

The initial survey indicated an intact lower hull structure with framing reaching the turn of the bilge. Although dredging proved difficult, divers cleared the port side of the vessel, the bow, and the stern of debris to allow recording. They then mapped construction details, recovered artifacts, and obtained wood samples for analysis. Preliminary dating of the artifacts and construction features indicated a vessel of the late-18th or early-19th century. Historical records show no European habitation for the site before

Thomas MacKnight took ownership in 1757. Therefore, the *terminus post quem* for this site can be no earlier than 1757, and from the artifacts and historical record no later than 1820.

The suggested time “window” may be narrowed further and examined, along with the type of vessel and the site formation process, in terms of a “waterscape.” This window consists of three historical periods that are consistent with the archaeological and historical record. The windows are as follows: 1757-1775, 1789-1801, and 1801-1808. The first time period covers the site's ownership by Thomas MacKnight, the second period by the next owner Thomas Pool Williams, and the last by Dr. Gideon Marchant, who owned the property until the Civil War. Historically, we know a shipyard, shingle mill, and possibly a store operated during MacKnight's time, the mill and possibly the store during Williams's tenure, and probably the mill and store during Marchant's ownership. We also know that major national events took place during each of these periods that influenced trade and shipping. The American Revolution, which ended MacKnight's ownership, affected commerce. The aftermath of the war and ratification of the U.S. Constitution and its consequences for shipping played out during Williams's tenure. Finally, the rise of Republicanism and President Thomas Jefferson's Embargo marked the end of the third period. Archaeologically, the vessel could span these eras; a closer examination narrows the window even further. This thesis will show that the timeline for the vessel, the only one that matches both the historical and archaeological records, is between the late MacKnight and early Williams periods, i.e. 1770s-1790s.

Within the timelines, there are several hypotheses to be considered. First, the vessel might have been built during MacKnight's time and abandoned when he fled the colony, although the artifacts conflict with this hypothesis with a median date in the 1790s. Second, MacKnight could have built it, abandoned it, and Williams used it until he sold the property in 1801. Historically and archaeologically this seems to be unlikely. Third, Williams could have built the vessel, used it for a short time, and abandoned it. This also seems unlikely since Williams's tenure began and ended during a time of prosperity. Moreover, the construction techniques seem to refute this. Fourth, Williams could have built the vessel, used it, and sold it with the property to Marchant, who then discarded it during Jefferson's Embargo. Again, this timeline only fits the historical record. Construction data, artifactual median dates, and ship construction history for the region do not match this hypothesis. The another possibility is that the vessel was built elsewhere, was not owned by anyone associated with the site, and abandoned. Archaeologically, a regional builder is possible. Abandonment during the historic time line is also possible. Nevertheless, sailing the vessel to its present location and then abandoning it defies logic. Where would the crew go? If the vessel sailed to MacKnight's mill for loading and upon arrival found MacKnight had gone, why would the crew leave the vessel at the mill? If it sailed there to load during Williams's tenure but found the mill inoperative, why would the crew abandon the ship? The same case may be made for the Jefferson's Embargo. Indiantown Creek is not known as a ship graveyard; there is no archaeological or historical evidence to date that it was used as such. The best fit, as the evidence will show, is a construction time

frame of mid-1770s, use after MacKnight fled, refitting during Williams's tenure, and, because of the age of the vessel, final abandonment at the mid-point of Williams's ownership.

The overall concept for this thesis is the idea of "waterscape," that is that inundated archaeological sites must "come ashore" and be viewed in the cultural context of adjacent land sites, if any, and the political and economical events of the time period. Traditionally, maritime archaeology confines itself to the study of a particular site. This can result in the failure to consider aspects outside the project area that relate to the site, and to biased research. Components such as adjoining wharves, manufacturing sites, plantation buildings, and ferry crossings impact efforts to understand a site under investigation. Terrestrial archaeologists (cf. Goodyear *et al.* 1978:164-165) developed the concept of cultural landscape archaeology to include these components in their research designs. This broader theoretical framework allows researchers to incorporate, or at least acknowledge, cultural resources beyond the immediate site, thus broadening the "effective scale" of the project (Marquardt and Crumley 1987:2).

Cultural landscape archaeology is a foreign concept for most underwater archaeologists; most sites are shipwrecks and are perceived as self-contained, in relation to the surrounding environment. As recorded underwater sites such as vessels associated with terrestrial projects, river landings, and inundated terrestrial sites increase in number, it is necessary to extend research designs ashore. James Errante developed the term "waterscape" to "include cultural features and/or artifacts encompassing both water and land environments, either physically or through direct association"

(Errante 1993:56). Although developed for South Carolina plantations and the low country river systems, this concept “may be adapted to other situations where such an approach would be advantageous” (Errante 1993:56). This chapter uses the concept of “waterscape” to guide the examination of the interrelationships between the terrestrial site and the underwater site. A complete study of the MacKnight Shipyard Wreck cannot be accomplished without acknowledging the history of the area. It is doubtful the vessel would be at its present location without terrestrial activities that demanded riverine transport. In this case that activity was probably the shingle mill, shipyard, and store started by Thomas MacKnight that continued operation into the ante-bellum period.

The physical location of the wreck in relation to the shipyard, the store, the mill, and the possible site of the main house comprised the waterscape components of this site. Each was important within itself, and each deserved archaeological assessment; taken as a whole, they formed a snapshot of the area’s history. Even if these elements were not individually significant, taken together the whole waterscape is greater than the sum of the individual parts (cf. Thorbahn and Moran 1978). The career of Thomas MacKnight, the development of his plantation and its produce, and the subsequent use of the site are crucial to understanding the possible uses and origin of the Shipyard Wreck. The store, the mill, or the shipyard were possible destinations for the vessel. If the vessel was built at MacKnight’s shipyard and then put into service for his various companies, its final resting place would complete the circle. It was also possible that the vessel was not MacKnight’s, and was not built by him or used in any of his business. The operation of the shingle mill

after MacKnight fled the colony and the continued operation of the store through the 1950s made this possibility very real.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Shipwrecks do not exist in a vacuum but are connected to a wider world of human endeavor. As archaeologists we need to look at the larger picture. The archaeological evidence, discussed in later chapters, dictated the historical timeline followed herein.

To that end this chapter will discuss the shipbuilding and trade of northeastern North Carolina between 1750-1810, as a background to understanding the focus of this thesis - - the MacKnight Shipyard Wreck. The larger picture involves consideration of major regional, state, and national issues that impacted trade and shipbuilding. The main periods are as follows: colonial shipbuilding and trade, 1750-1775; the American Revolution and the ratification of the Federal Constitution, 1776-1789; the prosperous years, 1790s; the rise of Republicanism, 1800-1807; and the Jeffersonian Embargo and its impact on maritime trade, 1807-1810.

Northeastern North Carolina or the Albemarle Sound region, as defined for this thesis, is the geographical area bounded by the Virginia-North Carolina state line to the north, the western boundary of Halifax county, and the southern boundaries of Halifax, Bertie, Washington, Tyrell, and Dare counties. The southern boundary also extends through the Outer Banks on a direct east-west line (Figure 2). In general this region encompasses the Albemarle Sound watershed and the counties north and east of the Roanoke



REGIONS

- 1- ALBEMARLE
- 2- PAMLICO
- 3- NEUSE
- 4- CAPE FEAR

FIGURE 2
REGIONAL MAP
Powe11 1968:2

River. This definition of region follows the theory of John McCusker and Russell Menard that

one is far better off for the colonial era in thinking of economic regions as focused on the major waterways (for example, the Delaware River valley or Albemarle Sound), as organized around the production of a particular staple export, or as comprising the hinterland of a major seaport (McCusker and Menard 1985:87).

Geography influenced the types of vessels produced and used in North Carolina's inland waters. Sloops, shallops, canoes, periaugers, scows, and flatboats were used to transport goods along these waterways (Andrews 1921; Lefler and Powell 1973:165). The most numerous vessels enrolled during the last quarter of the 18th century were schooners and sloops of about 50 tons burden (Lefler and Powell 1973:165; Goldenberg 1976:79; Appendix V). There were two ways to document vessels in the 18th and 19th centuries, enrollment and registration. The former documented inland and coastwise vessels while the latter documented foreign trade vessels. A vessel could be both enrolled and registered in the same year depending on the voyages it undertook (DePauw 1971; Senate Legislative Journal, vol. 1: Saunders VII:678). Two-masted brigs of about 100 tons burden were the major carrier of naval stores from ports such as Roanoke and Brunswick but were of minor importance to the port of Currituck. The geographical constraints of Albemarle Sound dictated that shipwrights build smaller, shallower draft vessels than those working out of New Bern and Wilmington.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, most settled areas were no more than a few miles from the sounds and rivers used to transport goods from farm to market. At key points, towns developed along these waterways (Merrens 1964:143). These ports served as gateways to the other colonies and the world. Through them moved raw materials destined for export and imports bound for sale in the colony. Since they were the most important places, their merchants, many of whom were also planters, became the most important people of the area. At no time during the colonial era, did any North Carolina port have more than a few hundred inhabitants (Merrens 1964:146). While ports in North Carolina did not compare in size to the large seaports of the North, such as New York or Boston, they were adequate to handle a modest volume of trade.

At the end of the colonial period, the Albemarle region possessed one major and one minor port, Edenton (Roanoke) and Currituck, respectively. Edenton, located at the northwestern end of Albemarle Sound at the mouth of the Chowan River, was founded in the early 18th century. By the 1730s it had 60 houses and was the largest town in the colony (Merrens 1964:147). Growth continued during the next 40 years and by 1777 Edenton had doubled in size to include 135 homes. While these numbers do not speak of Edenton's importance as a port, the presence of many merchants, British officials and colonial leaders indicate the important role it played in the colony (Merrens 1964:147).

Currituck was one of the five original North Carolina ports. The customhouse was initially located between Currituck and Bell's Island. The majority of the travel and shipping within Currituck County and the northern end of Pasquotank County came through Port Currituck between

1730 and 1760. Currituck was very busy in the early 1770s; by the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, New Bern and Wilmington surpassed it in importance. As late as 1786, however, 194 schooners, 43 sloops, and 5 brigs entered Port Currituck. The end of its commercial importance came in 1828 when shifting sand banks closed Currituck Inlet (Snowden 1977:6-7).

SHIPBUILDING

Colonial shipbuilding during the 18th century experienced a growth in production and a change in the types of vessels built. While the New England colonies, especially Massachusetts, were the shipbuilding center the other colonies launched vessels in greater numbers. Philadelphia was second only to Massachusetts in tonnage launched. By the end of the colonial period the Chesapeake Bay region, Maryland and Virginia, outranked Philadelphia in shipbuilding. Southern colonies lagged behind; for example, South Carolina between 1735-1760 launched only seven ships. Between 1760-1774 South Carolina's builders launched 17 ships. North Carolina, while building less tonnage than its neighbors to the north on the Chesapeake, primarily built vessels for inland and coastwise trade (Goldenberg 1976:79-81, 120-121). From mid-century to the end of the colonial period North Carolina increased its tonnage launched (Appendix V). This colony-wide spurt in shipbuilding paralleled the introduction of a new vessel type that caught the imagination of builders and owners alike - - the schooner.

The sloop had been the vessel of choice until the schooner's introduction to New England early in the 18th century. By the first third of

the century the schooner had taken over as the most common vessel type in the Northern colonies. The pattern worked its way south and by the late 1760s was the dominant type in the Chesapeake and was becoming popular in North Carolina (Goldenberg 1976:79; Appendix V).

Hugh Lefler and William S. Powell attempted to put colonial North Carolina shipbuilding in perspective by looking at the prosperous years between 1769-1772. During this period, they contend, North Carolina built 25 vessels, and 21 of the 146 vessels clearing Port Roanoke in 1772 were North Carolina-built (Lefler and Powell 1973:165).

Recent research suggests Lefler and Powell's numbers are too conservative (Table 1, Table 1B, Appendix V). In the two decades between 1750 and 1770, at least 20 vessels were built in the Albemarle region alone, and approximately 59.8 percent of the vessels built in North Carolina between 1750 and 1800 came from the Albemarle Sound region. While the total number of ships built in North Carolina between 1750-1770 was at least 135, only 29 can definitely be assigned to a region. The remainder were registered or enrolled as "North Carolinian" (Table 1). Some of these vessels were undoubtedly built in the Albemarle region. Assigning a regional association to the "North Carolinian" vessels, based on the percentage of vessels known to be built in a specific region, an overall approximation of vessels built per region may be estimated (Table 1B). Using pro-rated figures for the vessels built in North Carolina between 1750 and 1810, an average 65.2 percent came from the Albemarle region.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF VESSELS BUILT IN NORTH CAROLINA: 1750 - 1810
BY DECADE AND AREA

	1750-59	1760-69	1770-79	1780-89	1790-79	1800-10
ALBEMARLE	10	10	20	33	46	63
NEW BERN	0	0	2	3	5	8
PAMLICO	4	1	3	9	31	61
UNKNOWN	35	71	48	83	44	39
WILMINGTON	2	2	4	3	11	7
TOTALS	51	84	77	131	137	178
TOTALS DEDUCTING UNKNOWN	16	13	29	48	93	139

TABLE 1B

	1750-59	1760-69	1770-79	1780-89	1790-99	1800-10
ALBEMARLE	32	65	53	90	67	81
NEW BERN	0	0	5	8	7	10
PAMLICO	12	6	8	25	48	78
WILMINGTON	7	13	11	8	15	9
TOTAL BUILT	51	84	77	131	137	178

PERCENTAGE
BUILT IN

ALBEMARLE	62	77	69	69	49	46
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In Table 1B Vessels not designated by enrollment as built in a specific region, have been pro rated, in terms of region. From 1750 to 1810 an average of 65.2 percent of all vessels built were from the Albemarle region.

(Stephenson and Still 1994, compiled data)

During the years 1750-1810 Albemarle shipyards constructed many vessels, most built for the coastal and inland waterway trade. Sir Daniel Duckenfield's shipyard on his estate in Bertie County (Loyalist Papers, 1782, P.R.O., Audit Office 13, Bundle 118 [state archives]), and Thomas MacKnight, who had "the most comodious, and. . . best shipyard in the providence [sic]" (Loyalist Papers, 1782, P.R.O., Audit Office 13, Bundle 121), built these types of vessels. Joseph Hewes of Edenton also had a large shipyard and was MacKnight's commercial rival (Crittenden 1936:107). The region's natural resources played a key role in the development of shipyards. Along with tall pines for masts, there was an abundance of cedar and live oak; both were "excellent for Ship Timber being all crooked and very lasting" (Saunders 1968 6:606-607).

Thomas MacKnight emigrated to Virginia from Scotland in 1750 and quickly established business contacts in the Norfolk area. By 1757 he entered into a partnership with Virginia merchants and established a sawmill and shingle making operation on two large tracts of land along the North River (Indiantown Creek) between Currituck and Camden counties and dubbed his plantation "Belville" (Snowden 1982:1). He attempted to make these lands profitable by opening roads through them, cutting white cypress and cedar for shingles, and clearing areas for agriculture (Crittenden 1931; Loyalist Papers 1782, P.R.O., Audit Office 13, Bundle 121, Merrens 1964:105). He also built a "large and commodious shipyard" (Loyalist Papers 1782, P.R.O., Audit Office 13, Bundle 121). The focus of his plantation, the shingle mill and shipyard, was located along the North River's headwaters known as Indiantown Creek. MacKnight chose his location wisely, as the shingles, staves, and other

products could be manufactured, loaded, and shipped via the North River and Currituck Sound to ports such as Norfolk and New Bern. Norfolk was a logical choice for MacKnight since he was involved with at least three businesses there: Atchinson and Parker Co., William McCormick and Co., and one under his own name, Thomas MacKnight and Co. (Corbitt 1925:513).

An extensive search of newspapers from Norfolk, Richmond, New Bern, Williamsburg, and Edenton from 1757 to December 1775 reveals a lack of advertisements for goods bought, sold, traded, or shipped by any of these businesses. The businesses, however, either individually or jointly, owned at least three vessels outright: the *Belville*, the brigantine *Betsy*, an unnamed sloop, and part of another brigantine, the *Johnston* (Corbitt 1925:513; Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers 1774:38). The lack of advertisements suggests these vessels were engaged in transporting company goods and were not used for general shipping or that they had no trouble getting freight.

Before MacKnight's political problems forced him to leave the colony, he was a well respected and influential businessman. A number of historical accounts (Merrens 1964:112; Corbitt 1925:85; Lefler and Powell 1973:165) and contemporary documents (Saunders 1968 XXI:263; Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers 1774:36-38) attest to MacKnight's financial success. Merrens states that the mill was being responsible for the large volume of shingles exported from Port Roanoke (Merrens 1964:105). Incomplete records for Ports Currituck and Roanoke also indicate that MacKnight and his partners were engaged in volume trade of naval stores.

Built and registered in Port Roanoke 4 June 1770, the brig *Johnston* cleared the harbor on 24 May 1774 for Cadiz with a cargo of "36,000 pipe

staves; 10,000 hogshead staves, and 3,000 barrel staves" (Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers 1774:38). The *Johnston* again cleared Port Roanoke on 30 October 1774 for Jamaica (Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers 1774:39), presumably with a similar cargo. According to the 1773-1774 Lumber Bonds of Port Roanoke, William McCormick signed a £600 bond for the voyage to Cadiz. A lumber bond was similar to an export tax or guarantee that the lumber being exported will leave the colony. MacKnight, on 31 October 1772, signed for a bond of the same amount for another voyage to Cadiz (Lumber Bonds 1773-1774). Another partner of MacKnight's, Nathaniel Williams, paid a £700 bond for lumber shipped on the brig *Ann* in August 1774 (Lumber Bonds 1774). If the implication that company-owned vessels shipped only company goods is correct, then one of the businesses in which MacKnight was a partner owned the *Ann*.

The North Carolina Assembly passed a bill in 1775 requiring inspection of various goods, including tar, turpentine, lumber, shingles, and staves before exportation (Saunders 1968 V:510). The inspection station for the Currituck area was not Port Currituck, as one would expect, but Indiantown Bridge where MacKnight produced shingles (Saunders 1968 V:513). Indiantown Bridge was on MacKnight's Belville plantation adjacent to his shipyard and mill (Loyalist Papers 1782, Audit Office 13, Bundle 121; Clark 1900 XXIV:580-586). MacKnight's description of the land provides a clue as to why his site was chosen instead of Port Currituck.

This tract of land [Belville] lay in one of the most populous parts of the country, and on each side of the North River, which was navigable for

sea-vessels to a bridge which crossed the river in sight of, and about one quarter of a mile from my dwelling house; over this bridge lay the only road from the county of Currituck to the county of Pasquotank, and a main road from Norfolk in Virginia to Edenton in North Carolina (Loyalist Claims Papers 1782, P.R.O., Audit Office 13, Bundle 121).

The increase in shipping along North River/Indiantown Creek dramatically augmented the sale of timber products produced by MacKnight. It also affected his shipyard business. MacKnight described the extent of his commercial property, its location in relation to the inspection station, and his shipyard in his petition for compensation for lands lost during the Revolution. His description reads:

On each side of this river [North River] (which divides the counties of Currituck and Pasquotank and adjoining to the bridge) I had built very large wharfs and convenient warehouses thereon, and I had erected on the north side of the river, at a very great expense, the most commodious, and I will venture to say, the best shipyard in the province, where I had every conviency for careening as well as for building vessels. From this yard I have launched a ship (one hundred ft. long) into fourteen ft. water, upon sliding boards not more than thirty ft. in length; the whole run did not exceed twenty-five ft.; and from the top of the keel blocks to the surface of the water was a fall of

little more than two ft. (Loyalist Claims Papers 1782, P.R.O., Audit Office 13, Bundle 121).

MacKnight's business partner also stated that "[t]here was a considerable quantity of timber there . . . particularly cedar" which "Mr. MacKnight was just abt building a ship" at the time the shipyard was forfeited (Loyalist Claims Papers 1782, P.R.O., Audit Office 13, Bundle 121). Other evidence indicating the shipyard is a statement concerning the highly skilled slaves MacKnight used for shipbuilding. Colonel Jacob Ellegood, a merchant from Norfolk acquainted with MacKnight, stated:

he [Ellegood] knew their Negroes very well, they were almost all Tradesmen & House Servants & the most valuable collection of Negroes in that Country - They were able to build a ship within themselves [i.e., by themselves] with no other assistance than a Master Builder (Loyalist Claims Papers 1782, P.R.O., Audit Office 13, Bundle 121).

Almost certainly MacKnight, who owned a shipyard adjacent to his mill, built vessels for his own use. These probably included the vessels named above, as well as the square stern sloop *Mackey* of 40 tons registered on 13 July 1774 to Jonathan Herring, Nathaniel Williams, William McCormick, Thomas MacKnight, Thomas King, and Charles Herring (Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers 1760-1775). If indeed MacKnight had the "most commodious and best" shipyard in the area, then many vessels registered as

“Currituck built” were probably constructed in his shipyard. The Treasurer’s and Comptroller’s Papers for the years 1760-1775 list a number of vessels built in Currituck: the *Betsey* in 1771, re-registered as *Charming Betsey* in 1775; the schooner *Musquito Haul* in 1772; sloop *Willing Maid* in 1772, re-registered in 1774 at Port Roanoke; schooner *Payne* in 1772; schooner *Gato* in 1774; schooner *Polly* in 1774; another schooner *Polly* in 1775; brig *Charming Patsey* in 1775; the 80-ton snow *Hope* in 1775; the 100-ton brig *Peggy* in 1775; the 10-ton sloop *Nabob* in 1775. There were also two vessels built for the Jones family: the schooner *Polly* in 1769 for Thomas Jones, and the 35-ton schooner, *Neptune*, for Joseph Jones in 1775. *Polly* was a common name for vessels at this time, and the three listed above were all newly built in the years given, not re-enrolled. The *Neptune* is curious because Joseph Jones led the faction that drove MacKnight from the colony. One may speculate that the *Neptune*, possibly built by MacKnight, may not have been paid for by Jones, thereby creating an incentive to remove MacKnight from the colony.

MacKnight was active in local politics as well as business. He was elected to the General Assembly as a Pasquotank County representative in 1762, Currituck County in 1770, 1774, 1775, and both Currituck and Pasquotank counties in 1773 (Saunders 1968 VII:635). Governor William Tryon appointed MacKnight justice of the peace for Pasquotank on 28 August 1770 (Saunders 1968 VII:615).

In April 1775 MacKnight was elected to represent Currituck County in the Second Provincial Congress held at New Bern (Saunders 1968 XXI:260). A resolution introduced during the Congress called for the non-consumption, importation, and exportation of goods to Britain. MacKnight did not sign this

resolution and pleaded with delegates that he needed to export goods to pay off debts owed in England.

Many delegates accepted this, but a faction led by Pasquotank's Joseph Jones condemned MacKnight. Their view prevailed and they dubbed MacKnight a "Tory." When newspapers and the other delegates from Currituck and Pasquotank counties defended MacKnight (*Virginia Gazette*, 6 May 1775), Joseph Jones attacked MacKnight in a letter published in the *Norfolk Gazette* on 5 June 1775. MacKnight replied in two long letters in the *Virginia Gazette* on 21 June and 5 July 1775. He accused Jones of attacking him for personal and financial reasons, stating that Jones was "animated by personal pique and resentment" and "embraced the long-wished for moment to gratify [his] revenge." The letter also indicated MacKnight challenged Jones to a duel, but the latter refused (Pugh 1957:103-104) "on account of wife and children" (*Virginia Gazette*, 21 June 1775).

Contemporary documents do not show why Jones held such resentment against MacKnight, but the disagreement may have been of a business nature, possibly concerning the *Neptune*, or the *Polly*, vessels MacKnight may have built for Jones (Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers 1760-1775). Fragmentary records of the period frustrated all attempts to document the reasons for Jones's attacks on MacKnight. The voting records of the Congress at New Bern do not indicate which delegates voted against MacKnight, and documents on the origin of the feud between these two men may no longer exist (Jerry Cashin 1995, pers.comm.).

Fearing for his life, MacKnight fled North Carolina in October 1775. Robert Howe, a creditor of MacKnight's, requested instructions from the

Provincial Congress concerning disposition of MacKnight's property in December 1775. Isaac Gregory then mobilized the Currituck militia to prevent removal of MacKnight's goods (Saunders 1968 XXI:263). Through his attorneys, John Gallaway petitioned the Provincial Congress on 8 April 1776 to take possession and sell enough of MacKnight's land to settle a debt of £586.2 (Clark 1900 X:505). Thomas Jones entered the petition for Gallaway and served on the committee deciding the issue (Clark 1900 X:508). Congress tabled the petition on 29 April 1776, but later approved it (Clark 1900 X:546). On 22 April 1776 the Provincial Congress instructed Peter Dauge and Dempsey Gregory to take possession of MacKnight's slaves (Clark 1900 X:249). Authorities confiscated MacKnight's property on 9 December 1776 and beginning January 1777 rented the land out for the term of one year (Clark 1900 X:975-976).

The Committee of Safety seized MacKnight's ship *Belville*, moved it to New Bern, and "dismantled [unloaded]" it. The *Belville* was "moored at a wharf," and authorities were told to "see that it does not depart until Permission is obtained from the Congress or Council of Safety" (Clark 1900 X:656). According to Corbitt, authorities seized the *Belville* in December 1775 just before it sailed for Cadiz. MacKnight's partner, William McCormick, paid to the Congress the value of the ship as security, before he was allowed to sail (Corbitt 1925:512).

The adventures of MacKnight's ship were not over. On 17 May 1776, the British man-of-war *Enterprise* seized the *Belville* and took the vessel to Gibraltar where a vice-admiralty court condemned the ship as a prize of war (Corbitt 1925:512). The Committee of Safety also seized the brigantine *Betsey*,

but no further record of it appears. Captain Lindzee of the British navy seized a sloop, possibly the *Mackey*, and used it as a refugee ship in Cape Fear harbor where it sunk (Corbitt 1925:512).

TRADE

Colonial America conducted its trade within the confines of Great Britain's mercantilist imperial system. At the heart of this system were the Navigation Acts. One of the earliest acts forbade the export of tobacco and other goods to other than English ports. This act guaranteed a market for Virginian tobacco, a boon to growers and shippers alike. Later, Parliament enacted laws limiting trade between colonies, or between the mother country and the colonies, to English or colonial owned and crewed vessels. These acts protected the maritime trade of the colonies for the colonists. These acts repeatedly expanded the list of enumerated goods that could be sold only on the English market. While restricting foreign trade from the colonies they provided a ready-made market in England. Other acts added to the enumeration list, or established unenforcable duties (Bauer 1988:44-49; McCusker and Menard 1985:354-356). Over all, however, the Navigation Acts protected and encouraged colonial maritime trade. North Carolina took full advantage of these acts and expanded its trade in the 18th century.

North Carolina shipping, in volume, exceeded that of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Georgia (Crittenden 1936; Ganyard 1963:8; Johnson *et al.* 1922:92; Table 2). In 1769, North Carolina shipped more than 23,000 tons of goods from its ports, and from 1772-1775 the annual value of the exported goods exceeded £100,000 sterling (Ganyard 1963:8; Merrens 1963:136-141).

TABLE 2

Gross registered tonnage of vessels entered and cleared at the ports of each colony in 1769.

ENTERED FROM	Great Britain	West Indies	Europe	Africa	Totals
COLONY					
New Hampshire	915	480	9,500	5,551	16,446
Massachusetts	14,340	6,595	17,898	27,618	66,451
Rhode Island	415	226	5,958	10,237	16,836
Connecticut	150	105	7,790	9,971	18,016
New York	5,224	2,730	6,964	11,714	26,632
New Jersey	0	25	257	654	936
Pennsylvania	9,309	10,745	12,521	12,453	45,028
Maryland	15,486	4,095	4,533	6,574	30,688
Virginia	20,652	4,600	11,612	10,373	47,237
North Carolina	6,415	700	6,702	9,259	23,076
South Carolina	15,281	3,325	6,893	5,608	31,107
Georgia	2,523	525	4,288	2,357	9,693
TOTALS	90,710	34,151	94,916	112,369	332,140
CLEARED TO					
New Hampshire	2,822	170	12,878	3,874	19,744
Massachusetts	14,044	5,102	17,532	26,988	63,666
Rhode Island	540	863	6,060	10,312	17,775
Connecticut	580	200	9,201	7,985	17,966
New York	6,470	3,483	5,466	11,440	26,859
New Jersey	0	0	555	538	1,093
Pennsylvania	7,219	12,070	11,959	11,738	42,986
Maryland	16,116	6,224	3,358	5,298	30,996
Virginia	24,594	7,486	11,397	8,531	52,008
North Carolina	7,805	1,030	6,945	7,333	23,113
South Carolina	15,902	5,773	6,377	5,803	33,855

(Johnson *et al.* 1922:92)

The Albemarle Sound ports, Currituck and Roanoke, dominated North Carolina's shingle and stave trade. These two ports shipped 55.8 percent of all shingles and 63.2 percent of all North Carolina staves in the years 1768-1772 (Merrens 1964:96; Table 3).

MacKnight's efforts contributed to the large volume of shingles exported from the two Albemarle ports (Merrens 1964:105; Table 3). Export of shingles and staves, naval stores (especially tar and turpentine), agricultural products, and tobacco increased during 1768-1772. At this time Aaron Lopez of Rhode Island set-up a successful trade route between the two colonies, buying staves and shingles and selling New England and West Indian produce in Edenton. He carried on this and other ventures in North Carolina until interrupted by the Revolutionary War (Platt 1971:15).

Although Table 3 indicates increasing wood products trade, the figures do not reflect the true amount or value of North Carolina's production. At least half the goods exported from the colony were shipped through Virginia or South Carolina ports; exports from the Albemarle region naturally went to Virginia (Butler and Watson 1984:83; Lefler and Powell 1973; Merrens 1964; Ganyard 1963:8). McCusker and Menard believe that the Albemarle region "is perhaps best approached as an extension of the Upper South" (McCusker and Menard 1985:170). Their view agrees with A. Roger Ekirch's suggestion of "dividing [colonial] North Carolina and attaching the parts to South Carolina and Virginia" (Ekirch 1981:87). The road system was very poor, making intra-colony transportation difficult. Merchants elected to take their goods to local landings for shipment on small sloops or schooners. These vessels either took the goods to ports such as Currituck or Edenton for reshipment on larger

TABLE 3
NORTH CAROLINA EXPORTS OF WOOD PRODUCTS:
RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF PORTS 1768-1772

PORT	Sawn lumber					Shingles					Staves				
	% of N.C. total					% of N.C. total					% of N.C. total				
	1768	69	70	71	72	1768	69	70	71	72	1768	69	70	71	72
Currituck	0	1	0	1	0	15	23	25	16	11	4	1	2	15	10
Roanoke	7	5	4	6	4	44	39	27	38	41	77	55	54	48	50
Bath Town	16	10	16	14	16	6	5	7	11	11	4	7	12	9	7
Beaufort	3	9	9	9	10	10	8	13	9	9	7	27	19	19	19
Brunswick	74	75	80	70	70	25	24	27	29	28	8	10	13	9	14

(Merrens 1963:136-141)

vessels, or sailed directly to Norfolk where transshipment occurred. Without these small trading vessels, exporting North Carolina goods would have been virtually impossible (Lefler and Powell 1973; Merrens 1964:136-141).

Before the Revolutionary War, imports from New England played a major role in North Carolina's trade. After the war imported goods from New England declined, as New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston increased their trade with the Tar Heel state (Crittenden 1936:162-163). The years 1784-1789 saw an "increased and increasing trade of this State [North Carolina]," with merchants in Philadelphia, New York, and the New England states all competing for North Carolina's commerce (Saunders 1968 24:553; Crittenden 1936:158).

Tonnage of goods shipped increased approximately 100 percent during this time with the ports of Roanoke (Edenton) and Brunswick at the forefront. Export trade routes altered radically. The tonnage of exports destined for Great Britain, the West Indies, and the northern states was divided more or less equally before the Revolutionary War. By 1788, however, while trade routes remained the same, the tonnage of goods shipped to the various areas changed. Only one-tenth of the goods now went to Britain, more than half went to the West Indies, and the remainder went to other states (Crittenden 1936:158). The lack of British Empire membership occasioned the change in destination of exported goods. North Carolina shipped as its own nation until the 1789 ratification, and then as a part of a new nation not yet enmeshed in trade treaties. The British ports that had handled a large portion of North Carolina goods, such as tobacco, lumber

products, and, to a lesser extent, ships for export, now were virtually closed to that trade. The other colonies and the non-British West Indies became the ports of choice for North Carolina shippers. For shippers in the Albemarle that meant their coastwise trading to the states to the north increased. This period also saw Edenton consolidate its position as the leading port of the area. Shifting sand banks were beginning to close the inlets to Currituck.

Export commodities changed proportionally, both in terms of tonnage per port, and in quantity. Naval stores, while still a major export, declined about 25 percent, while the tonnage exported shifted from the ports of Brunswick and Beaufort to Roanoke. Before 1775 most exported naval stores went to England; now the majority were shipped to northern states. With the loss of imperial status the new nation tried to export its commodities to other countries (McCusker and Menard 1985:370-371). Exports altered in destination and kind. Shipments of corn, peas, and fish increased, offsetting a decline in pork exports. Port Roanoke carried on most of the trade in corn, fish, and peas, while Currituck handled almost all of the potatoes. While large quantities of food products still went to the West Indies, northern states became the main market for North Carolina provisions.

As in the agricultural trade, major destinations for Albemarle lumber were now in the Northern states. The region exported shingles in much larger numbers, while staves and headings doubled in quantity compared to the Revolutionary War years. Port Roanoke was the leading shipping point for these products. While the tonnage of sawn lumber doubled, it was not a major product.

Tobacco experienced the largest increase of any single product (Crittenden 1936:160-61). Crittenden reported that in 1768 North Carolina

exported only 360,000 pounds of tobacco, almost exclusively from Roanoke (Crittenden 1936:161). In 1788 the state exported nearly 6,000,000 pounds, but Roanoke now ranked third among North Carolina ports. Again destinations changed radically. Before the Revolutionary War, almost all tobacco went to Great Britain. After the war only half was shipped there; the rest went to other American ports. As mentioned above, the lack of international trade agreements hurt shippers until 1787 when the economy began to recover. This economic revival was brief, lasting only until 1789, followed by a short slump, and, after ratification of the Constitution, recovery in 1791 (Appendix V).

After the Revolutionary War, tax and inspection laws passed by the new government of North Carolina did not significantly alter earlier colonial regulations. Tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, shingles, and other lumber products were still inspected, and the inspection stations remained in their former locations (Saunders 1968 series: *passim*; Clark 1900 24:580-586). The Indiantown Bridge inspection station remained on MacKnight's former property (Lefler and Powell 1973:164). During the first years of the new nation, import duties remained low on goods such as pepper, sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and liquor; North Carolina taxed all other imported goods.

In 1785 policies changed to provide duty-free importation of American goods into North Carolina. Goods imported in vessels belonging to countries that had not signed a commercial treaty with the United States were assessed a 20 percent tax. This duty was directed at Great Britain for refusing a commercial treaty with the United States and denying American vessels entry

to the British West Indies. The state imposed most tariffs to raise revenue, not to protect North Carolina industry, as was the case in some Northern states (Saunders 1968 24:718-720;792-794).

The transition from colony to state changed the character of North Carolina's exports and imports. The type of imported goods did not change, but quantities increased dramatically. Maritime trade routes changed; imports from Great Britain declined over 33 percent while coastal trade doubled, and West Indian imports increased almost 20 percent. Trade continued through the five original ports during the 1780s and 1790s (Crittenden 1936:162-163). North Carolina's new government regularly gave bounties to all new manufacturing businesses and entered into partnership with individuals and businesses for the building of canals, the deepening of harbors, and the improvement of public highways (Dodd 1958:52; Saunders XVII:418).

In retrospect, the economic and political impact of the American Revolution on northeastern North Carolina was immense. MacKnight and Duckenfield fled. Joseph Hewes gained new prominence as a signer of the Declaration of Independence. John Harvey and Samuel Johnston, along with Hewes, retained their positions as leaders and extended their political influence into the new national government (Butler and Watson 1984:128).

Economically, the Revolution did not hurt the Albemarle region as much as it did the nation as a whole. Perhaps, as Forrest MacDonald states, this was because

Wilmington . . . was the only port in the state to be occupied by the British during the war, and while shippers in the other ports suffered occasional damages, most people in the protected parts of the coastal area emerged from the war with the feeling that they were invulnerable from the sea (MacDonald 1958:316).

The impact of the War of Independence regionally, as well as nationally, may have “led to some lasting structural changes in the economy” and “increased the relative importance of the domestic sector, encouraged industrial development, and promoted internal improvements” (McCusker and Menard 1985:366). A more thorough investigation is necessary before any detailed conclusions about northeastern North Carolina may be reached. Historians know, however, that the South in general suffered dramatically as a result of the war. North Carolina was no exception. As McCusker and Menard point out:

[In] 1770, 64 percent of all exports from the thirteen continental colonies originated in the South; by 1790, that share had dropped to 48 percent. . . . in 1774, 46 percent of private wealth (net of slaves) in the thirteen colonies was held in the South; by 1799, the South's share was only 32 percent (McCusker and Menard 1985:375).

Perhaps some of this decline may be explained by the out migration of Tories from the colonies. When men such as MacKnight and Duckenfield fled North Carolina they left shipyards, businesses, and plantations idle. The

idling of shipyards especially must have hurt the colony, region, and local economies which, in turn affected the nation.

In 1782, the General Assembly passed "An Act directing the Sale of Confiscated Property." Section II specifically mentioned MacKnight's property as "absolutely forfeited and shall be sold by the commissioners by this Act appointed, in a manner hereinafter directed" (Clark 1900 XXIV:263). The district court houses of the various counties conducted the sales. Edenton was the district courthouse for Currituck County, but there is no record of any sale of MacKnight's property.

That the departure of MacKnight devastated Indiantown and probably Currituck is hard to refute. The largest shipyard in the region lay idle. The shingle, stave, and lumber mill closed. The inspection station was no longer needed because foreign trade was at a stand still. The maritime traffic that was the heart of Indiantown and Currituck had no where to go with much of its cargo. By default Edenton had won the battle as the major port for the region. Edenton was a major point of arms traffic from France. another factor that probably had some effect.

The competition between the ports of Edenton and Elizabeth City for dominance, the shift in political influence from the Albemarle to the Piedmont, and the debate over joining a more centralized national union are further examples of the legacy of the Revolution.

Not surprisingly, North Carolinians, like the citizens of the other states, hotly debated the ratification of the new Constitution. States such as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut ratified quickly. In Massachusetts, the Federalists won, but agreed to recommend to

Congress an amendment to include "Bill of Rights". Other states, including North Carolina, followed this lead.

Geography and economics played major roles in the ratification process. While North Carolina was the first state to permit its delegates in Congress to vote for independence, it was the twelfth state to ratify the Federal Constitution (Butler and Watson 1985:134; Newsome 1940:292). The anti-federalists defeated the first vote on constitutional ratification by a resounding 184 to 84 (MacDonald 1958:310; Dodd 1903:50). The anti-Federalist movement in North Carolina, led by Willie Jones, consisted of the wealthy merchants from the Cape Fear area and the small farmers of the western part of the state. The Federalist included the wealthy merchant-planters of the older, more conservative eastern region of North Carolina. This area included all of the counties in the Albemarle-Pamlico region and the borough-towns of Halifax, Salisbury, Wilmington, Edenton, and New Bern (MacDonald 1958:317; Newsome 1940:291, 298). Jones led the States' Rights movement in North Carolina whose anti-Federalist policy demanded "a free and absolutely independent State, a genuinely democratic administration, a general improvement in educational advantages for the people," and building of the industry within the state to supply both the demands of North Carolinians and to compete in an open market with other states (Dodd 1903:51). Jones belonged to what Jackson Turner Main termed the "Localist Party," which included the smaller farmers of the Piedmont. Main termed the more prosperous, Federalist farmers of eastern North Carolina "Cosmopolitans" (Main 1973:361). Since many Federalists came from the Albemarle region, maybe, as MacDonald noted, the wider political view of the

Cosmopolitan Federalists was linked to the large number of voyages many of them made to the nationalist center Philadelphia and other Northern ports (MacDonald 1958:317).

The first convention in North Carolina failed to ratify and called for a number of amendments enumerating and guaranteeing state and individual rights. About a year and a half later at the Fayetteville convention the attitudes had shifted, and the federal constitution was ratified. MacDonald states six factors that determined this shift in the political stance of North Carolina's delegates:

[1]. . . the orderly establishment and effective operation of the new government under the presidency of George Washington. . . .The United States government began to inspire confidence at home and respect abroad. [2] The recovery from the acute economic depression of 1785-86...in which North Carolina shared. [3] Occasional criticism of laggard North Carolina. [4] A skillful and effective campaign was conducted by Federalist newspapers and leaders. . . . [5] . . . North Carolina was unprepared for the military defense of its extensive territory . . . that the State needed the protection of the United States from the Indians, Spain, and Great Britain. [6] Returning economic prosperity seemed to confirm . . . that the new Constitution was a greater safeguard for property, commerce, manufacturing, and public and private credit(MacDonald 1940:296-297).

Economics played a role in the Constitutional debates and trade continued to be important after ratification. The Antifederalists wanted paper money to be issued in large quantities and low land prices. They were against banks, against taxes (except where they helped the small farmer), opposed to virtually anything that might aid business or centralize the government. The Federalists favored the opposite: centralized banking, taxes to support the government, government support of business, and higher land prices (Main 1973:357-364).

This generalization of the national division was also true in North Carolina, a state that was practically self-sufficient economically. MacDonald stated that economically North Carolina had little incentive to join the Union:

In the field of manufacturing North Carolina was as productive as any other southern state, yet its manufactures were relatively stable and unaffected by politics. The principal manufactures were . . . lumber and lumber products, for which there was an insatiable market in the French West Indies as well as in the British West Indies, and naval stores, which were welcomed in markets all over Europe and America. Valuable though they were, almost no North Carolina manufactures were of the sort that could benefit in any appreciable measure from protective tariffs or governmental measures (MacDonald 1958:315).

While this may have held true for the small farmers of the Piedmont, the planter-merchants and shipbuilders of the Coastal Plain anticipated benefits

from a stronger central government. The new government would provide uniform tariffs, duties, foreign trade treaties, and naval protection for shipping interests (Newsome 1940:295). This obviously was an incentive to join the Union (Newsome 1940:291).

By the time of the Fayetteville convention, the economy had begun to revive, and Congress was discussing the question of state and individual rights. The new Federal government, as anticipated, passed a series of tariffs, tonnage acts, and import duties, but allowed North Carolina for the time being to ship freely to the other states without payment, another incentive to ratify (Butler and Watson 1984:156). Had North Carolina not ratified by 1790 it would have been treated as any other foreign nation, subjected to all the duties, tariffs, and commercial trade agreements as the European nations. The ratification passed easily at Fayetteville, and North Carolina became the twelfth state to join the new government (MacDonald 1958:313).

After the confiscation of MacKnight's property and his flight from the colony, the site of the Shipyard Wreck remained dormant until 1787. The next known owner of MacKnight's Belville property was Thomas Pool Williams. In 1787, Williams advertised for a man "capable of tending a sawmill" (*The State Gazette of North Carolina*, 29 November 1787). He was also the first postmaster of Indiantown, appointed in 1797 (Aloha South 1994, pers. comm.; Appendix III).

Economic growth and the emergence of two disparate political views of the nation's economic future characterized the period of the 1790s. Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, favored a centralized national government, a complex commercial economy, and a national banking

system. Republicans, on the other hand, were adherents of Thomas Jefferson and his economic philosophy, which favored a decentralized government and a simple trading economy whose policies were determined by an agrarian society.

The Federalists, in power nationally until 1801, based their idea of economic growth on credit, national banking, funded debt, and industrial development. In fact, the fiscal requirements of capital formation and incipient industrialization ended the unified efforts of northern and southern nationalists because they required a temporary acceptance of English mistreatment and maritime superiority, a surrender that the southern advocates of commercial farming were not prepared to make (Spivak 1979:5).

Jefferson and the Republicans perceived the economy as

a commercial-agricultural economy [that] would allow the United States to leave its "workshops" in Europe. The Republican scheme bound farmers and merchants in equal and tranquil partnership,[and] tied the fortunes of both to the growth and foreign sale of American produce (Spivak 1979:1).

This vision of American trade rested on the assumption of access to European markets and the idea of "free ships make free goods". This concept embraced the idea that neutral ships had the right to carry non-contraband goods between any ports not under blockade regardless of who owned the goods.

Americans also narrowly defined “contraband” as munitions, which was unacceptable to England (Bauer 1988:62).

The two political parties also had differing views on how to achieve their economic ends. Hamilton envisioned close economic ties to Great Britain while Jefferson looked more toward France. The Jay Treaty of 1794 furthered Hamilton's policies, ensuring revenues from British imports needed to fund the government and to meet debt payments. The Republicans viewed the treaty as jeopardizing the future of commercial agriculture and “denying Congress the power to discriminate against English ships and goods” (Spivak 1979:6; Varg 1963:106-107). Jefferson saw the Congressional ability to impose tariffs and duties on a sliding scale dependent upon the state of commercial treaties as essential to the economic well-being of the country. The European wars demanded American merchant ships for the neutral wartime carrying trade, which was the engine of prosperity from 1790 until the Embargo. The trade worried Jefferson with its international implications of American involvement.

Nationally, the neutrality of the United States during the wars of the French Revolution and Empire and the ensuing maritime trade which evolved from it created a boom economy. From 1790 until 1807 farmers, merchants, shipowners, and shipbuilders enjoyed a growth in prosperity from the risky but profitable trade (Bauer 1988:62). The European wars triggered a demand for American agricultural products, with wheat going from \$5.40 to \$9.12 per bushel (Bauer 1988:63). Shipping and shipbuilding also experienced a tremendous growth. By 1789 South Carolina-owned vessels carried one-fourth of its exports; Georgia bottoms carried a third of its exports;

New York, virtually without a merchant marine at the end of the Revolutionary War, now had 100,000 tons under sail; New Hampshire experienced a similar growth in livestock and lumber trade with the French West Indies. American ships entering the United States with exports from England and the French West Indies reached an impressive total of 125,996 tons (Varg 1963:48-49). This trend continued into the first few years of the new century. By 1802 the

southern commodities of tobacco, rice, tar, pitch, and rosin contributed \$8,450,000 . . . [of the] \$18,727,00 total of domestic produce exported to Great Britain. For 1803 the corresponding figures read \$11,000,000 and \$22,000,000. For 1804, the figures read \$9,400,00 and \$19,000,000. For the same years, annual cotton exportations averaged \$6,140,000 (Spivak 1979:41)

North Carolina in general and the site of the Shipyard Wreck in particular benefited from the national economic boom. By 1789 North Carolina doubled its pre-war exports and continued to experience economic growth (Spivak 1979:41). Appendix V shows a steady increase in shipbuilding during the 1790s. There is a small dip in building around 1794 and a slightly larger one around 1797, but overall this was a time of economic prosperity that lasted until 1807. The detrimental effect of ships being seized during the neutral trade years did not affect North Carolina or the Albemarle (McCall 1988:1-32), possibly because the northeastern North Carolina shippers were expanding their coasting trade and continuing their short, fast voyages to the

West Indies. Looking at shipbuilding as an economic barometer, this was a prosperous time.

For the Albemarle region trade improved considerably in the years before 1800. In 1787, 697 inbound vessels cleared Ocracoke. During the summer of 1788, Port Roanoke cleared 78 vessels outbound. Registered tonnage for the state in 1790 increased to 20,671 tons in foreign trade and 6,553 tons in coastwise commerce (Lefler and Newsome 1954:253). Ports Brunswick and Roanoke saw shingle exports increase to 20,000,000 shingles shipped, mostly from the Albemarle region (Lefler and Newsome 1954:254).

The Federalists held political power during the 1790s, as mentioned earlier, and leaned toward England during the wartime decade. This unofficial policy favoring England created animosity in France, England's opponent, culminating in the Quasi-War 1798-1801. After Jefferson's election in 1800, the Republicans leaned the opposite way; with the opposite effect, England was now the war risk. The animosity between America and England intensified with the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair in 1807.

The frigate U.S.S. *Chesapeake* sailed for the Mediterranean on 25 June 1807. The H.M.S. *Leopard* intercepted it offshore near Norfolk and ordered the *Chesapeake* to submit to a search for British deserters. The *Chesapeake's* captain refused, whereupon the *Leopard* fired into the American vessel killing and wounding a number of seaman. Royal Navy crewmen boarded and removed four supposed deserters. This incident convinced Jefferson that war with England was inevitable. Jefferson understood, however, that the summer of 1807 was not the right time for a war.

The “need to avoid. . . [war with England] while so much American shipping was on the ocean and vulnerable to British capture” provided the impetus for Jefferson's Embargo in 1807 (Spivak 1979:77). Concerning the possible effect of war Spivak wrote:

. . . between twenty and forty thousand sailors were at sea in the summer of 1807. If Congress . . . declared war, this tremendous national asset would be an easy mark for British cruisers. . . . The amount of commercial wealth on the oceans was staggering. . . . At least 2,500 vessels with a total value in shipping and cargo of over one hundred million dollars were at sea . . . Much of this wealth was uninsured . . . Only \$700,000 of Salem's [Massachusetts] \$2,800,00 in ships and cargo. . . was covered.

If war came careers and fortunes would be lost, along with the shipper-merchants' ability to lend to the government. A crippled insurance industry, upon which the solvency of banks depended, would also destroy the borrowing ability of the government. Jefferson wanted to avoid war if at all possible.

Jefferson responded instead with an embargo enacted in December 1807. The impact on the American economy was devastating. The maritime engine that drove the economy was crippled, and the ripple effects were not far behind. Bauer estimated that 55,000 sailors lost their jobs and twice that number in related industries. About 60 percent of Maine's seacoast inhabitants lost their livelihood. Wiscasset sent 67 vessels to sea in 1806, in

1808 only two. A Bath, Maine, ship owner, William King, lost over \$5,500 per month with his vessels swinging on the haswer (Bauer 1988:63-64). Merchants called upon their creditors for overdue accounts that went unpaid. Foreign trade all but ceased. Alexandria, Virginia, for example, cleared only six vessels in 1808 but none carried any cargo (Galpin 1927:414). The law also “worked hardships on the legal coasting trade, especially North Carolina’s” (Spivak 1979:117,163).

Jefferson's Embargo initially hurt the Albemarle shipbuilders and merchant-shippers, and shipbuilding in North Carolina dropped from approximately 20 new vessels in 1806 to 12 in 1807 (Appendix V). The coastwise trade received a partial respite from the Embargo's impact due primarily to a favorable cabinet decision in May 1808. The decision had “a special view to the relief of North Carolina that her corn and lumber may be sent coastwise” (Spivak 1979:117fn).

Much of North Carolina's shipping was coastal. This was especially true of the Albemarle region. By legalizing this trade for the Tarheel state, the merchants, shipowners, shipbuilders, and sailors were, in the main, less affected by the Embargo than other commercial sectors. While the coastwise trade was legal, the traditional trade to the West Indies was not. Shippers circumvented the law by falsifying coastwise documents, transferring cargo at sea to British vessels, and by the old practice of smuggling (Spivak 1979 167-172). The impact of the Embargo on the West Indies created economic hardships for the islanders but great profits for the shippers. In 1807 the base prices in the British West Indies were:

flour, \$8.25 per barrel; cornmeal, \$24.00 per barrel; tobacco, \$8.00 per hundredweight; salt, \$0.11 per pound. When the news of the embargo reached the West Indies. . . the impact of speculation and hoarding drove up the price of flour to \$40.00 (Spivak 1979:168).

This price increase did not last long. By the end of the year prices had stabilized at \$26 per barrel for flour and \$80 per barrel for cornmeal; tobacco was at \$50 per hundredweight and salt at \$.44 per pound. Albemarle shippers must have taken advantage of these prices in their traditional export markets; however, the speculation market probably did not impact the Shipyard Wreck site. Thomas Jefferson's Embargo affected the region as evidenced by the book *Business as Usual: Edenton Merchant Ledgers, 1759-1819* (McCall 1988:31-32). The entries stopped in 1809 and did not resume until 1817.

While military action did not directly affect the region, the war that began in 1812 took its toll on Albemarle commerce, and trade declined. The fear of British invasion, the blockade of Chesapeake Bay, and manpower drainage for defending other states led to a decline in maritime trade. By 1816 only 1,500,000 dollars "worth of goods were shipped from all of North Carolina's ports; of this total, 1,000,000 dollars' worth sailed through the port of Wilmington" (Lefler and Newsome 1954:299). Until this time, the Albemarle region dominated the shipbuilding, shingle/stave, and naval store industries. Following the War of 1812, the northeastern ports fell behind Wilmington and New Bern, never again to regain their prominence in North Carolina's economic scene. Change also occurred in Indiantown.

In 1808 there was a new owner of the Shipyard Wreck site. Dr. Gideon Marchant bought the property from Williams in 1801. Although the records indicate the store/post office, next to the bridge, was in business with Marchant as postmaster, they are silent on the operation of the shingle mill. Either way the store generated maritime traffic on Indiantown Creek.

This chapter has taken a brief look at the major events in national, colony/state, regional, and local history during the 1750-1808 time “window” stated in the introduction. It also explored how these events affected the archaeological site examined in chapter four. Each of the periods discussed, the colonial, the Revolution, the ratification process and early economic recovery, the Federalists and the rise of Jeffersonian Republicanism, and finally the Embargo enacted in 1807, had an impact on the Shipyard Wreck site. By combining these events with the archaeological record a clearer picture of maritime activity for the Indiantown site emerges. In the next chapter the methodology and investigative approach to the site is detailed. This introduction should provide the reader with a better understanding of the archaeological methods used, the archaeological findings themselves, and the interpretation that developed from the evidence.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Underwater archaeological methods are little different from those used on terrestrial sites. Under certain conditions, however, various standard methods used on land will not work underwater, and alternatives must be adopted. For example, in low visibility conditions, less than 3 ft., standard terrestrial methods such as grid systems, photography, and photomosaics are difficult to incorporate into the field work. Project directors must plan alternative methods producing acceptable accuracy before reaching the site.

Using documentary research and preliminary site reports, the author constructed a theoretical methodology (cf. Platt 1964, Chamberlin 1965, Muckleroy 1978, and Raab and Goodyear 1984) to allow maximum utilization of time. A series of working hypotheses delineated the objectives of this project, and in combination with the practical methodology (cf. Bass 1972; 1988, Throckmorton 1970, Muckleroy 1978, and Green 1990), gave participants a clear picture of the field research goal.

The purpose of the field research was the excavation and documentation of the vessel remains. The underwater documentation would then be used to reconstruct the vessel. Construction techniques, materials utilized, structural elements present or absent, and artifactual evidence recovered would determine a construction date.

SITE ENVIRONMENT

Located in the North River, the MacKnight Shipyard Wreck (0001NCR)

lies in approximately 8 to 15 ft. of water. The North River is part of the Dismal Swamp drainage system and flows into Albemarle Sound. Tidal action, current, and climatic conditions, such as rain and wind, which occasionally cause the river to rise or fall 2 ft. or more in a short period of time, were taken into consideration. The river is a black water environment. Project participants were divided into two groups: a terrestrial crew and an underwater crew. Underwater communication equipment greatly facilitated data collection and provided a “safety net” for the divers.

FIELD WORK HYPOTHESES

To guide the work, the author designed a series of working hypotheses. The first, or null, hypothesis allowed for the possibility the timbers were not a wreck. The second was a series of sub-hypotheses that deal with identifying a particular time period for the wreck. Documentary research and the use of preliminary reports narrow the possible time to a vessel of the 1750-1830 period (Wilde-Ramsing 1992;1993). Civil War records indicated a vessel burned and sunk in the immediate vicinity, but that vessel was farther downstream (Turner 1995:15). The third hypothesis concerns the type of vessel: cargo, military, or non-cargo commercial. If the wreck was a cargo vessel, structural or artifactual evidence of cargo carrying must be found. Structural evidence includes room-space ratio, ceiling planking, bulkheads indicating storage areas, and wear and tear on decking areas due to shifting cargo. If the wreck was a military vessel, there should be structures to support

guns and other specialized equipment along with artifacts such as weapons or military accouterments. If the wreck was a non-cargo carrying commercial vessel, then structural evidence would largely be negative. Fishing vessels, ferry boats, and tug/tow boats are examples of this class of vessel.

Artifactually, this hypothesis would be supported by remains of gear associated with commercial activities (i.e., fishing nets, lures, specialized holds, etc.) and lack of damage to interior planking from shifting cargo. The fourth hypothesis concerned the vessel's propulsion system, which could have been oars, sails, towing, or steam. A descriptive name for the vessel's type was sought for the fifth hypothesis. The vessel could have been a sloop, a schooner, a centerboard schooner, a brig, or a ship. These subcategories were chosen as representatives of the most popular vessel types of the period (Coogan and Jones 1995). Structural evidence would support or refute a particular vessel type. One mast step identified the vessel as a sloop. Two mast steps indicated a schooner. The presence or absence of a centerboard trunk identified that sub-type. The sixth hypothesis questioned where the vessel was built. If the vessel were southern-built, then construction materials such as live oak, red cedar, cypress, or southern yellow pine were used. The seventh hypothesis concerned the site formation process and allowed for accidental wrecking, abandonment, burning, scuttling, or a combination of these factors. If the wreck was an ocean-going vessel, then evidence such as ship worms should be present. The absence of such worms would indicate a fresh water vessel with possible short ocean voyages.

The wreck lies within sight of the Indiantown Creek bridge (SR 1147/1107), which has a United States Coastal and Geological Service (USCGS)

benchmark. Investigators established a base line from this marker using a transit with an Electronic Measuring Device (EDM) and utilizing the survey from the previous year (Morris 1995). Established on shore near the wreck, a temporary datum gave both a horizontal and vertical distance from the benchmark. The archaeologists then established a baseline on the wreck and coordinated it with the USCGS benchmark via the temporary datum.

The practical methodology for nautical archaeology (Muckleroy 1978; Green 1990) contains many technical approaches to surveying inundated sites. Since accuracy is relative to the site and total accuracy is “unrealistic,” techniques were chosen for “appropriate accuracy” (Muckleroy 1978:250). A pre-disturbance site plan was devised (Green *et al.* 1967; Marsden 1974; Martin 1979) for record keeping and historic purposes. The baseline located along the keelson established a horizontal control from which all measurements were taken. Recording measurements used on this site were based on triangulation (Green 1990:68-69). This method requires a minimum of two known reference points for acceptable accuracy. The known points were established on the baseline.

Recording started at the stem. As divers moved aft, shifting known points as necessary, triangulation continued until reaching the stern. Vertical measurements were taken with the transit and stadia rod for the major features. As measurements were taken, they were relayed to the surface via wireless communication equipment and drawn to scale.

Three major areas and four transects were excavated. The three major areas were 1) bow, 2) keelson, and 3) stern. The bow was chosen because the Underwater Archaeology Unit found an extant stem (Wilde-Ramsing 1992;

1993). The bow provided clues to both construction techniques and age of the vessel. Along with the general dredging operation around the bow, divers excavated a trench along the port side from the forward end of the keelson to 1 1/2 ft. aft of the first step. The 2 ft. wide excavation along the keelson gave a clear view of construction joints, method of futtock attachment, and location of mortises, sampson posts, ceiling planking, and fasteners and allowed recovery of small artifacts from the bilge.

A transect dredged from the keelson across the port side of the vessel from a point 25 ft. from the stem, allowed the beam dimension to be taken and exposed the saddle step. This transect also allowed ceiling planking to be mapped. Transects at the first and third mast steps were also excavated. The final transect location was in the stern. The excavation revealed the transition from hull to stern, planking methods, and joining techniques.

The last area dredged was the stern. Wilde-Ramsing indicated a keelson length of 38 or more ft. Finding the stern allowed an accurate determination of overall length. The stern revealed construction details and answered questions as to whether the stern was square or rounded.

The conservation laboratory at the North Carolina Underwater Archaeology Unit, Kure Beach, North Carolina, received all artifacts recovered from the site. Wood samples were taken for species identification. Investigators used the methodology in this chapter to guide their research. Each member of the team received a copy of the methodology to review the methods, project goals, and obtain clear understanding of the work. The hypotheses defined the questions to be answered; the field methodology explained how to obtain the answers.

CHAPTER IV

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

SITE DESCRIPTION

The Shipyard Wreck lies approximately 260 ft. downstream of the Indiantown Creek Bridge (NC 1147/1107 Bridge). The vessel lies on its starboard side in a south-west orientation with the bow abutting the Currituck County bank and the stern angling upstream toward the channel (Figure 3). Water depth varies with wind and tide, although tidal variance is small. Currents vary with weather and tidal conditions, ranging from 0 to 1.5 knots. Maximum depth at the stern averages 10 ft., while the bow rises to within 6 ft. of the surface. The bottom is unconsolidated mud over a natural sand base. Organic debris, such as logs, stumps, matted roots, and other vegetable matter, is scattered over and mixed into the mud layer. Visibility on the site ranges from less than 6 in. to 2 ft. using high intensity lights.

INTRODUCTION

The North Carolina Underwater Archaeology Unit (U.A.U.) discovered the wreck in 1992 while examining the area for features associated with MacKnight's shipyard (Wilde-Ramsing 1992). A short investigative dive identified the frames of a vessel covered by sediment and bottom debris. These remains are probably contemporaneous with the late-18th century

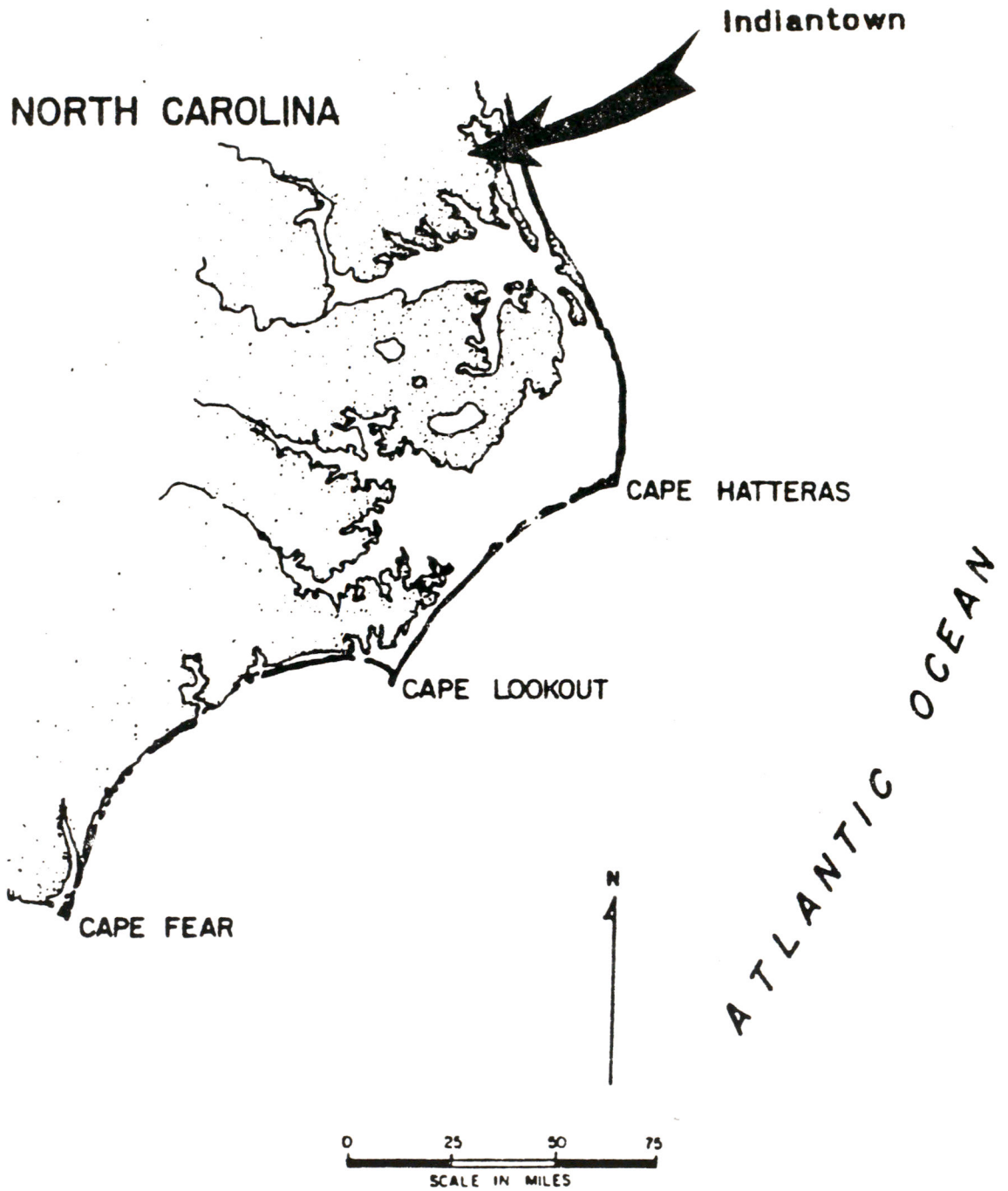


FIGURE 1
LOCATION MAP

shipyard. Designated 0001NCR, the MacKnight Shipyard Wreck became a site for future archaeological investigation.

During field investigations of the MacKnight Shipyard in 1993, U.A.U. and East Carolina University graduate students revisited the vessel (Wilde-Ramsing 1993). When this inspection revealed the intact remains of a lower hull structure, including stem, frames, and ceiling planking, U.A.U. archaeologists decided the site warranted a complete examination. After discussions with the U.A.U., the author agreed to conduct historical and archaeological research.

On 30 April 1994, the author and fellow graduate students Michael Coogan and Timothy Marshall arrived at the site to conduct a land survey and initial buoying of the wreck. Discovering undisturbed survey markers from the previous year, the author extended the existing baseline from marker "D" to a new stake "E" on the shoreline (Figure 3). The markers allowed investigators to establish vertical and horizontal control points on the wreck using a surveyor transit.

With Coogan and Marshall as safety personnel, the author made initial reconnaissance dives to buoy the extremities of the vessel and conduct a pre-disturbance survey of the site (Figure 4). This reconnaissance found numerous artifacts related to logging and sawmill operation, "moonshining," and other activities scattered on the bottom outside the vessel remains. Sport divers had not removed these artifacts, which confirmed local informants' observations that the river was not used for sport diving.

Detailed investigation of the wreck began with the arrival of Mark Wilde-Ramsing and Julep Gillman-Bryan from the U.A.U. on 2 May. Divers

stretched and leveled a baseline between the stem and the stern post along the keelson. All measurements, mapping, and excavation used as a reference a measuring tape laid along the baseline and secured to it by plastic wire ties.

The team set up an induction dredge on shore and began clearing the bow section. By late morning thesis director Lawrence Babits and E.C.U. graduate students Annalies Corbin Kjorness, Jinkey Smalley, and Paul Steinberg arrived, set up a second dredge, began clearing the keelson, and screening and recording recovered artifacts.

Mapping the bow area proved successful in detailing the stem, keelson, frames, and ceiling planking on the port side. The keel and outer hull planking were inaccessible because of the intact ceiling and consistency of sediment; details could not be obtained from these features. With the bow section exposed and mapping underway, dredging efforts moved toward the stern area.

Excavation along the vessel's centerline allowed mapping of the keelson and revealed features such as mast steps and fastening pattern. Athwartship (portside) trench excavations at the first mast step, the saddle step (approximately amidships), and in the stern area enabled divers to record the framing pattern, fasteners, and ceiling planking for those areas. The matted overburden prevented divers from reaching the bottom of the sternpost, and they exposed only a small portion of the rudder. Extremely limited visibility made photography or video recording impossible.

Before completing field work, divers took samples from the stem, floors, futtocks, ceiling plank, outer hull planking, and the keelson for species identification. The team recovered, recorded, and returned to the site a

number of loose planks and timbers marked with a North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources tag. Investigators recovered and transported two frames to U.A.U. in Kure Beach, North Carolina, for analysis, recording, and conservation. The team turned over all recovered artifacts to the U.A.U. for conservation and recording. On 6 May 1994, with the field work completed, the crew removed the baseline from the wreck.

VESSEL STRUCTURE

A plan view of the Shipyard Wreck shows the vessel lying in a horizontal plane (Figure 5). Detail drawings also depict the vessel's structural remains as horizontal or vertical. In fact, the vessel is heeled to starboard approximately 40° as it rests *in situ*. Measured along the keelson, the vessel has an overall length of 44 ft. 4 in. from the aft side of the stem to the aft side of the sternpost. The keelson began 10 in. aft of the stem and ended 1 ft. 3 in. forward of the sternpost and measured 39 ft. 9 in. The maximum extant beam measured 13 ft. 10 in., located 13 ft. 2 in. aft of the stem.

These measurements were used to calculate estimated dimensions of the vessel. A length to beam ratio of 3.2:1, common at the beginning of the 19th century (Jackson 1991:61), should yield a beam for the Shipyard Wreck of 13.853 ft. or 13 ft. 10 in. Depth of hold, estimated at 4 to 4 ft. 6 in., would give a draft of less than 6 ft. (Lawrence E. Babits 1994, pers. comm.). Investigators calculated the Shipyard Wreck tonnage at 27 tons using these dimensions (the formula used to calculate tonnage was length on deck x beam x depth of hold divided by 100. Rees 1970).

MAJOR FEATURES

This thesis discusses each major hull feature separately. An interpretive section follows the description of the findings. In a logical progression, the discussion starts at the bow and ends in the stern.

STEM

The existing top of the stem appeared broken off or eroded, not smoothly cut. The extant stem measured 5 1/4 in. sided, 4 1/2 in. molded with a notch, 7 1/4 x 3 1/2 in., cut from the aft portion 9 in. below the top. Divers discovered a 1 in. diameter hole, apparently for a treenail or drift pin, bored horizontally through the stem on line with the notch (Figure 6). Located between the top of the stem and the keelson, two iron spikes or nails indicate the former presence of chocks, deadwood, or a knee. The stem widens in both the molded and sided directions as it continues down to the keel. Dimensions, taken where the keel leaves the horizontal and the stem begins its upward sweep, show the stem as 9 1/2 in. sided, 25 in. molded. From the top of the broken stem to the bottom of the keel measured 40 in. The apparent lack of a scarf or joint between the stem, forward of the first floor, and the keel, indicated scarfing aft of the first floor or a one-piece keel/stem construction. The wood used in the stem was white oak (*Quercus Alba*; hereinafter all wood referred to as "oak" will mean the species *Quercus Alba*, white oak, unless otherwise noted.) (Newsome 1994).

KEEL

The keel measured 10 in. sided and 12 3/4 in. molded. A 2 in. thick keel shoe ended just forward of the first floor and extended the width of the keel. Rabbets (1 x 1 in.) for the garboard strakes ran along the keel 3/4 in. below its upper edge. The rabbets continued up the stem for 1 ft. before ending. Although no deadwood was present, two iron spikes in the stem suggested deadwood, chocks, or a knee filled the space between the keelson and the stem. An identical pattern was found on the sternpost except the rabbets terminated 2 ft. 4 in. above the last floor. The outer hull planking and the keel were inaccessible for detailed examination except for a small area in the bow under the first floor. No wood sample was taken from the keel.

KEELSON

The keelson measured 40 ft. 8 in. from the deteriorated forward end to 1 ft. 3 in. forward of the sternpost. The forward end rounded upward at its termination, most likely due to deterioration. It measured 8 in. sided, 6 1/4 in. molded until just behind the saddle step, 25 ft. aft of the stem, where it tapered into an 8 in. sided, 2 in. molded plank. The underside of the keelson had been notched 1 in. deep to fit over the floors; notches were cut wider than the floors by 1 in. on each side. The keelson terminated short of the sternpost.

This appears to be a deliberate construction feature and not the result of damage.

Divers discovered 1 in. diameter iron pins driven into holes augured through the keelson and floors into the keel. These pins began at the centerline of the first floor and continued on 18 in. centers. The upper ends were clenched although washers were not discovered between the pins and the keelson. Whether the pins continued through the keel and clenched on the underside could not be determined.

The MacKnight Shipwreck displayed three keelson mortises, an unusual number for a vessel of its size. The first mortise, at the 5 ft. mark on the baseline, measured 7 in. longitudinally and 5 in. athwartships. The mortise extended through the keelson and, partially centered over a floor, created a step effect within the mortise. This indicated both the keel and floor supported the mast or stanchion (Figure 7). A drift pin along the centerline entered this first mortise on an angle, indicating its use as a fastener for the post or mast stepped therein. A second mortise, discovered at the 15 ft. mark, presented the same horizontal dimensions as the first mortise (7 x 5 in.), but was only 3 1/2 in. deep.

The third mortise was in a saddle step 25 ft. aft of the stem. This mortise measured 5 in. by 5 in. by 5 in., centered over the keelson. The saddle measured 9 in. sided, 12 1/4 in. molded and extended 6 in. above the keelson. It bore on the ceiling planking and extended 1 ft. 7 in. beyond the keelson to either side. It appeared beveled or chamfered on the upper edges (Figure 8). The saddle step had no visible fasteners suggesting it was secured from below,

either through the planking with treenails or through the keel and keelson with pins.

The last feature on the keelson was a block 9 in. aft of the saddle. This block rose 6 in. above the keelson, equaled the width of the keelson, and extended aft for 12 in. Three iron pins, spaced equally along its length, fastened the block to the keelson and, possibly, the keel (Figure 3). This block could be a floor rider or reinforcing block for a scarf (Rees 1970:81).

FLOORS

Divers found 26 floor members still articulated. The one piece floors continued across the keel as far as could be determined. Held in place with iron pins, the floors passed under the keelson through notches. A sample taken from floor number 5 was red cedar (*Juniperus Virginiana*) (Newsome 1994).

Floors were spaced on 18 in. centers; the sided dimension averaged 7 in. and the molded dimension 6 in. The floors were notched to fit over the keel; the notch exceeded the width of the keel. The wide notching essentially created limber holes which provided for water passage in the bilge. Notches on both floors and keelson appeared constructed with hand tools, such as adzes and axes, indicated by clearly visible tool marks. The floors, in many cases, had broken ends at the turn of the bilge. While the sided dimension did not change, the molded dimension changed slightly, from an average of 6 in. to 4 in.

FUTTOCKS

Fitted tightly between the floors, the futtocks had heels ending 9 to 12 in. from the keelson. Sided and molded dimensions matched the floors. Thus, room equaled space on the Shipyard Wreck. The heels cut on a diagonal also showed adze marks. While eroded and broken at their outer ends, all futtocks showed evidence of terminating beyond the turn of the bilge.

The floors and the futtocks did not appear to be fastened together. Treenail holes found on top of each futtock were used to secure the ceiling planking to the futtocks. Occasional nail holes were on the outside face of the futtocks.

An inspection of the starboard bow area revealed four cant frames buried in the sediment. Beveled to fit tightly against each other at the foot, the cants radiated towards the bow (Figure 9). A treenail apparently attached the aftermost cant frame to the first floor. The forwardmost cant fastened to the stem or missing deadwood, and the remainder attached to each other. The cants had 1 1/2 in. augured holes, bored fore and aft, for the fasteners. The cant frames exhibited no evidence of iron fasteners except for nail holes on the outside face, apparently for the planking.

PLANKING

Investigators found outer planking intact in the vicinity of the keel. Dredging inside the bow under the first floor allowed limited access to the

vessel's planking. A plank sample taken for analysis was identified as oak (*Quercus Alba*) (Newsome 1994). Plank dimensions measured 2 1/2 in. sided by 2 in. molded. The inside portion of some planking showed evidence of charring. Since the burned portion rested directly under the first floor, it cannot be attributed to unintentional burning. Although small, the sample area showed an even depth and pattern of charring, which indicated use of the "stoving" method for bending planks (Wilde-Ramsing, et al. 1992:46).

CEILING

Much of the ceiling planking remained intact on both the port and starboard sides of the vessel. Divers recovered a port side limberboard for detailed examination, drawing, and sampling. Although partially broken at the forward end, the oak (*Quercus Alba*) board measured 6 ft. 7 in. in length, 11 3/4 in. sided and 2 in. molded (Figure 10) (Newsome 1994). Other ceiling planks averaged 8 in. sided, 2 in. molded. Treenails, staggered, but on approximately 12 in. centers, held the ceiling planking to the floors. The tightly fitted ceiling indicated a dry cargo hold. On the starboard side the first three ceiling planks, beginning at the keelson, measured 6 in. sided, and the next two measured 12 in. sided.

FASTENERS

Oak (*Quercus Alba*) treenails provided the primary means of fastening the planking in position (Newsome 1994). The polygonic wood treenails measured 1 to 1 1/4 in. across the flats (Figure 11). The treenails showed no

evidence of wedging. Nail holes, found at random intervals along the length of the ceiling and outer hull planking, suggested the use of nails as temporary fasteners before installation of the treenails. All nails were 1/4 in. square wrought iron stock and badly deteriorated.

Iron pins, 1 1/4 in. in diameter, placed on 18 in. centers connected the keelson, floors/futtocks, and keel. The pins were centered on the keelson, not staggered from side to side, and a white lead-like substance covered the heads. Divers could not determine if the pins continued through the keel.

STERNPOST

The sternpost resembled the stem in shape and size. The rabbets continued up the sternpost 2 ft. 4 in. above the last floor. Two spikes, found in locations similar to those on the stem, indicated the former presence of deadwood, chocks, or a knee. The location of the nails, the similarity in construction of the stem and stern, and the lack of rising timbers indicated a rounded stern. The stern of the Shipyard Wreck would thus be similar to the one found on the "cofferdam wreck", 44Y088, at Yorktown (Morris 1991: fig.6).

Investigators located a 1 in. diameter hole bored 10 in. below the top and 3 in. below a notch cut into the sternpost (Figure 4). This notch was most likely cut out to accept the rudder pintle. After additional excavation around the sternpost allowed investigation by touch, an iron gudgeon with a broken pintle was found. Even taking deterioration into account, the iron surface felt forged, rather than cast or turned. Figure 12 shows the location of the

gudgeon strap, its dimensions, and the “cut out” or notch, for the upper gudgeon strap.

RUDDER

Additional dredging around the sternpost uncovered the rudder. The rudder lay unattached to the sternpost and angled to starboard. The bottom of the sternpost extended more than 1 ft. below the bottom of the rudder. Investigators uncovered a 2 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. section of the rudder, which appeared intact and in reasonably good condition.

The strap that held the pintle remained in place 14 1/2 in. above the bottom of the rudder (Figure 12). Just below the pintle strap, the team located another notch, similar to the upper notch on the sternpost. The forward side, or leading edge of the rudder, appeared beveled and the lower notch hollowed out.

INTERPRETATIONS

CONSTRUCTION ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The Shipyard Wreck’s construction details suggest a date from the mid-18th to the early-19th century. Several structural elements provide an approximate date for this vessel, its origin, and designed purpose. The framing pattern provided a clue to dating this vessel to the end of the 18th century. In *Deane’s Doctrine on Naval Architecture*, vessels built between approximately 1750 and 1810 had room equal to space. The Shipyard Wreck’s

framing matched this description. Although the practice of room equal to space became outmoded in England during the 19th century, the method of ending the futtocks short of the keelson continued. Rees comments:

The several futtocks are trimmed straight, and out of winding on the joint side; and the lower futtocks in the navy run down to the side of the deadwood, but in merchant-ships they are from nine to twelve in. short of the keel, that water may not lie above the ceiling (Rees 1970:81).

The futtocks on this wreck end short of the keelson in varying degrees, from approximately 9 to 11 in.

The Shipyard Wreck's keelson terminated short of the sternpost, another indication of a late 18th-century construction. Other vessels from the late 18th-century exhibited similar shortened keelsons. Both the *Musquidobit*, ex. *Lynx*, an American privateer during the Revolution, and the row galley *Lee*, taken by the British in 1776, had keelsons stopping short of the sternpost (National Archives Record Group 45, AD Box 41). The American-built Rose Hill wreck, with a projected construction date of 1725-1750 (Wilde-Ramsing *et al.* 1992:42), also had this type of construction feature.

According to the *English Man of War, 1650-1880*, the practice of stopping the keelson short of the sternpost was discontinued around 1750 (Goodwin 1987:28). While Goodwin was discussing British men-of-war, there is evidence this assertion may not be true for American merchant ships. Goodwin asserted that the British practice of stopping the keelson short

evolved into a full keelson abutting the stem and stern posts sometime in the mid-1700s. The schooner *Scuppernong*, built in North Carolina during the mid-19th century (Turner 1995), exhibited this construction characteristic. The *Scuppernong* suggests using a keelson that stopped short for dating purposes, i.e., either pre-or post-1750, is invalid.

A mid-18th century innovation was the sternward transformation of the keelson from square timber to a plank. This apparently continued into the 19th century. Kevin Crisman found this trait on the *Eagle*, built on Lake Champlain in 1814 (Steffy 1994:183). Investigators of Vessel 20 in Savannah, Georgia, dated to the late-18th century, also found a keelson that tapered from a timber to plank (John W. Morris III 1994, pers. comm.).

Rebating the keelson over the floors also continued into the 19th century. This rebating occurred in three British-built vessels and at least one American-built vessel of the 18th century: the naval vessel *Charon*, built in 1778 (Steffy *et al.* 1981); the collier 44Y088 (the *Betsey*), built in 1772 (Morris 1991); the *Victory*, built in 1769 (Steffy *et al.* 1981); and the American-built Federal Period merchantman (Jackson 1992:81). Both Rees (Rees 1970:81) and Falconer wrote of rebating a keelson to fit over floors. Falconer wrote: "In order to fit with more security upon the floor-timbers and crotched, it is notched about an in. and a half deep..." (Falconer 1815:209). In a mid-18th century treatise on ship construction, Mungo Murray wrote about scoring the keelson to a depth of 1 1/2 in. (Murray 1765:12). The notched keelson of the Shipyard Wreck suggests a mid-18th to early-19th century date.

RABBET

The location of the rabbet line is another indication of age, origin, and use. The rabbet was cut on the top outside face of the keel in naval vessel construction (Rees 1970:2; Sutherland 1989). Merchant vessels usually had the rabbet cut half way up the keel (Goodwin 1987:7; Rees 1970:3, 80). According to Rees, the sternpost had the rabbet "trimmed out on each side, to receive the plank of the bottom, . . . and a tenon left on the heel, one-third the depth of the keel" (Rees 1970:80). The Shipyard Wreck's rabbet ran up both sides of the sternpost; if tenoned into the keel, it would explain the lack of scarfs. Historically, this rabbet location did not appear to change until the mid-19th century. This suggests a late 18th or early-19th century date for the Shipyard Wreck.

BEAM

The beam of a vessel was considered in "ships of war in general . . . [to be] about three-elevenths of the said length [length of gun deck] for their molded breadth, and in merchant-ships about three-twelfths of their length; excepting cutters and smaller vessels" (Rees 1970:3). Rees also noted the midship-bend was placed "before the middle of the length, or about five-twelfths of the length abaft the foremost-perpendicular" (Rees 1970:3). Using this formula and the length of the wreck, we would expect the Shipyard Wreck to have its molded beam around 17 ft. 6 in. on the keelson and a beam

of 14 ft. 6 in., if designed as a warship, or at 12 ft. 3 in. on the keelson if designed as a merchantship. Divers obtained the beam measurement of 13 ft. 10 in. at the futtock forward of the second mast step (13 ft. 2 in. on the baseline, Figure 3). The measurements approximated the theoretical merchantship measurements given by Rees.

FASTENERS

The Royal Navy, according to Rees, bolted the keelson, "through every floor and the keel, with three or more douls on each scarf" (Rees 1970:81). No scarfs were found on the exposed portion of the keelson. The block just aft of the saddle step, however, suggests a scarf location with the block acting as a rider. The Shipyard Wreck used iron pins to secure the keelson to each floor.

The drift pin spacing indicated a pattern of fastening every floor to the keelson. This pattern is consistent with Rees's writing, although unusual for a vessel built before 1800 (Rees 1970:81). Falconer explained the method for fastening the keelson: "As every floor-timber is bolted through the keel, and every other through the keelson and keel together . . ." (Falconer 1815:210). Sutherland agreed: "Observe to score the keelson on all your floor-timbers, and scarf it, and bolt the keelson through every other floor-timber, and the keel. The other floor-timber is also bolted in the keel" (Sutherland 1989:26). The *Charon* and the *Victory* showed this pattern of bolting every other floor.

Rees and Falconer noted the pattern of bolting every other floor changed to bolting every floor after 1800 (Rees 1970; Falconer 1815). The Shipyard Wreck had every floor bolted. Other pre-1800 vessels also conformed to this pattern. The Rose Hill Wreck, a merchantman dated 1725-

1750, and the *Betsey*, a collier built in 1772, had every floor bolted (Wilde-Ramsing *et. al.* 1992:42; Morris 1991:65). Whatever was “common practice,” it was not uncommon for American ships to bolt every floor.

CANT FRAMES

The cant frames on the Shipyard Wreck appeared similar to those on the “cofferdam wreck” (44Y088), a collier scuttled in 1781 at Yorktown, Virginia. Colliers displayed the construction features of a merchant, rather than a naval transport vessel (Steffy 1994:175). The Shipyard Wreck cant frame configuration suggests a merchant vessel. The Hilton Wreck, another American merchant vessel, exhibited similar cant frame characteristics that indicate the bluff bow of a merchantman in coastal service (For a further discussion on cant frame evolution in the 18th century see Watts, Morris, Franklin 1995:125-133).

MAST STEPS

Historically, mast step locations varied from vessel to vessel. Formulae for locating mast positions exist for both merchantmen and naval vessels. Karl-Heinz Marquardt provided basic formulae and quoted from Falconer’s *Royal Navy Rules* for mast step calculation:

Measurements were taken from the stem rabbet at the gun deck.

The foremast was set at one ninth of the gun deck’s length, the

mainmast at five ninths, and the mizzen mast seventeen twentieths aft of that point (Marquardt 1986:13)

He also stated "the merchant service did not adhere to these strict rules. The mainmast was usually close to amidships, and the fore and mizzen masts were stepped in a much more arbitrary way" (Marquardt 1986:13). Marquardt provides two other calculations for locating the steps. The first was for three masted vessels:

The foremast should be a distance equal to $4/31$ of the total distance between the rabbets aft of the stem, that the centre of the mainmast should be a distance equal to $2/31$ of the total distance between the rabbets aft of amidships, and that the centre of the mizzen mast should be a distance equal to 0.182 of the total distance between the rabbets forward of the sternpost (Marquardt 1986:13).

These placements changed when the vessel was two-masted. Marquardt stated:

Brigs and other ships with two masts had the mainmast stepped at a distance of about two thirds of the overall vessel length aft of the stem, and the foremast at about three twentieths of the overall length aft of the stem (Marquardt 1986:14).

Using these formulae it was possible to calculate theoretical mast step locations for the Shipyard Wreck. These may indicate whether the builder had naval or merchant shipbuilding training. According to Royal Navy calculations for an early-19th century vessel, the main mast should be at 22 ft. 7 in., assuming a deck length of 40 ft. 8 in. The foremast would be 4 ft. 6 in. aft of the stem. Following Chapman's formula, the mainmast would be located 21 ft. 3 in. aft of the stem and the foremast located at 5 ft. 4 in. aft of the stem in a merchant vessel. Using Chapman's formula for two-masted vessels, the mainmast should be located at 27 ft. 7 in. aft of the stem and the foremast at 6 ft. 3 1/2 in. aft of the stem.

The forwardmost step on the Shipyard Wreck was at 5 ft., the middle step 15 ft., and the saddle step 25 ft. on the baseline. Converting these to locations aft of the stem, the positions were forward step, 2 ft. 7 in.; middle step, 12 ft. 7 in.; saddle step, 22 ft. 7 in. The saddle step location on the Shipyard Wreck was practically identical to the main mast position proposed by the navy formulae for two masted vessels.

The foremast location did not conform to any formula. The foremast was 1 ft. 11 1/4 in. forward of the navy formulae and much farther forward than other formulae. The middle step met no locational requirements as a foremast, being too far aft, nor did it conform to the requirements of a main mast. The middle step must have had a different purpose.

The saddle, or main mast step, appeared to be unusual. Similar saddle steps, however, may be found on the British vessels *HMS Flying Fish*, *Shamrock*, *Thistle*, *Mistletoe*, and *Holly*, all built in 1806. The *HMS Dominica*, built in 1811, showed saddle steps of a similar style for both its

masts. The American vessels *Lee*, *Oliver Cromwell*, and the former privateer *Lynx*, all had mast steps of similar construction. The last three vessels were taken as prizes during the Revolutionary War. Finally, the British schooner *Sealark* possessed the same saddle step construction (National Archives Record Group 45, AD Box 41). All the vessels listed above were two-masted, some rigged as brigs, the others as schooners. The John's Island Wreck (0001EDS), a three-masted merchantman had a similar saddle step (Wilde-Ramsing *et al* 1992). It appears both the British and the Americans used the saddle step during the 18th and early-19th centuries.

In general, placement of the three Shipyard Wreck steps collectively did not resemble any known three-masted vessel. Therefore the Shipyard Wreck should be considered a one or two-masted vessel. One possible explanation is the Shipyard Wreck was originally rigged as a sloop, and the forward and saddle steps added during conversion to a two-masted rig. The center mast step location would be adequate for a single masted vessel, especially one working inland waters where a larger crew could be utilized without extensive provisioning or cabin construction. The two-masted rig could be used by a smaller crew on more extensive voyages (Parker 1994).

The construction data for the Shipyard Wreck, while not conclusive enough to pinpoint a building date, point to a fairly tight time period, 1750-1812. There are a number of reasons to suspect a pre-1800, post-1770 alteration, which will be addressed in the concluding chapter but briefly stated here. As mentioned previously, the evidence points to a sloop converted to a schooner. Sloops were on their way out in the 1760s, with the new schooner taking over as the vessel of choice (Goldenberg 1976:79). A conversion in the

mid-1770s would make sense economically--a smaller crew. The radial cant frames also point to a third quarter 18th century date. The transition from built-up deadwood to radial frames occurred around this time (Watts, Morris, Franklin 1995). All elements of construction, when taken together, indicate an earlier rather than later date for construction.

The hypotheses developed in the third chapter need examination here for comparison to the findings. Obviously the first, or null, hypothesis is incorrect. The remains are indeed a vessel. The second hypothesis dealt with the time of construction. The original timeline was 1750-1830. This can now be narrowed even further to 1760-1810 based on the discussion of vessel construction features. The third hypothesis concerned the vessel type: cargo, military, or non-cargo commercial. There was no evidence of heavy structural support for guns or other military gear; therefore the vessel was not constructed as a man-of-war. The cargo category matched the hypothetical case outlined: tight ceiling planking to protect dry cargo from water damage, signs of wear on the bilge ceiling, room equals space ratio as expected. Evidence for a non-cargo carrying vessel was not found. No evidence of fishing gear or specialized holds was discovered. The fourth hypothesis sought the propulsion method for the vessel. The Shipyard Wreck was obviously a sailing vessel as evidenced by the mast steps. A vessel type, the fifth hypothesis, is more complicated. There were three mast steps in locations that defy the terms brig, snow, or three masted schooner. The most logical conclusion is that the wreck was a sloop converted to a schooner. The origin of construction served as the sixth hypothesis. The analysis of the wood used in the construction of the Shipyard Wreck confirms a southern-

built vessel. The presence of red cedar as a major structural element suggests a local or at least a Southeastern Tidewater origin. The last hypothesis concerned the site formation process, which allowed for accidental wrecking, burning, scuttling, or abandonment. The location of the vessel abutting the bank, next to the shingle mill site, refutes the accidental wrecking theory. There was no evidence of charred or burned wood to indicate that a fire on board caused its sinking. Scuttling is ruled out as the interior ceiling planking was in place, the floors and frames appeared unbroken, and the hull, as far as could be determined, was undamaged. Abandonment appears to fit all the known elements found on the site. It was a common practice to tie a vessel to the bank or run it ashore and leave it when the vessel had outlived its usefulness. To recap the evidence: the vessel, probably a locally built sloop converted to a schooner, was abandoned after a life carrying cargo.

ARTIFACTUAL EVIDENCE

The general area of the Shipyard Wreck has a long and varied history of human occupation. Artifacts scattered around the wreck site reflected this activity. Since the mid-1750s, a shipyard, shingle/stave mill, and general store operated here. Bootleggers, recreational boaters, and hunters also used the site. The cataloged artifacts (cf. Appendix I) came from within the hull of the shipwreck. Divers left *in situ* all cultural material outside the wreck such as iron ring spikes, glass jugs, and three skiffs.

The artifacts have been divided into classes, such as ceramics and metals. A brief discussion of each category follows; the complete catalog of

artifacts is in Appendix I. A detailed description of illustrated ceramics is in Appendix II.

CERAMICS

With the exception of five small unidentified earthenware fragments and three redware fragments, all with potentially long production histories, ceramics dated from the mid-18th century to the first three decades of the 19th century. While the possibility of contamination from non-site related items is possible, the fairly tight dating, without any major variation, suggests the majority of ceramics are associated with the wreck. A piece of plain, dark yellow creamware, recovered from under the port side limberboard, had a median date of 1775 (Brown 1982:32). The darker yellow creamware variety, produced earlier than the lighter pieces, and quickly supplanted by them, is a good temporal indicator. Its limited period of use makes it ideal for dating purposes. Even more important than the color was the location of the piece. Found in the bilge and covered by intact ceiling planking makes it the one ceramic indicator, indeed the only artifact recovered, that was least likely deposited on the wreck after its sinking. The 46 ceramic pieces from within the hull produced a median date of 1794 (Figures 13-18).

GLASS

Glass is difficult to date unless large pieces or identifying parts of containers are found. Dating bottles, wine jugs, and medicinal vials is

possible only when enough fragments to reconstruct the artifact or large diagnostic pieces are present. The Shipyard Wreck yielded 64 pieces of glass, many of which were smaller than a fingernail (Figures 19-20). While the glass was inventoried, no attempt was made to determine age or describe the original vessel form because the pieces were too small or lacked diagnostic features.

BRASS

Brass resists the corrosive effects of water and may remain in good condition for many years. This is especially true of artifacts in fresh water. Some brass artifacts (Figures 21-22) recovered from the Shipyard Wreck could be immediately identified as recent in origin, i.e. centerfire shell casings. Others, such as brass buttons and wound brass pins, are much older and probably date to the time of vessel use. While obvious contamination by modern debris made conclusions about brass artifacts suspect, button dating, using both the Stanley South and the Stanley Olsen systems, reflected a specific period in time.

The brass buttons represented two types: cuff and coat. One coat button had a manufacturer's name and location stamped on it, but the manufacturer was not listed in any available reference book. The classification and listing reflected the best median date for the buttons using both South's and Olsen's systems (Figure 23). The mean button date (1792.5) approximated the mean ceramic date of 1794. Buttons, on sites, consistently provide more accurate dates than do ceramics (Stokinger and Moran 1978).

IRON

There was very little evidence of iron used in the construction of the vessel. Nails forged from 1/4" bar stock provided a general pre-1790 date (Figure 24) (Nelson n.d.). These were used to hold the ceiling planking in place before treenails were inserted, and at critical junctures for the outer planking such as the bends at the cant frames. The bow and stern knees or deadwood also appeared to have been nailed to the stem and sternpost. The only drift pin recovered was broken, making it impossible to determine if it went completely through the keelson and keel (Figure 25). Divers also recovered three links of approximately 1/4 in. wrought-iron chain.

The team recovered a cast-iron pot discovered lying on the ceiling next to the keelson in the stern (Figure 26). The manufacturing methods involved in cast-iron and identifying marks left on pots, indicated a date between 1750 and 1820 (Tyler 1971:119-221) for its manufacture.

TOBACCO PIPE BOWL AND STEMS

Tobacco pipe stems are good chronological indicators. Archaeologists have long used pipe stems to obtain site dates. Using Harrington's system of pipe stem dating, the period for stems measuring 4/64 in. would be 1750-1800 (Figure 27) (Harrington 1978). Applying Stanley South's theory of median date plus 25 years (Babits 1979:43) (the median taken from Harrington is 1775) gives a date of 1800. The few pipe stems and the single pipe bowl on the

Shipyard Wreck did not provide a large sample, but when taken in conjunction with the ceramics, the iron pot, and brass buttons, it enhanced the overall projected date.

LEATHER

Leather items recovered from the site consisted of a small leather “purse” and fragments of two shoes (Figures 28-29). These artifacts are undergoing conservation at the Underwater Archaeology Unit’s laboratory in Kure Beach. No date has been applied to these items.

All dateable artifacts belonged to the period 1780 to 1820. This clustering in one short time span seemed to confirm the validity of individual date ranges. Thus the 40 year period between 1780 and 1820 was an appropriate date for the vessel use.

CONSTRUCTION
AND
ARTIFACT DRAWINGS

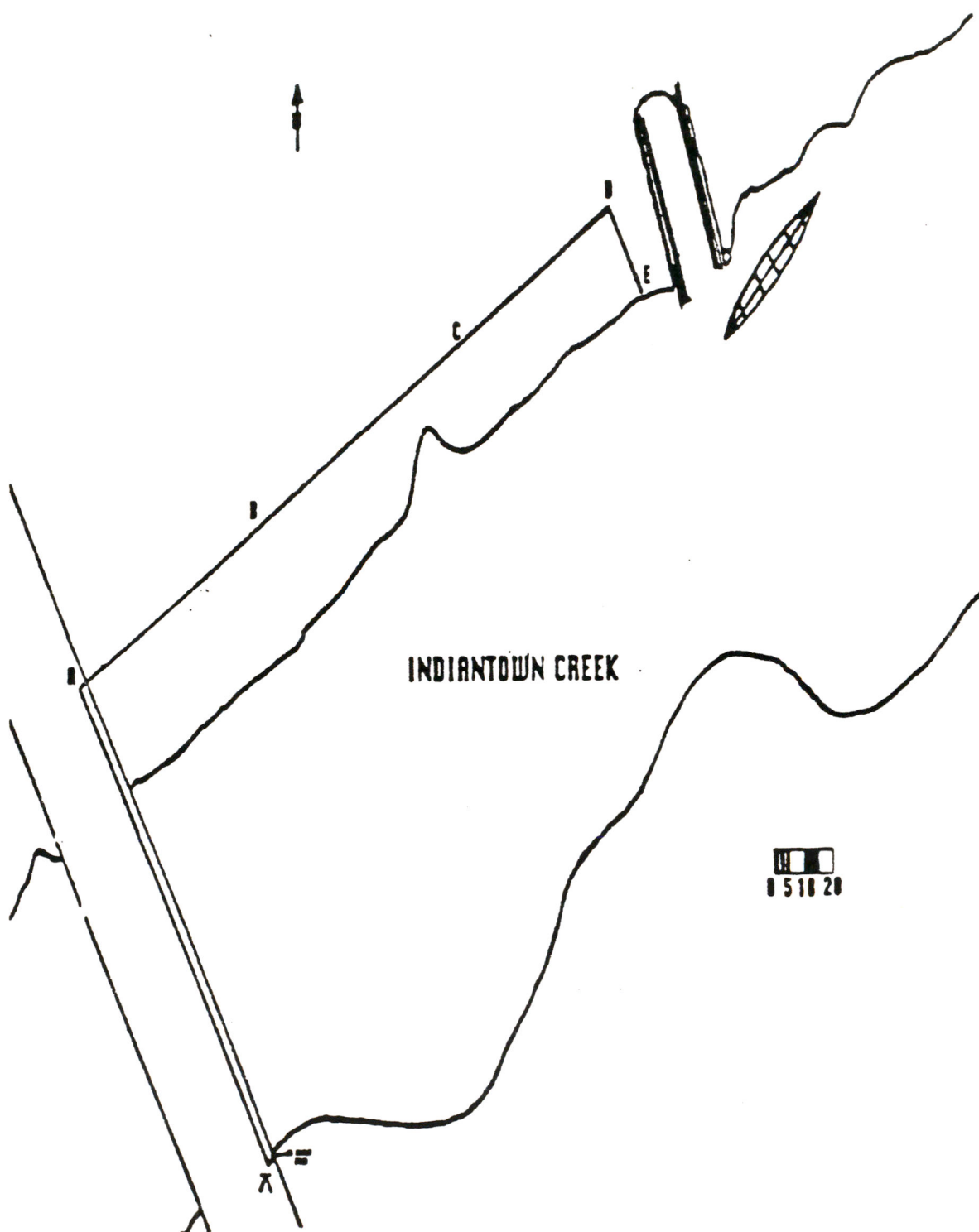


FIGURE 3
SITE LOCATION MAP

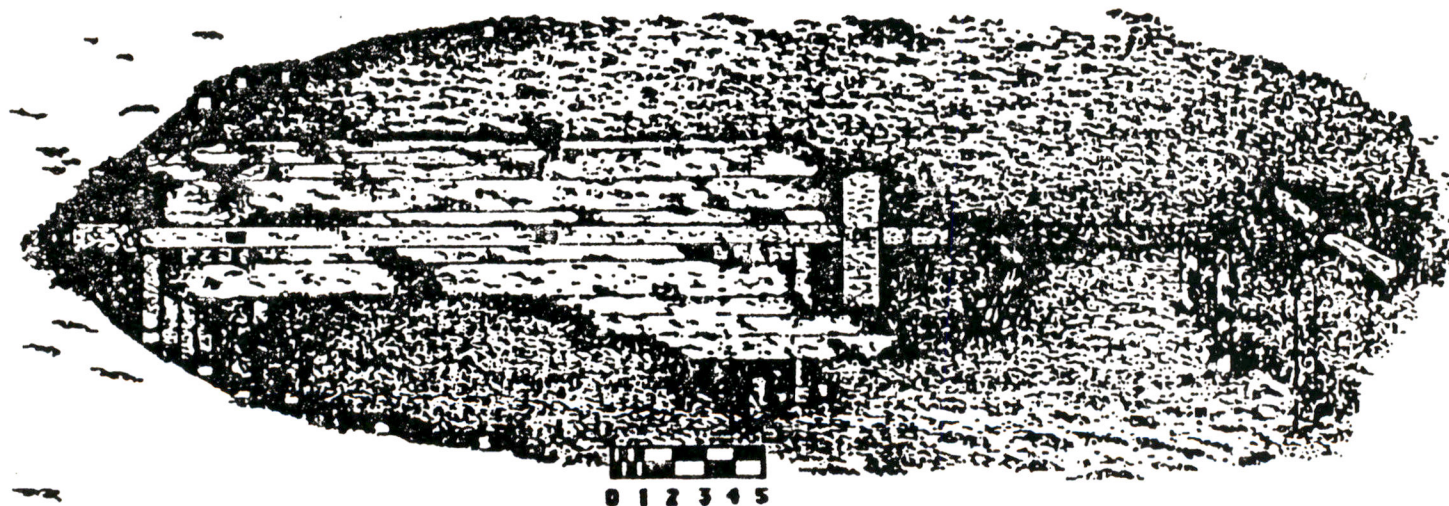


FIGURE 4
PREDISTURBANCE PLAN

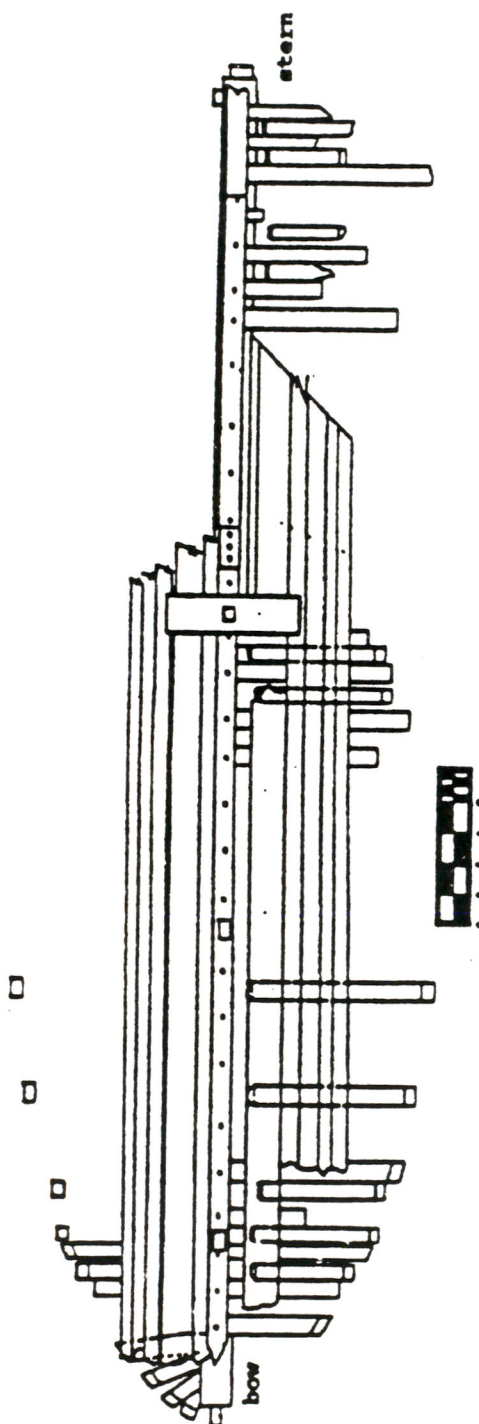


FIGURE 5
SITE PLAN

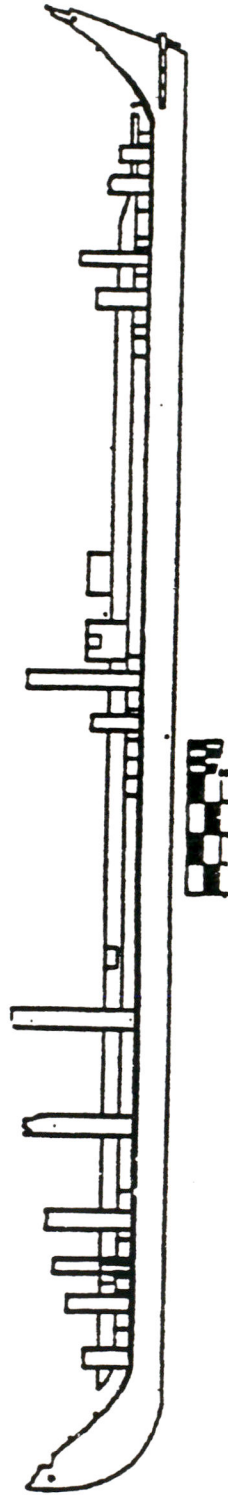


FIGURE 6
PROFILE

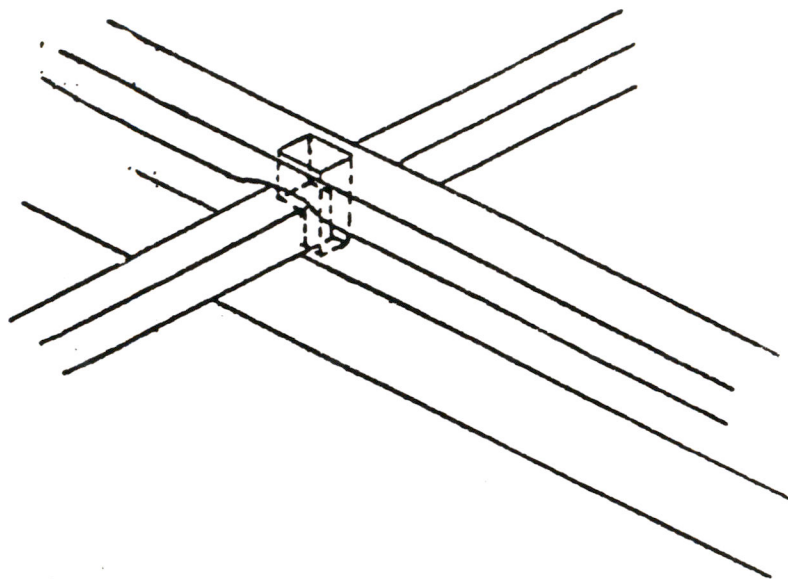


FIGURE 7
FIRST MORTISE

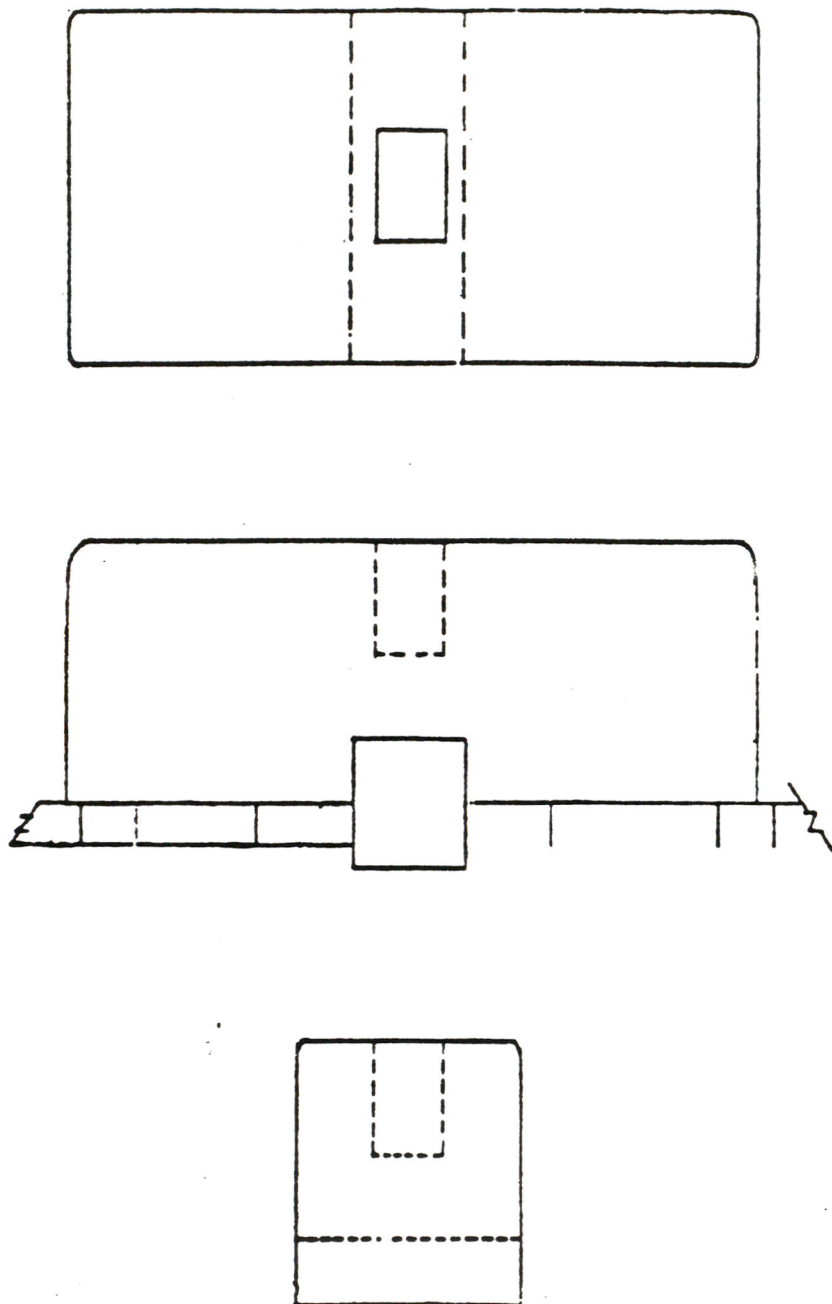


FIGURE 8
SADDLE STEP

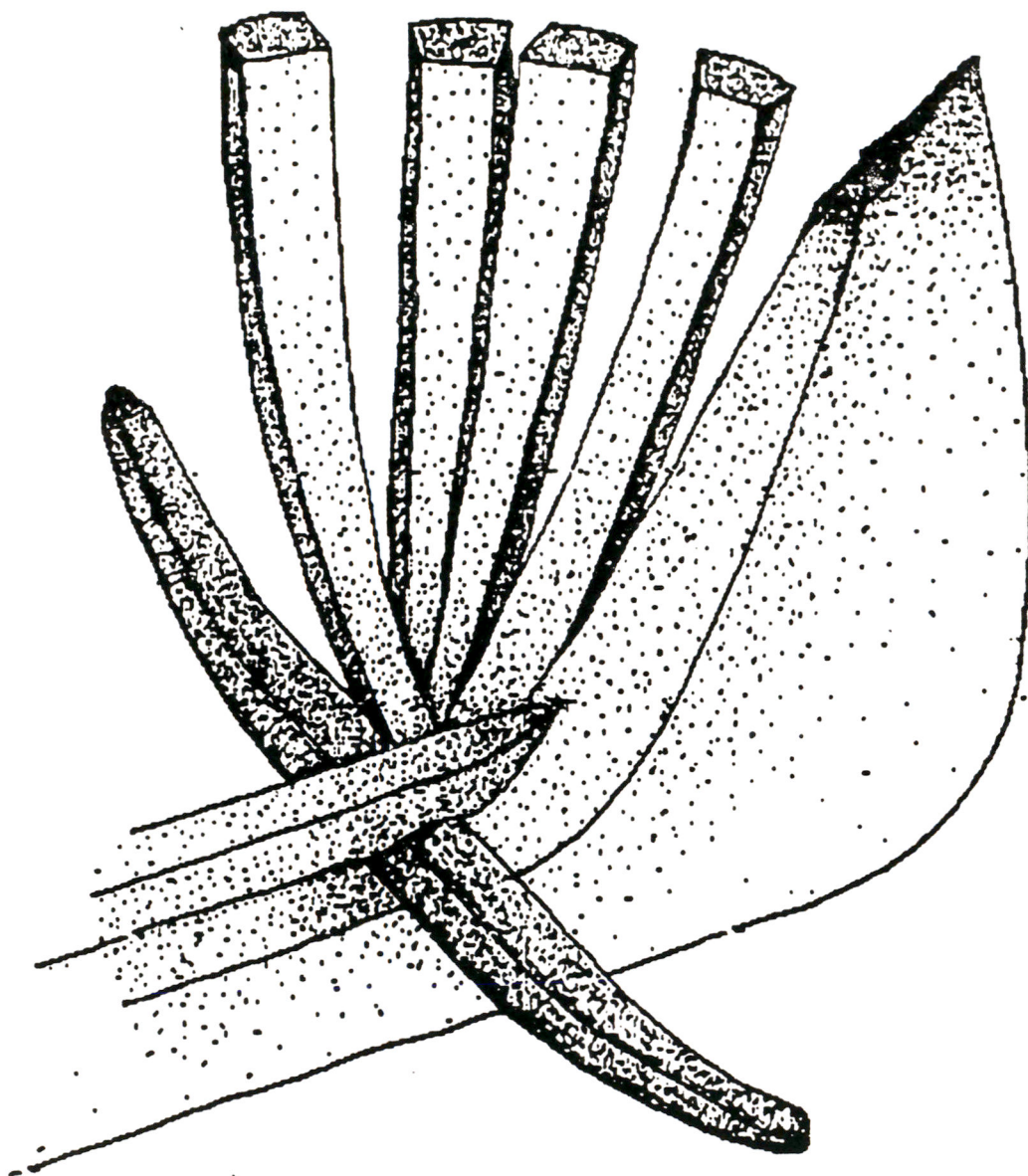


FIGURE 9
CANT FRAME RECONSTRUCTION
PERSPECTIVE VIEW
NOT TO SCALE

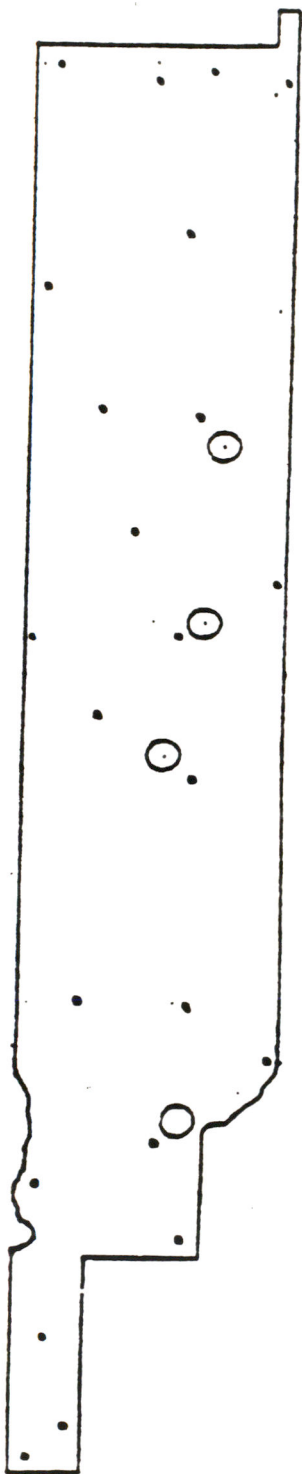


FIGURE 10

CEILING PLANK #146
SCALE: 1 1/2 IN. = 1.0 FT.

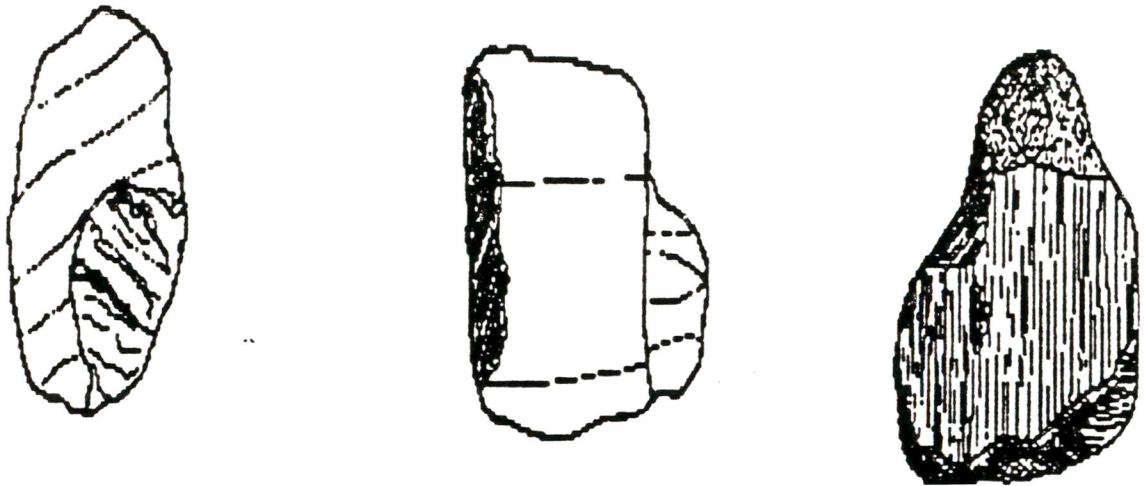
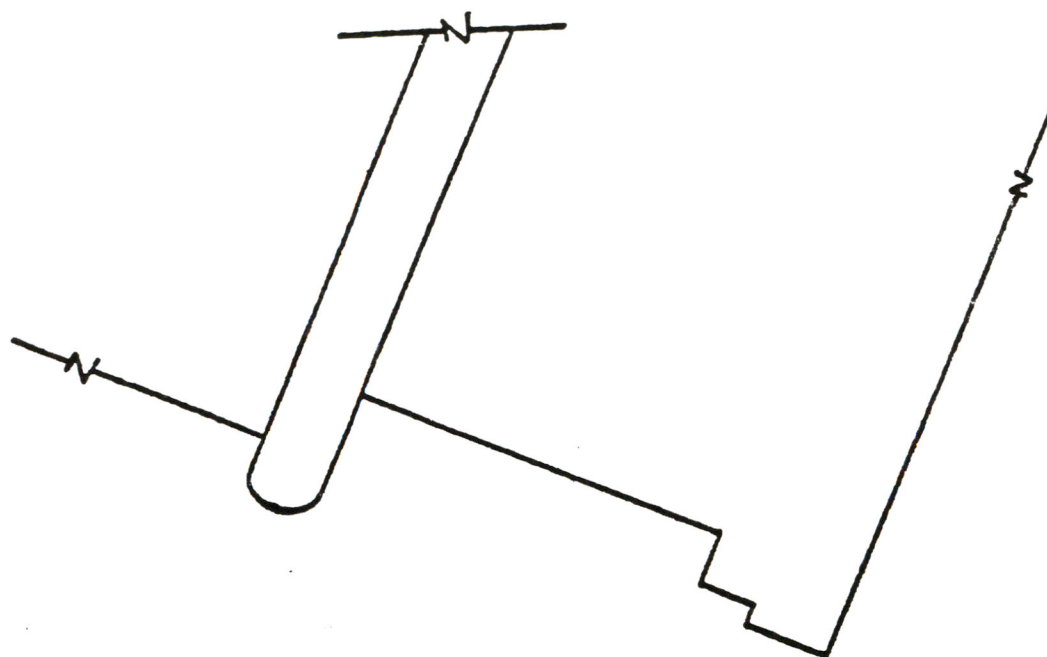


FIGURE 11

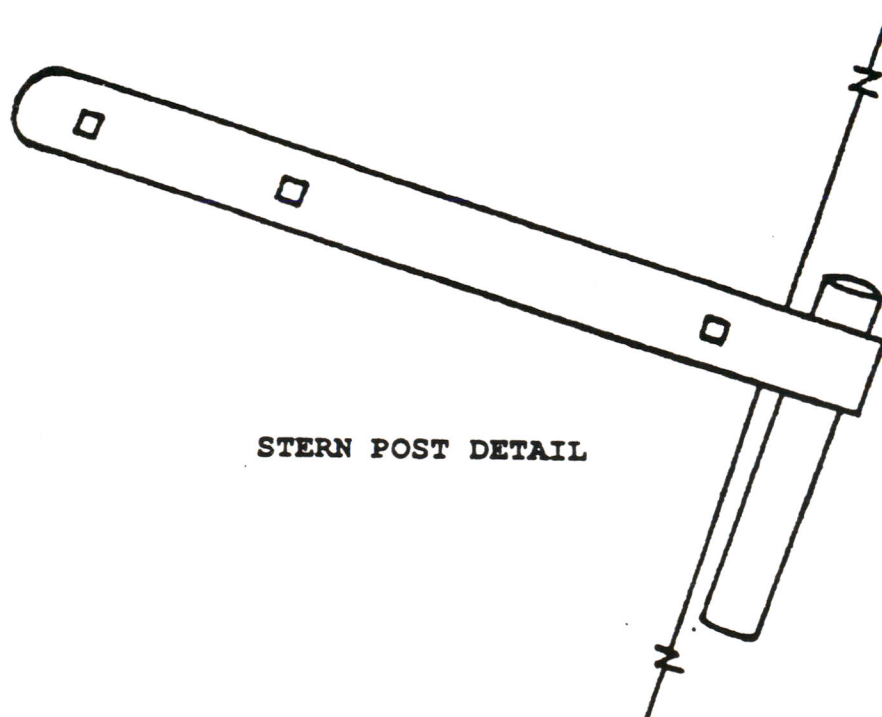
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.28

OAK TREENAIL

SCALE: 1:1



RUDDER DETAIL



STERN POST DETAIL

FIGURE 12

SCALE: 3 IN. + 1.0 FT.

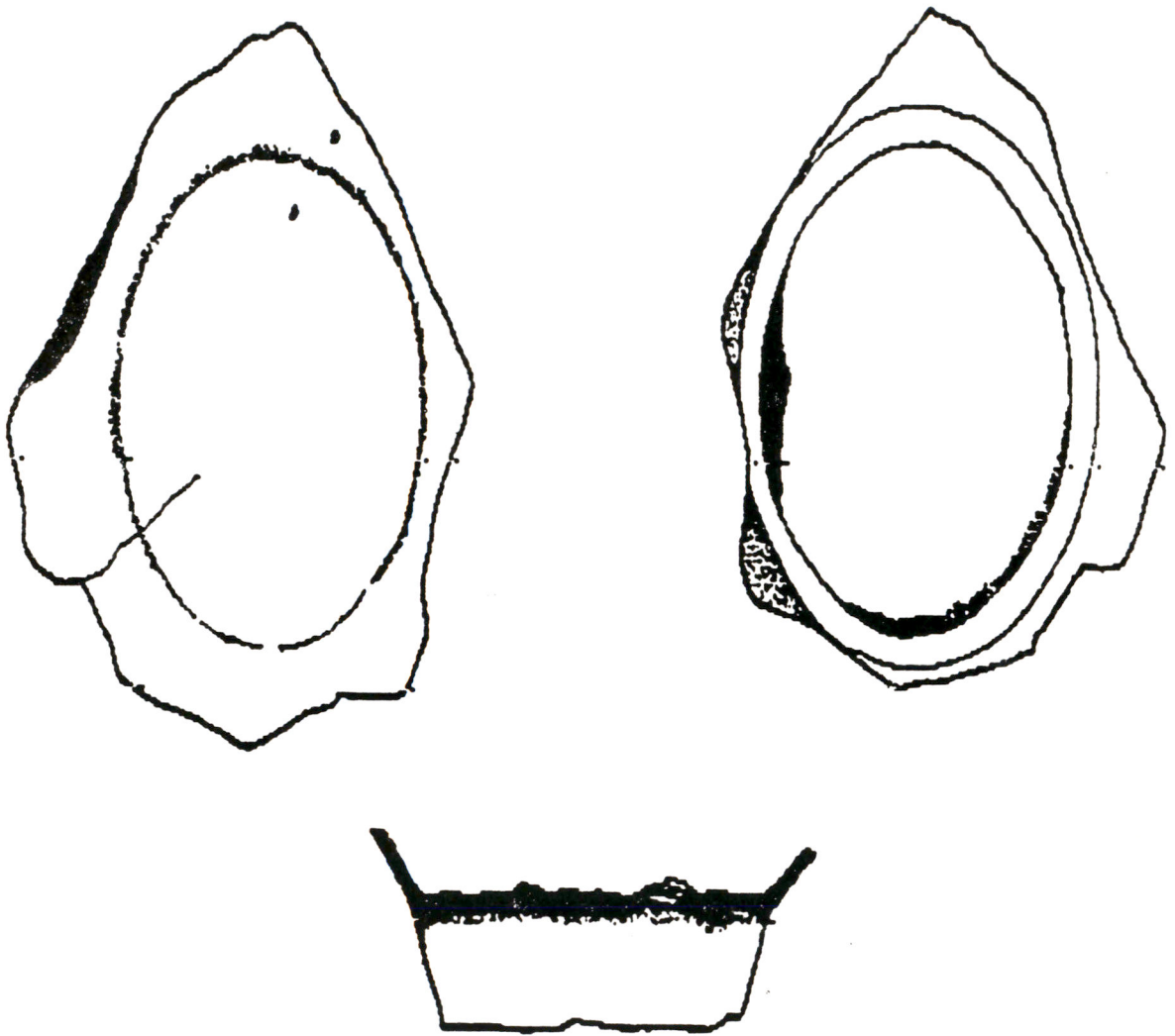


FIGURE 13
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.11
CREAMWARE FRAGMENT
SCALE 1:1

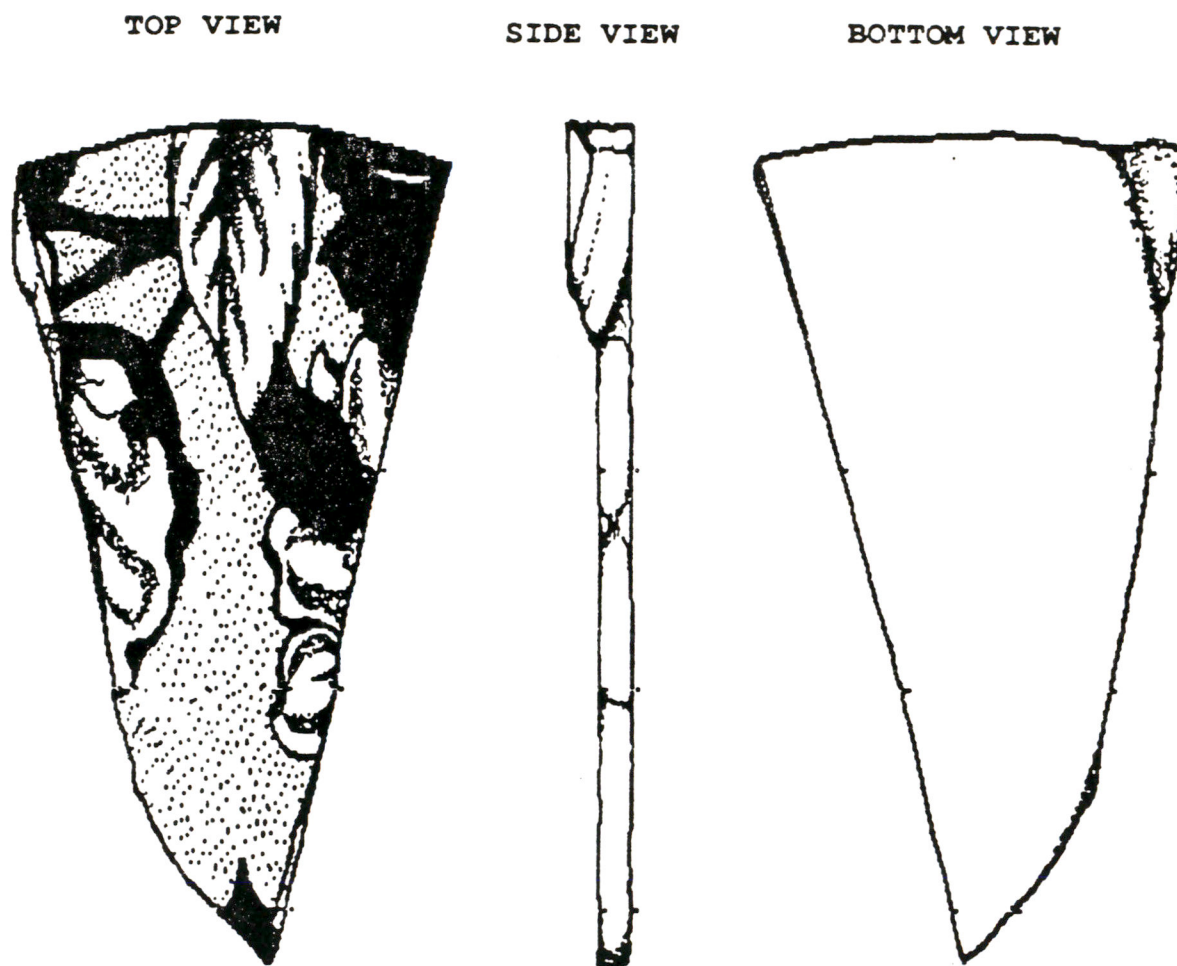
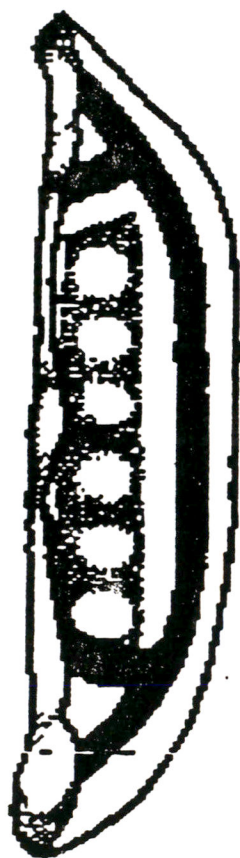


FIGURE 14
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.19
EARTHENWARE FRAGMENT
SCALE 2:1

TOP VIEW



SIDE VIEW



BOTTOM VIEW



FIGURE 15
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.8
EARTHENWARE FRAGMENT
SCALE 2:1

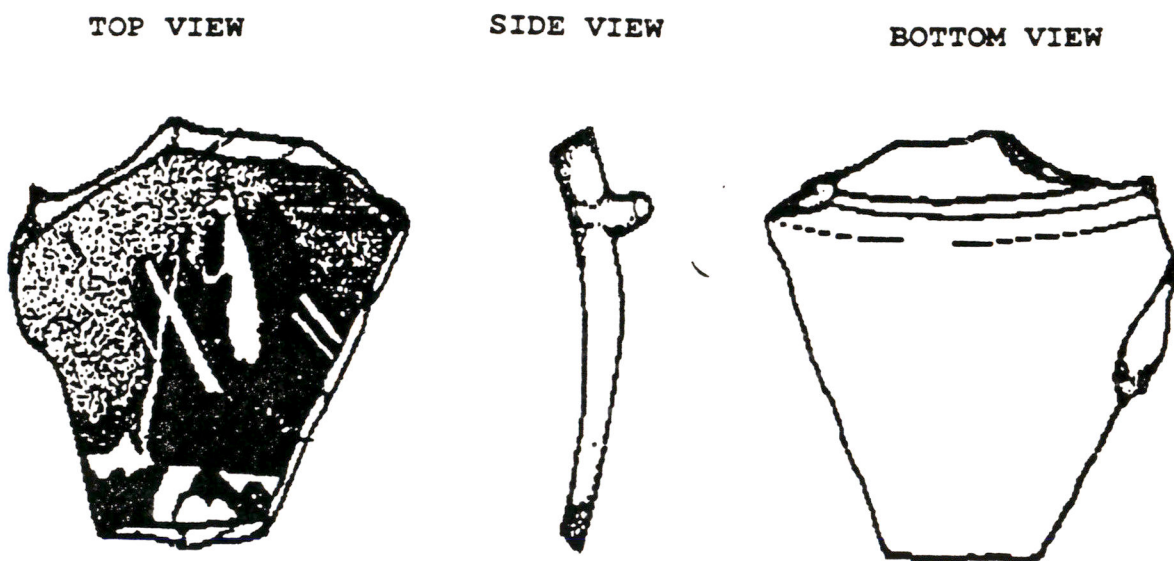
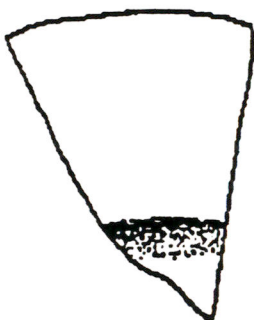


FIGURE 16
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.12
EARTHENWARE FRAGMENT
SCALE 2:1

TOP VIEW



BOTTOM VIEW



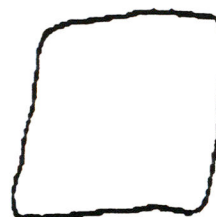
SIDE VIEW



TOP VIEW



BOTTOM VIEW



SIDE VIEW



FIGURE 17

SCALE 1:1

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.14

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.2

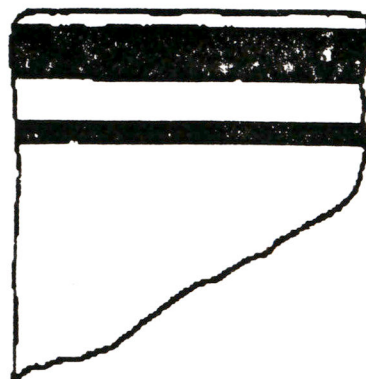
TOP VIEW



SIDE VIEW



TOP VIEW



BOTTOM VIEW

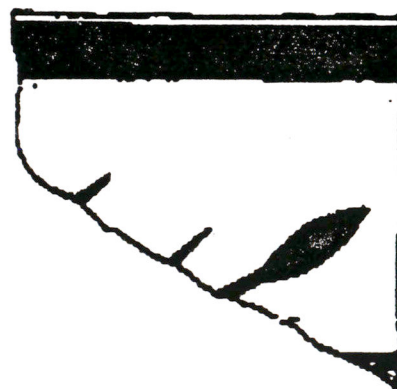


FIGURE 18

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.10
EARTHENWARE RIM
SCALE 1:1

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.15
CREAMWARE RIM
SCALE 2:1

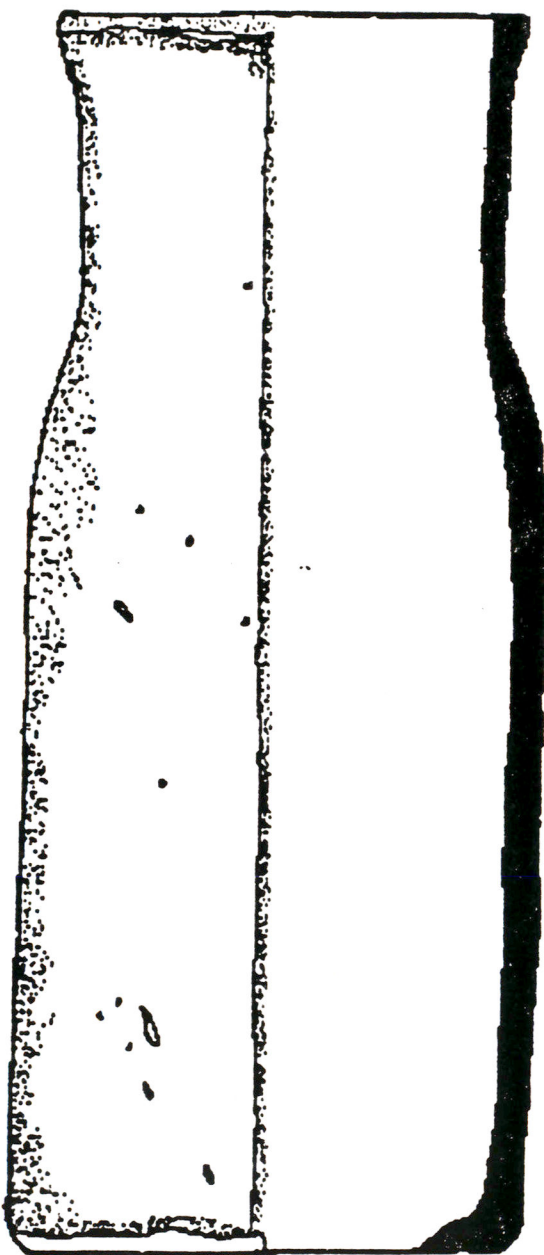


FIGURE 19
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.22
BOTTLE
SCALE 1:1

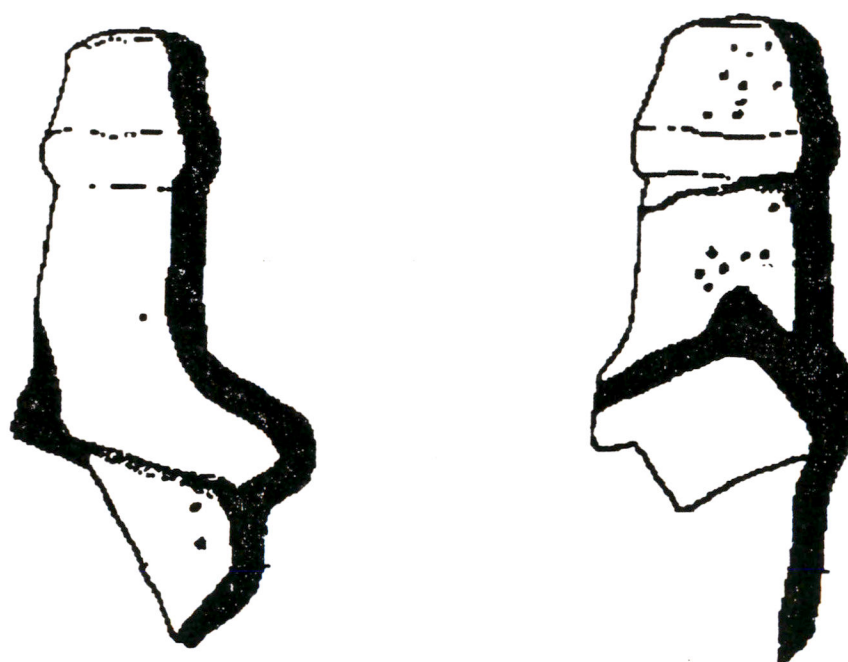


FIGURE 20
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.24
BOTTLE NECK
SCALE 1:1

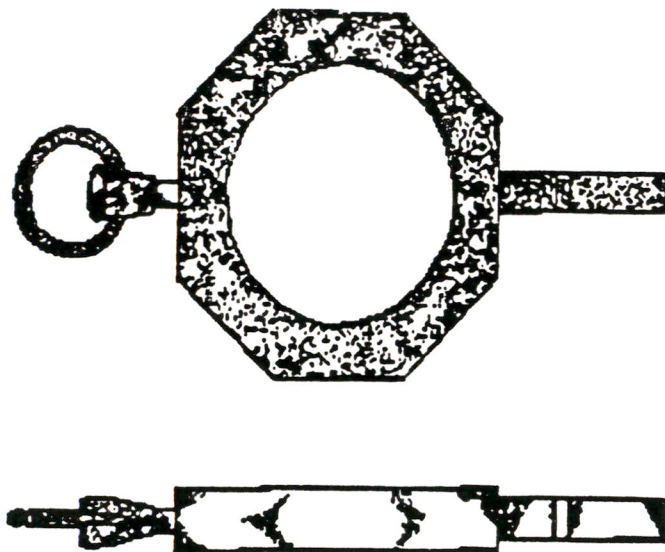


FIGURE 21
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.30
BRASS WATCH KEY
SCALE 2:1

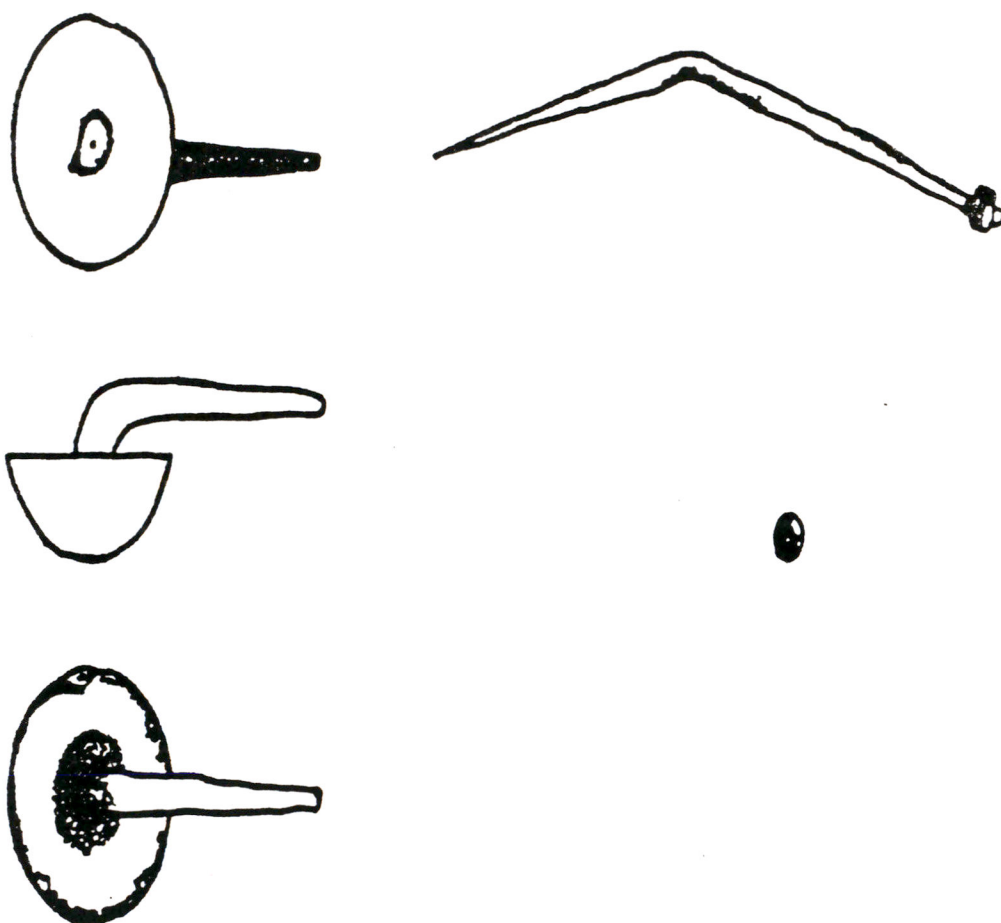


FIGURE 22

SCALE 3:1

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.34
BRASS TACK

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.32
BRASS PIN

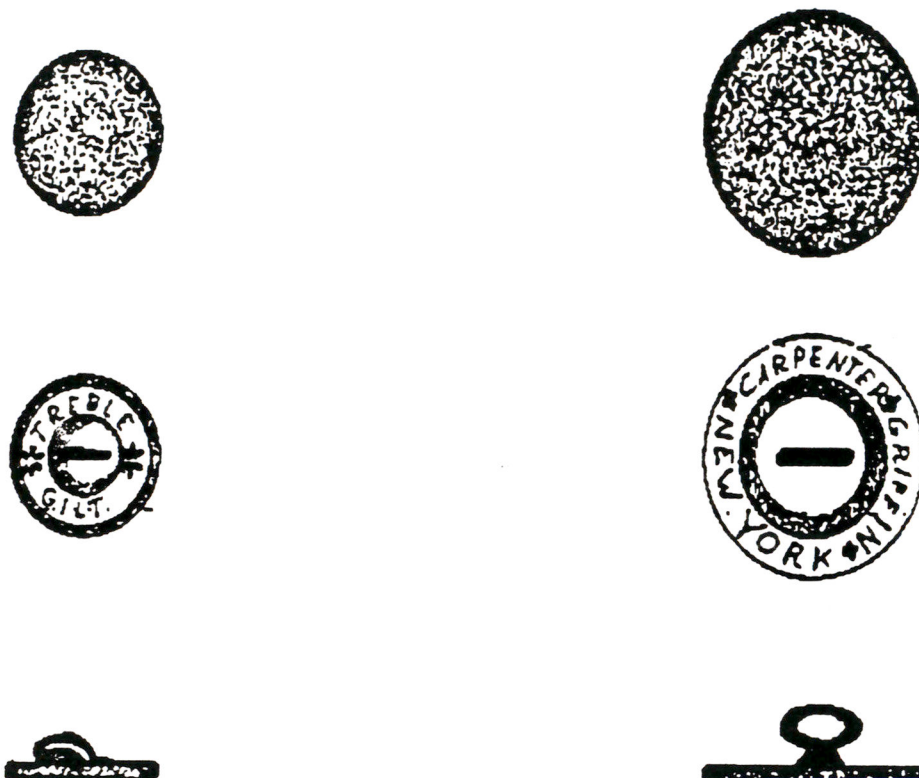


FIGURE 23

SCALE 2:1

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.55
BRASS BUTTON

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.59
BRASS BUTTON

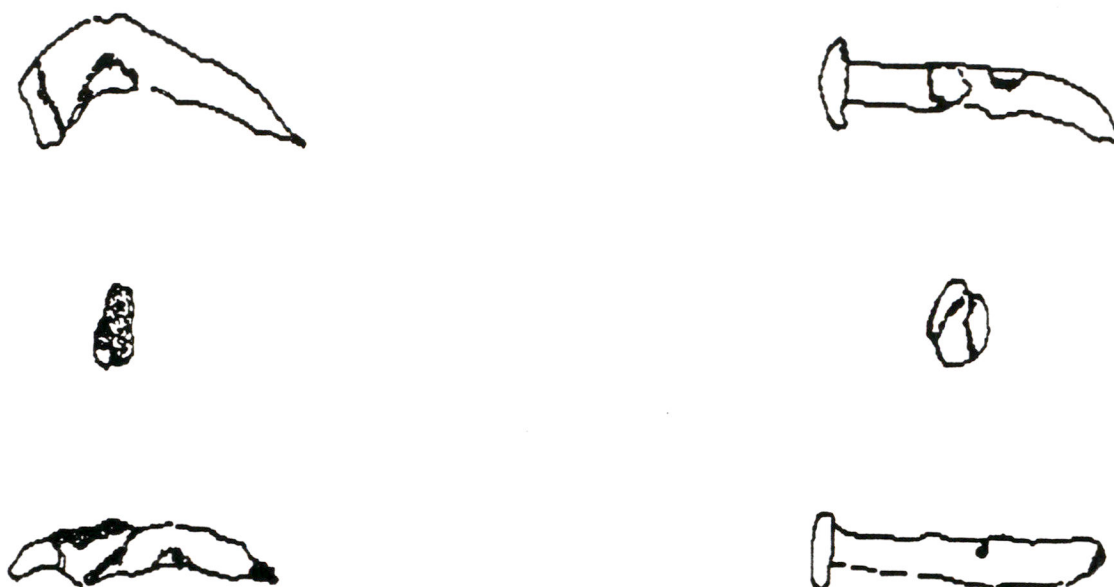


FIGURE 24

SCALE 1:1

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.42
NAIL

ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.43
NAIL



FIGURE 25
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.47
IRON PIN
SCALE 1:1

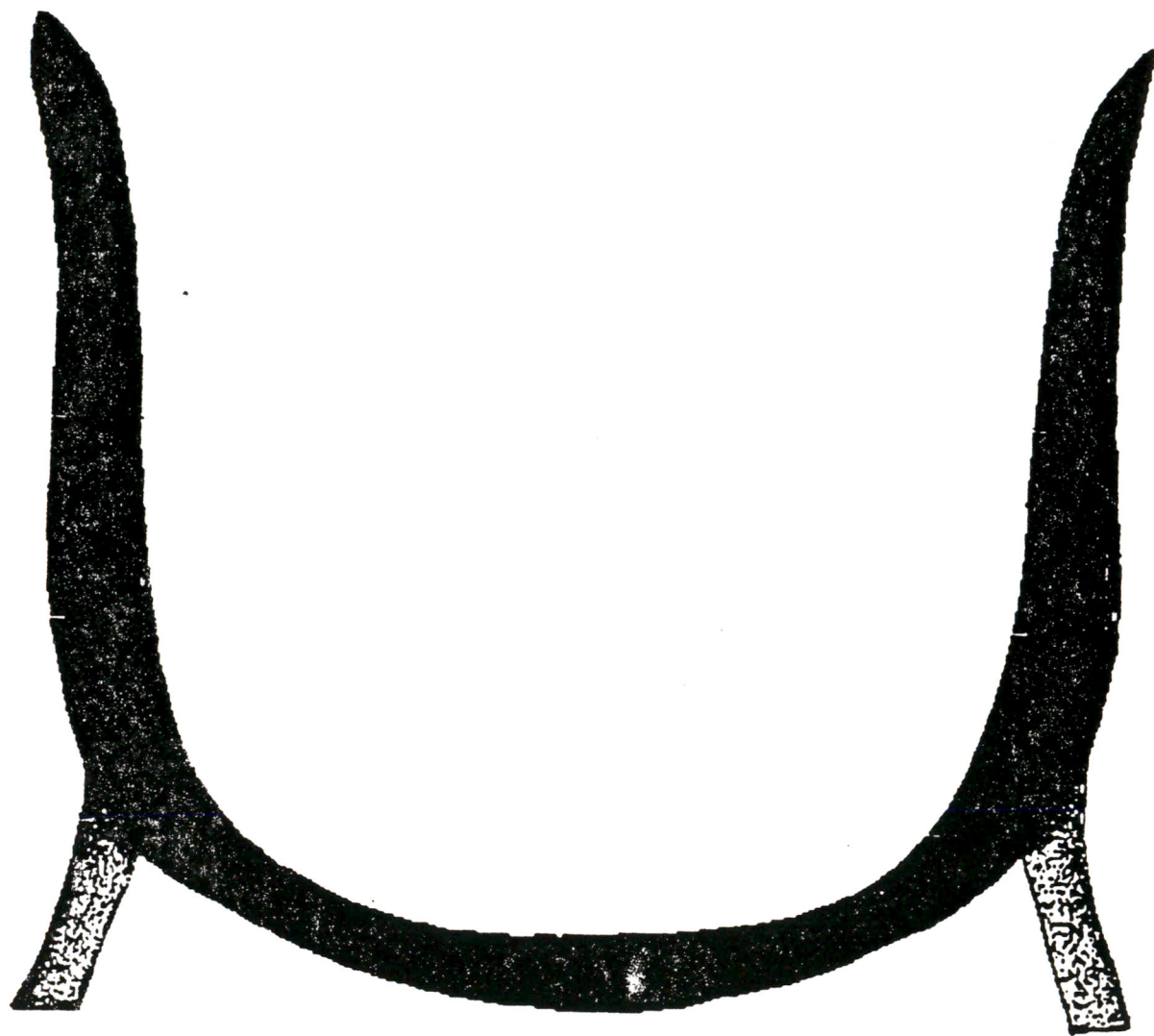
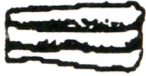


FIGURE 26
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.80
CAST IRON POT
SCALE 1:1



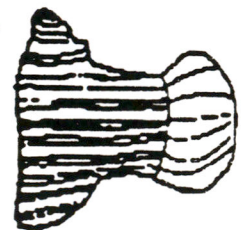
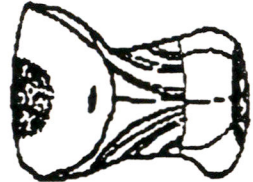
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.53
PIPE STEM



ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.54
PIPE STEM



ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001. 52
PIPE STEM



ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001. 49
PIPE BOWL

FIGURE 27

SCALE 1:1

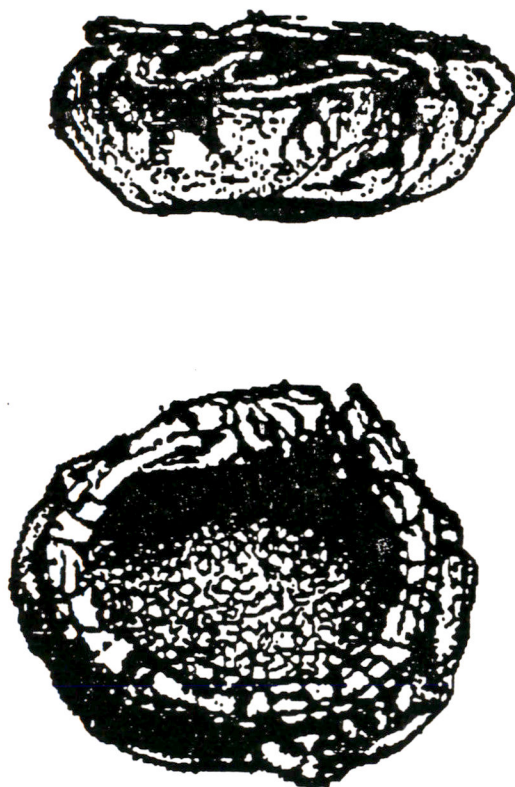


FIGURE 28
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.81
LEATHER PURSE
SCALE 1:1

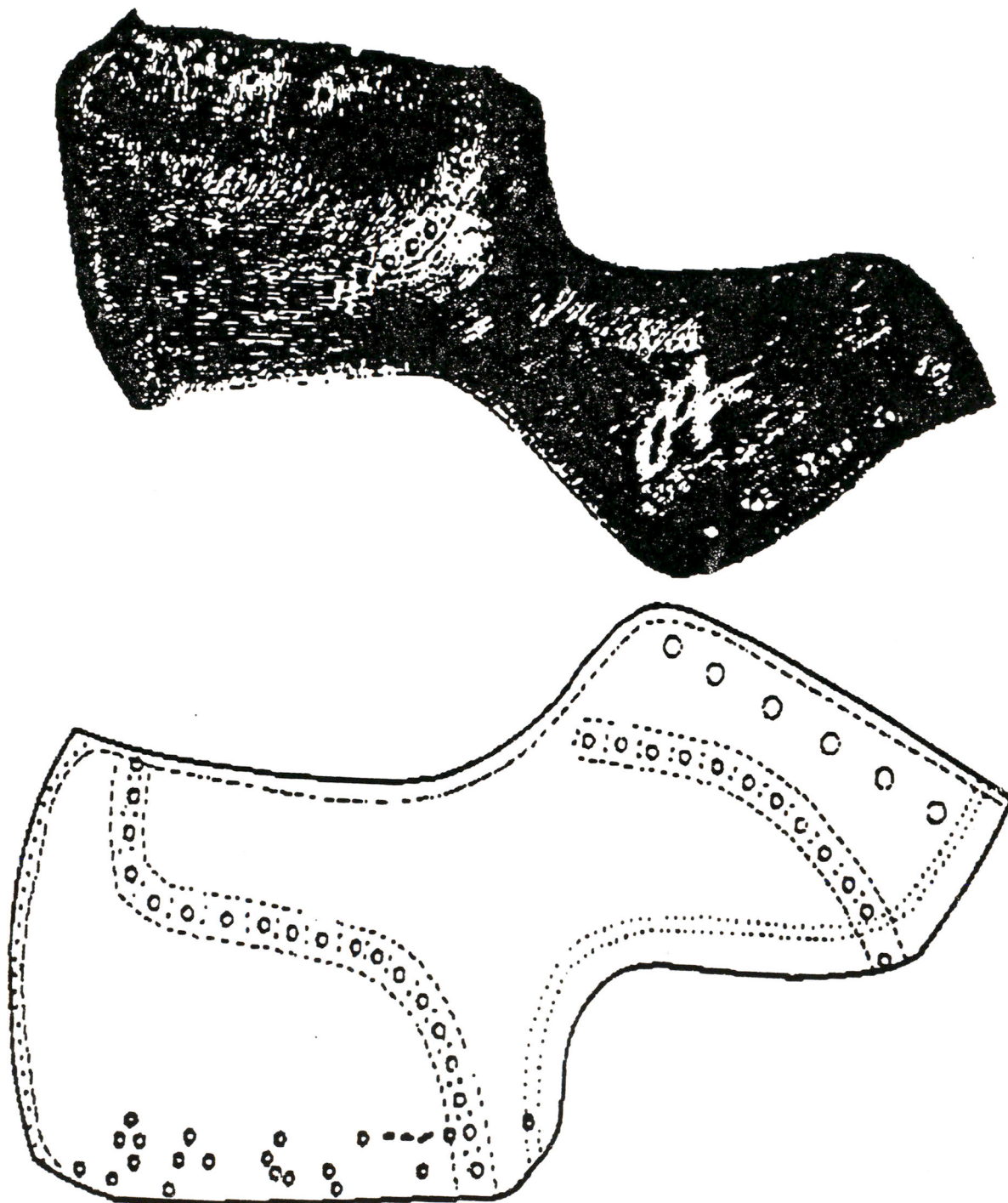


FIGURE 29
ARTIFACT NUMBER NCR 0001.82
SHOE
SCALE 1:1

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This final chapter consolidates data previously discussed and presents an explanation of the Shipyard Wreck in both historic and archaeological terms. The chapter is organized with four sections: 1) a review of pertinent historical data, 2) a review of construction and artifactual data, 3) an examination of how this data relates to the hypotheses, and 4) a synthesis.

Marine transportation played an important part in the history of North Carolina as a colony and state. Settlements evolved along the banks of navigable streams allowing transportation of goods to and from the colony. The dependency on waterway traffic ensured a strong maritime heritage that continues to this day. Shipbuilding, of course, played an important role within this tradition. Although documentary records are sparse, they point to an industry indispensable to the growth of the colony and later, the state. In general, historians have long acknowledged the importance of New England's maritime activities as necessary for the growth, prosperity, and survival of that region. Recent research (Ganyard 1963; Stephenson and Still 1994; Coogan and Jones 1995) indicated shipbuilding and shipping in North Carolina actually exceeded that of some New England colonies. The MacKnight Shipyard Wreck and its terrestrial counterpart, the shipyard and plantation of Thomas MacKnight, exemplify North Carolina's dependency on waterway traffic and maritime commerce.

Belville, the plantation Thomas MacKnight founded in 1757, developed into a diversified local commercial center. In addition to the mill that produced shingles and staves, Belville hosted a colonial shipyard, store,

and shipping port. Establishment of a colonial, and later, state, inspection site for regulated goods such as tar, turpentine, lumber, and agricultural products at Belville further enhanced MacKnight's economic role. This role may be traced by examining the Shipyard Wreck in its economic context.

The Shipyard Wreck is important. The remains of Revolutionary/Federal period vessels are scarce; only a handful have been documented, and regional comparisons cannot yet be drawn between them (Wilde-Ramsing et al. 1992:76-77). Each contributes extensively to our knowledge of maritime life, commercial activities, shipbuilding technology, and cultural patterns. The documentation of the Shipyard Wreck provides even more information to draw upon.

Archaeological evidence appears in many forms; construction methods, artifacts, comparisons to other vessels and regions, and materials used in the construction of the vessel are most important. The Shipyard Wreck site contained all these elements, providing an excellent opportunity to date the vessel and describe its function within the historic site context. Dating of the vessel based on the hypotheses described in chapter three and summed up below indicates a vessel of the period 1760-1810. Preliminary reports by the North Carolina Underwater Archaeology Unit dated the ship to the late-18th-early-19th century. This date was based on the use of large, hand cut timbers in its framing and the possible association with the colonial warehouse and shipyard. Further analysis confirmed this time span as appropriate.

This analysis was based on the archaeological evidence and tested against the working hypotheses in chapter 4 and summarized as follows:

First the remains of the Shipyard Wreck are indeed a vessel. Second, the historical timeline is 1760-1810 based on the construction features discussed in chapter 4. Third, the cargo category matches the hypothetical case outlined. Fourth, the Shipyard Wreck was obviously a sailing vessel as evidenced by the mast steps. Fifth, the vessel that matches the evidence is a sloop that was later converted to a schooner. Sixth, the analysis of the wood used in the construction confirms a southern origin. The presence of red cedar as a major structural element seems to indicate a local, or at least a Tidewater, origin. Seventh, abandonment seems to fit all the known elements found on the site. Thus a cargo carrying sloop/schooner of local origin that was abandoned appears to fit the archaeological evidence of the vessel itself. Later the artifactual, historical, and the construction evidence will be integrated to form a “best fit” theory of the vessel.

Datable artifacts recovered from within the hull of the Shipyard Wreck included ceramics, iron objects, brass buttons, and kaolin pipe fragments. Each of these artifact types have their own dating system, refined over the years into reliable dating tools. These systems, when used in conjunction with each other, enhance overall accuracy and reliability.

The ceramic sherds from the Shipyard Wreck consist mostly of whiteware, specifically pearlware and creamware, produced from the mid-1780s through the first two decades of the 19th century. There were also some pieces of stoneware, ranging in date from 1750 to 1837, as well as combed slipware, and some redware fragments, with median dates of 1733 and 1750 respectively. The mean ceramic date for the vessel is 1794. The key to the ceramic date, however, came from a creamware sherd found beneath the

limberboard. Not only was the 1775 date was the most reliable, since the chance of this artifact coming from off-site is remote, but the early period dark yellow color confirms the earlier date as most appropriate

Two different button typologies were used to date the buttons (South 1964, 1977; Olsen 1963). Although their typological categories differed, the two systems produced similar dates. Using South's classification system the buttons dated to 1798, while Olsen's yielded 1787. Together, these different systems produced a mean date of 1792.5. Taken together with the 1794 mean ceramic date, the dates projected from the two different artifact categories coincided. The cast-iron pot recovered from the Shipyard Wreck site provided another opportunity to date the vessel. Stylistic evaluation places the manufacture of the pot after 1750 and before 1820 with a mean date of 1785 (Tyler 1971 119-221).

The last set of datable artifacts recovered from the site were kaolin pipe stems. Although a larger sample size was desired, all stems were the same diameter (4/64 in.) indicating a date range from 1750 to 1800; the mean was 1775 (Harrington 1978; Olsen 1963; South 1964). Using Stanley South's theory of mean date plus 25 years for dating late-18th century sites, a date of 1800 was the mean.

Table 4 summarizes the artifactual data from the Shipyard Wreck.

TABLE 4
ARTIFACT MEDIAN DATES

<u>Artifact Type</u>	<u>Earliest</u>	<u>Latest</u>	<u>Median Date</u>
Ceramics	1725	1850	1794
Buttons	1751/1773	1860/1816	1793
Iron pot	1750	1820	1785
Pipe stems	1750	1800	1775

While these dates are reflective of the artifacts, the vessel itself has datable construction features. The artifacts reflect the general period of use, and more specifically, the time of abandonment, but they do not necessarily reflect a construction date. Most artifacts were left/lost when the vessel was abandoned; in operation, the sailors kept it clean. Since construction practices vary over time and place, they can contribute to understanding the Shipyard Wreck. Construction techniques reflect the beginning of the ship's service and artifacts the end.

Construction features of the Shipyard Wreck have been discussed. Probably the most reliable and easiest to date is the practice of room equals space (Deane 1981). This practice had a 60-year span from 1750 through 1810, a mean of 1785 which agrees with the overall artifact date. The notching of the keelson over the floors is also consistent with mid-late-18th century shipbuilding practices, although it continued into the early 19th century (Rees 1970).

The bluff bow and the radial cant frames point to merchant vessels of the late-18th century (Watts, Morris, Franklin 1995:125-133). The radial cant frame configuration “reflects an 18th century tradition found in several previously investigated shipwrecks” (Watts 1994:77). Both vessels mentioned by Watts were built in the latter part of the century, and thus are consistent with the suggested date for the Shipyard Wreck.

The fasteners also provide clues to the approximate construction date. The lack of cut nails indicates a date before 1790 when these nails first replaced wrought iron (Nelson n.d.). One must keep in mind, however, that wrought iron nails continued in use after 1790 in some localities. Treenails were the primary fastener with nails used to hold planking in place before treenails were set; this practice is generally attributed to 18th-century construction (Wilde-Ramsing *et al.* 1992; Watts 1994).

An unusual feature, the bolting of every floor, casts doubt on these dates. It became a common practice to bolt every floor *after* 1800. The practice of bolting every frame seems early, but it may be a regional response to environmental factors; the Albemarle Sound is shallow with many shifting sand bars. A vessel running aground would break its keel or spring its frames and planking if it were not adequately reinforced and tightly fastened. Bolting every floor through the keel and keelson would alleviate this problem to some extent.

Another unusual feature for a vessel this size is the presence of three mast steps starting just aft of the stem and located on 10 ft. centers. Most vessels built in the late-18th century were schooners; thus one would expect to find two mast steps. The middle step probably functioned separately from

the forward and aft step. It may have served to hold a davit for loading cargo or a deck reinforcing stanchion, or the middle step may have held a mast if the vessel were sloop-rigged. If the vessel had been built as a sloop and later converted to a schooner, the first and last mast steps were installed during conversion. A good time frame for this conversion would be during a period of economic crisis when the owner wanted to change from a large crew to a smaller one. This will be explored in the historical section below. Another possible explanation of this unusual feature is deliberate construction to take advantage of seasonal weather patterns and shallow draft of the vessel. With this interpretation the vessel could be sailed as a sloop in heavy weather and a schooner in light winds. New England sharpies were designed and built in this manner, but not until the mid-19th century (Parker 1994:4-5).

The subject of construction practices must also account for the builder's nationality and training. The Shipyard Wreck exhibits many features that point to a British navy-trained builder or one who was familiar with British navy practices. The location of the rabbet, beam to length ratio, main mast step location, and the construction of the saddle step appear to be in the tradition of the British navy. Non-traditional navy construction is seen in the placement of the fore mast step, the bluff bow, and cant frame construction. It would not be unusual for the builder to have apprenticed with someone familiar with English building practices, since many colonial shipbuilders were trained in the English tradition.

Regional origin must be discussed. Data for North American 18th-19th century vessels are scarce. Geoffrey Scofield notes:

Until there is an accumulation of data from North American wreck sites to comprise a primary data base, reliance upon foreign shipbuilding practices will continue. In using them, great care should be exercised, as there is the risk that unique local methods of construction may well be overlooked or misinterpreted (Wilde-Ramsing *et al.* 1992:76-77).

Wood species from the Shipyard Wreck indicate a southeastern origin. While the use of white oak was widespread in the colonies, extensive use of red cedar for structural framework seems confined to the South. This is especially true of the tidewater Virginia/northeastern North Carolina area (Alford 1990:42).

Historically there were four time periods initially considered: pre-1750, 1750-1775, 1789-1801, and 1801-1820. The first period was discarded after discovering no European or native habitation at the site during this time (Phelps 1994 pers. comm.). The second period covers the time when MacKnight operated his shipyard, shingle mill, and plantation. The third period spans Williams's tenure as owner of the property and the continuation of the mill and possibly the store. The fourth time frame encompasses Marchant's ownership of the property with the store in operation and probably the mill as well. The second period seemed likely historically; nevertheless, it does not fit the artifactual or construction data. The third period, while matching some of the artifactual data and construction features, seemed inconsistent with others. If the vessel was built after 1789, then surely it would be a schooner because that type dominated the

construction practices of the time. Furthermore, had it been built as a sloop there was no economic incentive to change to a more economical vessel until after 1808. The fourth period, Marchant's time of 1801-1808, also presented the artifactual and construction problems. Abandonment during the Embargo makes sense historically but not archaeologically. The mean ceramic and button dates make this possibility remote. The best conclusion is a construction date about 1775, alteration to a schooner about 1789, and abandonment during the mid-1790s. Construction as a sloop in the mid-1770s fits the archaeological data, both artifactually and structurally. Abandoned when MacKnight fled in 1775, Williams, the new owner in 1789, re-built it for immediate use for the re-opened mill. The aging vessel was probably abandoned during the prosperous years of the 1790s when the owner could afford a newer, better ship. After a long service life it was abandoned where it began, along the banks of Indiantown Creek. The one problem with this theory was the age of the vessel when abandoned. A 20 year service life, which included a 14 year lay-up, seemed a little long. After considering the probable voyages this vessel undertook, the fact that seasoned wood was used in its construction, the soundness of the vessel when excavated, and the fact that tannic water has a preservative effect, convinced the author that the theory held water.

Given the approximate building practice dates noted above, the mean projected construction date of the Shipyard Wreck is circa 1776. The mean artifactual date is circa 1793. This projected date coincides with the construction and artifactual data. Although this projection is based on dating systems requiring further refinement, it is the best fit given the data at hand.

Keeping in mind these dates, construction materials, and the vessel site history, a local origin and use would not be inconsistent with the findings.

Synthesizing the evidence points to a sloop built in the third quarter of the 18th century, probably in the region where it was discovered. It worked the rivers and sounds, carried locally produced cargo out, and merchandise in, for the general store. It was abandoned during the American Revolution when MacKnight fled. Re-rigged as a schooner during Williams's ownership of the site and during an economic upswing, a schooner allowed for a smaller crew and more efficient handling of its sails. Finally, after a long service-life, it was stripped of useful equipment and abandoned. Documentary research has failed to identify the name or owner of the vessel.

The MacKnight Shipyard Wreck is an important part of North Carolina's maritime heritage. It provides a rare view of late-colonial/early-Federal-period Southern shipbuilding practices. In its role as a commercial carrier, the Shipyard Wreck undoubtedly contributed to local and regional maritime activities and economy. It preserves a record of construction practices representing smaller vessels that supported the economy of northeastern North Carolina in the last part of the 18th century.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The MacKnight Shipyard Wreck is the only example of a suspected North Carolina-built vessel recorded from the late colonial period. A Federal period vessel found near Oriental, North Carolina, was documented, but careful examination concluded that it was built in New England (Jackson

1991). Furthermore, the only historic vessel of an earlier date recorded in North Carolina is the Rose Hill Wreck of New England origin with a projected date of 1725-1750. The uniqueness of the Shipyard Wreck, combined with the historical significance of the associated terrestrial site, prompts this rather unusual concluding section to a master's thesis.

Documentary and archaeological evidence presented provides a better understanding of the Shipyard Wreck, Thomas MacKnight, and the commercial activities in the Albemarle region. The research raised more questions than were within the scope of this thesis such as: What happened to the shipyard after MacKnight fled in 1775? What happened to those slaves who could build a boat by themselves? Were the plantation, wharves, mill, and the shipyard as extensive as claimed by MacKnight? Is the Shipyard Wreck an example of MacKnight's shipbuilding?

The following recommendations are proposed: Foremost is the nomination of the Shipyard Wreck for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The listing of the Shipyard Wreck would provide some degree of protection should construction or other destructive processes threaten it in the future.

Second, given the importance of both the terrestrial and underwater sites and the historical significance of MacKnight as a Tory in Revolutionary North Carolina, further investigation needs to be initiated. Somewhere in the state or national archives, the Library of Congress, or British archives, forgotten local documents or personal papers may resolve some questions this investigation raised.

Third, the wreck site itself needs further examination. The starboard side of the wreck, the stern post, rudder, and keel need to be exposed and examined to answer the questions concerning its construction. Further, the mast steps need examination to determine if one or more were cut in after the original construction.

Lastly, as new sites of this period are discovered in the rivers and sounds of North Carolina, the Shipyard Wreck should be used for comparative purposes. Only by establishing a data base to compare construction practices and historical uses of these vessels will a clearer picture of North Carolina's maritime history emerge. The maritime tradition is strong in North Carolina; to understand its rightful place in the cultural and economic history of the state, sites such as the MacKnight Shipyard Wreck need to be investigated and preserved.

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Unit, Division of Archives and History, North

Carolina Department of Cultural Resources,
Kure Beach, North Carolina.

WILDE-RAMSING, MARK U.

- 1992 Underwater Archaeological Examination of
North River, Currituck and Camden Counties.
On file with the Underwater Archaeology Unit, Kure
Beach, North Carolina
- 1993 Indiantown Log. Underwater Archaeology Unit, Kure
Beach, North Carolina.

CATALOG OF ARTIFACTS

CERAMICS

<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Median Date</u>
Stem Area			
	creamware	1	1785
	earthenware fragment	1	n.d.
Baseline 5-10 ft.			
	annular	1	1807
	transfer print pearlware	2	1813
	plain creamware	1	1785
	hand painted porcelain	1	1765
1st Transect			
	transfer print pearlware	1	1813
	pearlware fragments	3	1800
Baseline 10-15 ft.			
	combed slipware	1	1733
	blue & gray stoneware	1	1837
	scratch blue stoneware	1	1778
	white slip-dipped,		
	salt-glazed stoneware	1	1750
	plain creamware fragments	3	1785
	earthenware fragments	2	n.d.
Baseline 20-25 ft.			
	blue and gray stoneware	1	18337
	American westerwald stoneware	1	1735

chinese trade porcelain	1	1807
pearlware fragments	4	1800
chinoise pearlware	2	1795
transfer print pearlware	1	1813
pearlware ft.	1	1800
earthenware fragments	3	n.d.
Baseline 25-30 ft.		
creamware fragments	4	1775
lead glazed redware	1	1850
Midship transect		
redware fragment	1	1850
Baseline 30-35 ft.		
plain creamware	1	1785
chinese trade porcelain	1	1807
Under limberboard		
creamware	1	1785
Baseline 35-40 ft.		
pearlware	2	1800
creamware	1	1785
Total datable pieces	46	
Median date of total		1794

GLASS

<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Stem area		
	clear fragment	1

	brown bottle fragment	1
Baseline 5-10 ft.		
	clear fragments	2
	brown fragments	2
Baseline 10-15 ft.		
	clear/green tinge fragments	4
	clear fragment with design	1
Under limberboard		
	clear fragment	1
	green fragment	1
Baseline 20-25 ft.		
	clear bottle fragments	8
	clear/green tinge fragments	8
	green frosted fragments	2
Baseline 25-30 ft.		
	clear fragments	11
	clear/green tinge fragment	1
	green frosted fragment	1
	white frosted fragment	1
	half of a clear/green bottle	1
	bottom of small vial, clear	1
Midship transect		
	clear fragments	4
	clear/green tinge fragments	4

Baseline 30-35 ft.

bottom of bottle fragment	1
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Baseline 35-40 ft.

blown bottle top, clear/green	1
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clear fragments	3
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green fragments	1
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"mason jar" rim fragment	1
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embossed bottle fragment	1
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BRASS**Stem area**

button	1
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Baseline 5-10 ft.

wound straight pin	1
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link	1
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tack	1
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.22 shell casing	1
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Baseline 10-15 ft.

wound straight pin	1
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tack	1
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Baseline 20-25 ft.

safety pin	1
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electric wire bracket	1
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watch key	1
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button	1
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Baseline 25-30 ft.

button	1
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Midship transect

buttons	2
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broken link	1
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wound straight pins	4
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Baseline 30-35 ft.

electric wire bracket	1
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Baseline 35-40 ft.

button	1
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.22 shell casing	1
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modern percussion cap	1
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modern percussion cap & lead	1
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Stern area

.32 shell casing	1
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12 ga. shotgun shell base	1
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.22 shell casing	1
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.35 rifle shell casing	1
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BUTTON CATALOG

CUFF BUTTON

<u>Description</u>	<u>South type/date</u>	<u>Olsen type/date</u>
Two piece plain brass stamped with individual letters, attached eye	Type 16/1795	Type G/1793
One piece, plain, gilt die stamped letters "Treble Gilt", attached eye	Type 9/1751	Type H/1816

COAT BUTTONS

One piece, plain, brass stamped back mark soldered eye	Type 18/1833	Type G/1793
One piece, copper, stamped	Type 7&18/1795	Type D/1773
One piece brass, gilt copper, stamped soldered eye	Type 28/1860	Type D/1773
One piece, gilt, plain copper, eye and foot	Type 9&7/1756	Type D/1773
TOTAL MEDIAN DATES	1798	1787
AVERAGE OF SOUTH AND OLSEN	1792.5	

IRON

<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Baseline 5-10 ft.		
	forged nail	1
	nail fragments	2

Baseline 10-15 ft.

	forged nail	1
	nail fragments	4
Midship transect		
	1 in. diameter by 9 1/2 in. pin	1
	nail fragment	1
Baseline 35-40 ft.		
	modern nut	1
	wrought iron chain links	3
	forged nail	1
Stern area		
	three-legged cast iron pot	1

TOBACCO PIPE BOWL AND STEMS

Baseline

white stem, 4/64 in. hole	1
brown stem, 4/64 in. hole	1

Baseline

white stem, 4/64 in. hole	1
brown stem, 4/64 in. hole	1

Baseline 25-30 ft.

brown stem, 4/64 in. hole	1
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Baseline 35-40 ft.

pipe bowl, 1 in. diameter	1
bowl with 1/4 in. stem hole	

LEATHER

<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Stern area		
	purse	1
	shoe fragments	2

APPENDIX II

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATED CERAMICS

Figure 11. Artifact NCR 0001.11. Creamware fragment.

Bowl base, plain white creamware with greenish pooling on base bottom.

Figure 12. Artifact NCR 0001.19. Earthenware fragment. ____

Base fragment, possibly from a plate or saucer. Floral/leaf motif blue on white transfer print. Base is white with indications of blue pooling.

Figure 13. Artifact NCR 0001.8. Earthenware fragment.

Rim fragment with blue on white decoration, possibly hand painted. White area shows evidence of blue pooling.

Figure 14. Artifact NCR0001.12. Earthenware fragment.

Base fragment, possibly from a cup. Blue on white woodland motif transfer print. Blue pooling evident on base bottom.

Figure 15. Artifact NCR 0001.14. Earthenware fragment.

Rim fragment, possibly from plate or bowl. Blue on white hand painted leaf design.

Figure 15. Artifact NCR 0001.12. Earthenware fragment.

Body fragment, brown on cream combed slipware. Coarse temper evident. No glazing on outside of sherd.

Figure 16. Artifact NCR 0001.10. Earthenware fragment.

Rim fragment with decorative blue band on beige. Medium temper is apparent.

Figure 16. Artifact NCR 0001.15. Creamware fragment.

Rim fragment, possibly from bowl. Brown and green

decorative stripe and leaf pattern over glaze. Fragment is very light in weight and rather fine in appearance.

APPENDIX III
POSTMASTERS OF INDIANTOWN,
CURRITUCK COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

<u>POSTMASTER</u>	<u>APPOINTMENT DATE</u>
Thomas P. Williams	27 September 1792
George Ferebee	8 August 1799
Joseph Manning	27 January 1802
Thomas C. Ferebee	1 July 1804
Samuel Williams	30 September 1804
Joseph Rolph	2 June 1807
Samuel Williams	29 April 1815
James H. Holmes	19 March 1827
Samuel W. Ferebee	28 July 1828
Gideon C. Marchant	30 October 1832

APPENDIX IV
LIST OF DELEGATES IN
CONVENTION 14 APRIL 1775
AT NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA

Anson County

Beaufort, Roger ORMOND, Thomas RESPISS

Bladen, Green HILL, James RANSOM, Thomas EATON

Brunswick, John ROWAN, Robert HOWE

Bertie, John CAMPBELL, David STANDLEY, John JOHNSTON

Craven, James COOR, Lemuel HATCH, Jacob BLOUNT, William BRYAN, Richard COGDELL, Joseph LEECH

Carteret, William THOMPSON, Solomon SHEPHERD

Currituck, Thomas MacKNIGHT, Francis WILLIAMSON, Samuel JARVIS, Solomon PERKINS, Nathan POYNER

Chowan, Samuel JOHNSTON, Thomas OLDHAM, Thomas JONES, Thomas BENBURY, Thomas HUNTER

Cumberland, Thomas RUTHERFURD, Farquard CAMPBELL

Chatham

Dobbs, Richard CASWELL, William McKINNE, Simon BRIGHT Junior, George MILLER

Duplin, Thomas GREY, Thomas HICKS

Edgcomb

Granville, Thomas PERSON, John PENN, Robert MONFORT, Robert WILLIAMS, Memucan HUNT

Guilford, Alexander MARTIN

Hyde

Hertford, George WYNNS, Joseph WORTH

Halifax, Willie JONES, Benjamin M'CULLOCH, Nicholas LONG

Johnston

Mecklenburg

Martin

New Hanover, William HOOPER, John ASHE

Northampton, Allen JONES, Jephtha ATHERTON

Orange, Thomas HART, Thomas BURKE, John KICHEN, Francis NASH

Onslow, Edward STARKEY, Henry ROHDES, William CAY

Perquimons, John HARVEY, Benjamin HARVEY, Andrew KNOX, Thomas HARVEY, John WHEDBEE, Jun.

Pasquotank, Jonathan HERRING, Edward EVERIGIN, Isaac GREGORY,
Joseph JONES, Joseph READING

Pitt, John SIMPSON, Edward SALTER, James GORHAM, James LANIER, William ROBSON

Rowan, Griffith RUTHERFORD, William SHARP, William KENNAN

Surry

Tryon

Tyrrell, Joseph SPRUIL, Benjamin SPRUIL, Jeremiah FRAZER

Wake, John HINTON, Michael ROGERS, Tignal JONES

New Bern, Abner NASH, James DAVIS

Edenton, Joseph HEWES

Wilmington, Cornelius HARNETT

Bath Town, William BROWN

Halifax Town, John WEBB, Joseph MONTFORT

Hillsborough

Salisbury

Brunswick Town, Parker QUINCE

Campbelton, Robert ROWAN

DELEGATES WHO WITHDREW IN SUPPORT OF MacKNIGHT:

Samuel JARVIS, Solomon PERKINS, Nathan POYNER, Isaac GREGORY,
Jona. HEARRING¹.

(Fouts 1983:18-19)

¹ This was probably the same person as Jonathan Herring of Pasquotank, the spelling difference appeared in the source quoted.

APPENDIX V

