

# *Tributaries*

A Publication  
of the North  
Carolina Maritime  
History Council  
[www.ncmaritimehistory.org](http://www.ncmaritimehistory.org)

Fall 2020  
Number 18

**Letter from the Board**

**Letter from the Editor**

**“Who Pays for That?”** The Steamship Twilight and the Tribulations of  
Post-Civil War Southern Enterprise

By: Jeremy Borrelli

**A Pirate Haven?** The Pirates and their Relationship with Colonial  
North Carolina

By: Allyson Ropp

**Call for Student Representatives**





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# Contents

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	<b>Members of the Executive Board</b>	3
	<b>Letter from the Board</b>	4
	<b>Letter from the Editor</b>	5
<b>Jeremy Borrelli</b>	<b>“Who Pays for That?”</b>	7
	The Steamship Twilight and the Tribulations of Post-Civil War SouthernEnterprise	
<b>Allyson Ropp</b>	<b>A Pirate Haven?</b>	21
	The Pirates and their Relationship with Colonial North Carolina	
	<b>Call for Submissions</b>	32
	<b>Call for a Student Representative to the Executive Board</b>	33
	<b>Style Appendix</b>	34

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Lynn B. Harris

**Editor**

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Freeland

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# Letter from the Board

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Dear Members,

The North Carolina Maritime History Council came together in 1988 and was formally incorporated in 1990 with the mission to identify and encourage historical and educational projects that enhance and preserve the state's maritime history and culture and create public awareness of that heritage. Too often, that mission has overlooked and underprioritized narratives of communities of color here in our state.

The North Carolina Maritime History Council Board acknowledges it does not represent the ethnic diversity of the nation and that this necessarily limits our understanding and perspective. We must include other voices in our work.

To that end, the Council seeks new members. If you are passionate about maritime history and culture in the Carolinas, if you seek opportunities to build your organizing skills, if you have stories and experience you want to contribute – we encourage you to reach out to [ncmhcbboard@gmail.com](mailto:ncmhcbboard@gmail.com).

The Council is also happy to support a Special Edition of *Tributaries* on race and ethnicity in the Carolinas. This will be an important step in contributing to the discussions in academia and in our own communities about this important issue. We hope to have submissions from local history groups, genealogical societies, oral history projects, students, professors, and state or municipal governments. No story is too small, no voice left unheard.

We hope you will continue to support the Council as we encourage and learn from more diverse scholarship in our field. Please consider renewing your membership or otherwise contributing to our mission.

Sincerely,

The Executive Board of the North Carolina Maritime History Council

Lynn B. Harris, Chair  
William Sassorossi, Vice Chair  
Lori Sanderlin, Secretary  
Christine Brin, Treasurer  
David Bennett  
Jeremy Borrelli  
Andrew Duppstadt

Charles R. Ewen  
Chelsea Rachelle Freeland  
Frances D. Hayden  
Nathan Richards  
Chris Southerly  
Douglas Stover

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North Carolina Maritime  
History Council



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# Letter from the Editor

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Dear readers and future authors,

*Tributaries* has previously published articles on Civil War history and the Confederacy in a way that did not adequately address the horrific impacts of the Confederate military and society on enslaved Black people.

This is a history journal – and we seek not to hide our past failings, but instead to present the facts and understand them in a way that benefits all and does not harm our communities of color. To that end, *Tributaries* commits to the following actions:

- *Tributaries* has incorporated new resources for bias-free language into our style guide. The Call for Submissions and Style Appendix may be found at the back of this edition.
- We will put out a Special Edition on race and ethnicity in the Carolinas, seeking to elevate authors of color and other marginalized communities, as well as present historiography on this subject to better our understanding of maritime history.
- We will encourage and support more diverse scholarship in this journal in the future. Historical discussions of race and submissions by Black authors and people of color will not be limited to our Special Edition. We will work harder in all subsequent issues to lift these voices and learn from each other moving forward.

As the editor, peer review coordinator, layout manager, and final proofreader of this journal, I must acknowledge my own limitations of time as well as perspective and experience. If you would like to contribute your expertise to this process, I encourage you to reach out.

Yours in continual learning,  
Chelsea Rachelle Freeland

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# Our Thanks

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The North Carolina Maritime History Council would like to thank Joe Schwarzer and Brian Edwards for their decades of service to the organization.

Joseph Schwarzer served as the Chair of the NCMHC for ten years, supporting the study and preservation of North Carolina's maritime history, retiring in 2020. During his years as chair, he created platforms for sharing his passion for North Carolina's shoreline themes, including shipping, shipbuilding, seafaring, ports, coastal communities, sea-borne trade, fishing, environment, and the culture of the sea. The executive board would like to recognize Joe's level of dedication and hard work he put into the NCMHC – it is due to Joe's efforts and persistence that our annual conferences were so well attended during his tenure. Joe was a valuable addition to the board, and we are sure he will keep up the hard work be motivated by the same zeal and passion for working in the field of maritime history in North Carolina. Joe is currently the Museum Director of the NC Maritime Museums for the North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources.

Since the early 1990s, Brian Edwards has been involved with North Carolina maritime historical themes and research (in addition to his broad areas of interest and expertise in Medieval European and American History). Brian received a BA (1990) and MA (1996) in History from East Carolina University with a focus on Medieval European history. During his graduate studies Brian became an archivist at the Outer Banks History Center, where his interest in North Carolina's military and maritime history grew. In 2003, Brian joined the faculty of the College of Albemarle, where he is now an Associate Professor of History and Chair of the Social Sciences Department. For most of this time, Brian also served in roles in a range of organizations including the UNC-Chapel Hill Environmental Program, the Community College Humanities Association, and the NC Association of Historians. His roster of other community service roles is too long to list here. Brian's longest record of professional service to date has been to the NCMHC. He became an executive committee member in 1999, served as the Vice-Chair for ten years (2003-2013), and was the editor of *Tributaries* for six years (2004-2010), also publishing reviews and full-length articles on multiple occasions. After twenty years of service to the NCMHC, Brian retired from the board in 2019. The executive board would like to thank Brian for his decades of service to NC maritime history. We look forward to seeing him at future conferences.

Executive Board of the North Carolina Maritime History Council

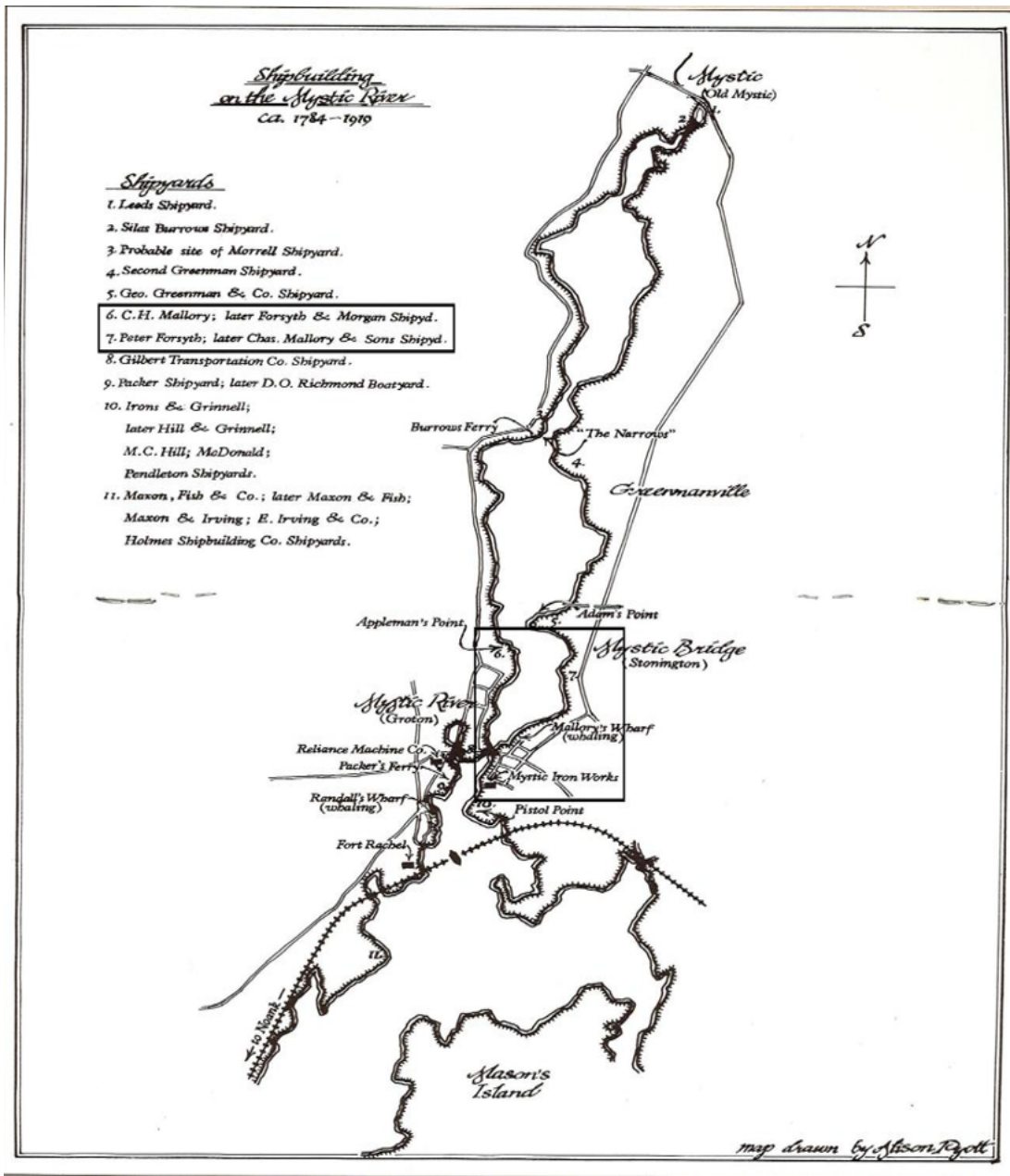
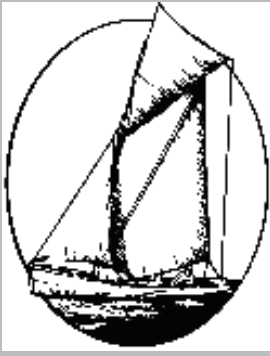


Figure 1. Map of Mystic, Connecticut highlighting the location of the Mallory owned shipyards and later Mystic Iron Works (Photo courtesy of Mystic Seaport Museum, modified by author).<sup>5</sup>





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# “Who Pays for That?”

## The Steamship *Twilight* and the Tribulations of Post-Civil War Southern Enterprise

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by Jeremy Borrelli

### Abstract

Among the shipwrecks of North Carolina’s Cape Fear Civil War Shipwreck District are the remains of vessels that were profoundly influenced by the war, but not necessarily a part of it. The story of the steamship *Twilight*, wrecked off Kure Beach, NC, highlights the difficult period of maritime trade along the Atlantic seaboard immediately after cessation of hostilities between the North and South. Discovered archaeologically in 1980, *Twilight* was built, owned and operated by Charles Henry Mallory of Mystic, Connecticut. This paper will examine the life history of the vessel by placing it within the context of Mallory’s business as well as the broader context of post-Civil War maritime commerce to assess the historical and archaeological significance of the shipwreck.

### Introduction

The coastline adjacent to Fort Fisher holds one of the largest collections of American Civil War shipwrecks in the world. Located immediately north of where the Cape Fear River meets the Atlantic, Fort Fisher represented a pivotal outpost for the South during the war. Due to the unique geography of the area, the Union blockade, executing the famed Anaconda Plan, had to cover an arc of almost fifty miles to effectively obstruct the entrance to the river.<sup>1</sup> As a result, steam-powered blockade runners could sneak past Union forces and provision

the Confederacy with products from industrial Europe through the nearby port of Wilmington. This made the Cape Fear area a vital center for Southern commerce during the Civil War. The importance of Wilmington to North Carolina and the Confederacy persisted throughout the war and continued after Union forces seized Fort Fisher, and eventually the city itself by February 1865. In recognition of the historical significance of these vessels, in December 1985, the Cape Fear Civil War Shipwreck District was included in the National Register of Historic Places.<sup>2</sup>

Archaeologically, the shipwreck district contains the material remains of more than thirty blockade runners, several of which are located less than a mile from Fort Fisher. Maritime historians and archaeologists have also identified the wrecks of several Union vessels that sank while attempting to maintain the blockade. Included in this area are vessels that were impacted by the effects of the war but were not directly involved with the wartime efforts of the Union or Confederacy. The steamship *Twilight* is a vessel that highlights another important chapter in the history of the United States immediately after the end of the Civil War, when steamships were used to reinstate the old connections and trade lines between the North and South.

Following Confederate surrender in April 1865, the economy of the South was left in ruins. The months immediately afterward were integral in beginning to

reconstruct the fractured nation. During the war, the blockade running vessels and Confederate commerce-raiders had supported the Southern economy. Once trade lines reopened, it was northern steamships that dominated this market.<sup>3</sup> The steamship *Twilight* epitomizes not only the type of vessel involved with this southern enterprise, but its wrecking demonstrates the trials and tribulations associated with resurrecting coastal trade in the post-Civil War United States.

This study will discuss the history and archaeology of *Twilight* by examining the vessel from two contextual viewpoints: first, through an examination of Charles Mallory's business in Mystic, Connecticut leading up to *Twilight's* construction, and second, via a detailed overview of *Twilight's* life of from its launch to its wrecking. This analysis will explain how the history of *Twilight* and Charles Henry Mallory fit in the broader context of mid-nineteenth century America and post-Civil War maritime industry once the demand for shipbuilding subsided and the floodgates for southern trade opened. Following is a general description of the Cape Fear area, then an account of the *Twilight* shipwreck site, its subsequent identification, and description of the remaining archaeological site. *Twilight* was a product of its time and the loss of the vessel and its cargo serves as a case study highlighting the economic struggles of southern enterprise and coastal trade immediately following the Civil War.

## The Mallorys of Mystic

The steamer *Twilight* was one of many steamships built in the yards of Charles Mallory in Mystic, Connecticut. In the nineteenth century, the Mystic area was composed of numerous autonomous villages that occupied a small region within the Mystic River Valley. Along the west bank of the river was the town of Groton, with the village of Stonington to the east. Near the mouth of the river on the Groton side was the village of Noank. Upriver, the town of Portersville, which later became known as Mystic Bridge, today's Mystic, was located at one of the best fords along the waterway. The largest village, Head of the River, was

aptly named at the most inland tip of the waterway where various streams emptied into the Mystic River estuary. This is now the modern town of Old Mystic.<sup>4</sup> In the early nineteenth century, the collective Mystic area entered its most prosperous era, where business-minded individuals, such as Charles Mallory, pioneered and promoted an economy based on shipbuilding and coastal trade. This made Mystic one of the country's centers for maritime industry (Figure 1).

In December 1816, a young Charles Mallory left his apprenticeship as a sail-maker in New London, Connecticut, and crossed the ferry to Groton where he was able to secure work in one of the local sail-making lofts. Shortly thereafter, Mallory opened his own business in Stonington, and within the span of only a few years he had become one of Mystic's leading citizens.<sup>6</sup> Beginning in 1822, Mallory began to diversify his sail-making business by investing in the outfitting, supplying, and eventual ownership of whaling vessels. To expand the range of his investments, four years after investing in his first whaling ship, Mallory purchased shares in the 46-ton sloop *Connecticut*. Until December 1861, Mallory and his sons invested in twenty-six sloops, thirty-five schooners, eight brigs, eight barks, and fifteen ships employed in domestic and foreign commerce.<sup>7</sup> Despite the advent of railroad and steam technology, the Mallorys still found the coastal market a viable and profitable trading enterprise for sailing vessels until the onset of the Civil War. These profits derived primarily from the cotton, lumber, sugar, and rice trades between southern agricultural states and northern industrial mills.<sup>8</sup>

Through this trade, Mallory intimately involved himself with numerous shipbuilders in Connecticut and New York, but initially only as a customer or supplier. His experience in the maritime industry, however, had given him the ability to analyze ships through a sail-maker's eyes, and his opinions on a vessel's capacity, speed, economy, endurance, and beauty were highly valued. Therefore, his ultimate decision to diversify into shipbuilding was a

logical outgrowth of his own success and entrepreneurial knowledge.<sup>9</sup> As Mallory's business continued to grow, he relied more on his family to help to manage his rapidly growing investments. In 1846, he enlisted the help of his eldest son Charles Henry Mallory, who had worked in the sail loft at age eleven and gone to sea at fifteen. Charles Henry eventually served as a captain for several sailing vessels involved in coastal trade. Due to his experience with the coastal market, Charles Henry quickly moved into a supervisory position in his family's cargo business and by the mid-1850s, had opened a shipyard across the river from his father's.

By the early 1860s, while Charles Henry Mallory managed his father's assets, his siblings David, George, and Franklin Mallory were employed in the family's general store and Captain Benjamin Mallory was involved with the Mallory whaling fleet. As most of the family was involved with traditional assets, it was David and George Mallory who brought technological innovation to the business through the introduction of steam-power to the Mallory arsenal. In 1859, the two brothers convinced their father and older brother to begin construction of steam-driven vessels in Mallory yards. By that time, the total percentage of American tonnage carried by steamships had risen from 1.7% in 1822 to 14.9% in 1859 when the first Mallory steamship was launched.<sup>10</sup> After the addition of three more coastal steamers in 1860 for the Commercial Steamship Company line between Providence and New York, the outbreak of the Civil War forever changed the family business.

The Civil War marked the greatest boom for shipbuilding over any other industry in the history of Mystic. When war broke out, the people of Mystic, including the Mallory family, fully supported the Union. The oncoming war hit a personal note when the family's relative, Stephen Russell Mallory, the new Secretary of the Navy for the Confederate States, inquired about the construction of efficient steam vessels. The northern Mallory relatives, however, dismissed his request.<sup>11</sup> Once the attack on Fort Sumter marked

the beginning of the war on April 12, 1861, the Mallory's business strategy needed to change. To concentrate on the production of viable steamers, the family's whaling fleet was liquidated and many of the coastal sloops and schooners were sold or transferred to military use. Additionally, the shipyards began to forgo the construction of sailing vessels to accelerate the production of steamships.

Later in 1861, the Mallorys sold two of their early steamers *Varuna* and *Stars and Stripes* to the U.S. Navy while simultaneously bidding for government contracts. These vessels served throughout the war, with *Stars and Stripes* eventually re-designated *Metropolis*, which infamously sank off the coast of North Carolina's Outer Banks. After multiple complex and drawn out bidding wars for several warship contracts, which only resulted in the construction of the gunboat *Owasco*, the Mallorys decided to focus instead on the growing demand for merchant and transport vessels. Mallory shipyards produced two more steamers in 1861, five in 1862 and 1863, and ten more from 1864 to 1865.<sup>12</sup>

In total, the four active shipyards in Mystic produced fifty-seven steamships during the war, twenty-two of which were produced by the Mallory family. Approximately one vessel was launched every two months, making the family's shipyards the most active in wartime construction over any of the other Mystic yards. Forty-six of the fifty-seven steamers launched in Mystic were either leased or sold outright to the War Department, Navy Department, or the Quartermaster Corps.<sup>13</sup> By 1863, however, the government purchase market dried up, forcing the ten Mallory steamers launched in 1864 and 1865 to either be operated on Mallory's own accounts or sold to private parties in the New York area. Many of the steamships that operated on Mallory's own account, however, did so under War Department charters and were managed through brokers in New York. These actions furthered the family's involvement in the Union wartime effort.

To outfit the steamships produced in Mallory yards, Charles Henry relied primarily on Delameter Iron Works of New York, the Mystic Iron Works, and the Reliance Machine Company. The Delameter facility was the third largest marine engine builder in the United States in the 1860s and the owner had been a long-time friend to the Mallory family. While Delameter filled the bulk of Mallory's orders, Reliance and Mystic Iron Works supplemented the family's growing mechanical needs. Mystic Iron Works, for example, was intimately involved with the Mallory's shipbuilding efforts since Charles Henry's brother David D. Mallory and family friend Joseph O. Cottrell co-founded the manufacturer in 1862. Their motivation was to further streamline the increased production of wooden steamers built in Mystic during the war. The wharves at the Mystic Iron Works were constantly occupied throughout the war and immediately afterward, when many vessels returned to be refitted for peacetime use (Figure 2).<sup>14</sup>

To facilitate the large quantity of contracts and charters partitioned by Mallory's company, Charles Henry hired Captain Elihu Spicer to manage his shipping investments in New York. This left Charles Henry, who had taken over his father's role as the leader of the family business, to take care of the shipyards in Mystic. Due to severe labor shortages in 1863, the costs for labor and materials increased faster than the selling prices for finished vessels. As a result, Charles Henry decided to halt production of steamships. According to Charles Henry, "...the steamers on hand are paid for with trifling exceptions...why we should [build to] sell for less than cost when it will take one year to replace them and say nothing of about the care and trouble is a question."<sup>16</sup>

Instead, Charles Henry emphasized the operation of steamships rather than their construction. As the war continued, the naval efforts of the Confederacy seriously affected coastal trading lines. Using well-armed commerce raiders, the Confederates caused amplified damage to ships sailing under the Union flag.



Figure 2. The Mallory-built transport steamer *A.J. Ingersoll*, along with the steamship *W.W. Coit* to her left, waiting to be fitted with machinery at the Mystic Iron Works docks in 1866 (Photo courtesy of Mystic Seaport Museum).<sup>15</sup>

By 1864, five Mystic-built vessels were destroyed by these commerce raiders. As a result, ships operating under Union accounts on the American coast were charged a higher insurance premium.<sup>17</sup> In turn, many ship-owners in Mystic decided to sell their American-built ships overseas. While some of Mallory's vessels moved abroad during this time, the majority continued to operate along the U.S. coastline.

As the war ended in 1865, the Mallory business had undergone major changes. The family's coastal sailing fleet had all but disappeared, which locked them into a commitment toward the construction and operation of steam vessels. The primary hub of business had also shifted as the family's business in New York became just as lucrative and important as the business in Mystic.<sup>18</sup> It was left to Charles Henry Mallory and his brothers to manage the difficult task of converting the family's wartime steamship investments into a post-war market.

Immediately following the end of the Civil War, President Andrew Johnson ordered a cutback in transports and

expenses for all departments of the government during the initial stages of Reconstruction. Shortly thereafter, Charles Henry received notice that the Navy Quartermaster Corps planned to lay up part of their fleet and sell purchased transport vessels to further cut expenses. Additionally, on May 1, 1865, Johnson opened all avenues of trade, which re-initiated the official lines of commerce between the North and South. Even though most Americans welcomed the prospect of peaceful trade, the harsh reality for ship-owners was that several hundred thousand tons of shipping had been abruptly dumped on a civilian market that was not adequately equipped to support it.<sup>19</sup> It was under these circumstances that *Twilight* was launched from the Mallory shipyard in June 1865.

### The Life and Times of the Steamship *Twilight*

Three *Twilights* were launched by the Mallory family in 1857, 1865, and 1866. The second *Twilight*, built in 1865, is the focus of this paper. According to records from Charles Henry Mallory, the wooden steamer was launched at 3 p.m. on June 17, 1865.<sup>20</sup> The schooner-rigged, screw steamer measured 150 ft. in length, had a 28 ft. breadth of beam, with a 22 ft. depth of hold, and weighed approximately 644 tons. The vessel also drew 10 ft. of water when cargo-laden.<sup>21</sup> *Twilight's* framing was composed of white oak and chestnut, which was held together with iron fasteners and treenails. The frames were spaced 26 inches from center to center and the floors were filled in solid for the whole length of the vessel. An article in the *New York Times* had high praise for *Twilight*:

"...she is a craft well calculated to give satisfaction on her proposed route of service, possessing speed, strength of hull and a variety of elegance of finish in her passenger department... the mess-rooms are on deck, and will be very pleasant in every kind of weather, and they are fitted in excellent style with all that is convenient or comfortable in departments."<sup>22</sup>

Immediately following its launch, *Twilight* was towed to Mystic Iron Works for installation of the boilers and machinery. The Iron Works placed a vertical, direct-acting steam engine into the vessel, with a single cylinder that measured 32 in. in diameter and a piston stroke of about 30–32 in.<sup>23</sup> Sources further describe the boiler as tubular, and that blowers were used in the furnace compartments. Additionally, the vessel was outfitted with all necessary pumps, bilge-injections and valves that were required for a steamer of its class.

Since the Mallory shipyard had been intimately involved with the wartime efforts of the Union, the ensuing transition into the civilian market proved difficult. At the cessation of hostilities, eight of the remaining Mallory-owned steamers were still under federal charter, a ninth was on the stocks in the shipyard, and the two clipper ships *Haze* and *Twilight* were running lines between New York and San Francisco. With the introduction of eight additional Mallory steamers into the market, on May 8, Charles Henry gave directions to run all the family's steamships on southern routes to try and develop the business. The steamer *Twilight* was one of these vessels.<sup>24</sup>

*Twilight* operated for the Atlantic Coast Mail Steamship Company, which ran a line from New York to Wilmington. The primary agents in New York were the firm of Livingston, Fox & Co. and Harris & Howell in Wilmington. The vessel was captained by Levi Spicer, son of Elihu Spicer, who was the longtime business partner of Charles Henry Mallory and troubleshooter for Mallory's business in New York. *Twilight's* first voyage departed Pier 36 on the North River, New York City, and carried passengers and merchandise on August 19, 1865.<sup>25</sup>

*Twilight* completed at least seven more voyages from New York to Wilmington until shortly before dawn on November 14, 1865, when Captain Spicer attempted to navigate the ship through New Inlet bar and into the port of Wilmington during a heavy northeasterly gale. At 3 a.m., the vessel ran aground and the

steamship foundered on the North Shoal approximately one-half mile east of Fort Fisher, one hundred yards from the wreck of the blockade runner *Condor* and submerged steamer *Arabian*.<sup>26</sup>

Upon hearing news of *Twilight*'s impending peril, Captain John A. Henriques and the United States Coast Guard Revenue Cutter (USCGRC) *Northerner* were dispatched to lend assistance to the stranded steamer. At 8 a.m., *Northerner* was underway, but the cutter could not pull up alongside the vessel without risk of grounding itself until the tide rose seven hours later that afternoon. Finally, at 3:30 p.m., *Northerner* made its way out to *Twilight* and gave the stranded vessel a hawser. After several attempts to refloat the steamer, Captain Henriques realized the hopelessness of the task.<sup>27</sup> Around 4:30 p.m., *Northerner* rescued the passengers and crew, along with other valuables, baggage, mail, and the ship's papers. By 6 p.m., *Northerner* parted cable and made way for Wilmington. Due to the thick, stormy weather, however, the cutter was forced to lay anchor in the Cape Fear River. The next morning at 6:30 a.m., the vessel sailed to Wilmington, and finally unloaded the rescued passengers two hours later.<sup>28</sup>

Soon after hearing news of the *Twilight*'s predicament, the primary concern was that the ship would go to pieces if not recovered. Some of the populace even entertained the possibility of getting the cargo off the vessel, if even in a damaged condition. Therefore, agents for the steamship, Harris and Howell, contracted *Northerner* along with the schooners *Constitution*, *Planet*, *Richmond*, *Wave*, and the steam tug *Oldham* to try to save the stranded vessel. The next day, with the wind gusting strongly from the east to southeast, *Northerner*, with *Constitution* in tow, attempted to pull alongside the fouled steamer. Due to "baffling winds," however, the vessels were forced to weigh anchor inside the bar at Five Fathom Hole.<sup>29</sup>

On Thursday, November 16, *Northerner* sent a boat with officers to investigate the status of *Twilight*. The officers found that

the vessel had shifted about one-fifth of a mile toward the beach. Thick fog, heavy rains and continued wind prevented any further attempts to pull the steamer free.<sup>30</sup> For several days under difficult conditions the crews tried to salvage what was possible, but little could be done. Any hopes for refloating the vessel were lost by November 17, when the ship had reportedly gone to pieces with the vessel's valuable cargo a total loss. Captain Hephron of the tug *Oldham* confirmed that *Twilight* had broken in "two days since ruining her magnificent engine and machinery, making a complete wreck of her."<sup>31</sup>

Despite accounts from rescued passengers aboard USCGRC *Northerner* who praised Captain Spicer and *Twilight*'s crew for their actions during the wrecking of the steamer, many consignees were not as understanding. An article by agents of the firm Fulton & Price stated that, "while [we] are not in full possession of both sides of the case...we are not subscribing to the convenient verdict of 'nobody to blame' when evidently there must be somebody to blame." In his journal, Charles Henry Mallory emphasized the "grand lack of judgment" on the captain's part for attempting to take the steamer into the harbor at night, after having been warned repeatedly by Mallory, that navigation in the Cape Fear area was very dangerous even in the best of conditions.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the failure to get *Twilight* off the bar, an account from the Daily Dispatch explained that wreckers were "reaping a golden harvest" with goods from the steamer.<sup>33</sup> The account observed that the decks of the vessel were cut to pieces, which allowed for easy access to the valuable contents of the cargo. Within a few days of the wrecking event, wreckers took all the most expensive cargo. A large quantity of the ship's furniture had also washed ashore and was gathered up by beachcombers who capitalized on the flotsam. The *Wilmington Daily Herald* also described the efforts of salvagers where, regardless of a storm the previous day, numerous salvage attempts by unidentified small boats were witnessed.<sup>34</sup> The same day, a tug brought

goods into port from *Twilight* that ranged from a common shovel to a more expensive hoop skirt.

Compounding this issue, early after the vessel went aground news had reached the public that the vessel, along with its extensive cargo, was mostly uninsured. An example of the problem this caused for consignees is demonstrated by the difficulties of Miss M.A. Buie, who had contracted a wrecker to recover her trunk from the shipwreck, but had not received any of her clothing or dry goods. Her account suggests the wrecker stole away with them. The items were valued at \$1,200, on which there was no insurance or means of recovering the value for her goods.<sup>35</sup> The *Daily Dispatch* went on to outline its own troubles with the remark, “we regret to learn that a large proportion of the cargo was not insured: we regret extremely that our box of ‘sorts’ has ‘gone up’ with the steamer. Who pays for that?”<sup>36</sup>

Within two weeks of *Twilight*’s grounding, the firm Cronly & Morris announced a public sale to liquidate the *Twilight*’s cargo recovered by *Oldham*, *Constitution*, *Wave*, and the sloop *William Bell*. Among the listed material were dry goods, clothing, blankets, boots, shoes, hats, umbrellas, furniture, leather, calfskins, tools, hardware, cutlery, saddlery and harnesses, foodstuffs, rope, cider, whiskey, and oil. In the same paper, the firm of Poalk & Allen published an auction notice to sell pieces of the hull, spars, and machinery of the vessel.<sup>37</sup> Three days later, the *Daily Herald* reported that the sale had made a profit of \$1,175 for the hull, spars and rigging, while the cargo still aboard the wreck sold for \$750.<sup>38</sup>

For Charles Henry Mallory, the complete loss of *Twilight* came at a particularly disastrous time: three of his steamships were wrecked in the month immediately prior, whereby two of which were a total loss. Insurance covered less than seventy-five percent of the value for these losses, with *Twilight* specifically valued at \$70,000.<sup>39</sup> Because of the success of Confederate commerce raiding vessels throughout the war, insurance rates

on U.S.-flag vessels had skyrocketed. Rather than switch to a foreign flag and save the cost of the high insurance rates, Mallory had chosen to remain with U.S. shipping. As a result, the cost to insure his vessels was too high, given the state of his business within the broader American economy. After losing *Twilight*, Mallory remarked that, “it does appear that the savings of years is wasting away rapidly... if things go on as they are now doing we had better lay the boats up.”<sup>40</sup>

The high cost of insurance was not the only issue ship-owners such as Mallory faced. As evidenced by *Twilight*’s consignment list, the contents onboard were one of the largest shipments that Wilmington had ever seen.<sup>41</sup> The extensive effort to refloat and salvage goods from the steamer further illustrated the value of its cargo. The list of consignees showed primarily local firms in Wilmington as well as nearly every prominent business house in nearby Fayetteville.<sup>42</sup> This high number of consignees per steamship was a characteristic necessity for American coastal shipping during this post-war period whereby ships engaging in southern routes attempted to fill their hold with as many passengers and as much cargo as possible to gain a profit on the voyage.

In late April 1865, the cutback in steam transports and other expenses for all departments of the government marked the transition away from a wartime market. Furthermore, the Navy Quartermasters Corps laid up part of their fleet and sold most of their previously purchased transport ships. This meant that all steamships previously used for the wartime effort were now given back to their owners. The resulting influx of shipping inflated the number of steamships operating in the civilian markets, which created competitive chaos.<sup>43</sup> To compensate for this problem, Charles Henry Mallory turned his focus to the newly opened southern trade. This strategy, however, was also common among Mallory’s competitors. Even though steamships typically found the expected demand in the trade-starved South, they ran into an over-abundance

of competitor carriers. On October 13, Mallory summarized the troubled state of southern enterprise:

“[We] have been very much engaged trying to induce consignees to advance the rate of freight. While the market for all kinds of goods is very high, the freight market never was so low by steamers. The Southern market is being supplied by immense quantities of goods at a very low rate and the owners of steamers are suffering. Many green hands are purchasing steamers and forming new lines from the South and cutting down the rate of freight. I prophesy that they will wake up before long and find that they have made a mistake and that their money is gone. We have 2 steamships running to New Orleans, 3 to Savannah, and 2 to Wilmington and their expenses are larger than their receipts. While the depreciation and wear of the machinery and boilers is frightful, I do not feel as though I could or ought to be willing to stand such business a great while...”<sup>44</sup>

In 1861 the internal tonnage of coastal trading ships reached a peak of 2,500,000 tons. By 1865, the enrolled tonnage was 150,000 tons greater.<sup>45</sup> As the government and U.S. Navy further liquidated their purchases and contracts, these transport and cargo steamers continued to inflate the civilian market. Southern markets became satiated with steamships and companies vying for business. Due to the overwhelming number of carriers, the increased competition caused the cost of freight to plummet, which made it difficult for ship-owners to turn a profit from any given line. As a result, ships like *Twilight* resorted to increasing their consignment and overloading their vessels to make each voyage a cost-effective endeavor. This caused increased wear to not only the machinery and vessels themselves, but also on the wallets of the ship-owners who managed the lines.

For *Twilight*, “whose sole fault was that it rolled heavily in violent seas,” the overburden of cargo was likely a contributing factor to the cause and significance of its loss.<sup>46</sup> The additional weight would have hindered the captain’s

ability to not only maneuver the ship through the difficult bars of New Inlet but also decrease the engine’s capacity to pull the vessel off the bar once it ran aground. Due to high insurance rates for passengers, nearly all the cargo was uninsured. Therefore, the wrecking of the steamer caused all of those who had investments in the ship to lose everything with little to no compensation. Once this news reached the public, salvers who sought to turn a profit from the lost goods quickly took a large amount of goods from the wreck. The result was a catastrophic loss of personal and trade items for all the vessel’s investors and consignees along with the ship itself.

This wrecking event, when viewed in the greater context of the post-war United States, highlights the unique and troubling state of the coastal maritime industry once the Civil War ended. This liminal period at end of the war was characterized by competitive and economic disorder for merchant shipping. For many ship-owners and ship-builders like Charles Henry Mallory, the post-war maritime industry could not be managed using pre-war strategies. With the substantial number of unused steamships along the coast, the management and operation of large-scale steamship lines became the predominant business model required for continued profit. The wrecking of *Twilight* illustrates the issues that prompted the changing mindset of business owners that would set the stage for intra-coastal shipping for years to come.

An examination of the life history of *Twilight* is useful for determining the historical significance of this shipwreck. On a local level, *Twilight* is not only a historically noteworthy landmark to the port of Wilmington and the Cape Fear, but as an archaeological site as well. In a region known for its Civil War history and heritage, the wreck of *Twilight* represents a largely unrecognized, but vital example of the legacy the Civil War left on North Carolina’s Cape Fear region.



## Identifying *Twilight*

In 1980 and 1984, North Carolina's Underwater Archaeology Unit, now Underwater Archaeology Branch (UAB) conducted magnetometer surveys off Fort Fisher. During these investigations, site NEI0008 was located, representing the eighth shipwreck discovered off New Inlet. Diver surveys in 1984 confirmed the presence of wreck material on the site and in 1985 all information on wreck sites near the Cape Fear were compiled and used as the basis for individual site investigations by the UAB. The reconnaissance strategy focused on confirming a wreck's existence, obtaining its location, and then recording basic site characteristics such as hull type, means of propulsion, site size and condition, and environmental setting.<sup>47</sup>

Initial investigations on UAB site NEI0008 were hindered by poor bottom visibility, but despite these conditions, a three-bladed propeller, drive shaft, as well as machinery and a boiler were identified along with iron hull structure, two lead pipes, and a brass valve. Further wreckage was found scattered up to seventy feet forward of the machinery area but was not extensively examined. Historic accounts of the wreck's location relative to the remains of Fort Fisher, along with the presence of an iron hull lead investigators to tentatively identify the wreck as the iron-hulled, screw steam driven USS *Louisiana*, or "Powder-Ship."<sup>48</sup>

To further facilitate the management of the wrecks in the Civil War Shipwreck District, in 1994 the UAB partnered with East Carolina University's Program in Maritime Studies to conduct a survey of these shipwrecks under a Memorandum of Agreement with the National Parks Service's American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP). Under that agreement, reconnaissance investigations were conducted on the blockade runners *Condor*, *Modern Greece*, *Stormy Petrel*, *Arabian*, the warships USS *Aster*, USS *Peterhoff*, USS *Louisiana*, and the steamer USS *Flambeau*. Each site was relocated, and the exposed remains were extensively documented over the course of three field seasons during the summers of 1995,

1996, and 1997. These investigations produced an overall assessment report on each wreck as well as a master's thesis on USS *Louisiana*.<sup>49</sup>

Fieldwork began on the possible USS *Louisiana* in the summer of 1995. The purpose of this investigation was to determine the condition of the wreck to track any changes since its 1980 discovery, confirm the identity, and produce a site plan for the vessel. During this time, divers failed to locate any iron or wooden hull structure despite dredging test trenches throughout the site. In the debris field forward of the machinery, divers also found a leather boot, cutlery handles, and ironware ceramic sherds. Furthermore, measurements of the steam machinery on the site did not seem to match up with historic sources of *Louisiana*, which had been stripped of most of its fittings prior to being filled with explosives. The recovered material and observations made during this fieldwork led researchers to conclude that the shipwreck was not that of USS *Louisiana*, but rather the wood-hulled, screw steamship *Twilight*.<sup>50</sup>

Identification of *Twilight* was based on the location of the site as well as the nature of the surviving machinery. Further research confirmed that *Twilight* was lost on the northeastern extremity of Caroline Shoal, north of the historic entrance to New Inlet. As previously described, these accounts placed the vessel one-half mile east of Fort Fisher, one hundred yards east of the wreck of the steamer *Arabian*, and near wreck of the blockade runner *Condor*. The location of the wreck site NEI0008 corresponded with these descriptions (Figure 3).<sup>51</sup> Subsequent fieldwork on the three wrecks identified nearby verified that they indeed represented the iron-hulled *Condor*, the wood-hulled, walking beam steamer USS *Flambeau*, and the paddlewheel steamer *Arabian*. Furthermore, the machinery on the site corroborated historical descriptions of the inverted single cylinder steam engine, propeller shaft, propeller, and horizontal fire-tube boiler configuration for the steamship. Due to the corresponding location of loss and matching machinery

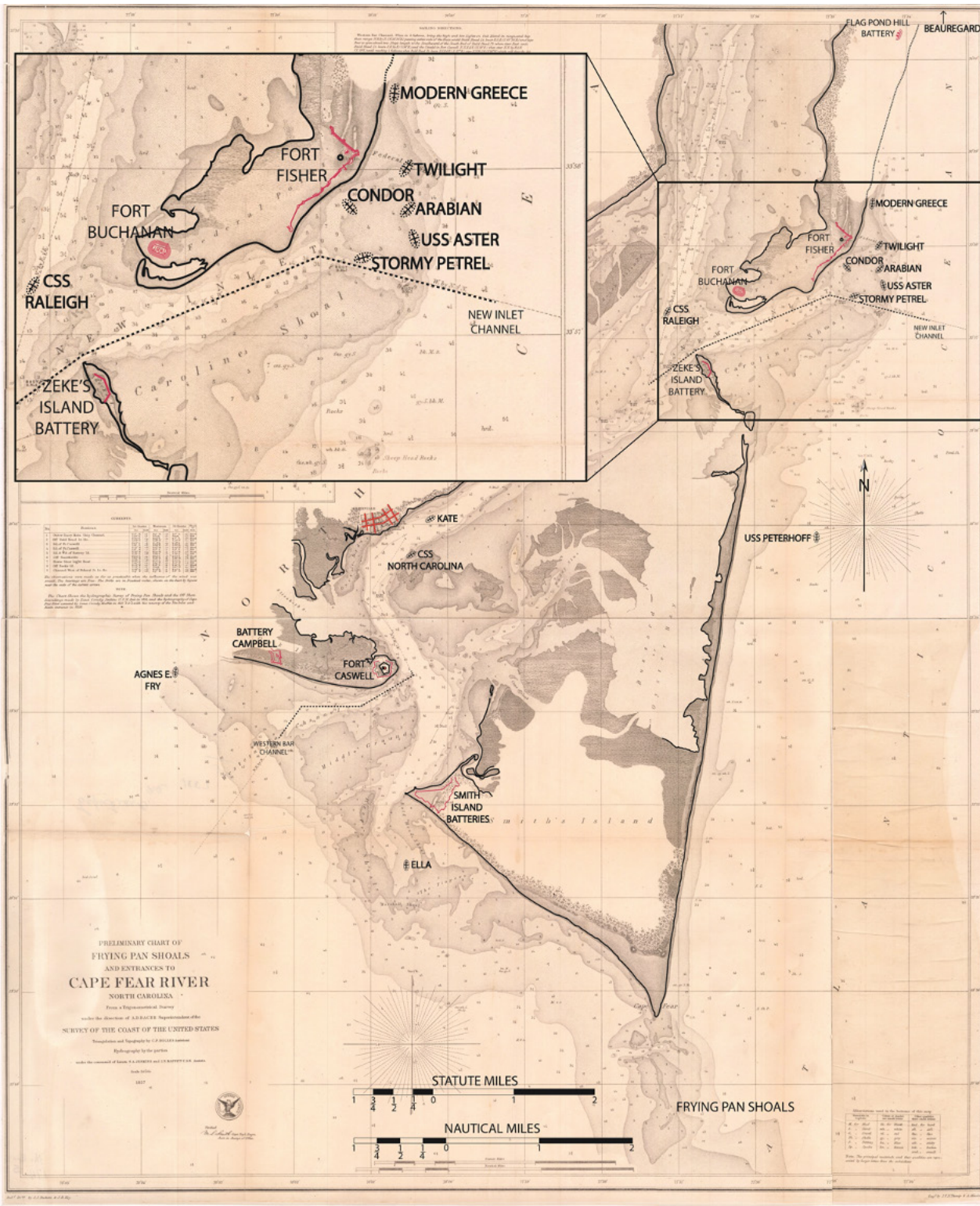


Figure 3. Contemporary nautical chart showing the location of *Twilight* in relation to Fort Fisher and Carolina Shoal (Image by Greg Stratton, NCDNCR, modified by author).

on the site, identification of the site as the steamship *Twilight* was confirmed beyond a reasonable doubt.

In 2016, the UAB revisited *Twilight* as part of a survey conducted through the ABPP. The site was recorded acoustically and magnetically, but overall little changed from the previous fieldwork conducted in 1995–1996. The scour and bottom sediment shifted slightly, but no additional features were visible to the survey team.<sup>52</sup>

### *Twilight* Shipwreck Remains

*Twilight* rests on a silt, sand, and shell hash bottom in approximately 25 feet of water. The wood hull of the ship has deteriorated and left little to no wooden structural remains visible on the site; only the vessel's steam machinery is exposed (Figure 4). The components of the machinery consist of the intact steam engine, propeller shaft, screw, and fragments of the fire-tube boiler. Positioning of the remains indicate that the wreck is facing perpendicular to the shore with the propeller on the seaward, southeastern side of the site. Scattered wreckage extends 70 feet forward of the boiler where additional cargo items were found.<sup>53</sup>

Examination of the exposed machinery confirmed that *Twilight* was fitted with an inverted direct-acting steam engine. The single cylinder had a measurement of 48 inches in length, which indicated a short stroke of less than 24 in. The cylinder was housed in an iron frame assembly that rose 10 feet in height. The remains of the boiler were found in six major sections approximately 10 feet forward and 25 feet starboard of the steam engine and main gear housing. The most intact cluster of fire tubes measure 13 feet in total length and 4 feet 6 inches in width. Three more fragments are likely parts of the shell and fire tube faceplate beside the collection of fire tubes. On the outboard side of this section are two fragments of the shell and water chamber.<sup>54</sup>

The propeller shaft extends 42 feet aft to the propeller, and measures 12 inches

in diameter. A stuffing box is mounted one foot aft of the flange and 12 feet 3 inches forward of the cutlass bearing. The propeller shaft continues aft and is fitted at the end with an iron propeller. The propeller was cast with four blades, however only three remain, each measuring about 36 inches in length with the central diameter of the propeller's hub measuring 24 inches. Despite damage to the blades, the full diameter of the propeller measures approximately 8 feet.<sup>55</sup>

The high volume of cargo placed onboard to compensate for large freight rates by ship-owners like Charles Henry Mallory is demonstrated in the archaeological record by an artifact debris field forward of the machinery. Furthermore, the relatively small size of the engine components, notably the short-stroke cylinder compared to the size of the vessel prompts the question of whether this machinery was sufficient to handle the increased amount of cargo. Charles Henry acknowledged that running a continual line with a heavy, cargo-laden vessel might cause increased wear and depreciation on the machinery. Ultimately this was viewed as an unfortunate, but necessary side effect to keep the business going and continue turning a profit.<sup>56</sup> Further archaeological and historical analysis into the effects of wear on machinery could reveal information on how exactly it may have affected *Twilight*'s ability to navigate through and ultimately free itself from the treacherous waters surrounding the Cape Fear.

### Conclusion

This paper placed the steamer *Twilight* within its historical context to illustrate the vessel's significance not only in the history of the post-Civil War United States but also in the history of North Carolina's Cape Fear River area. The life of *Twilight* illustrates a period of maritime history that has gone largely unnoticed by maritime historians and archaeologists. While the steamer was not directly involved with the Civil War, it is fitting that it is located within the North Carolina Cape Fear Civil War

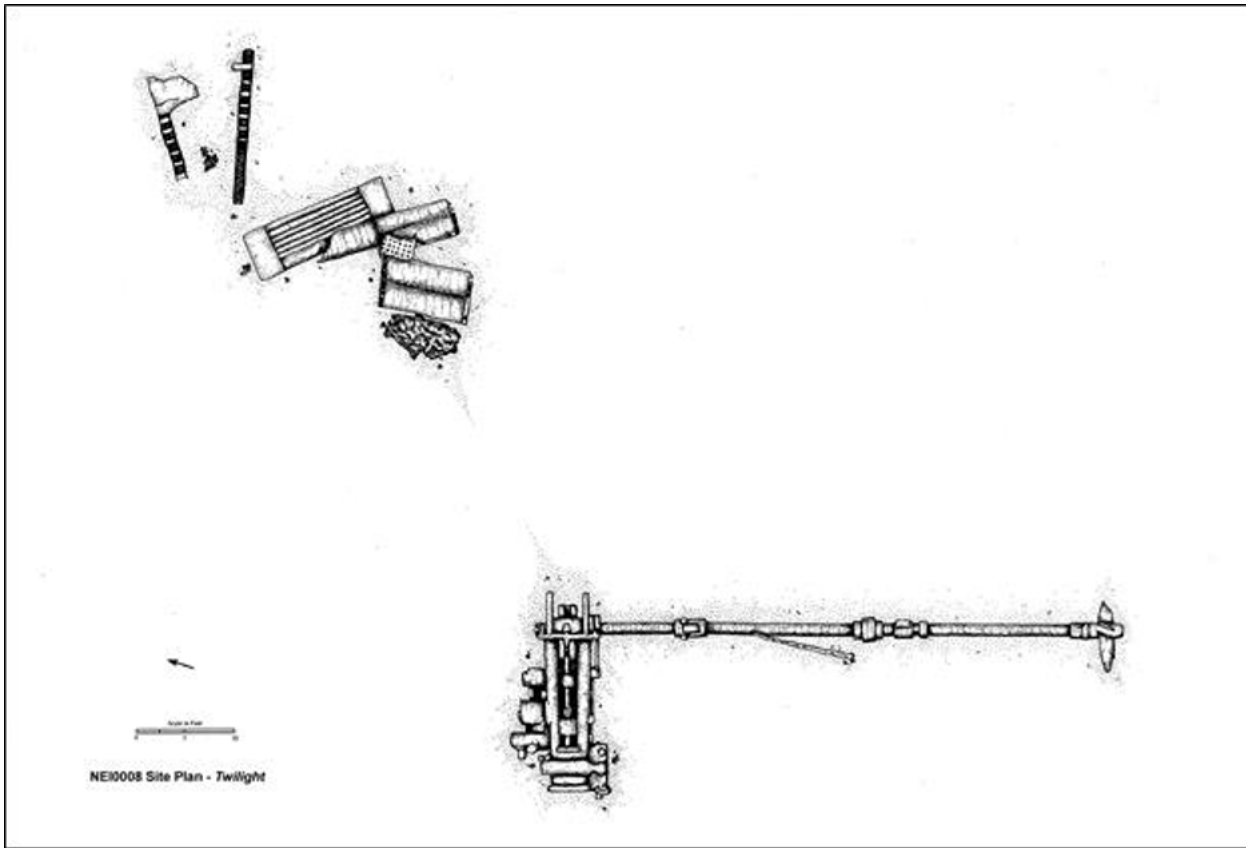


Figure 4. Site plan for Twilight (Image courtesy of NCDNCR).

Shipwreck District, as the effects of the war profoundly influenced the steamship in many ways. Therefore, by placing the loss of the steamer within its broader historical context, the greater importance of the vessel on a national and local level can be determined. *Twilight* not only serves as a case study for the rejuvenation of the southern coastal trade, but also for the rebuilding of the nation's maritime industry and identity as a whole along with the struggles that went with it.

Given the historic significance of *Twilight* to the legacy of the Civil War in coastal North Carolina, this research has prompted further avenues of potential archaeological and historical research. Archaeologically, in addition to some scattered wreckage, most of what remains of the steamer is its heavy machinery. Analysis into the machinery used on *Twilight* and its potential capabilities should supplement the historical context of the vessel and further clarify the effects post-Civil War maritime commerce had on the physical endurance of steamships involved with this trade.

Also, specific research into the firms represented on *Twilight's* consignment list, whose primary locations were in Wilmington and Fayetteville, could reveal information on how the wrecking of this vessel affected these businesses and areas. Furthermore, the lack of insurance coverage for the cargo on the ship, as well as for the ship itself, is an additional factor of the wrecking that could be expanded upon. Ultimately, *Twilight* presents a fascinating case study for a pivotal period of American and North Carolina maritime history. Research on this important steamship is just beginning and it is hoped that this paper will promote the site as an important maritime historical and archaeological component of the Cape Fear Civil War Shipwreck District.

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# *A Pirate Haven?*

## The Pirates and their Relationship with Colonial North Carolina

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by Allyson Ropp

### *Tributaries*

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Colonial North Carolina and piracy are linked through the actions that occurred over four decades of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. History and legends hold that pirates were widespread across the colony's coast. They used the area for opportunistic plundering at sea and in the sounds. For ease of access to their hunting grounds, they lived on the barrier islands. The monetary gains from plundering allowed them to infiltrate the political and economic structures in the colony. Through these means, the pirates utilized the colony for their needs, creating a temporary haven for piracy to flourish.

For the pirates who came to the area between 1690 and 1730, Colonial North Carolina was a port of opportunity and necessity. The colony attracted pirates with its relative isolation, location along major trade routes, dysfunctional political and economic structures, and a disinterested populace. These features allowed pirates to continue their raiding, to find refuge for refitting and survival, and to seek a new life. It had the opportunity and potential to be a new pirate haven. While the area held the opportunity and the features for a haven, the colony failed to develop into this perceived haven for the North Carolina pirates.

### Colonial North Carolina

North Carolina between 1690 and 1730 was a backwater colony of the British Empire. The colony sat between Virginia to the north and South Carolina to the south. While similarities existed between

these three colonies, North Carolina had a more arduous physical landscape. This difficult environment dictated the growth of the economy in the colony. The economy faced significant hardships as merchants feared the treacherous landscape. The location and stagnant economy meant no support from the political powers who controlled the colony. The Lords Proprietors in England and the local governance did not care to support or grow the economy of North Carolina, as profit grew in South Carolina. The politicians also had a remote populace. The colonists of North Carolina sought freedom, solitude, and little political oversight. These characteristics created the foundations for a place that would soon attract pirates to its shores.<sup>1</sup>

The physical environment dictated all life in Colonial North Carolina. The eastern part of Colonial North Carolina was like today's landscape. John Lawson, a naturalist and traveler to the colony in the early 1700s, described the area:

“a Chain of Sand-Banks, which defends it from the Violence and Insults of the Atlantick Ocean; by which Barrier, a vast Sounds is hemm'd in, which fronts the Mouths of the Navigable and Pleasant Rivers of this Fertile Country, and into which they disgorge themselves.”<sup>2</sup>

The arrangement of sounds, low-lying sand bars, barrier islands, rivers, and marshes created a difficult environment to inhabit and navigate. The barrier islands were surrounded on the ocean side by shallow shoals. Through the

barrier islands were inlets, which varied in depth and accessibility.<sup>3</sup> The depth in the inlets dictated the type and size of vessel that could enter. Some inlets permitted only “Sloops, Brigantines, small Barks, and Ketches.”<sup>4</sup> These were the northern inlets of Currituck and Roanoke: approximately ten feet deep and accessible to the Albemarle Sound.<sup>5</sup> Some inlets on the barrier islands were further from the mainland, which made them unusable. Located in the middle of the colony, Hatteras Inlet and Ocracoke Inlet were approximately seven to eight fathoms deep, but were not close enough to mainland infrastructure to support economic growth.<sup>6</sup> The shallowest inlet, Topsail Inlet, had a depth of seven feet. Least used, the inlet was only navigable with low-draft ships in the right conditions. The Cape Fear River held the deepest inlet, and furthest south, and was able to “receive Ships of Burden.”<sup>7</sup> The Cape Fear River opened into the Atlantic Ocean and became the main port of call for the colony by 1725.<sup>8</sup> Once through the inlets, sailors had to contend with the open sounds. The sounds had unique wind patterns and hidden shoals and sand traps that were as shallow as two fathoms.<sup>9</sup> The weather and shoals created ship traps and a dangerous environment to navigate.

The treacherous environment influenced much that occurred in the colony. Even though North Carolina sat along major offshore trade routes of the colonial eastern seaboard and to Europe from the Caribbean, most merchants knew of the difficulties and decided there was nothing to gain but ruin by entering the colony. Those merchants, brave enough to attempt entry, were small fishing traders and illegal traders.<sup>10</sup> The lack of legal, willing merchants compounded the existing economic deficiencies present in Colonial North Carolina and drove colonists to fend for themselves by undertaking trading alliances with illegal entities, such as smugglers and pirates.

The main economic deficiency of the colony was that it lacked profitable resources. The available resources included “Pine, [for] Pitch, Tar, and Masts,” a variety of meats both domestic

and wild, produce, fish, whaling products, and Indian trade.<sup>11</sup> These resources, though useful, were not profitable within the British Empire. The colony did attempt to produce a profitable crop, tobacco. A tobacco planter in the colony, Zachariah Gillam, exported 889 hogsheads of tobacco over twenty years.<sup>12</sup> While this was a significant amount, North Carolina tobacco was not as lucrative or as desirable as Virginia tobacco. Because of its lower quality, the colonists struggled to export their products.<sup>13</sup> This deficiency forced colonists to find profits through other means.<sup>14</sup>

Many colonists took to farming and animal husbandry to earn income. These profits were local, rather than being bought and sold to other parts of the colony or internationally. Further, these ventures were for survival. To acquire other goods, colonists formed alliances and partnerships with illegal traders, smugglers, and pirates.<sup>15</sup> This trade provided goods necessary for survival, but also items unavailable from Britain. Smuggling and illicit trade occurred openly during the late 1600s and early 1700s. A case from 1679 focused on the seizure of “8 or 900 Hogsheads together with sundry other European Goods... to the value of 1200£ sterling” by the customs office in the Albemarle.<sup>16</sup> Small smuggling and pirate vessels frequently sailed through Roanoke Inlet.<sup>17</sup> The constant reliance on illicit trade led to England admonishing many colonies, including North Carolina, for acting as a place of refuge and trade for the colony.<sup>18</sup>

The admonishment did not curtail illegal trade and smuggling within North Carolina. Bath Town residents saw illegal traders, particularly pirates, as “the bringers of goods to a poor, very isolated part of the world.”<sup>19</sup> Through them, colonists obtained goods “imported thither from foreign parts” and partook in smuggling themselves to aid in their survival mindset.<sup>20</sup> The reliance on illicit trade reflected the backwater nature of the colony and the survival mentality of the colonists. With few options, colonists chose survival over legality. This option was exacerbated by the lack of legal



merchants crossing the treacherous waters to engage with an unprofitable colony.<sup>21</sup>

These same choices reflected the political attitudes toward North Carolina, where there were difficulties in exerting political control. Political indifference toward North Carolina began with the creation of the Carolina colony in 1663. This colony consisted of both North and South Carolina. The King of England granted the Lords Proprietors the freedom to create and govern the area as they saw fit, as long as it remained in agreement with English law.<sup>22</sup> This freedom allowed the Lords Proprietors to be hands-off with the governance of the colony and to appoint governors in their stead.

The Carolina colony had two governors. One served the upper part: the small Albemarle County in the far north of the colony.<sup>23</sup> The other presided over the lower part of the colony. The lower part had three settlements, two around the Cape Fear River and one at Charles Town, between the Cooper and Ashley Rivers (present-day Charleston, South Carolina).<sup>24</sup> With the failure and abandonment of the Cape Fear settlements by 1667, Charles Town remained the only incorporated town.<sup>25</sup> It became the seat of the governor for the entirety of the lower part of the colony. With the seat of power in Charles Town and no incorporated settlements in the expanse between it and the Albemarle, the governor and the Lords Proprietors focused their energies on growth around Charles Town. This energy created a burgeoning port and plantation economy.<sup>26</sup> This focus meant little concern was paid toward the remainder of the lower governor's domain.<sup>27</sup>

The growth of Charles Town and the lack of growth in the rest of the lower part of the colony was soon noted by the local government as well as the proprietors. The proprietors learned of the differences and difficulties of governing such a large expanse. They decided to split the colony into two separate entities.<sup>28</sup> The decision reflected the political, economic, and social differences across the area. Sir William Berkeley stated that not only

was the colony an overwhelming size, but the people differed in their temperament, religion, and way of life.<sup>29</sup> In 1669, the colony split, each part had a separate local government,<sup>30</sup> and the divide became permanent in 1710, creating North Carolina and South Carolina.<sup>31</sup>

The divide reflected differences in the political interest of the colonists as well. The area that became South Carolina consisted of plantation owners from Barbados and the Caribbean. They brought established wealth to the area and sought to continue to grow their strength through a strong political system.<sup>32</sup> The area that became North Carolina did not have the same type of populace. The people were focused on survival rather than political power and growth. This focus extended to the governors in North Carolina. They worked solely for their own self-interest rather than the betterment of the colony. Outsiders described this condition as “a governor who does not in the least countenance them in this business, but rather discourage them” and “no regular Government.”<sup>33</sup> The communal apathy in North Carolina allowed it to become politically stagnant and further added to the backwardness, almost lawless feeling, that existed in the colony.<sup>34</sup>

The colonists' detachment came in part from their diverse backgrounds. While collectively poor, the populace consisted of people seeking privileges unattainable in other parts of the world. Part of the population were freed indentured servants from Virginia, who wanted unclaimed land and the new life promised at the start of their servitude. Another part consisted of runaway slaves from surrounding plantations and colonies, who sought solace and freedom from servitude in the dangerous marshy landscape. A third portion of the population were Quakers and other persecuted religious factions, who wanted a place to freely practice their religious beliefs.<sup>35</sup> All of these groups sought a place to be free and to do as they will without influence by others. Above all else, they wanted land.<sup>36</sup>

Since North Carolina had seen little political and economic growth since the colony's creation, the land was readily available for the people that dared venture to the colony. These groups scattered themselves across the territory. The distances between plots of owned land and the isolative natures of the groups meant few established towns existed and the reported population size was small. By 1696, "only sixty or seventy families" occupied the colony.<sup>37</sup> The population rose to more than 15,000 by 1710.<sup>38</sup> The colonists were viewed in a negative light. To the outside world, North Carolina was a place of "anarchy and confusion" and perceived as a place where "their business is wholly to be drunk."<sup>39</sup>

Some in the colony attempted to change this image. John Lawson, through his writings and efforts, showed the colony had places of civility and grandeur, as in England. He acknowledged, however, that certain aspects of civility were absent and pushed for the trade of luxury items with the colony. These goods included guns and ammunitions, linens of common and rich quality, clothes for men and women including six-shilling hats, and wigs.<sup>40</sup> Even Lawson realized the colony needed greater English influence. His dream of a "civilized" North Carolina was dashed by rampant poverty and bad relationships with the native people. Although many were poor when they came to the colony, the Tuscarora War (1711-1715) further emphasized this. In its aftermath, the colonists were "greatly impoverished: them at news and Pamptico having most of their houses and household goods burnt, their stocks of Cattle, hogs horses, &c, killed, and carried away."<sup>41</sup>

Sitting between two prominent trading colonies, North Carolina was well situated on major trading routes along the eastern seaboard, but the treacherous waterways and hostile environment discouraged large merchant interaction. Merchants were further opposed to trading with the colony because of the lack of profitable goods for sale. While some tradable goods were present, much of the production in North Carolina was for survival rather than commerce. Without a large reward for their efforts, merchants

saw no reason to risk disaster in North Carolina waters to trade. The lack of trade hindered political interest in the colony and the colonists largely sought freedom from oversight, also inhibiting the process. The impoverished colony was considered lawless and uncivilized. It was in this dangerous, hostile, and anarchical environment that pirates became a means for trade and global interaction.

## The Pirates

Piracy during the late 1600s and early 1700s spanned the globe. Spread across the world, pirates sought freedom on the seas and a means to make a living. In the areas they plundered, pirates made camp, traded for necessary goods, refit their ships, and found relative safety. Pirate havens were often on shipping lanes, had access to necessary resources, and little to no political oversight. In some places, like North Carolina, pirates created a symbiotic relationship with the colonists. A descendant of a Bath Town colonist described North Carolina as "descendants from those wild fellow, the folks of North Carolina lived by the goodness of pirates and many claim ancestries to them. Those 'sea dogs' were the bringers of goods to a poor, very isolated part of the world."<sup>42</sup>

Eight well-known pirates sailed in and out of North Carolina during the late 1600s and early 1700s. These pirates—Henry Every, John Redfield, Edward "Blackbeard" Teach, Stede Bonnet, Charles Vane, Richard Worley, George Lowther, and William Fly—and their respective crews came to North Carolina for several reasons. The reasons included safety for work, safety for a new life, and safety for leisure. Often, the reasons for coming were not independent of one another. Unfortunately, the safety and assurances offered in North Carolina came with threats from the outside world. North Carolina later turned dangerous for many of the pirates who sought the shores of the colony.<sup>43</sup>

The location of North Carolina provided a place of opportunity for pirates to safely work. Within the area, the shoals, islands, and sandbars offered accessible ports for launching attacks and created choke

points and natural ship traps that aided their endeavors. The location provided easy access to the major shipping lanes along the eastern seaboard. These features allowed the pirates to work and provided ample prizes. They could use the environment to their benefit to capture these prizes. William Fly, a mutineer turned pirate in 1726, spotted the sloop, *John & Hannah*, off the Cape Hatteras bar. Fly attempted to take the prize. After failing to coerce the captain, he used the bar to sink the ship.<sup>44</sup> The environment, deemed dangerous by some, allowed pirates to practice their trade and capture prizes.

The environment also provided pirates with the necessary resources and areas needed for bettering their trade. These needs included careening and refitting their vessels, gathering food and freshwater, and taking a break from being on the water. North Carolina had a perfect environment for conducting this business. The land had a constant supply of freshwater, many edible plants, scores of wild animals, and good places for careening ships. One place frequently used for this was the Cape Fear River. It had all these necessary features. It was also less exposed to the open ocean than some of the island chains, and it lacked a significant population, allowing the pirates to conduct their business in peace. Stede Bonnet, Richard Worley, and George Lowther all sought the river for this purpose.<sup>45</sup> Lowther provides the best example of the resources utilized by pirates during these refits. In need of repairs, he and his crew made port and remained in the area through the winter. They hunted “generally in the Day Times, killing black Cattle, Hogs, etc. for their Subsistence, and in the Night retired to their Tents and Huts, which they made for Lodging; and sometimes when the Weather grew very cold, they would stay aboard of their Sloop.”<sup>46</sup> His time in the colony reinforces the use of the environment for their work.

The colony offered more than the environment for the pirates to ply their trade. They also found people willing to trade with them for their goods. Some even found protection within the

government. Edward Teach epitomizes this connection with the people and the government. Teach took to pirating from the North Carolina colony in the fall of 1718. Gifted a ship by the governor, Teach, Governor Charles Eden, and secretary of the colony Tobias Knight, soon agreed on prizes. Teach would capture the prizes, the cargo would come into Bath Town, and the goods would be distributed by the governor and secretary as legal for the profits of all three men and Teach’s crew. Teach soon captured two French sloops off Bermuda and the goods were successfully shuttled through Bath Town.<sup>47</sup> Teach’s ability to work with the government and people in the colony effectively allowed him and his crew to work freely, while also providing a forgotten colony with necessary supplies and also luxury items.

The North Carolina colony further offered the opportunity for a new life for pirates. North Carolina had little government oversight and a sparse, resilient populace that former pirates could join. These features led Henry Every to suggest North Carolina to his crew as a place for a new life. Every and his men had captured an incredible prize in the Indian Ocean, filled with “rich offerings to present at the shrine of Mahomet,... slaves and attendants,...rich habits and jewels, with vessels of gold and silver, and great sums of money.”<sup>48</sup> The crew traveled back to America and split the earnings. Some men returned with Every to the British Isles, while others chartered a vessel to Carolina, as Every suggested. Every knew from his time in the colony that these men would be able to start over, likely along the Cape Fear River.<sup>49</sup> His crew could find solitude and a new life among the people they encountered.

A similar situation occurred in 1718 but on a grander scale. In 1718, the British Crown offered a pardon to all pirates. The pardon provided a chance for a new start. In return, the pirates had to give up pirating.<sup>50</sup> As pirates considered their option for a career change, they looked for a location that was accepting. This included North Carolina. Many pirates knew that North Carolina had good relationships with pirates, difficult

dealings with merchants, and little political oversight. In June 1718, Teach accompanied by Bonnet sought pardons from the governor of North Carolina. After wrecking his flagship in Topsail Inlet, Teach sent Bonnet to retrieve the pardons. Teach took a separate vessel to receive the pardon and abandoned Bonnet and most of his crew.<sup>51</sup> Both men received the pardons, but only one started a new life. Teach lived in Bath Town, married Mary Ormond, and befriended the government officials.<sup>52</sup> While Teach did not stay in his new life long, he did attempt to hold to the pardon and create a new image for himself in a place welcoming to his kind.

The isolation of the colony provided John Redfield with the most successful new life. While his story may be a legend, Redfield supposedly navigated the socio-economic landscape of North and South Carolina. A trusted sailor of William Kidd, Redfield remained behind at the Cape Fear River to guard two buried treasure chests. Both chests would be his if he did not hear from Kidd for ten years. These ten years never came to pass, as Redfield heard of Kidd's trial and execution and recovered the chests.<sup>53</sup> Around the same time as this potential legend and Kidd's hanging, a group of pirates came to Charles Town. The Governor of Carolina, the Earl of Bellomont, wrote to Secretary Vernon that "4 or 5 very rich Pyrats were come to Charlestown... and they had 2,000 pieces of gold, 3,000 pieces of eight, and a great quantity of jewels."<sup>54</sup> Colonial officials also state that some Kidd's crew had found refuge in the Carolina territory.<sup>55</sup> These writings and the legend show much overlap, leading to the belief that the pirates who entered Charles Town were Kidd's men with the buried treasure. Redfield made a new life for himself in a place that provided both isolation from the larger world and access to supplies. Local, and to some extent global, circumstances allowed his success in both North and South Carolina.<sup>56</sup>

The features of North Carolina offered an opportunity for peace for pirates. The locale, the types of people, the lack of people, and the lack of government oversight allowed pirates to enjoy relative

peace and rest during a time that they were hunted by large global forces.

Teach, after accepting his pardon and establishing his new life, set up camp on Ocracoke Island. This camp allowed him and his crew to rest freely.<sup>57</sup> Charles Vane soon joined them. Believed to be looking for Teach to establish a new pirate haven, Vane sailed for North Carolina. He found him on Ocracoke and remained with him for a week.<sup>58</sup> Richard Worley and George Lowther also sought and found relative peace within the colony. The solitude and isolation of the colony allowed for these pirates and their crews to take a break from the ever-encroaching world around them.

The peace soon broke and global threats led to the end of many of the pirates who frequented the North Carolina colony. Increased pirate activities in North Carolina endangered the neighboring colonies of South Carolina and Virginia. The actions of the pirates threatened not only the colonial settlements but also damaged the profits of the colonies. In the span of three months, pirates blockaded Charles Town twice before heading back north. Teach blockaded the port in June 1718 to obtain medical supplies. During the blockade, he also plundered vessels attempting to port there. After the completion of his blockade, Teach sailed to North Carolina.<sup>59</sup> Two months later, Vane blockaded Charles Town. Vane took "a ship from Guiney with negroes, and two sloops bound in, and the next day attack't four ships outward bound."<sup>60</sup> These actions forced the Governor of South Carolina to move against the pirates. He sent Colonel William Rhett to capture any pirate he could find in North Carolina.

Colonel Rhett left Charles Town in August 1718 with orders to apprehend Charles Vane. Expecting Vane to refit and restock in the Cape Fear River, Colonel Rhett set a course to the river.<sup>61</sup> Although Vane was not in the river, Bonnet was. Bonnet had anchored in the river to refit his vessel, *Royal James*. Finishing refits, Bonnet and his crew set to sail out the Cape Fear in early September. They sailed into Colonel Rhett, looking for Vane.<sup>62</sup> Rhett took Bonnet and his crew to

Charles Town where they were tried and hanged for piracy in December 1718.<sup>63</sup> Bonnet was not the only pirate captured in the Cape Fear River. Richard Worley, following his exploits in the Caribbean, anchored in the river. South Carolina officials learned of his presence and sent two sloops for his capture. Worley evaded capture in the river, only to be captured and hanged later for his crimes.<sup>64</sup>

Virginia, to the north, felt similar pressures to South Carolina. Though their major ports were not blockaded, the colony's profits were still threatened by the presence of pirates in North Carolina. Virginia governor, Alexander Spotswood, understood that the pirates were working with the North Carolina governor, Charles Eden. Governor Eden's dealings with pirates forced some of his constituents to seek help in Virginia. Small fishermen appealed to Governor Spotswood. They claimed that Teach and his crew raided vessels throughout the sound. With this facade, Governor Spotswood dispensed Lieutenant Robert Maynard to capture Teach. Maynard surprised Teach in November 1718 off Ocracoke Island. Maynard and his crew killed and beheaded Captain Teach and captured the surviving members of his crew. The remaining crew members were tried and hanged for piracy in Williamsburg, Virginia.<sup>65</sup>

The actions taken by South Carolina and Virginia ushered in the beginning of the end for pirates in the colonies. Their achievements against pirates inspired others to take a stand. In July 1726, William Fly was hanged for his acts of piracy in Boston. The accusations focused on the sinking of *John & Hannah* off North Carolina.<sup>66</sup> Fly's hanging marks the fate of pirates that sought the opportunities of North Carolina. While not all of these captures and deaths occurred in the colony itself, the opportunism and safety the colony seemed to offer eventually led to the downfalls of many of its pirates.

## A Pirate Haven?

Although the pirates who came through Colonial North Carolina had a vast array of experiences, the needs and the desires for seeking the colony were comparable to the needs of pirates at the time. Pirates made sure to find places that suited and supported these needs. These places had physical landscapes that were difficult for colonial empires to control and along major trading routes. These same landscapes aided pirates as choke points where vessels could be taken. Natural ship traps, like shoals or tight cuts, created opportune points to take vessels. Within these locations, pirates set up encampments, searching for areas with a weak political structure and a weak economy. Both weak structures allowed pirates to take over. A weak political system provided opportunities for pirates to work the system and bribe government officials. A weak economic system offered the ability to trade pirated goods for necessities like food and medicine.<sup>67</sup>

In examining the needs of piracy to the offerings of Colonial North Carolina, there is a significant overlap. The colony was a rural and hazardous environment. The barrier islands, inlets, sounds, and shoals surrounding the eastern portion of the colony created ships traps and could be further exploited as such. The area was also along a large trade route for ships sailing along the east coast of the American colonies from New England to the Caribbean, as well as for ships travelling back to Europe from the Caribbean. This same physical landscape created structure of the colony. Merchants feared to cross the islands and sounds leading to an economic deficiency. This allowed the pirates to have willing trade partners for their pillaged goods, as the colonists had few options. The slow economy and lack of significant tradable goods created a colony that was of no interest to its Lord Proprietors and local governors. The political disinterest allowed pirates to freely come and go without any difficulty and offered opportunities for partnership with the local politicians. The local colonists themselves were a resilient bunch as well. The colonists were composed of people

seeking freedom and solitude. They were poor and willing to work with those that could make life better for them, like pirates. These factors allowed the pirates to find a welcoming environment for piracy with a needed source of work and potential partners aiding their survival.<sup>68</sup>

But the colony did not successfully transform into a pirate haven. While the area had the necessary features of a solid pirate stronghold, external factors kept the colony from developing into similar havens seen in the Caribbean. At the same time pirates were coming to North Carolina, British merchants pushed for an end to piracy. Piracy was impacting their bottom line and both imperial authorities and merchant shippers were ready for it to end. While North Carolina created a welcoming environment for pirates, the surrounding colonies wanted to put an end to it. South Carolina and Virginia were both successful colonies with large merchant businesses. If piracy grew in North Carolina, these colonies would suffer. As a result, the local governors continually sent forces to capture pirates off North Carolina. Simultaneously, the British government had begun a crackdown on piracy. Pirates were offered the chance to take a pardon through the year of 1718. If one did not or returned to piracy, the Royal Navy and supporting resources were at liberty to capture any pirate.<sup>69</sup>

North Carolina was a location of both economic opportunity and necessity, not a haven. Though the colony early on exhibited the features of a potential haven and attracted many a pirate to its shores for work and pleasure, the haven never succeeded. Larger external forces of merchant safety and the overall bottom line for the empire, and smaller colonial interest stymied its growth as a haven. The fact that so many pirates feature in North Carolina's past reflects a draw, yet their inability to stay mirrors the end of the Golden Age of Piracy and the push to burgeon the colony of North Carolina through legitimate means.

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44. Thomas Carey, *The History of the Pirates, containing the lives of those noted pirate captains, Mission, Bowen, Kidd, Tew, Halsey, White, Condent, Bellamy, Fly, Howard, Lewis, Cornelius, Williams, Burgess, North, and their several crews. Also an Account of the Piracies and Cruelties of John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, and William Ling, who were tried, condemned and executed at Nassau, New-Providence, on the 12th of October, 1718. To which is added, a correct account of the late piracies committed in the West Indies; and the Expedition of Com. Porter*, (Haverhill, Massachusetts: Thomas Carey, 1825), 127, 131-132; Joseph Edwards, *The Tryals of Sixteen Persons for Piracy, Four of which were Found Guilty, and the Rest Acquitted. At a Special Court of Admiralty for the Tryal of Pirates, held at Boston within the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, on Monday the Fourth day of July, Anno Dom. 1726. Pursuant to his Majesty's Commission, founded on an Act of Parliament, made in the Eleventh and Twelfth Years of the Reign of King William the Third, Intitled; An Act for the More Effectual Suppression of Piracy. And made perpetual by an Act of the Sixth of King George. Corner Shop on the North-side of the Town-House, Boston, Massachusetts. In British Piracy in the Golden Age: History and Interpretation, 1660-1730*, Vol. 3, ed. Joel Baer, (London, England: Routledge, 2007), 7-13; Hugh Rankin, *The Golden Age of Piracy*, (Williamsburg, VA: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), 154.
45. Benjamin Cowse, *The Tryals of Major Stede Bonnet, and Other Pirates, who were all condemn'd for Piracy. As also the Tryals of Thomas Nichols, Rowland Sharp, Jonathan Clark, and Thomas Gerret, for Piracy, who were acquitted. At the admiralty Sessions held at Charles-Town, in the Province of South Carolina, on Tuesday the 28th of October, 1718, and by several adjournments continued to Wednesday the 12th of November, following. To which is prefix'd, an account of the taking of the said Major Bonnet, and the rest of the Pirates*, (London, England: Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1718), 2-3; Governor and Council of South Carolina, "Letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations from the Governor and Council of South Carolina," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, Vol. 30, 1717-1718, ed. Cecil Headlam, British History Online, last modified 2019, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol30/pp404-424>>; Charles Johnson, *A general history of the robberies and murders of the most notorious pyrates, and also their policies, discipline and government, from their first rise and settlement in the island of Providence, 1717, to the present year 1724. With the remarkable actions and adventures of two female pyrates, Mary Read and Anne Bonny. To which is prefix'd an account of the famous Captain Avery and his companions. To which is added, a short abstract of the statute and civil law, in relation to piracy*, (London, England: C. Rivington, 1724) 96-97, 343-344, 361-362; Edward Midwinter, *The History and Lives of all the most Notorious Pirates and their Crews, from Capt. Avery, who first settled at Madagascar, to Capt. John Gow, and James Williams, his Lieutenant, and who were hanged at Execution Dock, June 11 1725, for Piracy and Murther; and afterwards hanged in chains between Blackwall and Deptford. And in this edition continued down to the present year 1732. Giving a more full and true account than any yet published, of all their murthers, piracies, maroonings, places of refuge, and ways of living* (London, England: Looking Glass on London-Bridge, 1732), 31-32; 86-87; Rankin, *The Golden Age of Piracy*, 147; Terrance Zepke, *Pirates of the Carolinas*, (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 2000), 100.
46. Johnson, *A general history*, 361-362; Rankin, *The Golden Age of Piracy*, 147.
47. Alexander Spotswood, "Letter to Secretary Craggs," in *The Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. II, 1713-1728, ed. William L. Saunders, (Raleigh, NC: P. M. Hale, 1886-1892), 333-336; Alexander Spotswood, "Letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations from Governor Spotswood," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, Vol. 31, 1719-1720, ed. Cecil Headlam, British History Online, last modified 2019, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol31/pp85-101>>; Virginia Council, "Minutes of the Virginia Governor's Council," in *The Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. II, 1713-1728, ed. William L. Saunders, (Raleigh, NC: P. M. Hale, 1886-1892), 327; North Carolina Council, "Council Minutes from 27 May 1719," in *The Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. II, 1713-1728, ed. William L. Saunders, (Raleigh, NC: P. M. Hale, 1886-1892), 341-349; Johnson, *A general history*, 77-78; Midwinter, *The History and Lives*, 20-21, 29; Norris, *Beaufort County*, 161-162; Kevin Duffus, *The*



- Last Days of Blackbeard the Pirate: within Every Legend Lies a Grain of Truth*, (Raleigh, NC: Looking Glass Publications, Inc., 2008), 115-117.
48. Johnson, *A general history*, 51; Midwinter, *The History and Lives*, 8.
49. Midwinter, *The History and Lives*, 4.
50. Johnson, *A general history*, 33.
51. Spotswood, "Letter to Secretary Craggs," 333-336; Johnson, *A general history*, 74-75, 93; Midwinter, *The History and Lives*, 24, 29-30; Rankin, *The Golden Age of Piracy*, 93, 112-113.
52. Johnson, *A general history*, 75; Lawrence Lee, *The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1974), 74; Charles Harry Whedbee, *Blackbeard's Cup and Stories of the Outer Banks*, (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 1989), 8.
53. Andrew J. Howell, Jr., *Money Island*, (Wilmington, NC: Commercial Printing, 1908), 10-12, 32; Louis T. Moore, *Stories Old and New of the Cape Fear Region*, (Wilmington, NC: Friends of Louis T. Moore, 1956), 38-39; Zepke, *Pirates of the Carolinas*, 136-138.
54. Governor the Earl of Bellomont, "Letter to Mr. Secretary Vernon from Governor the Earl of Bellomont," Manuscript, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, Vol. 19, 1701, ed. Cecil Headlam, British History Online, last modified 2019, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol19/pp1-17>>.
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56. Howell, *Money Island*, 32; Zepke, *Pirates of the Carolinas*, 138.
57. Spotswood, "Letter to Secretary Craggs," 333-336; Spotswood, "Letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations"; Virginia Council, "Minutes of the Virginia Governor's Council," 327; North Carolina Council, "Council Minutes," 341-349; Johnson, *A general history*, 77-78; Midwinter, *The History and Lives*, 20-21, 29; Norris, *Beaufort County*, 161-162; Duffus, *The Last Days of Blackbeard the Pirate*, 115-117.
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59. Alexander Spotswood, "Letter to Secretary Craggs," 333-336; Johnson, *A general history*, 74-75; Midwinter, *The History and Lives*, 24; Rankin, *The Golden Age of Piracy*, 93, 112-113.
60. Governor and Council of South Carolina, "Letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations"; Midwinter, *The History and Lives*, 43.
61. Governor and Council of South Carolina, "Letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations"; Midwinter, *The History and Lives*, 43.
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65. Spotswood, "Letter to Secretary Craggs," 333-336; Spotswood, "Letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations"; Virginia Council, "Minutes of the Virginia Governor's Council," 327; North Carolina Council, "Council Minutes," 341-349; Johnson, *A general history*, 77-78; Midwinter, *The History and Lives*, 20-21, 29; Norris, *Beaufort County*, 161-162; Duffus, *The Last Days of Blackbeard the Pirate*, 115-117.
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67. Peter Galvin, *Patterns of pillage: a geography of Caribbean-based piracy in Spanish America, 1536-1718*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 113-114; Amanda Michelle Evans, *Institutionalized Piracy and the Development of the Jamaica Sloop, 1630-1743*, (master's thesis, Florida State University, 2005), 202-221; Mark G. Hanna, *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire 1570-1740*, (Chapel Hill: NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 4.
68. Ropp, "The Pirates of the Pamlico," 100-103.
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## *Tributaries*

A Publication  
of the North  
Carolina Maritime  
History Council  
[www.ncmaritimehistory.org](http://www.ncmaritimehistory.org)

# Call for Submissions

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*Tributaries* seeks to support continuing historical, archaeological, and cultural research by publishing articles and reviews related to the maritime history and culture of North Carolina and the Eastern seaboard. The journal accepts a range of articles in the field of maritime studies. All members of the maritime history community, including students and independent researchers, are welcome to submit articles and reviews. Contributors need not be members of the NCMHC or live in the state of North Carolina. Manuscripts submitted for consideration must be based on original research and analysis, and all manuscripts are subject to a peer review process at the editor's discretion.

Submissions should be addressed to the editor:  
Chelsea Freeland, [cfreeland08@gmail.com](mailto:cfreeland08@gmail.com).

Submissions should be no longer than 30 pages, including citations. On the cover page, please provide: article title; author's names, positions, institutional affiliations, and physical business addresses; and a contact telephone and email address for the corresponding author. Authors should keep the editor informed of any address changes. If the article was presented at a conference, please supply the name and date of the conference on the cover page.

All manuscripts should conform to the Chicago Manual of Style (17th edition) – endnotes citation style. Please consult the Chicago Manual for citations, capitalization, abbreviations, numbers, and other grammatical uses. *Tributaries* uses bias-free language. For more information, please see CMOS "Bias-Free Language," 5.251 - 5.260. For additional resources on bias-free writing, please see Style Appendix at the end of this edition. If your manuscript does not conform to the style guide, it may be returned for additional editing before it can be considered. Photographs, tables, charts, and maps are welcome and encouraged. Please ensure submitted images do not have copyright restrictions.

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# Call for Student Representatives

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## STUDENTS!

Would you like to serve as the Student Liaison to the North Carolina Maritime History Council?

We're looking for an engaged undergraduate or graduate student representative to work with the Council's Executive Board. The student may assist in planning the NCMHC's annual conference, working on social media, assisting with *Tributaries*, or other projects as needed.

This is a great opportunity to join our community of scholars, learn more about maritime history of the Carolinas, and take a role in the organization as we work to modernize, expand, and diversify.

### Requirements:

- Students must be enrolled full-time at a college or university in North or South Carolina
- Students may have any major or minor, but should have an academic interest in the maritime history of the Carolinas

Interested student should submit the following documents to the Board at [ncmaritimehistory@gmail.com](mailto:ncmaritimehistory@gmail.com):

- Cover letter, explaining why you are interested in the position
- Resume
- Recommendation letter from a professor

Please do not hesitate to reach out with any additional questions about the position or the process.

Sincerely,

The Executive Board of the North Carolina Maritime History Council



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# Style Appendix: Resources for Bias-Free Writing

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Please note that the conversations we are having now about bias-free writing will continue to change and develop over time. Our standards and best practices must continue to change and develop as well to ensure our language does not cause harm to others. Please refer back to these sources regularly to incorporate any new changes, and continue to develop sources of your own to inform your writing.

### General

- National Park Service, Interpretive Development Program, Identifying and Removing Bias, <https://www.nps.gov/idp/interp/201/identbias.htm>

### Ethnicity, Race, and Nationality

- Asian American Journalists Association, Guide to Covering Asian America, <https://www.aaja.org/aajahandbook>

- Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Guidelines for Ethical Publishing, <https://aiatsis.gov.au/aboriginal-studies-press/getting-published/ethical-publishing-guidelines>

- P. Gabrielle Foreman, et al, "Writing about Slavery/Teaching About Slavery: This Might Help," community-sourced document, <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1A4TEdDgYsIX-hlKezLodMIM71My3KTN0zxRv0IQTOQs/edit>

- National Association of Black Journalists, Style Guide, <https://www.nabj.org/page/styleguide>

- Native American Journalists Association, Guide on Terminology, [https://najanewsroom.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/NAJA\\_Reporting\\_and\\_Indigenous\\_Terminology\\_Guide.pdf](https://najanewsroom.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/NAJA_Reporting_and_Indigenous_Terminology_Guide.pdf)

### Gender, Sex, and Sexuality

- American Philosophical Association, Guidelines for Non-Sexist Use of Language, <https://www.apaonline.org/page/nonsexist>

- NLGJA: The Association of LGBTQ Journalists, Stylebook Supplement on LGBTQ Terminology, <https://www.nlgja.org/stylebook/terminology/>

- Trans Journalists Association, Style Guide, <https://transjournalists.org/style-guide/>

More resources and discussion articles on Ability and Disability, Age, Religion, and more, may be found at the Conscious Style Guide: <https://consciousstyleguide.com>.

If there are resources you'd like to see included in this list, please contact the Tributaries editor, Chelsea Freeland, at [cfreeland08@gmail.com](mailto:cfreeland08@gmail.com).