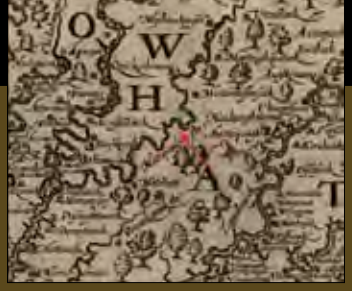


Archaeological Investigation of the Remains of Two Early 18th--Century Vessels In the Mattaponi River at Newington Plantation, King and Queen County, Virginia

Virginia Department of Historic Resources

Research Report No. 18

Archaeological Investigation of the Remains of Two Early 18th--Century Vessels In the Mattaponi River at Newington Plantation, King and Queen County, Virginia

Virginia Department of Historic Resources

Research Report No. 18

Principal Investigator & Author

Gordon P. Watts, Jr., Ph.D., RPA

With contributions by:

Robin Arnold

Joshua Daniel

Ray Hayes

Matthew Laird

Merry Outlaw

Abstract

While conducting survey work at Newington Plantation, located in King and Queen County and listed on the Virginia Landmarks Register and National Register of Historic Places, archaeologists with the James River Institute for Archaeology discovered the remains of two wooden vessels off the Mattaponi River shoreline. The Department of Historic Resources found the sites eligible for investigation under the Virginia's unique Threatened Sites Program and issued a request for proposals to document the vessels. Tidewater Atlantic Research, Inc., was awarded the contract on May 1, 2009. Initially the partially exposed remains were thought to be the bow and stern sections of a single hull approximately 75 feet in length. Hydraulic probing and subsequent excavation confirmed that there are two hulls, each about 37 feet in length on keel. Over the course of three years, the remains were excavated and mapped using a Vulcan laser system and measured drawings. Analysis of the surviving hull structure and associated artifacts indicates that the wrecks represent the remains of two small vessels dating from the second quarter of the 18th century. As such they are the oldest vessel remains archaeologically investigated to date in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Historical research carried out in association with investigation of the Newington vessels confirmed the extensive trade and transportation on the Mattaponi during the 18th century and the sloops and other vessels that made it possible. The association with Newington Plantation, as well as their size and construction material, suggests that both of the Newington vessels were possibly locally built for early North American coastal trading and possible voyages to Bermuda, the Bahamas, and West Indies islands. The period of use indicated by artifact dating and location at Newington Plantation also suggests the vessels had some association with the enterprises of one or more members of the Braxton family that owned Newington Plantation in the 18th century.

Contents

Table of Figures

List of Tables

Introduction

Newington Plantation is located in King and Queen County, Virginia. The historic site is listed on both the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). While conducting terrestrial investigations at Newington archaeologists with the James River Institute for Archaeology (JRIA) in Williamsburg, Virginia discovered the remains of one or more wooden vessels in the shallow water of the Mattaponi River off the Newington shoreline. JRIA personnel brought the vessels to the attention of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR). VDHR archaeologists determined that the vessels were eligible for investigation under Virginia's unique Threatened Sites Program. The agency subsequently issued a request for proposals to investigate and document the vessels.

Tidewater Atlantic Research, Inc., (TAR) was awarded the contract for that investigation on May 1, 2009. The first on-site research was carried out between 9 and 12 June of that year. Initially the partially exposed remains were thought to be the bow and stern sections of a single hull approximately 75 feet in length. However, hydraulic probing and test excavation confirmed that there are two hulls that each measure approximately 37 feet in length.

The South Vessel was selected for initial investigation. Induction dredges were used to remove sediment covering the hull remains. A small collection of artifacts associated with the wreck were exposed and recovered during excavation. Those were bagged and their location recorded in reference to their association with the vessel's floors.

After the hull was exposed, elements of the structure were recorded using a combination of measured drawings and three-dimensional points shot in with a Vulcan laser mapping system. A second field investigation was attempted in July 2009. Due to sinking and salvage of the support vessel and equipment onboard, nothing was accomplished in three days on site between 20 and 22 July.

In August 2010, TAR archaeologists returned to Newington and resumed investigation of the wrecks. Initially, excavation and documentation focused on the North Vessel. Using induction dredges, sediment covering the hull remains was systematically removed. Unlike the South Vessel, a significant number of artifacts were exposed and recovered during excavation to expose the hull. Those were bagged and their location identified in reference to their association with the floors of the vessel. Once the hull was exposed elements of the structure were recorded using measured drawings and three-dimensional points shot in with a Vulcan laser mapping system.

Analysis of the surviving hull structure and associated artifacts indicates that the wrecks represent the remains of two small vessels dating from the second quarter of the 18th century. As such they are the oldest vessel remains archaeologically investigated to date in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The association with Newington Plantation, as well as their size and construction material, suggests that both were possibly constructed locally, or plantation built, for early North American coastal trading. Sheathing on one of the wrecks could indicate a wider range of operations that included possible voyages to Bermuda, the Bahamas, and West Indies islands. The period of use indicated by artifact dating and location at Newington Plantation also suggests the vessels had some association with the enterprises of one or more members of the Braxton family that owned the property in the 18th century. The age and small size of the vessels makes them a particularly valuable source of design and construction data as there is very limited detailed documentation for small craft prior to the early 20th century. Although salvage activity reduced the surviving hull structure to the point that rig identification is impossible, historical research indicates

that both were likely rigged as sloops. While brigantine, schooner and other rigs were also in use at the time, they appear statistically less likely.

Research and field activities were carried under the direction of Gordon P. Watts, Jr. Dr. Watts and Mr. Joshua Daniel carried out the remote-sensing survey. Dr. Watts, Mr. Daniel and archaeologist Dr. John Broadwater carried out initial probing of the wrecks. Subsequent excavation and documentation of the vessels was carried out by Dr. Watts, Mr. Daniel, Dr. Broadwater and John W. Morris, with able and unflagging assistance of experienced volunteers Mr. William Utley and Dr. Raymond Hayes. Text in this report was generated by a combination of authors. Dr. Watts, Mr. Daniel and Robin Arnold provided the project background, research methodology, archaeological findings and vessel remains analysis. Historical background information included in this article was authored by JRIA historian Dr. Matthew Laird and TAR historian Robin Arnold. Merry Outlaw kindly agreed to carry out and write up the diagnostic artifact analysis. Dr. Hayes provided a most interesting analysis of the bilge samples and Dr. Mary Benton at the School of Earth Sciences at the University of Bristol provided valuable insight into the geographical origin of the unusual ballast recovered from the South Vessel.

The Newington Plantation wreck investigation project was funded through the Threatened Sites Program of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Without the interest and support of VDHR archaeologist David Hazzard, investigation of those historic vessels would not have been possible. The interest and additional support of Randy Jones, also with VDHR, made publication of this report possible. In the process of researching the Newington Plantation vessels we were also very fortunate to have able assistance and advise from historian Martha McCartney and historical vessel specialist Michael Alford. Special thanks to Julie Moores at James Madison University for aiding in the design of this publication. Success of all field operations was a factor of the generous support, encouragement and assistance of Mr. Frank Hurst, owner of the Newington property.

Project Location

The Mattaponi is a tributary of the York River. The origin of the Mattaponi is in the creeks in the swamps of northern King and Queen County, northern King William County and eastern Carolina County. Its confluence with the York River is at West Point at the juncture of King And Queen, King William and New Kent counties. Newington Plantation is located on the east bank of the Mattaponi approximately 20 river miles above West Point (Figure 1). The river is fresh at Newington but is still influenced by tidal change. The vessel remains lie partially buried

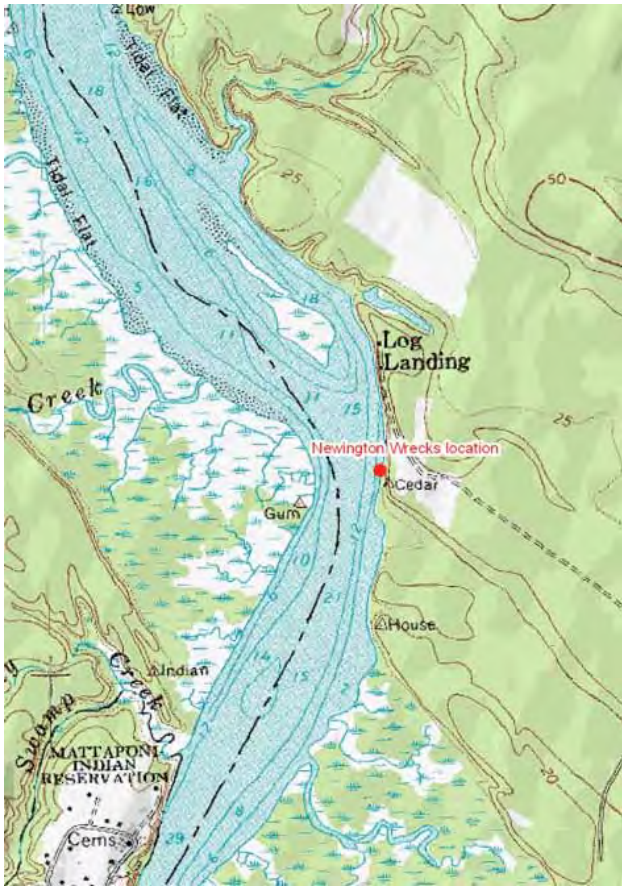


Figure 1. Newington Plantation wrecks location.

in shallow water adjacent to the east shoreline of the Mattaponi.

Newington Historical Context 1650-1800

When John Smith and his fellow English settlers first arrived at Jamestown in May 1607, the land encompassing the Newington property fell within the traditional territory of the Mattaponis, one of the original Aboriginal groups of the Powhatan chiefdom. With a population that included some 360 men, women, and children, the Mattaponis lived in a series of villages along both banks of the upper part of the Mattaponi River in what are now King and Queen and King William counties. Although early extant maps of this region are not detailed, it appears that the village nearest to Newington was Muttamussinsack. This Indian settlement is thought o have been located in the general vicinity of Rickahock, about five miles upstream from Newington (Figure 2) (Turner and Opperman n.d.:13-17).

To reinforce the Virginia colony, a 150-ton supply vessel was dispatched there in April 1618 under the command of Lord Delaware. The noble West family issue died during the passage along with several other English passengers (Campbell 1860:126). Given their relative distance from the early English settlements along the James River, the Mattaponis would have little contact with the new arrivals until after the Powhatan uprising of March 1622, when the English launched reprisal raids up the Mattaponi River. The pattern was repeated after the Mattaponis participated in Opechancanough's abortive 1644 attacks, and the English under Colonel William Claiborne destroyed the settlement at Mantapike in retaliation (Cox 1957:2; Turner and Opperman n.d:15).

Faced with continuing pressure to open new territory to settlement, the House of Burgesses authorized land patents along the colony's western frontier in 1649. As a result, by the early 1650s Anglo-Virginian colonists began to move into the upper reaches of the Mattaponi River. To secure this area from Native American depredations, future Councilor Edward Digges built Fort Mattaponi in 1653 at the present site of Walkerton. New Kent County was created the following year, and would encompass Newington and vicinity until King and Queen County was established in 1691 (Cox 1957:2).

Patents [grantee, acres, patent-renewal dates)] issued for Gloucester tracts that fell into New Kent County circa 1654, and subsequently merged into King and Queen when the latter was created located on the north and northeast sides of the Mattaponi included; Thomas Dale (350 acres-1664), Edward Diggs (3050 acres-1653), Peter Ford (500 acres-1655), William Lewis (2040 acres-1654-1656), John Maddison (600 acres-1653), Thomas Peck (1000 acres-1655), Arthur Price (300 acres-1654), Henry Soanes (200 acres-1653), Colonel William Taylor (1050 acres-1653), Major Thomas Walker (2350 acres-1665 ["called Mattapony Fort"], and Captain John West (1000 acres-1654/1657) (Mason 2007:124-125).

Two secondary sources suggest that John Maddison and Captain William Taylor originally patented the Newington tract. No contemporary land patents show Maddison and Taylor holding joint property, yet they do confirm that Maddison was granted land on the north side of the Mattaponi River as early as January 1654. The relatively vague wording of the grants for this area makes it difficult to say with certainty, which individual first acquired the Newington tract.

A patent issued to George Morris on 19 July 1663 places Maddison in the general vicinity of Richard Tunstall, Robert Abrahall, John Pigg, and others who are known to have owned land in the vicinity of King and Queen Courthouse. This seems to imply that John Maddison had an early connection to Newington (Nugent 1992:280, 350, 541-542).

Figure 2. Location of Newington on detail of Virginia Discovered and Discribed [sic] (Smith 1624).

When the explorer and cartographer Augustine Herrman mapped the Virginia colony in 1670, he indicated that English settlement had proceeded well up the Mattaponi River beyond Newington (Figure 3). The Bohemian's map clearly shows the distinctive northward bend in the river just east of "Aquintinacok Creek," later known as Courthouse Creek, and showed, at least in a generalized way, that there was a plantation in this vicinity (Herrman 1673).

The area known as "West's Point" was fortified in 1676 by Lord Nathaniel Bacon's successor, Lieutenant General Ingram [or Johnson] (Campbell 1860:313). Tradition relates that:

> Ingram, supported by George Wakelet, or Walklett, his major-general, who was very young, Langston, Richard Lawrence, and their adherents, took possession of West Point, at the head of York River, fortified it, and made it their place of arms. West Point, or West's Point, so called from the family name of Lord Delaware, was at one time known as "De la War," and is so laid down on John Henry's Map, dated 1770. There is still extant there [1847] a ruinous house of stone-marl which was probably occupied by Ingram and his confederates (Campbell 1860:313).

Prior to the subsequent court martial and execution of several of Bacon's followers, Wakelet received "all the Indian plunder deposited at West Point" in "reward for his submission" (Campbell 1860:315). Anthony Arnold was apparently "hung on the fifteenth of March [1676], in chains, at West Point" (Campbell 1860:320).

Even with the now permanent English presence, it was still deemed "unsafe to settle upon the lands bordering the Mattapony river, on account of the Indians, this being now the frontier, and at this date they still occupied the country opposite the mouth of Queen's Creek" (Palmer 1875:xlii). Circa 1689, the Indian tribes were "generally manifesting discontent not only with the whites but with each other; and on this account the Chickahominies [sic] beg[ged] to be allowed to remove to 'Rickahock,' on the north side of Mattaponi, for safety from the threats of the 'Pamamucks.' This place they had derived by exchange for lands lying 'opposite the English inhabitants on the south side of Mattaponi river,' showing this to be the limit of white settlements at this time" (Palmer 1875:liii-xli).

Seventeenth-Century Vessel Navigation

As John Maddison, Captain William Taylor, Major Thomas Walker, Captain John West and other intrepid Englishmen navigated up the York River and elected to settle along the Mattaponi River, maritime commerce flourished at York village and other Virginia ports. The 28 June 1651 issue of the *Perfect Diurnall* announced that the Virginia fleet comprised of 14 ships, and two other merchantmen, had sailed into Plymouth, England on 25 June. The London publication also remarked that "with the fir*f*t wind [they] intend to *f*aile from hence for the Downs" (*Perfect Diurnall* 28 June 1651:1).

On 16 April 1664, Lower Norfolk County Justice William Carver purchased the 40-ton *Expedicon* [sic] for 20,000 pounds of tobacco from Henry Goodricke (Genealogy.com 2003). Self described as a "Mariner", Carver may have owned and/or operated "the good ship *Spred Egle*" of Bristol prior to that date (Ljungstedt 1926:1). A November 1664 deposition related that a "Robert Smyth" transported by sloop one "William Rickett who lived at Col. Baron's [possibly James Baron of Isle of Wight] and 10 head of cattle to Matapony [*sic*] at place called Rickahock" (Boddie 2003:537).

Writing from his Virginia estate seated on the James River in early August 1690, William Byrd [I] advised the firm of Perry and Lane that the bill of lading for 14 hogsheads of tobacco aboard the sloop *Amy* was enclosed with personal correspondence (Virginia Historical Society [VHS] 1918a:389). In July 1692, the *London Gazette* reported that a "Pink of 150 Tuns, laden with Tobacco from Virginia" had just arrived at Newcastle (*London Gazette* 14 July 1692:2). This London paper remarked in late December 1695 that the *Bear Mast Ship* of London and the *Virginia of London* reached Plymouth [from Virginia] under the protection of the Royal ships *Africa* and *Unity* (*London Gazette* 30 December 1695:1).

When the will of John Parker was probated and finally proven during 1695, Accomack County estate records described two Virginia sloops devised to his widow and sons. A "great sloop" was bequeathed to his relict and his second son John in equal shares. Another bequest in Parker's last testament devised real estate and his "sloop called Arlington wth [sic] all her appurtenances wholly to him & his proper use and allsoe [sic] mys [sic] tools Anvill [sic] & bellowes [sic]" (Walczyk 2012).

Bristol port records related that European goods of some nature were shipped to Virginia aboard the *Antilope* circa 1696/1697 (Williams 2002a). Contemporary vessels sailing (1698) to Virginia from England (and perhaps to the Port of York)

also included the *Providence of Mostyn* and the *Robert & John* (Williams 2002b; 2002c). In August 1698, while aboard the *Robert & John*, Thomas Mattickes discussed the future delivery of Virginia mockingbirds and redbirds to the Elector of Hanover who would later be crowned as George I (Williams 2002c). A contemporary indenture, binding Harfordshire [Ware ?] native Mathew Evans, identifies Thomas Graves both as his new Colonial master and as a prominent Virginia mariner (Williams 2002d).

In the interim, Virginians residing along the Upper York wrestled with more pressing local problems. In 1689, "a settler named Arnold petitioned the Colonial Council to let him swap his grant along the south side of the Mattapony for land along the north side of that stream to get away from the Indians" (Campbell 1954:14). The tenuous situation erupted at the turn of the century, when:

> [A]bout 20 Miles above Middle-Plantation upon York River, a Party of Indians came down upon a Planter's Hous*f*e, killed all therein, and afterwards plundered and burnt the House, as also 2 large Tobacco Ware-houses (*The London Post* [*TLP*] 19 July 1700:1).

Eighteenth-Century Maritime Environment

In July 1700, *The London Post* (*TLP*) reported that several vessels had lately arrived at "the Downs" from the Colony of Virginia. These were identified as the *John, Jonah* [or *Josiah*], *Jefferies, Nicholson, Edward and Mary, William and Ann*, and the *Thomas and Ann*. On 20 July, *TLP* maritime news added that: "Yesterday the Indian King, Bristol, America, Employment, and the Reward, all Five from Virginia, and the Oxendine from Jamaica, arrived in the Downs" (*TLP* 19-22 July 1700:1).

The editor of *TLP* for the same edition also remarked:

Table 1. Vessels [≤50 tons] entering York District from May 1704 to April 1705. (VHS 1918b:53).

NAME	HOMEPORT	TONS	MASTER	BOUND
Success	Whitehaven	50	Christopher Grayson	Whitehaven
Royal	North Carolina	4	Cornelius Jones	North Carolina
Mary	North Carolina	14	Gilbert Reynolds	North Carolina
Ann & Elizabeth	Barbados	20	William Pead	James River
Swallow	Boston	25	Tymothy Burbank	Boston/New England
Samuel	North Carolina	3	Samuel Slade	North Carolina
Director	Maryland	20	James Bulman	South Carolina
Margaret	Maryland	10	John Dobson	Maryland
Loyal York	South Carolina	25	Nicholas Stephen	South Carolina
Sea Horse	Jamaica	20	Robert Smith	Exuma
James	New York	10	James Beard	New York
Postillion	London	50	John Torer	Newfoundland
Mary	Maryland	14	Henry Harris	Maryland
Jane and Betty	Maryland	8	John Langford	Maryland
Ffortune [sic]	Philadelphia	25	William Allyn	"Phyl."
Industry	Philadelphia	8	Edward Thompson	Philadelphia

> I am told that the Indian King, arrived in the Downs, as afore-mentioned, from Virginia, is a New-ſhip, lately built in that Country, and brings over 1500 Hogs-heads of Tobbacco [sic], which is much more than was ever brought over by any one Ship from thence before (*TLP* 19-22 July 1700:1).

Miles Cary, "Receiver of the Virga. Dutyes for York River District", collected revenues for the period that commenced 24 May 1704 and concluded 16 April 1705 from 17 vessels registering 50 or less tons (Table 1). With the exception of the *Success* of Whitehaven, which carried 147 hogsheads of tobacco and eight chests/barrels, most of these were engaged in coastwise passenger service. The four-ton *Royal* of North Carolina entered the York District during May and August 1704 (VHS 1918b:53).

By 1710, the Port of York was recognized as one of eight official Virginia entrepôts. At this time, Customs Collector William Bruckner received an annual salary of £40 to oversee maritime trade there (Barrow 1967:261). Local sloops plying Virginia waters during Bruckner's tenure and through the first quarter of the 18th century included: the *Diamond* of Accomack County (1706), the *Dove* of Accomack County (1714), and the *Dolphin* (1722-1729). According to Colonial court records, Commander Thomas Watts of the *Dolphin* was outbound for Barbados on 6 April 1722 (Ljungstedt 1923:1). Meanwhile, London merchants traded for Virginia goods carried on vessels such as the *Wanderer* circa 1718.

Ascent of the Mattaponi River Region Planters

According to "A True Account of the Lands in King & Queen County" as recorded by "Robt Bird Sherriff" in 1704, major landowners included John Baylor (3000 acres), Robert Beverley (3000 acres), George Braxton (2825 acres), Gowin [sic] Corbin (2000), John Leigh (6200), and John Lewis (10,100) (Wertenbaker 1922:225-227).

At dawn on 20 August 1716, ensign John Fontaine accompanied Governor Spotswood to commence the Virginia executive's Ultra Montane Expedition [Appalachian range]. After leaving Williamsburg, they breakfasted at Colonel's Bassett's "Ordinary" opposite West Point, "after which they crossed the York River, and rode to the house of Augustine Moore" (*The William & Mary Quarterly* [*TW&MQ*] vol. 7, no. 1, 1898:30). At this riverfront home located some 10 miles from West Point and birthplace of the governor's son-in-law, Spotswood and Fontaine were entertained for the evening. By the next night, they reached the home of Robert Beverley at the head of the Mattaponi and thirty miles above Mr. John Baylor's, "one of the greatest dealers of tobacco in the country" (*TW&MQ* vol. 7 no.1, 1898:30).

Colonel John Baylor (c. 1650-1720) and contemporary Robert "King" Carter (1663-1732) "were two of the biggest slave importers of their generation" (Chambers 1999:6-7, 12; 2005:82). Colonel Baylor had actually "earned" the unsavory sobriquet, "the great negro seller", due to planter-merchant enterprises stretching across his large tracts of land running from between King and Queen Courthouse and Walkerton (Chambers 1999:12; 2005:82-83).

By this date [1716], Bristol merchants were regularly engaged in consigning "shipments of slaves" to Virginia agents that included several of these illustrious "colonel" colonists. "Augustine Moore at West Point", Robert "King" Carter, John Baylor and Alexander Spotswood all "used their metropolitan connections to corner the retail side of the slave trade" (Chambers 2005:79).

Captain Jacob Lumpkin

According to most published accounts of Newington's early history, Captain Jacob Lumpkin had acquired the historic property

Figure 3. Undated photo of stone building at Newington, view to south.

Figure 4. Stone building at Newington, view to west, undated.

by the late seventeenth century. Lumpkin was perhaps familiar with this riverine area as he commanded at least two expeditions of Virginia militia against Native Americans in 1677 and 1678. His first documented land patent, recorded April 1682 in St. Stephens Parish of New Kent County (later King and Queen), was adjacent to Colonel William Claiborne's vast "Bestland" tract, located several miles north of Newington. In October 1690, he patented an additional 741 acres on a branch of Dragon Swamp. Exactly when or how Lumpkin acquired Newington is not known, although it is fairly certain that he had been living in St. Stephens Parish since at least 1683, when he signed a petition with other freeholders against the parish vestry.

Lumpkin appears only infrequently in the documentary record, and relatively little is known about him. He is perhaps best remembered for his refusal to show due deference to the newly enthroned King William and Queen Mary, as evidenced by numerous depositions made against him by his neighbors in the county court (Stanard 1899:389-396; McIlwaine 1914:84; Nugent 1977:228, 352). According to a quit-rent roll taken in 1704, Lumpkin owned 950 acres in King and Queen County. He died in 1708 at the age of 64, and was buried just outside the door of St. Stephens (now Mattapony) Church (Courtney 1960:3).

George Braxton I

Whether or not he acquired the property from Captain Lumpkin, it appears likely that George Braxton I owned Newington by 1704, when he was charged with 2,825 acres in King and Queen County. Newly arrived in Virginia at that time, Braxton soon established himself in local society, commanding the local militia, and serving as coroner and justice of the peace. Braxton later represented King and Queen County in the House of Burgesses from 1718 to 1733, and again from 1742 until 1748 (Stanard 1924: 145; Courtney 1960: 3; Dill 1976: 2).

George Braxton was a successful merchant-planter, and served as commission agent for British firms selling imported African slaves at Yorktown. He himself owned at least one seagoing vessel, the *Braxton*, built in Boston around 1736. However, "Ship-News" published by *The British Observer* related that the "*Braxton*, [Captain] Robinson, and the *Whitacre*, [Captain] Whiting, from Virginia" arrived at Gravesend on 28 August 1734 (*The British Observator* 31 August 1734:86). Based on the 1734 document, Braxton may have purchased a second [or replacement] vessel from the Boston source.

Braxton's ship appeared in a handful of maritime notices in *The Virginia Gazette* (*TVG*) during this

Figure 5. Copy of painted miniature of Carter Braxton from locket. (Horner 1889: 122a)

period. On 17 June 1737, it was reported that the "Ship Braxton, of London, Thomas Reynolds, Master, from New-England," had recently arrived in the York River "with 80,000 Bricks, 10 Barrels of Train Oyl, some Wooden Ware, and 400 Weight of Hops." For what purpose these bricks were intended is not known, but it is certainly possible that Braxton planned to use them to build his manor house at Newington (*The Virginia Gazette* [*TVG*] 17 September 1736a:4; *The Virginia Gazette* 10 June 1737a:3; *The Virginia Gazette* 17 June 1737b:4; Dill 1983:10-11).

Despite the popular belief that bricks were frequently brought from England during the Colonial period, eminent archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume suggests that they were only rarely imported. It made little economic sense to fill ships with a commodity just as easily manufactured locally (Noël Hume 1982:82). Occasionally, however, it was necessary to weight an empty ship with ballast for an ocean crossing. In fact, this was the case with the *Braxton* in May 1738, when the vessel arrived in the York River via London and Lisbon "having on board Ballast." It is impossible to say with certainty whether this was the same ballast stone later used to construct the stone building at Newington; yet it is an intriguing piece of evidence, and confirms that George Braxton received at least one shipload of such material during this period (Figures 3-4) (*TVG* 5 May 1738a:3).

Although the date of their union is not recorded, George Braxton is believed to have married Elizabeth Paulin, the daughter of Thomas Paulin of Old Rappahannock County. Together they reared three (surviving) children, George II, Elizabeth, and Hannah (Stanard 1906:327; Dill 1976:2-3). The elder George Braxton died in 1748, at the age of 71, and was buried at Mattapony Church. His tombstone remarked that he was "a good Christian, tender Parent[,] a kind Master and – Charitable neighbor" (Harris 1977:411). Early "neighbors" or speculators owning upriver tracts near the plantation of George Braxton I included an illustrious group. In August 1705, William and Robert Bird [or Byrd], Ralph Booker, William Holcomb, James Baughan, and Richard Coveington [sic] petitioned Governor Edward Nott to take up 8000 acres lying in King and Queen County and in King William County "in the fork of Mattapony River above the land of Colonel Augustine Warner (Palmer 1875:93).

Braxton's quest to acquire large tracts in the Virginia frontier continued for decades. A legal petition "for leave to take up His Majesties Lands" granted in 1738 allowed Braxton, his son George, and other influential Virginians to take possession of Royal territory located in modern western Amherst County (TVHS 1906:26, 28). From the Colonial Capitol, the Governor and Council (comprised of many of Braxton's friends) granted on 5 May 1738:

> To George Braxton Sen'r & George Braxton Jun'r, Humphry [sic] Brooke, Robt. Brooke, Robt. Rose & Thos. Chew forty thousand Acres lying on both sides [of] the Fluvanna & on both sides [of] The Pedlar [sic] River in Goochland below the below the great Mountains (TVHS 1906:28).

Figure 6. Location of the Braxton estate at Newington on detail of *A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia* (Fry and Jefferson, 1755).

George Braxton II

When he first drew up his will in 1725, George Braxton stipulated that his estate, including Newington, would pass to his son George Braxton II. The younger Braxton's date of birth is not known, but he appears to have been a student at the College of William and Mary around 1720. On 16 January 1733 he married Mary Carter, the youngest daughter of one of Colonial America's wealthiest and most powerful men, Robert "King" Carter of Corotoman. King Carter had died only a few months earlier, bequeathing the generous sum of £2,000 to Mary, provided she married with the family's approval. The bequest was to be paid out in three annual installments, but it appears that it had not been fully paid by 1737. Regardless, George Braxton II enjoyed a considerable inheritance from his father, and was well on his way to a successful commercial and political career in his own right (Stanard 1897:419-420; Dill 1976:4; Harris 1977:412).

George Braxton and Mary Carter Braxton's first child was named George Braxton III, who was born on 13 January 1734. This child was followed by his younger brother, Carter Braxton, born on 10 September 1736. Mary suffered complications during Carter's birth, and two weeks later the following notice appeared in *TVG*:

> Last *Friday*, died Mrs. *Mary Braxton*, Daughter of the late Col. *Carter*, President of the Council of this Colony, and Wife of Mr. George Braxton, of *King and Queen County*: She was a Gentlewoman of a very good Character, well belov'd by her Neighbours and Acquaintance, and her Death is much lamented. She was lately delivered of a Son, and in a fair Way of Recovery; but unhappily catching Cold, was soon carried off; and the Child also died the *Monday* following (*TVG* 24 September 1736b:4).

The report of the infant's death was fortunately premature, and the newspaper promptly corrected the error and confirmed that: "the Child is still living" (*TVG* 15 October 1736c:4). From this ominous beginning, Carter Braxton (Figure 5) would go on to prominence as a Founding Father and Virginia signer of the Declaration of Independence.

George Braxton II was in his 40s when he died in 1749, and may have been buried at Newington, as he has no apparent grave at Mattapony Church. In his will, written only a few days before his death, Braxton left Newington, and the rest of his land in King and Queen and Essex counties to his eldest son, George III (Dill 1976: 6; Harris 1977:412).

By the time Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson completed their detailed map of Virginia in 1752, this section of King and Queen County had been occupied for nearly a century (Fry and Jefferson 1755) (Figure 6). The map indicates the location of Newington, labeled "Braxton," as a significant landmark. George Braxton II had recently died, leaving the valuable property to his still underage son, George Braxton III, who was a student at the College of William and Mary.

George Braxton III

As a scion of Virginia's planter elite, George Braxton III enjoyed the advantages typical of his station. In December 1753 he married Mary Blair of Williamsburg, the daughter of John Blair and the great niece of William and Mary College president, James Blair. George came of age in 1755, and the couple soon took up residence at Newington. Three children were born during their union: George, Mary, and Elizabeth (Harris 1977:412; Dill 1983:16-18).

Legitimately or not, many historians characterize George Braxton III as a spendthrift whose extravagance ultimately led to the loss of the family seat at Newington. "As the elder brother," wrote Carter Braxton's biographer, Alonzo Dill, "George Braxton meanwhile had taken over his father's mercantile affairs. He did so ineptly, writing scolding letters to some of the merchants in London with whom his father had dealt, and running afoul in his dealings with transactions of his father's executors. He also came into the world of business at an unfortunate time, when Great Britain was locked in her world-wide struggle with France" (Dill 1976: 8).

From his surviving correspondence, it is evident that George Braxton III aspired to pursue a career in commerce and—if only halfheartedly—politics, as well. Not long after taking over affairs at Newington, he wrote to an English merchant with long-standing connections to the Braxtons. "Looking over the Books," he wrote, "I find that you used to send my Father and Grand Father cargoes of Goods to dispose for you, If you have any Inclination to try any adventures of that sort, I will do myself the pleasure to serve you upon the most reasonable Terms for theirs as well as your sake." Braxton also clearly shared the typical Virginia passion for thoroughbreds, and in September 1761 requested that his London agent purchase for him an "extraordinary" horse. Money was clearly no object, as he was prepared to spend the considerable sum of 200 to 300 guineas. "Send him by the first good opportunity," he advised, "& let him want for nothing to bring him over safe; insure fully: get a careful Servant to come over with him" (Horner 1898:143, 146-147; Dill 1976:8-9).

George Braxton III appears to have expended some energy in making improvements to Newington's landscape. In the last entry made in his business letter-book shortly before his premature death in 1761, Braxton recorded that:

> I agreed with Alexander Oliver Gardener to make a Court yard before my Door according to Art; and after the best manner I shall think proper, that he is likewise to finish my falling Garden with a Bolling Green and a neat Fish Pond and that he is to

make my Kitchen Garden agreeable to the rest. That I am to allow him Three Hands and give him forty Pistoles; he is to find himself: Bed: washing, victuals and everything except a Room to lodge and keep his Seeds &c in" (Horner 1898:147-148).

Mary Blair Braxton and Robert Burwell

Upon dying at 27 years of age, on 3 October 1761, Braxton left behind a young widow and small children, as well as an insolvent estate. His younger brother Carter would now be responsible for preserving the ancestral estate. This monumental task was made considerably more difficult, however, when long-time family friend and prominent politician "Speaker" John Robinson died in May 1766, igniting a scandal that would have serious implications for the Braxton family. After Robinson's death, it became apparent that he had used his office as treasurer to make unsecured loans of public funds to his cronies. When this arrangement was made public, both George Braxton's estate and Carter Braxton were found to owe well over £3,000 each. Despite his best efforts to repay the money, Carter Braxton was faced with no choice but to begin selling off his family's assets (Dill 1976:8-9, 14-15).

In December 1766, Carter Braxton reluctantly advertised the sale of his brother's estate in Halifax County, including slaves, livestock, and crops, with "bond and security" being given to the administrators of John Robinson's estate (*TVG* 11 December 1766:3). Less than two years later, Newington was put up for sale:

> *To be* SOLD *at King and Queen courthouse, on* Monday *the 29th of this instant,* A TRACT OF LAND, on *Mattapony* river, containing about 3000 acres, with a grist mill; the property of the late Col. *George Braxton*, deceased, and pursuant to a decree of the General Court, to satisfy a debt due to Mess. *Anthony Bacon* and Co. merchants in London. Credit will be allowed (by consent of Mr. *Bacon's* attorney) until the 10th of *June* 1769, on giving bond and good security. JOHN PENDLETON, Sheriff (*TVG* 18 February 1768a:3).

Prominent Eighteenth-Century Mattaponi Planters

Adjoining Newington Plantation was the Mattaponi River tract called Mantapike (Mantapke), which served as the home of the Brooke family for many generations. Colonel Richard Brooke, the last of the name who lived there, was a man of distinction and wealth. The Colonial style structure was demolished during the antebellum period and the lumber was re-used for the construction of a residence located farther away from the river. A large fishery was maintained on the riverfront, where hundreds of shad were reportedly caught in a single day. In the early history of the region, there was a ferry and a road leading to Williamsburg. On the opposite side of the river, the evidence of a wide roadbed through a long stretch of marsh or lowlands was still visible by the first decade of the twentieth century. Traditional accounts related that it was a "National" road leading to Williamsburg. According to most county histories, Mantapike was "a place of some commercial importance, and a shipping point for tobacco, having a large tobacco warehouse" (Bagby 1908:75).

As of 1752, Thomas Chamberlayne, the son in law of the illustrious Colonel William Byrd, owned three plantations located along the Mattaponi called: Scotland, White Oak, and the 1550-acre Home House Quarters that was later called Eglington (Harris 2006:15). Situated across the river from Newington the latter was the Colonial home of the Hill family. Colonel John Hill was perhaps the last of the ancestral family that lived there. At that time "much of

the journeying to visit among the old families living on the river was done in rowboats" (Bagby 1908: 76).

York River and Mattaponi River Trade (1700-1770)

Rise of the Bristol Slavers and the York River

The first extant account of the sale of captive Africans in United States territory was conducted at Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. According to John Rolfe "About the last of August came in a dutch man of Warre that sold us twenty Negars" (John Rolfe quoted in: Ashburn 2010:30).

By mid-17th century, it was "an ordinary transaction [in Bristol, England] to ship off batches of prisoners of war to assist in the colonisation [sic] of North America and the West Indies" (Wells 1909:382). This fact is confirmed by the 1648 event, whereby, a group of Bristol "gentlemen" petitioned Oliver Cromwell to transport 500 Scottish "invaders" to the plantations [which] was readily granted" (Wells 1909:382).

By 1674, Charles II conveyed a monopoly vis-à-vis Africa trade to a group of powerful London merchants. This clearly preferential Royal grant was perceived by the Bristol Merchant Venturers to be a flagrant injustice as they chartered rights in the lucrative trade. Surreptitiously, the Bristol faction continued its enterprises "in defiance of the monopoly" (Wells 1909:383).

By 1698, Parliament passed an act that fundamentally established free trade as related to slavers, and Bristol's West African traffic immediately flourished and soon numbered some 60 ships (Wells 1909:384). In due course, this enterprise would play an important role in the affairs of Mattaponi planters. By 1752, Bristol was the leader in this sinister commerce, followed by the ports of London, and Liverpool (Wells 1909:384).

The only significant extant business papers related to the Bristol slave trade after 1698 (as of 1986) are those of Isaac Hobhouse & Co (Richardson 1986:viii). An eminent historian associated with the Bristol Record Society remarked that: "Hobhouse was unquestionably one of the largest Bristol slave traders in the quarter century after 1720 (Richardson 1986:ix).

Numerous vessels of 50-ton burthen or less were hired and/or owned by Isaac Hobhouse & Company to transport Captive Africans to the York River and on to West Point during the early to mid-eighteenth century. Hobhouse joined other Bristol natives in 1723, when they vigorously petitioned the British Government over Virginia trade issues. Hobhouse primarily engaged in slaving associated with England, Africa, the West Indies, Virginia and South Carolina. During 1722 and 1723, numerous letters penned by Virginians including Augustine Moore, Robert Baylor, James Tayloe, John Dixon, and Edward Hallden were mailed to Hobhouse discussing "trade" issues. Hallden's 22 June 1723 dispatch to Isaac Hobhouse was posted from "Mattaponi", and expressly discussed the slave trade (Williams 2002e).

In 1735, Kings Mill planter Lewis Burwell purchased a "Negro boy" from "merchant George Braxton [I] for £14" (Walsh 2001:67). At this time, Braxton served as a favored Virginia agent for Isaac Hobhouse (Walsh 2001:282). The business relationship apparently flourished, as correspondence dated early summer 1741 from Braxton to Hobhouse discussed the former's concern over "Spanish privateers off [the] South Carolina coast" (Williams 2002f). Before retiring circa 1758, Hobhouse became a member of the "new" Africa Company (est. 1750), and co-owned a sugar refinery with Percivall & Copper Company located in Redcliffe, Bristol.

An examination of slaving records for Virginia from June 1699 through October 1708 com-

piled by Council President Edmund Jenings (and later revised) related that 52 vessels brought some 6,688 Captive Africans into the colony. Of this number, 236 were brought by way of Barbados. In July 1701, Captain Samuel King sailed the 50-ton slaving sloop into the York River bound from Barbados. The vessel was constructed in Portsmouth, New England ca. 1700 and was owned by George Peers (Minchinton, King and Waite 1984:4-5).

Several small slavers cleared Virginia ports during the first decade of the 18th century and these included: the 40-ton Virginia-built sloop *Westover* owned by William Byrd, the Virginia-built *Callibar Merchant* owned by John Taylor, the 45-ton Pennsylvania-built sloop *Ann* owned by Bond & Farmer, the 30-ton Bermuda-built sloop *Elizabeth*, the 25-ton New England-built sloop *Swallow*, and the 45-ton plantation sloop *Phoenix*, (Minchinton et al., 1984:10-19). In 1709, a William Wilson mentioned that there were one or two sloops "in Yorke" that were fit for official service (Palmer 1875:136).

Exports carried on local sloops and galleys, and larger seagoing vessels in the same period chiefly consisted of tobacco. On 2 June 1705, naval officer "Han. Custis" permitted "Skiper" John West of the sloop *Fortune*, to take and load 20 hogsheads of tobacco from Accomac, and then transport the valuable cargo to York River where it was loaded on the outbound ship *Merchants Adventure*, commanded by Master Peter Wallis (Palmer 1875:92-93).

This same Royal permit allowed Mathew Moore of the shallop *Owl* to ferry cured Virginia leaf (Palmer 1875:93). In November 1705, the Virginia Council proposed amendments for improving the tobacco industry, specifically regulating the size of tobacco hogsheads on any kind of vessel (Palmer 1875:95).

In 1715, public store houses and a wharf for tobacco operated in York County at Bates' Landing; two at Queens' Creek Landing, two at Buckners' Landing and two at William Roes' Landing (Palmer 1875:185). The "Buckner" associated with the referenced York County landings may have been connected to the "Richard Buckner" that acquired land "lying & being on Mottaponi [*sic*]" deeded from Thomas Pannell circa 1707 (Palmer 1875:112-113).

From mid-December 1710 to 10 December 1718, over 2,600 *living* Captive Africans were imported into the York District aboard 47 vessels. In the interim, a small number of Africans arrived from the Island of Nevis (Minchinton et al., 1984:xii-xiii). The cyclical importation of "cheap" plantation workers based on strictly regulated exportation of Virginia commodities proved to be an excellent system to acquire personal wealth.

Chambers (2005) surmises that:

> The settlement of the York River watershed, including the Mattaponi and Pamunkey Rivers and the Rapidan to the Rappahannock, was effected largely by upper Tidewater planters, who took advantage of their social and political connections to claim large tracts of newly surveyed land above the fall lines in the 1720s. Over the next two decades, these planters put their new lands into tobacco production with newly imported Africans. The period from the 1710s through the 1740s or early 1750s also was the height of the transatlantic slave trade to Virginia, when shipments from Calabar, financed by Bristol merchants, dominated imports of enslaved Africans, particularly to the York River (Chambers 2005:76).

Wealthy planters utilized the "system of deferred remittance" which encouraged British merchants to consign shipments of slaves to these individuals "who in turn sold the slaves on 6 to 12 months' (or longer) credit to local planters, payable in hogsheads of tobacco"

(Chambers 1999:7). The cured leaf and other Virginia commodities were then shipped to British ports where the cargoes often covered previous transactions (Chambers 1999:7).

Chambers (1999:7) suggested that during the height of slaving activities in Virginia between the 1720s and 1740s, London and Glasgow merchants dominated the tobacco trade. By 1742 however, Bristol merchants ranked fifth in the importation of Virginia tobacco and maintained their supremacy in the slave trade between 1710 and 1769. In essence "Virginia planters paid for slaves imported on Bristol vessels with tobacco-backed bills of exchange drawn on London, Glasgow (and, to a lesser extent, Whitehaven) tobacco merchants" (Chambers 1999:7).

"Between 1718 and August 1720" Colonel Baylor singularly orchestrated the sale of "1,500 Africans imported on nine ships, of which eight were financed by Bristol merchants and seven were from the Calabar coast" (Chambers 2005:82-83). From his plantation and tobacco warehouse on the Mattaponi River, Baylor eventually sank deeply in debt though he, and his occasional business partner Colonel George Braxton, remained the principal tobacco broker on the river (Chambers 2005:82-83).

Described posthumously by King Carter in 1720, George Braxton was "in all aspects the greatest merchant we had among us", the "market value of the 1,470 Africans on the nine shipments was more than five times Baylor's total worth" (Chambers 2005:82-83). Many of the *slaves* "arrived on the *Tiverton* and the *Callabar* [sic]" (Chambers 2005:266). In September 1719, the *Callabar Merchant* left Bristol and sailed to Calabar where its crew picked up 181 Africans. The vessel reached the Port of York in April 1720 with 156 slaves (Chambers 2005:266).

Under the command of Robert Wetherby, British records relate that the sloop *Noblet* was inbound to Virginia during early May 1720. When the vessel sailed from Bristol *George Braxton, William Rogers* (representing Noblet Ruddock & Co.), and Richard Keinton possibly served as her Virginia agents (Ancestry.com 2012:2). In July 1720, the *Tiverton* also arrived at the mouth of the York with 210 captives from Calabar (Chambers 2005:266).

On 17 October 1721, the sloop *Baylor* entered York River under the command of Captain William Verney. On this date, the Virginia sloop imported 117 Africans into the colony lately captured in Gambia (Minchinton et al., 1984:51). Another Virginia-built sloop, the 20-ton Phoenix, re-entered the York River on 6 May 1725 with seven Barbadian slaves. The Phoenix was reportedly built during 1723, and was registered at Williamsburg to owner John Tucker (Minchinton et al., 1984:52-53).

A 30-ton plantation-built sloop called *Windsor* (or *Wimsor*) entered the Lower James during this period. Constructed in 1723, and owned by John Walker, the small sloop imported 25 Africans from Antigua with Captain Arthur Ellis at her helm (Minchinton et al., 1984:54-55).

When the 100-ton *Greyhound* arrived in the York River on 27 May 1723, approximately 174 Captive Africans were quickly "delivered to Augustus Moore" for an imminent sale. This auction commenced within two days "with slaves priced at £40 sterling a pair but only 50 slaves were sold by 4 June at that price" (Richardson 1986:102).

In late April 1724, "Augustine Moor" (Moore) served again as the Bristol agent on the York River to oversee the auction of 231 Captive Africans from Calabar (Richardson 1986:109). The enslaved Africans were transported to Virginia aboard the 90-ton *Commerce*. When she departed Bristol on 10 October 1723, Master Henry James and a crew of 18 operated the vessel. Historical records indicated that Samuel Jacob & Company, John Jacob, Robert Addison,

Isaac Knight, Joseph Thomas, and John Tate owned the *Commerce* (Richardson 1986:109).

According to a York River Naval Office Shipping List, the 40-ton *Dove* built circa 1719 visited that Virginia port between late March 1725 and 25 March 1726 (McCusker 1997:50). Having cleared Nevis on 7 July 1726 with 135 Calabar captives aboard, Captain Thomas Davis sailed the *Malmsbury* into the York River on 19 July. The 70-ton, two-gun vessel was built in Connecticut during 1716 and was owned by William Hunt & Company (Richardson 1986:138). After debarking 177 Captive Africans along the York River in late April 1727, Captain Robert Smith sailed the 80-ton *Angola* to Africa and then to Montserrat (Richardson 1986:143). Having commenced his long commercial voyage at Bristol aboard the New England-built vessel on 6 September 1724, "Wharfage books" related that Smith's contract to William Jefferis & Company concluded on 4 August 1727 (Richardson 1986:143).

In June 1726, William Robertson appointed "Receiver of all the Rates, Dutys [sic] and Impositions on Liquors &c for the District of York River &c" (Palmer 1875:209). By December 1732, Governor Gooch modified Robertson's duties to include taxes on slaves imported for the York River district (Palmer 1875:219).

Capture and Release of the Braxton Galley (1727-1728)

Advice published on 16 May 1728 in the *Stamford Mercury* related that the *San Francisco Xavier* [alias *El Gallo Indiana*] had taken "an English Ship, named the Braxton Galley, Samuel Cornock Master, bound from London to Virginia" (*Stamford Mercury* 16 May 1728). The 44-gun Spanish merchant vessel was inbound to San Sebastian after concluding a rewarding cruise to La Vera Cruz when she intercepted the English galley. Initial reports indicated that the *San Francisco Xavier* carried "1,000,000 Pieces of Eight, 24,000 Dollars in Gold, 8,000 Arroves of Cocheneal, 3,000 Arroves of Indico, 3,000 Arroves of Silvester, 200 Millares Vanellas, 7,000 Quintals of Tobacco, 6,000 Quintals of Havanna Snuff, for the King, some Balsam, Jalep, Drugs, and Presents (*Stamford Mercury* 16 May 1728a).

A follow-up story published by the same London journal told readers that the *Braxton* was seized on 5 April 1727, and was then escorted to Port-Passage on 22 April. In its 27 June 1728 edition, the *Stamford Mercury* reported that the galley "was not released when the Letters came from thence, by the last French Mail as came away, notwithstanding Application had been made to the Court of Spain to that End" (*Stamford Mercury* 27 June 1728b).

In light of the Spanish violation of international maritime accords, more news regarding the *Braxton* appeared in other publications. On 13 July 1728, *The Dublin Intelligence* announced that French intelligence collected at Port Passage stated:

> That the Spaniards, after Plundering and Pilfering, had at length put Captain Samuel Cornock into possession of his Ship the Braxton Galley….The Braxton Galley was Refitting and Victualling, in Order to Proceed on her Voyage for Virginia (*The Dublin Intelligence* 13 July 1728:2).

Not surprisingly, a relevant notice was printed in the same column: "We have Advice from Virginia, That the Fleet from thence was to Sail for England the 16th of June, in Convoy of a Man of War" (*The Dublin Intelligence* 13 July 1728). Another European paper, the *Daily Courant*, reported that three potential Virginia vessels anchored at Deal on 17 September 1728. These were identified as the *Samuel*, the *Braxton*, and the *Whiting*. This convoy was most recently outbound from Lisbon (*Daily Courant* 1 October 1728).

The 1727 capture of the *Braxton* proved to be exceptional, as it was named in a heated discourse related to contemporary "Depredations committed by the *Spaniards* upon our Merchants in the *West-Indies*" (Anonymous 1729:5). This pamphlet entitled *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain, with Regard to the Negociations [sic] and other Transactions Abroad* related that the vessel was intercepted near Terceira in the Azores "By a Privateer of Vera Cruz" (Anonymous 1729:24-25).

The sloop *Interim* bound for Virginia from Jamaica was also captured by a Spanish privateer in early March 1727. At the time of the sloop's seizure near Cape Tiberoon, Hispaniola, Captain Thomas Jarnigan commanded the English vessel during a scheduled voyage to Virginia (Unknown author 1729:26-27).

Despite the risks involved, trans-Atlantic voyages undertaken to and from Virginia continued. From 3 December 1729 to 12 March 1730, at least four vessels cleared Madeira bound for Virginia. These included: the *Pelican* of Virginia, Captain Joseph Nesbitt; the *Burwell* of London, Captain Constantine Cant; the sloop *Mattapony* of Virginia, Captain Thomas Simpson; and the *Lee* of London, Captain George Buckeridge (*The Daily Journal* 30 March 1730). At press time, another Virginia sloop, the *Success* was "yet in Port" commanded by Master Francis Epes (*The Daily Journal* 30 March 1730).

King and Queen planter Ambrose Maddison [sic] (or Madison) purchased eight to ten newly imported Africans "probably at West Point" at this time (Chambers 2005:86). Maddison was among the group of planters (including John Baylor, James Taylor, Thomas Chew and William Todd) who owned a twenty-mile stretch of tracts located on the left bank of the Mattaponi. "Their holdings comprised some 35,000 acres" and their community of slaves "remained largely intact over three or four generations until the beginning of the nineteenth century" (Chambers 2005:91).

As these "Upper York" River planters seated their respective patents to clear the titles to their properties, 25 slave ships entered the river from 1726 to 1730 with some 5,000 Africans. Historical sources suggest that: "75 percent (3,800 slaves) of the Africans taken to the York River markets in those key years came from the Bight of Biafra, with about 3,000 of them likely Igbo" (Chambers 2005:91). Englishman William Hugh Grove visited the Mattaponi region during 1732, and found "pleasant Gardens" with the river "thick seated with gentry on its Banks with a Mile or at most 2 miles from Each other" (William Grove quoted in: Bushman 2002:14).

Commerce carried on the York and Mattaponi in the 18th century also included more benign cargos. A letter penned by Thomas Jones to his wife in October 1736 warned of the arduous stages of a journey through King and Queen County, and the author suggested that travel from Littlepages and Crutchfields warehouses on the Mattaponi was best accomplished by water (VHS 1918c:178-179). Later, Jones wrote his wife with the distressing news that hogs he had recently sold had not been delivered up the Mattaponi by "Boat" to their buyers. Jones also remarked to his wife that wheat was to be carried to the Crutchfield warehouse, and that the caretaker of the cargo was "then to come down in the Boat" (VHS 1918d:286).

The *Virginia Gazette* advised its readers on 12 November 1736 that a local sloop called the *John and Mary* had anchored at the Port of York after completing a round-trip journey to Barbados. Richard Tillidge was identified as the master of this Virginia-registered sloop. The same shipping report announced the arrival in the Upper James River of four sloops hailing from Bermuda named the *Endeavour*, the *Content*, the *Samuel* and the *Anne* (*TVG* 12 November 1736d:4).

On 1 July 1737, *TVG* related that, "Last Night arriv'd York River, from Guinea, the Brice Galley, Capt. Saunders, with Negroes, consign'd to Col.

Braxton" (*TVG* 1 July 1737c:4). Another ship entered the York River during April 1738 with 200 captive Africans from Guinea, the former being also assigned to Colonel Braxton (*TVG* 14 April 1738b).

Just prior to this importation of Captive Africans into King & Queen County, a particularly destructive fire damaged the home of a ferry keeper and "the greater part of his effects" located near West Point. On 3 March 1737/8, the residence of Robert Willis at Graves Ferry "was set on fire by a Convict Servant" (*TVG* quoted in Harris 2006:294). Due to the loss of his business property as well, Willis was apparently ruined. Within one year, John Waller assumed control of the ferry located near West Point (Harris 2006:295).

The value of skilled slaves is clearly shown, as by late September of that same year, Braxton advertised this notice in Philadelphia's *American Weekly Mercury*: "Abraham, Negro slave, born in Virginia, age c. 25, shoemaker by trade-runaway from Col. George Braxton, Jr., of King and Queen Co., Virginia" (*The American Weekly Mercury*, 21 September 1738 quoted in: Scott 1974:102).

A Williamsburg firm organized by Bristol natives John Harmer and Walter King announced in early June 1739 that the 100-ton galley *Crosse* had arrived at Yorktown "with a choice Cargo of Slaves" (Richter 2012). On behalf of owner John Crosse, Master Joseph Pitman would accept Bristol-bound freight for his return voyage to Great Britain (Richardson 1987:90). Harmer & King also advised Virginians that:

> The Sale whereof will begin on Monday the 4th Instant, at West-Point. And as soon as discharg'd, will prepare to receive a Freight for Bristol. She [the Crosse] is a Bristol built Vessel, not above Seven Years old, and shall be well fitted, to carry what Tobacco may be but on Board her. The Subscribers will ship upwards of 100 Hogsheads, and has already 50 more engag'd (Richter 2012).

On 14 July 1743, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported this maritime advice related to Virginia:

> Ship *Henry*, Capt. Little, is arrived in York River from Africa with about 300 slaves; the brigantine *Sea Horse*, with rum and sugar; the snow *Betty*, William Soper master, is arrived in James River from the Isle of May, laden with salt[;] Ship London Capt Newham, the *Restoration*, Capt. Aylward, and the *Prince of Wales* are arrived in James River, from London; Capts. Belcher and Lane are arrived in York River from London and Capts. Cander and Romny from Bristol[;] Dandridge, Capt., of H.M.S. *South Sea Castle*-by end of August will convoy from the Capes of Virginia to England (Pennsylvania Gazette quoted in: Scott 1975:413-414).

After the *Two Brothers* entered the York River in late July 1746, *TVG* advised its readers that a slave auction would be conducted at West Point on 4 August. Soon thereafter, tobacco would be loaded on the 90-ton vessel prior to Captain Jones's return voyage to Bristol to sell for £14 per ton (*TVG* quoted in: Richardson 1987:145).

An act passed by the General Assembly during 1730 authorized the construction of a private warehouse owned by Samuel Shepherd. Shepherd's Warehouse was located near the site of Roger Gregory's home "on the upper side of the Mattapony River across from West Point" (Harris 2006:301). Pursuant to legislation passed in May 1742, public warehouses for the inspection of tobacco were required to be maintained "in the County of King and Queen at Shepherd's and Thomas Turner's, under one inspection; at Mantapike and Walker Town, on the lot of Mr. John Walker, under another inspection; and at Todd's." The annual salary of the inspector

at Shepherd's and Thomas Turner's land was fixed at 35 pounds of tobacco, with the same at Mantapike and Walker Town. The inspector at Todd's received 40 pounds (Bagby 1908:47-48).

In August 1752, a public notice described valuable goods shipped aboard the *Martha* to Shepherd's Warehouse by prominent London merchant Edward Athawes. Edward was the relative of Samuel Athawes (or Athaws) who was heavily involved in the Virginia trade (Tyler 1922:288). Located north of West Point, and near the Laneville office of Royal Customs Collector Richard Corbin (the second father in law of Carter Braxton) and John Robinson's Pleasant Hill plantation, Shepherd's riverside location was easily accessible for "Ship Side" deliveries (*TVG* 7 August 1752:3). Just two months before, the gazette advised readers that local factors, John Robinson and Humphrey Hill, would sell Anamaboe slaves at West Point on 11 June 1752 (Richardson 1991:44).

John Norton Company & Sons

By 1745, London merchant John Norton had settled in Williamsburg, Virginia and eventually set up a flourishing enterprise in Yorktown. He became a Justice of York County and represented the county in the House of Burgesses in the Assembly of 1752-1754. Norton's store and warehouse thrived and the Englishman was recognized as "one of the leading merchants of Virginia" (Tyler 1922:287). Norton married Courtney Walker and the socially prominent couple reared four sons: John Hatley Norton (b. 1745), George Flowerdew, Daniel, and Henry, and one daughter: Frances. The elder Norton returned to London in 1764, leaving John Hatley Norton to represent him in Yorktown (Tyler 1922:287).

Reaching adulthood, sister Frances Norton would marry her "first cousin" John Baylor. This young man was the son of the illustrious Mattaponi River planter John Baylor and his spouse Lucy *Walker* Baylor (Tyler 1922:288). The firm of John Norton & Sons was mentioned fairly often in the affairs of 18th-century Mattaponi planters, and due to this fact, it follows that small vessels such as sloops may have been operated by John Hatley Norton to support commercial and familial obligations.

Another strong maritime connection to the York and presumably Mattaponi River by the elder Norton was his personal relationship with Captain Thomas Reynolds. Circa 1759, John Norton served as one of the executors for Captain Thomas Reynolds's estate. Thomas Reynolds previously lived in Yorktown where he was a partner in the activities of many seagoing vessels. He married Susanna Rogers, daughter of Capt. William Rogers (possibly the Poor Potter) (Tyler 1922:296).

A "Thomas Reynolds, Va." was recorded as the owner of the 60-ton sloop *Judith* as of autumn 1754. The *Judith* was built in Virginia during 1749, and she entered the York River on 10 September 1754. Historical documents relate that Captain Jeffery Power was inbound from Barbados with three Captive Africans aboard the *Judith* on this slaving voyage (Minchinton et al., 1984:155).

In addition to the large number of Captive Africans brought to Yorktown and West Point, British vessels regularly transported bonded English, Irish and Scot servants to these ports. As a consequence, slave runaways and escapes by indentured servants were a frequent occurrence. *TVG* reported in July 1751 that an English servant transported to the colony by the *Baltimore* fled the ship on the same day it had anchored at West Point (Headley 2007:51). Similar advice informed readers that two young seamen, and two older sailors, one British and one a Scot, abandoned the London ship *Encouragement* that anchored at West Point in April 1752 (Headley 2007:7, 183, 199, 308).

A warehouse for tobacco inspection was raised prior to 1730 at the head of the Mattaponi. This was the highest reach for navigating ships on the crooked river. Located north of Locust Grove, the strategic site also boasted a trading post known as Todd's. By 1745, ferry service was approved for the spot and within five years of that critical legislation, a bridge was also constructed to span the Mattaponi's elevated banks (Bushman 2002:15).
By February 1738/9, Scotsman John Lidderdale relocated his Prince George, Virginia business to Williamsburg. Lidderdale partnered there with merchant Alexander Spaulding in late winter 1740/1 and then entered into a partnership with the Bristol firm of Thomas Chamberlayne and Company by 1746.

On 31 July 1746, Lidderdale ran this notice in *TVG*:

> Arrived in York River, THE Snow Two Brothers, with upwards of 200 fine healthy Slaves; the Sale of which will begin at West-Point, on Monday the 4th of August; where Attendance will be given 'til compleated. The said Ship is not Two Years old, well fitted and manna, and will take in Tobacco, for Bristol, at 141. per Ton. Such Gentlemen as are inclinable to ship to Thomas Chamberlayne and Company, from York or James Rivers, are requested to send their Orders on board, or to John Lidderdale (TVG quoted in: Richter 2012).

The 30-ton sloop *Eltham* arrived at the Port of York on 10 August 1746 under the command of Captain James Pool. The Virginia-built sloop was initially registered by March 1739 and may have been owned by Charles Seabrook ca. 1746 (Minchinton et al., 1984:137). Historical sources mention a "country cutter *Eltham*" that operated in the same period but its potential association with the village of the same name is unknown.

The village of Eltham was located just opposite contemporary West Point. Numerous colonists and their slaves converged at this site in the mid-18th century. There they crossed the river before they migrated northwest up the Mattaponi. Many were Burwell relatives of the Carters and the Braxtons (Walsh 2001:207).

During 1751, at least 23 vessels entered Virginia waters with enslaved Africans. Three arrived at the Port of York, and contemporary customs records reveal that they were the ship *Tryal* in May [390 slaves from Africa], the sloop *Fanny* in October [1 slave from Barbados], and the schooner *St. George* in December [6 slaves from St. Christopher] (Richter 2012).

In the case of the *Tryal*, Bristol resident Philip Protheroe owned this ship and possibly had business dealings with Williamsburg lawyer and Virginia Council member John Blair (Richter 2012). Consigned to Philip Rootes and Humphrey Hill, Africans imprisoned on the *Tryal* and under the care of Captain Abraham Saunders were seized in Angola (Richter 2012).

In early October 1751, the Virginia-built *Fanny* entered the York River under the command of Captain William Whitterong. The 40-ton sloop was owned by John Thompson and brought one African from Barbados into the colony (Minchinton et al., 1984:147).

Following his death circa 1746, the relict of Captain John Lambeth may have inherited her husband's valuable sloop among other effects. On 27 February 1752, a sloop formerly owned by Mary Meridith [sic] Lambeth was advertised for sale as such:

> To be sold the 20th of March next at West-Point, pursuant to the last will and testament of Mary Lambert (Lambeth) deceased, all her estate consisting of a new sloop, Burthern [sic], 70 or 60 hogsheads, with her tackle; two negroes fellows, very capable of going by water, one has has

> [sic] been a skipper, and a good house Wench, Stock and Household Furniture; also tow other Negroe fellows, capable of going by water, are to be hired out. Credit will be allowed (Harris 2006:345).

At mid-century, Bushman (2002) suggested that:

> Mansions overlooking public and private docks ran the whole length of the county, and a long series of the principal landings served as addresses on the northwest end of the county: Dunkirk, Old Hall, Aylett, Tobacco House, Jones's, Walker's (Chatham Hill), Poplar, Rowe's Spout, Poynter's (Bewdley), Roane's, White Bank, Walkerton, Locust Grove, Horse, Rickahoc, Mantua Ferry, White Oak, Scotland, Mantapike, Wakeme, Court House, Melrose, Clifton, Waterfence, and West Point (Bushman 2002:11-12).

During his 1765 sojourn in Virginia, Lord Adam Gordon found Mattaponi cultivators living "handsomely and plentifully, raising all they require, and depending for nothing on the Market" (Lord Gordon quoted in: Bushman 2002:14).

Maritime Activity Associated With Carter Braxton

By 1760, the York Customs Collector was identified as John Ambler who drew an annual salary of £40 (Barrow 1967:263). That sum was included in the overall value of contemporary York posts that was estimated at £400 (Barrow 1967:307). Beginning in 1769, a "comprehensive" study was made of "the American customs operation" (Barrow 1967:240). The boundaries of several "legal ports were not known with precision" and one inspector remarked of the York "How the boundaries of this District [York] were originally settled not able to say, but from long usage" (Barrow 1967:240-241).

These Royal and petty bureaucratic affairs did little to hinder local maritime enterprises. During February 1763, Carter Braxton initiated correspondence with the Rhode Island owners of the *Four Brothers*, with the view to offer his services as a Virginia merchant contact. While most of the Brown brothers' commercial activities were aimed to Caribbean ports, the firm also sent vessels to trade along the American coast. It was in this circumstance that Carter Brown "accidentally" met with the sloop's "Supercargo" as the former purchased more than half of the *Four Brothers*' goods (Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery & Justice [BUSCS&J] 1763).

In his first letter to the Rhode Island concern, Carter Braxton remarked that:

> Corn & Flour[,] I believe will generally answer your Markets, as those two articles I can purchase as Cheap as Man, because I manufacture a Large quantity of one [and] I live in a Part of the Country where the other generally sells Cheaper than any where else (BUSCS&J 1763).

In respect to "the recent peace" and its effect on Colonial duties, Braxton discussed contemporary prices for popular commodities including molasses, rum, sugar, chocolate, potatoes, candles and French wines (BUSCS&J 1763). Furthermore, Braxton suggested that he and Brown and Company might collaborate in another more lucrative venture. Braxton related:

> I am told there is a great Traid [sic] carried on from Rhode Island to Guinea for Negroes and I should be glad to enter into Partnership with some Gentlemen for a Voyage or two and have them sent here where I believe they sell as well as any where, the common Price of them last year was from 30 to £36 sterling…If you shou'd [sic] incline to enter on such a scheme I shall be glad to hear from you particularly

> about it; as many of your acquaintances may be engaged in the trade[,] I perhaps may send vessels here (BUSCS&J 1763).

On 2 October 1764, the Port of York customs officer reported that the sloop *Mary* had entered the river under the command of Captain William Whitterong. Owned by Carter Braxton, the 30-ton sloop carried a cargo of 14 hogsheads of rum and 23 barrels of brown sugar from Barbados (Colonial National Historical Park [CNHP] 2011a).

According to *The History of the Blair, Banister, and Braxton Families*, author Frederick Horner asserted that following the death of George Braxton, Senior, Newington became the property of his eldest son Colonel George Braxton, Jr. The younger Braxton had married Mary Blair, the daughter of Williamsburg merchant John Blair, who as a widow then married Englishman Roger Prescott. As Colonel Braxton's widow removed herself to Bull Run (or Enfield) with her new husband, Newington lawfully became the property of Carter Braxton I perhaps "by purchase' (Horner 1898:122; 170).

Subscribers to *TVG* were informed in mid-November 1766 that "A VALUABLE tract of LAND on *Matapony* river, about 5 miles above *King William* court-house" was for sale (*TVG* 13 November 1766:3). The advertiser remarked that his land included "very fine wild oat marshes on the river, where a great quantity of hay may be made yearly" (*TVG* 13 November 1766:3). In addition to a "very good" dwelling, well-maintained outhouses, and extraordinary apple and peach orchards, "a well accustomed grist mill" was located on the riverfront (*TVG* 13 November 1766:3). This enterprise allowed vessels to "come to the landing and deliver grain, or receive meal, with convenience" (*TVG* 13 November 1766:3).

The American Revolution and Early National Period

On 27 March 1778, *TVG* published this advertisement related to a West Point real estate:

> To be Sold for ready money, Two lots of ground at West Point, on which is an exceeding good dwelling-house with three rooms below and two above, a very good kitchen with a [illegible] repair, and all other convenient outhouses. Possession will be given the first day of July. For terms apply to Col. Braxton, or the subscriber [Eisha Hall] (TVG 27 March 1778).

On Friday, 18 September 1778, the Continental Congress heard a report issued by the body's Committee of Commerce that related:

> [T]here is now on board the brig Braxton, 117 hogsheads of tobacco, shipped on freight for account and risqe [sic] of the United States; that the said tobacco hath been shipped upwards of a year, and that the vessel was detained by the British frigates the greatest part of that time, and the rest by means, first of springing a leak, and secondly, by a stroke of lightning, which dismasted and disabled the vessel from proceeding: that the Continent is liable to make good the damages as insurers, and to pay a heavy demurrage as freighters (Continental Congress 1908:925-926).

Several weeks later, a relevant letter was presented to the same members, which also reported the purchase of tobacco by Carter Braxton and Mr. Gabriel Penn (Continental Congress 1908:1216). In early January 1780, Carter Braxton presented a letter to *TVG* in which Virginia's attorney general elaborated in great detail the charge of piracy against Braxton. Addressed to Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph discussed the

Figure 7. David J. Kennedy watercolor of Newington (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2012).

case of a Portuguese snow *recently* taken as a prize by Captain Cunningham and Braxton (TVG 8 January 1780:3). As Cunningham operated his privateer under a Letter of Marque, his immunity passed to Braxton as well.

During 1779, Scotsman Andrew Bell was engaged by Carter Braxton to tutor his children at West Point, Virginia (Southey 1844:29). Sometime later, Bell accompanied his two sons to the University of St. Andrews in Fife, Scotland. By late August 1782, in response to an inquiry about military action in Virginia, Bell received a letter from a relative of Carter Braxton in Bristol, England that remarked:

> The French troops, after the capture of Cornwallis, were quartered at Williamsburg, York, Hampton, and Westpoint; all which places, except Williamsburg, they have fortified very strongly. There are two very fine batteries at the Point, which command the channel on each river, mounted with brass eighteen and four-and-twenty pounders, and a regular garrison kept there (Southey 1844:256).

In regard to maritime trade on the York, and other Virginia waters, J. Brooke informed Bell that:

> Our trade had just begun to revive a little before I came away, after the destruction of all the vessels belonging to the state by the enemy, and in that respect will be much on the same footing as when you left us, excepting only that there is a very considerable commerce with Philadelphia and the northern states; for our tobacco is an object of universal attention, but our coast is still very much infested with privateers. As for

> the distress of our countrymen [for example]….Colonel Braxton might lose about fifteen or twenty hogs-heads of tobacco, and some few negroes (Southey 1844:258).

Bell's protégés, Corbin and Carter, would return to Virginia in early autumn 1784 aboard the Glasgow ship *Elizabeth* (Southey 1844:299). After traveling to West Point, the two young Braxton heirs quickly wrote their tutor. Corbin's 3 October letter informed Bell that their eight-week passage was agreeable, and also assured the latter that his father (and a Mr. White) intended to forward a pledged shipment of tobacco once the crop was ready (Southey 1844:299). Whether Mr. Bell ever received the promised commodity in lieu of monetary payment for his services is unknown (Southey 1844:68).

In late November 1784, Virginia delegates heard petition No. 1233 to require "all land owners adjoining the Mattaponi river to clear away all obstructions in the river opposite their lands, to the middle of the stream, and keep same clear so there may be a free passage for boats and fish" (Wingfield 2009:52). In October 1786, Virginia legislators designated West Point as an official port of delivery for the lading and unlading of vessels. Pilotage fees in the amount of "four shillings and ten pence per foot" were also assessed for mariners sailing from Yorktown to West Point (Hening 1823:301). Corn was actively cultivated along the upper Mattaponi by late 1790, as the executors for the Robert Gilchrist estate (four miles above the Bowling Green) advertised "All the crop of corn, fodder, stocks of all kinds, utensils, eighty likely slaves and the above plantation of fifteen hundred acres" (Wingfield 2009:83). Wingfield (2009:25) related that the "rich lowlands lying along the Mattaponi" produced excellent crops of corn, wheat, and oats and later became adaptable for grazing grasses. This natural transition induced 19th-century planters to breed cattle and dairy cows.

Figure 8. Remote-sensing project support vessel *Tidewater Surveyor*. (Author photo)

Figure 9. Klein System 3900 digital sidescan sonar. (Author photo)

Figure 10. Computer navigation system lacated at the research vessel helm. (Author photo)

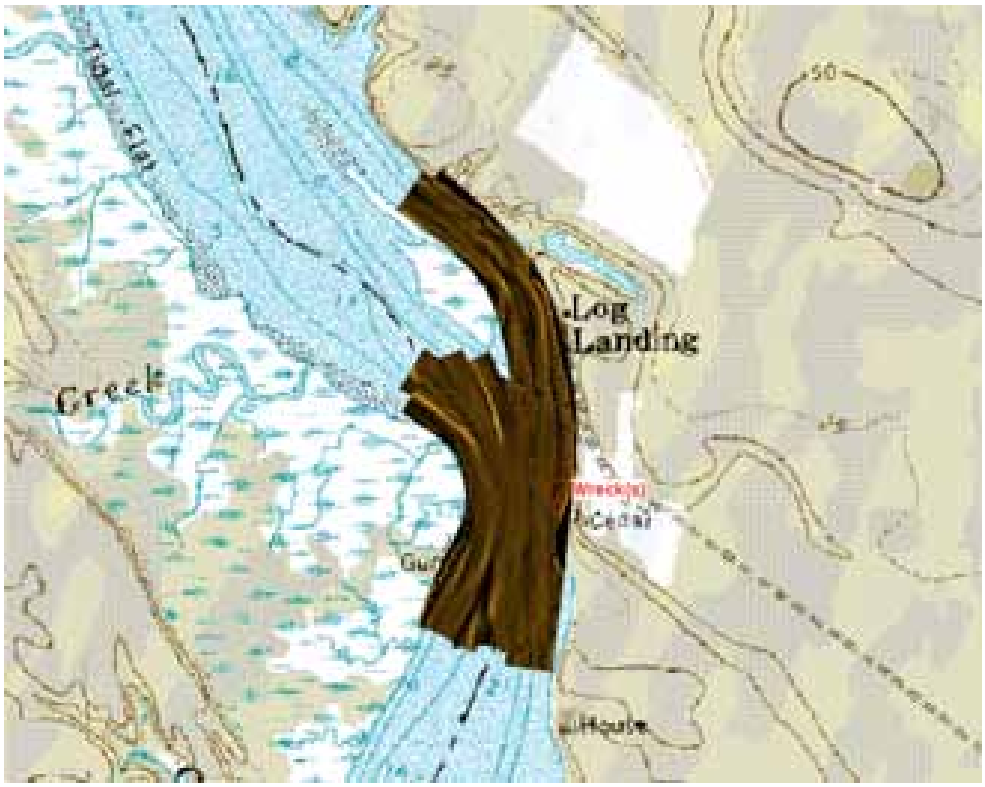
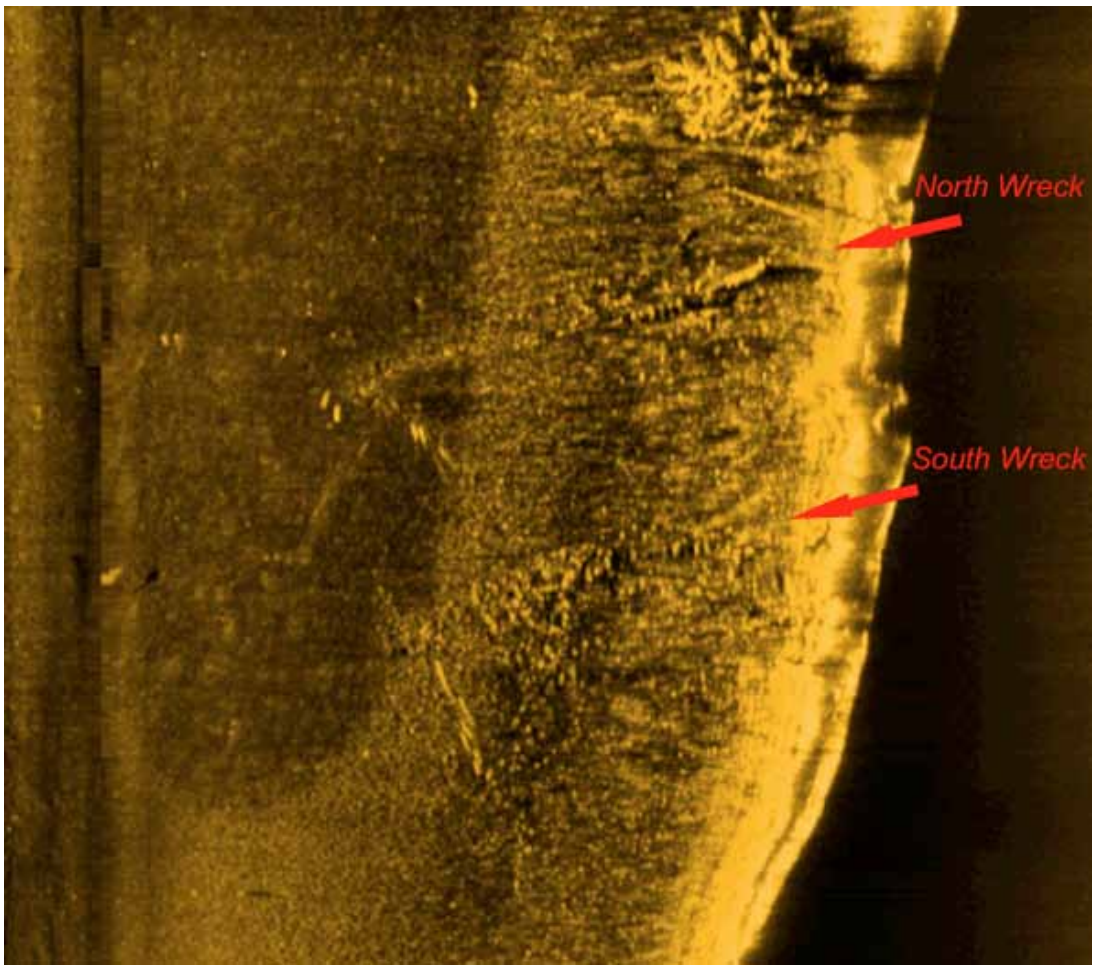


Figure 11. Sonar mosaic of the Mattaponi River adjacent to the Newington Plantation vessels.

Figure 12. (Below) Sonar image of the Newington Plantation vessels.



Mid- to Late-Nineteenth-Century View of Newington Plantation

A beautiful painting that places Newington in the foreground, with a view of the Mattaponi River in the background, was produced by artist David J. Kennedy (Kennedy n.d.) (Figure 7). The engineer and "amateur" artist may have visited the home during the period preceding the War Between the States. Kennedy's wife was identified as the first cousin of Carter M. Braxton (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2012).

Dr. Tomlin Braxton, wrote these remarks [ca. 1897] regarding some of his ancestors' 18th-century estates:

> I know nothing of the family before George Braxton left England. I have always heard that he was a native of Wales. I have no letters relating to the family, and have only at home (Chericoke) a transcript from grandma's family Bible at Hybla, which amounts to very little…. Of Newington I may be able to learn more than I now know by visiting King and Queen…. The place was the residence of George (first). There Great-grandfather George (second) was born and my great-grandfather, the signer, also. All my life the place has been occupied by a family of Harwoods, and has been kept in good repair up to fifteen years ago. Since then I know nothing of it. 'Elsing Green,' on the Pamunkey, was built for the signer during his absence in England at Cambridge, and was burnt before he occupied it. 'Twas being rebuilt at the time of his return upon the original walls. He completed it, did not like it, and sold it to Count Brown, of England, and built himself a large establishment at Chericoke, twelve miles higher up the river. This house was burned down during his sojourn in Philadelphia, while a member of Congress. On his return he resided in the city of Richmond, where he died, and was buried at Chericoke, where, also were buried his two wives (Tomlin Braxton quoted in: Horner 1898:165).

Clearly the Mattaponi River was a major focus of early Virginia development with agricultural, commercial and social ties that extended to other North American colonies, the West Indies and Europe.

Description of the Survey Methodology

Remote-Sensing Survey

The remote-sensing survey of the Mattaponi River adjacent to the vessel remains at Newington Plantation was carried out using high-resolution sidescan sonar. Differential global positioning was used to georeference survey data. Navigation and data collection was controlled

Figure 13. JRIA archaeological survey and testing at the Newsington Plantation site. (Courtesy of JRIA)

Figure 14. Newington vessel remains exposed at low tide.

Figure 15. Bow of the south, or downstream, vessel at Newington Plantation. (Photos courtesy Nick Luccketti)

by HYPACK survey software. All survey activities were conducted from the 25-foot survey vessel *Tidewater Surveyor* (Figure 8).

A 445/900 kHz KLEIN 3900 digital sidescan sonar interfaced with SONARPRO data acquisition software was employed to collect acoustic data in the survey area (Figure 9). Due to shoal water within the project area, the sidescan sonar transducer was deployed and maintained between 3 and 4 feet below the water surface. Acoustic data were collected using a range scale of 50 meters to provide a combination of 200% coverage and high target signature definition. Acoustic data were recorded as a digital file with SONARPRO and tied to the magnetic and positioning data by the computer navigation system. These data were then imported into CHESAPEAKE TECHNOLOGY SONARWIZ. MAP for additional review and to create a mosaic.

A TRIMBLE AgGPS was used to control navigation and data collection in the survey area. That system has an accuracy of plus or minus three feet, and can be used to generate highly accurate coordinates for the computer navigation system. The DGPS was employed in conjunction with an on-board laptop loaded with a HYPACK navigation and data collection software program (Figure 10). All magnetic and acoustic records were tied to positioning events generated by HYPACK. Positioning data generated by the navigation system were tied to magnetometer records by regular annotations to facilitate target location and anomaly analysis. All data is related to the Virginia South State Plane Coordinate System, NAD 83, U.S. Survey Foot.

The remote-sensing survey of the Mattaponi River adjacent to the Newington Plantation vessel extended more than 1000 feet above and below the wreck site (Figure 11). With the exception of the vessel remains at Newington Plantation (Figure 12) the sonar failed to reveal any evidence of additional vessels or other cultural material.

Figure 16. Stern of the north, or upstream, vessel at Newington Plantation. (Photo: Nick Luccketti, JRIA)

Figure 17. Logs at Newington Plantation lying downstream of the south vessel. (Photo: Nick Luccketti, JRIA)

Figure 18. A small pump provided water for the hydraulic probe used to identify the length and extremities of the hull remains of the wrecks. (Photo: Dave Hazzard, DHR)

Figure 19. Exposing the offshore ends of the Newington vessels with the hydroprobe (Photo: Dave Hazzard, DHR)

Figure 20. Dredging overburden and examining spoil for small artifacts. (Photo: Dave Hazzard, DHR)

Figure 21. Mapping South Vessel features with the Vulcan laser system. (Photo: Ray Hayes)

Discovery of Newington Plantation Vessels

In 2008, Frank and Barbara Hurst purchased the Newington Plantation site to protect it from development. In order to carry out an archaeological survey of the property, develop a plan to stabilize and possibly reconstruct the "Stone House" and nominate the site to the NRHP, the Hurst family contracted with the James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc. (JRIA). During the conduct of site survey and testing fieldwork, JRIA archaeologists identified the well-preserved remains of the Braxton plantation house, several out buildings, roadways and a formal terraced garden (Figure 13). A reconnaissance of the plantation shoreline also located the remains of what initially appeared to be three vessels. VDHR Archaeologist David Hazzard was subsequently informed of the vessel discovery (Laird, Matthew, e-mail message

to Gordon P. Watts, July 22, 2012). Through the VDHR Threatened Sites Program, TAR received funding to document the vessel remains.

TAR's initial inspection of the Newington Plantation wrecks confirmed that the structures exposed on the Newington shoreline indeed represented early historic vessel remains. Due to similarities in size and construction it was initially though that the bow and stern sections could represent elements of a single vessel. The third feature was initially thought to possibly be the remains of a log canoe. Investigation confirmed that it was a log worn flat on the exposed surface.

Remains of the Newington Plantation vessels lie in the shallow near shore water and are partially exposed at extreme low water (Figure 14). The southern structure proved to be the bow of a vessel (Figure 15). The northern structure proved to be the stern of the vessel (Figure 16). What was initially thought to be a partially buried canoe was embedded in shoreline sediment south of the vessel remains (Figure 17).

Figure 22. Excavating and recording features of the North Vessel hull at low tide. (Photo: Bill Utley)

Vessel Specific Investigations

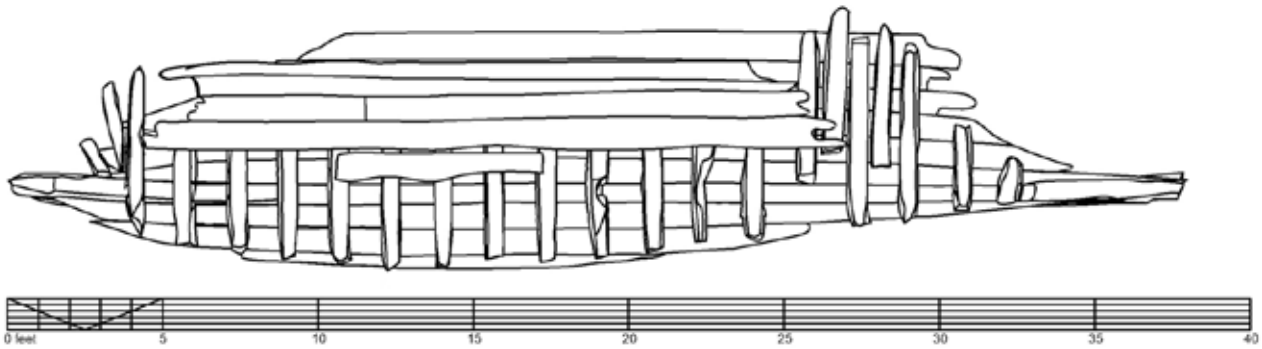
After the remote sensing survey, a reconnaissance of the exposed hull remains was carried out at low tide. Examination and initial documentation of the exposed vessel structure was followed hydraulic probing to determine the length of what appeared to be the bow and stern sections of one vessel (Figure 18). Once the offshore extremity of each hull section was identified a reference rod was driven into the sediment to mark the location. Hydroprobing was then employed to locate and clear sufficient sediment from the offshore ends of each structure (Figure 19). With sediment cleared away it was apparent that there were two vessels and not the bow and stern sections of a single vessel. Probing exposed enough of what was originally thought to have been a third and smaller vessel to identify it as a large log, flattened on the exposed side.

The South Vessel was selected for initial investigation in June 2009. Induction dredges were used to remove sediment covering the hull remains.

Figure 23. Photographing ceiling planks from the North Vessel.

Figure 24. Bow of the Newington Landing South Vessel exposed on a lower than normal tide. (Photo: Nick Luccketti)

Figure 25. (Below) Plan view of the Newington Plantation South Vessel (bow left).



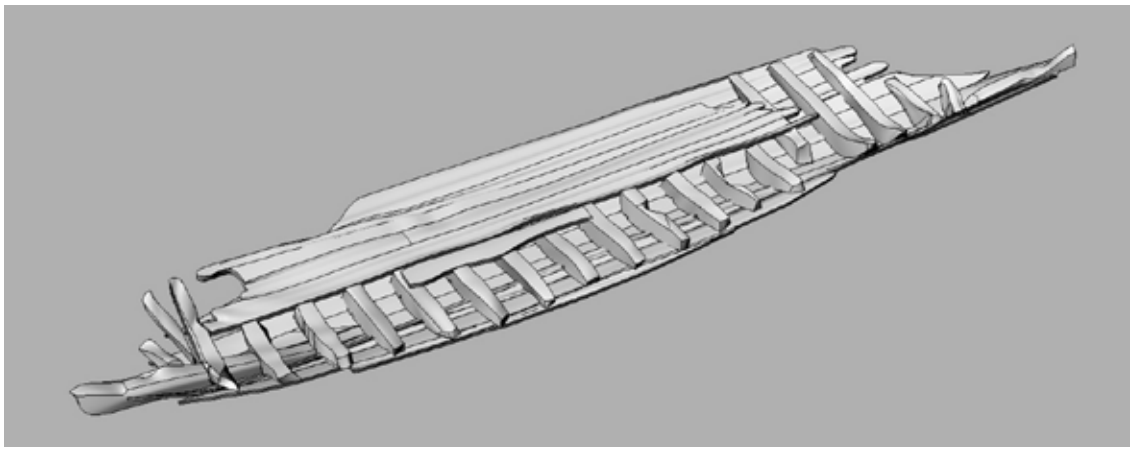


Figure 26. (Above) Three-dimensional perspective of the Newington Plantation south vessel.

Figure 27. Bow of the South Vessel showing the lower stem, deadwood, and floors.

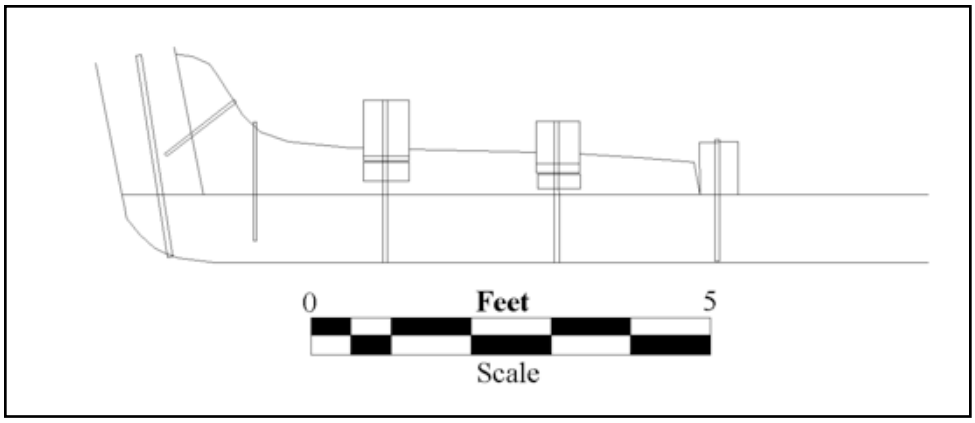


Figure 28. Configuration of the bow of the South Vessel.

Figure 29. Bow of the South Vessel showing first two floors rebated over the deadwood and deadrise at the fist floor.
(Photo: Bill Utley)

Discharge from the induction dredge was pumped into a floating screen and sorted for small artifacts that escaped observation in the limited visibility (Figure 20). A small collection of artifacts associated with the wreck were exposed and recovered during excavation. Those were bagged and their location recorded in reference to their association with the vessel's floor timbers. After the hull was exposed, elements of the structure were recorded using a combination of measured drawings and three-dimensional points shot in with a Vulcan laser mapping system (Figure 21). Samples of selected elements of the wreck structures were taken for wood identification.

A second field investigation was attempted in July 2009. Due to sinking of the 24-foot Privateer support vessel none of the archaeological objectives were accomplished in three days on site between 20 and 22 July. That period was devoted entirely to efforts to raise the Privateer and recover the pumps, compressor tools and equipment onboard. Salvage was successful in no small part due to the invaluable assistance of Mr. Frank Hurst, owner of Newington and the dock made available to greatly simplify our logistics.

In August 2010, TAR archaeologists returned to Newington and resumed investigation of the wrecks. Initially, excavation and documentation focused on the North Vessel. Using water induction dredges, sediment covering the hull remains was systematically removed. Once the hull was exposed elements of the structure were recorded using measured drawings and a Vulcan laser mapping system (Figure 22).

Bilge ceiling was removed to expose the floor timbers, first futtocks and recover artifacts in the bilge. Each ceiling plank was drawn and photographically recorded (Figure 23). Samples of selected elements of the surviving structure were taken for wood identification. Unlike the South Vessel, a number of artifacts were exposed and recovered during

excavation to expose the hull. Those were bagged and their location recorded in reference to their association with the surviving floors and futtocks.

Newington Plantation South Vessel Remains

The South Vessel

Only the bow of the Newington Plantation South Vessel was exposed at lower than normal water (Figure 24). Investigation and mapping of South Vessel confirmed that the length of the surviving remains measured 37 feet 10 inches (Figure 25). That measurement includes deadwood and apron in the bow and deadwood and fragmentary remains of the sternpost in the stern. Virtually all of the port side of the hull is missing outboard of the garboard and first strake of hull planking. Floors on the port side extend out as much as 2 feet beyond the keel. Lower hull remains on the starboard side are more extensive as the vessel lists in that direction. In addition to cant frames in the bow, floors and first futtocks, the starboard side includes hull and ceiling planking (Figure 26). No evidence of the keelson, mast step(s) survive due to evidence of salvage activity designed to recover iron fastenings. A table of scantlings is included as (Appendix 1). The 37-foot 10 inch keel of the South Vessel measured 7 inches sided and 10 inches molded under the fore deadwood. Rabbets in the top of the keel were fashioned to accommodate 1½ thick garboard strakes. Oak was used to fashion the keel.

Forward of the first floor the South Vessel consists of the forward end of the keel, a section of lower deadwood, remains of the stempost, two starboard cant frames and hull planking (Figure 27). Forward of the third floor a deadwood timber extended 67 inches and was fayed to the aft side of the stempost. The deadwood measured 7 inches sided and as much as 8 inches molded. The apron was trapezoidal in section with a top sided dimension of 6½ inches. The lower remains of the stem were also trapezoidal in section. The aft face measured 6 inches and the forward face measured 4 inches. Iron drifts ½ inch in diameter were used to fasten the structure (Figures 28 and 29).

The two surviving cant frames were attached to the starboard planking. The surviving part of the fore cant measured 14 inches in length, was sided 5 inches and molded roughly 4½ inches. The fore cant was seated against the deadwood and was attached to the hull planking by 1-inch diameter trunnels. The aft cant frame measured 34½ inches in length and was sided 6 inches and molded roughly 5 inches. The aft cant was fayed to the first floor timber and attached to the hull planking by 1-inch diameter trunnels. A trunnel sample was identified as white oak. Yellow pine sheathing, from 7½- to 10- inches in width and from ¾- to 1-inch thick was attached to the hull planking by small hand-wrought iron nails. A layer of animal hair and pitch was found underneath the sheathing.

On the port side of the bow the garboard and two plank strakes remained intact forward of the first floor. A sample of the port garboard proved to be white oak. On the starboard side of the hull the garboard and five plank strakes survive. Garboard strakes on the South Vessel measured approximately 10 inches in width and 2 inches in thickness. Each plank was attached to the floors by 1 inch diameter oak trunnels. The first strakes port and starboard, measured approximately 10 inches in width and 1 inch in thickness. Additional strakes on the starboard side of the hull measured between 8 and 11¾ inches in width. Each strake was attached by trunnels to the floors and first futtocks.

A total of 18 floors spaced approximately on 21 inch centers were employed in constructing the South Vessel. A combination of ½-inch iron drift pins and 1-inch trunnels were used to secure

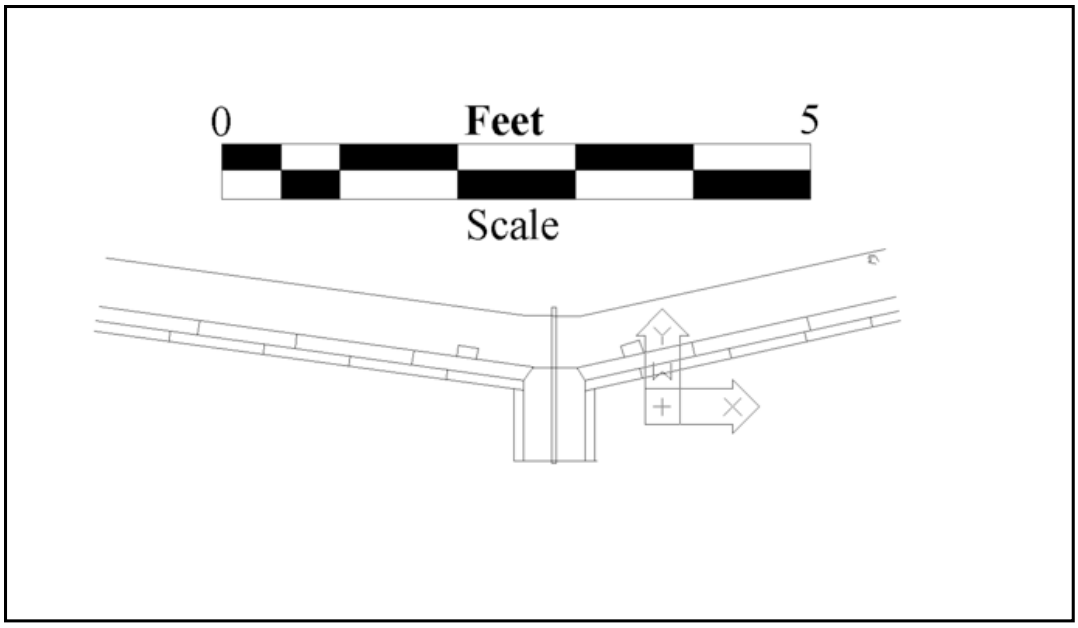


Figure 30. Configuration of the South Vessel midships.

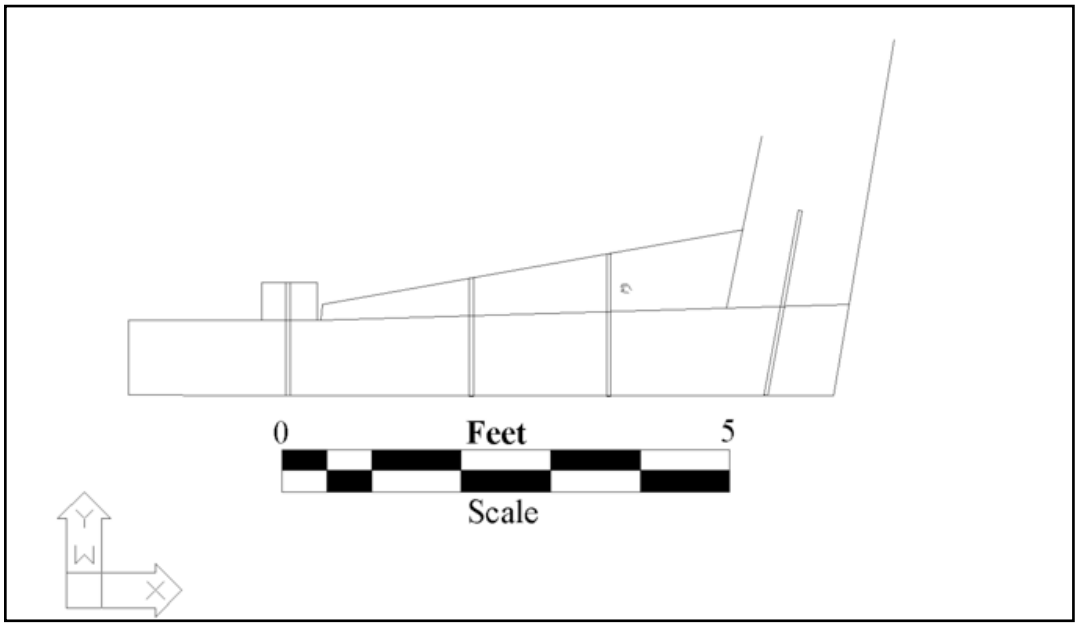


Figure 31. Configuration of the stern of the South Vessel.

the floors to the keel. The first two floors were rebated to fit over the deadwood. Approximately 16 inches forward of the first floor, a triangular chock 5 inches deep at the keel and 18 inches in length was employed to support the increase in deadrise at the bow. The remaining floors were fitted flush with the top of the keel. A 1½ inch deep beveled rabbet was cut into the top of the keel to accommodate the garboard strakes. Over each garboards 2-inch wide by 1-inch high limbers were cut in the bottom of each floor (Figure 28).

Floors employed in construction of the South Vessel were sided between 6½ and 8¼ inches. At the keel the molded dimensions were between 7¼ and 8¾ inches. That dimension narrowed to approximately 5½ inches at the outboard extremity of the hull remains on the starboard side. Outboard of the keel the bottom face of each floor contained limbers measuring approximately 1½ to 2 inches in width and 1 to 1½ inches high. Deadrise in the floors naturally varied from bow to stern. Midship deadrise was roughly 10 degrees

Figure 32. Stern of the Newington Plantation North Vessel exposed during a low tide. (Photo: Nick Luccketti)

(Figure 30). Several of the floors exhibited evidence of salvaging the iron drift pins. Space between floors was varied between 11 and 14¾ inches producing a room and space measurement that varied between 17½ and 22 inches.

At the stern only the keel, lower deadwood, garboards and post remained intact. Over the keel, deadwood extended aft from the last floor to the base of the sternpost. The top of the surviving deadwood measured 6½ inches sided. The interior face of the sternpost measured 6 inches forward of the cut rabbet and 8 inches aft of that feature. Iron drift pins, ½ inch in diameter, attached the lower end of the post to the deadwood (Figure 31).

On the starboard side of the hull first futtocks were offset from the keel. The offset ranged from 7 to 15 inches. Forward of the midship bend the futtocks were forward of the floors and aft of the midship bend they were located aft of the floors. The midship bend was located 18 feet aft of the surviving bow structure. No evidence of fastening the floors and first futtocks was observed as the bilge ceiling remained intact over most of the starboard hull.

Ceiling on the starboard side of the hull consisted of a limber plank and at least four ceiling planks. The unfastened, deteriorated limber board measured at least 11 inches in width and approximately 2 inches in thickness. It was fashioned from yellow pine and retained evidence of pit sawing. The ceiling planking varied in width from 10 to 12 inches and measured 1½ inches in thickness. All of the ceiling was constructed from white oak and fastened using 1 inch diameter trunnels.

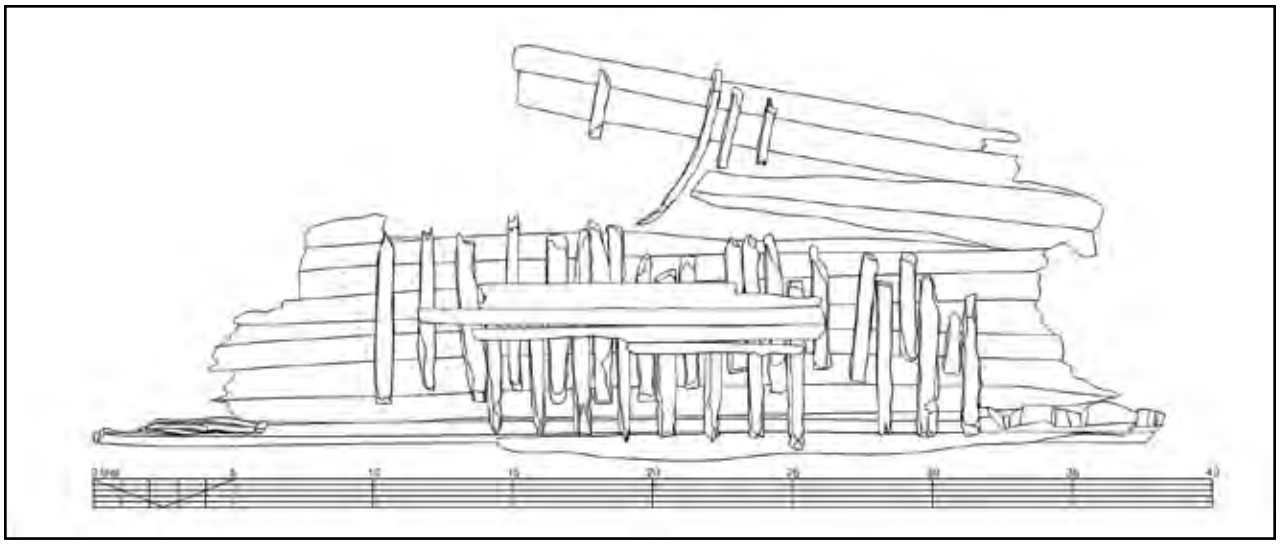


Figure 33. Plan view of the Newington Plantation north vessel.

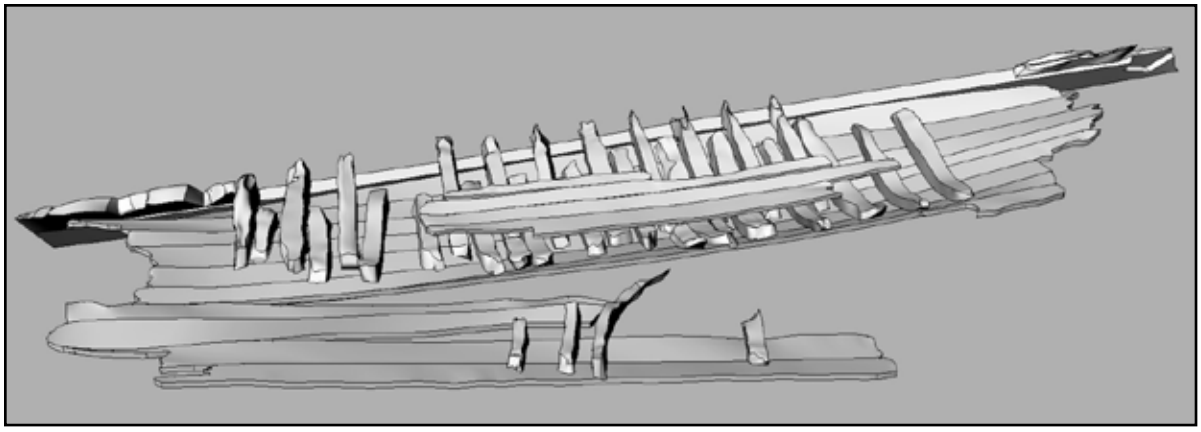


Figure 34. Three-dimensional perspective of the Newington Plantation north vessel.

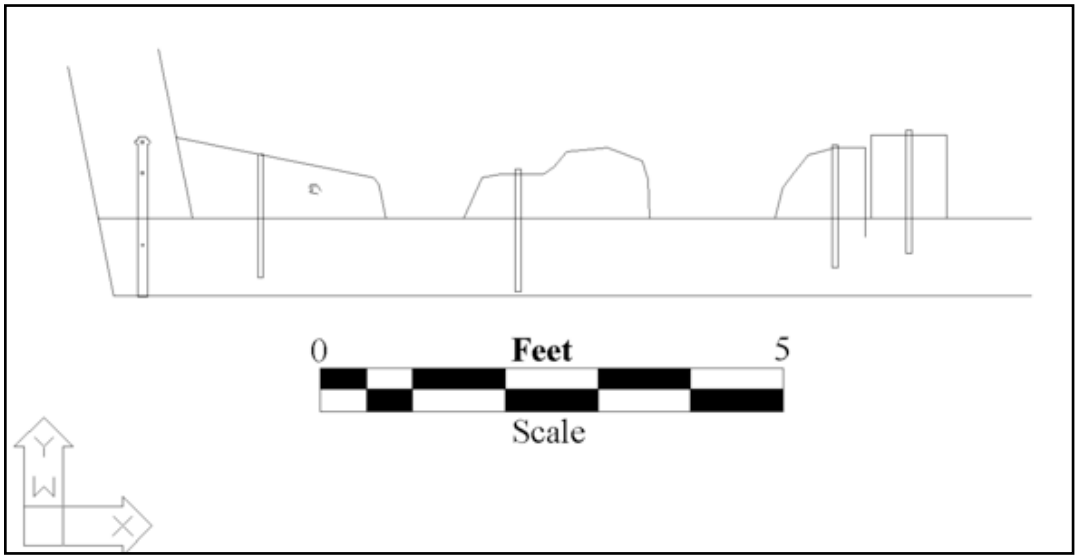


Figure 35. Configuration of the bow of the North Vessel.

Figure 36. The stern deadwood and sterpost rebate.

Figure 37. Aft end of the keel.

Figure 38. Configuration of the sterm of the North Vessel.

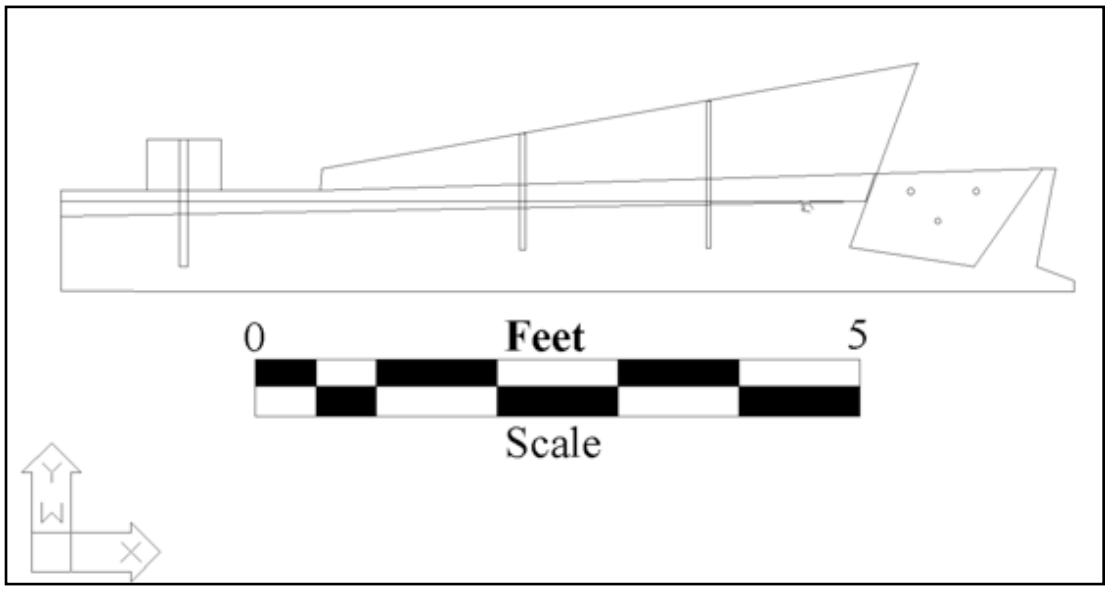


Figure 39. Planking and sheathing on the port side of the North Vessel.

Figure 40. Floors and futtocks on the North Vessel.

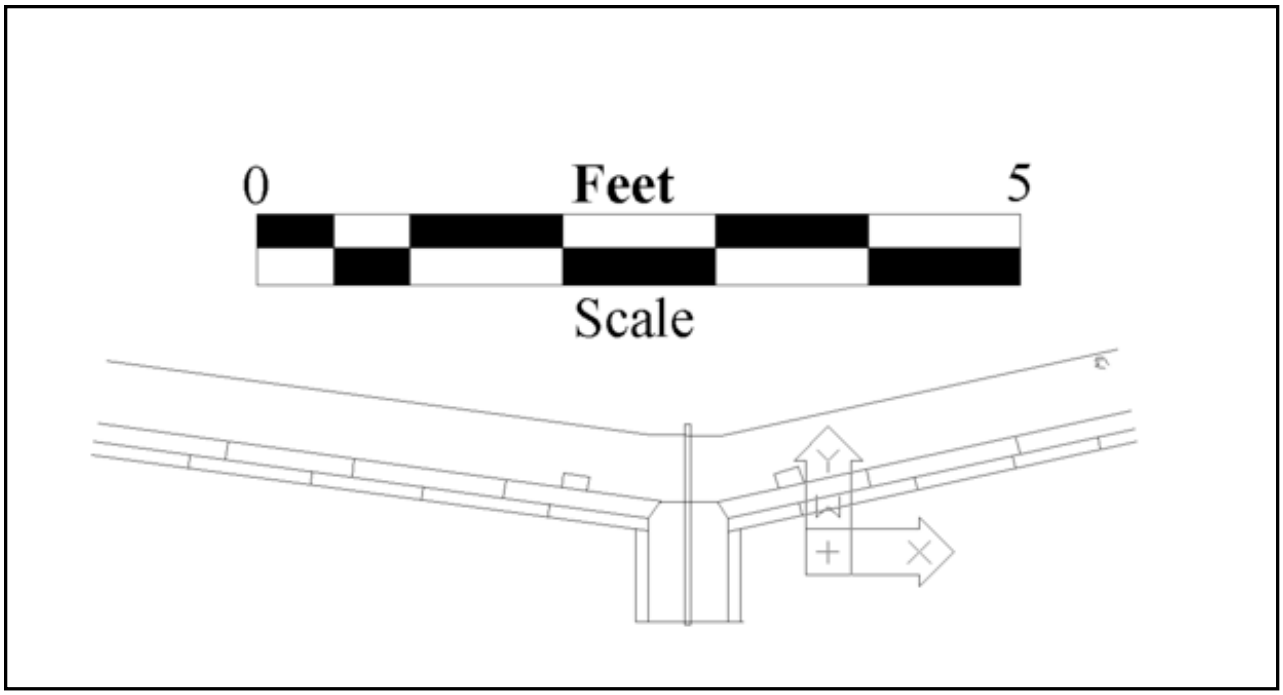


Figure 41. Configuration of the North Vessel miships.

Associated Artifacts

In addition to ballast, excavation of the bilges of the Newington Plantation South Vessel produced a small collection of artifacts (Appendix 1). The collection included fire tempered nails, glass and ceramic fragments, a pipe stem fragment and shoe leather. The bottle glass included fragments of bases and necks. All dated to the period around 1725 to 1740. Ceramic samples from the bilge date similarly. One fragment of delft possibly associated with Bristol potters and two shards of red bodied, lead glazed earthenware produced in Yorktown, Virginia date to the second quarter of the 18th century. The two pipe stems have bore diameters of 1/16th inch suggesting a contemporary date. Nails from the wreck, although more difficult to specifically date, are wrought iron and hand forged. Shoe leather from the site also appears to fit into the second quarter of the 18th century date and consists of two fragments of soles, a heel and fragment of vamp. Wood pegs were used in the attachment of the soles and heels. Organic material included a black walnut, peach pits, fragments of gourd and several bones.

Newington Plantation North Vessel Remains

Only the stern of the Newington Plantation North Vessel was exposed at lower than normal water (Figure 32). Investigation and mapping of South Vessel confirmed that the length of the surviving remains is 38 feet 4 inches. That measurement includes deadwood and fragmentary remains of the sternpost in the stern and deadwood and stem in the bow.

Virtually all of the starboard side of the hull is missing outboard of the garboard strake (Figure 33). Hull remains on the port side are more extensive as the hull lists in that direction. In addition to floors and first and second futtocks, the starboard side includes hull planking, sheathing and ceiling planking (Figure 34). No evidence of the keelson, step(s) or other interior features survives due to previous salvage activity.

The 38-foot 4-inch keel of the South Vessel measured 7-inches sided and 10-inches molded under the fore deadwood. Rabbets in top of

the keel were fashioned to accommodate the 2 inch thick garboard strakes. A single oak timber was used to fashion the keel. The forward end of the keel was cut flush with the forward face of the stem and at the same angle. The sided dimensions were also reduced to 4 inches conform to the trapezoidal cross section of the stem. A ¾-inch drift pin was driven up through the keel and into the stem and an 18 inch long iron fishplate reinforced the butt joint. A short chock on the keel behind the base of the stem provided additional reinforcement (Figure 35).

The aft end of the keel was mortised on the port side for the sternpost (Figure 36). It was also fashioned with a protruding heel to protect the rudder (Figure 37). The sternpost mortise and the aft end of aft deadwood were heavily raked at an angle of 20 degrees. Under the aft deadwood the keel measured 5¼ inches sided and 11¼ inches molded. At the last surviving floor aft, the keel measured 6 inches sided and 11¼ inches molded. The rabbet in the top of the keel was fashioned to accommodate the 2 inch thick garboard strakes (Figure 38).

The lower deadwood measured 5 inches sided and 10 ½ inches molded and was attached to the keel with ¾ inch iron drift pins. The dead wood extended 4 feet 8½ inches forward from the sternpost rebate to the aft side of the last floor. The joint formed by the keel, deadwood, and sternpost was secured using iron drift pins and reinforced by a decorative fish plate that extended 16 inches up each side of the post.

On the starboard side of the hull only the garboard remained intact. It measured 13½ inches in width and 2 inches in thickness. On the port side, the garboard and seven plank strakes remained intact (Figure 39). However, forward of the first surviving floor and aft of the last surviving floor the ends of the planks were broken off (Figure 40). The port garboard also measured 13½ inches in width and 2 inches in thickness. A sample of the starboard garboard proved to be white oak. A diagonal rabbet was cut into the top of the keel to accommodate the garboards.

Ceiling on the port side of the hull consisted of a limber plank and four ceiling planks. The unfastened, deteriorated limber board measured 4¾ inches in width and 1½ inches in thickness. It was fashioned from yellow pine and retained evidence of pit sawing. The ceiling planking varied in width from 6 to 10¾ inches and measured 1½ inches in thickness. All of the ceiling was constructed from white oak and fastened using 1-inch diameter wedged trunnels.

Surviving floors of the north vessel have been destroyed just beyond the starboard side of the keel. The surviving floors were found to be sided between 4⅞ and 8 inches and measured between 5 and 8¾ inches molded at the keel. Floors were fitted with limbers measuring between 1¼ and 2¼ inches high and between 2 to 2⅜ inches wide and located between 3 to 4⅜ inches outboard of the rabbet on top of the keel. The floors were fastened to the keel by an inconsistent pattern of 1-inch iron drift bolts and 1½-inch trunnels. The only regularity in the pattern was found aft of the fifth floor where floors secured by iron drift pins were separated by two floors secured by trunnels.

Deadrise in the floors naturally varied from bow to stern. Roughly amidships deadrise was roughly 14 degrees (Figure 41). Several of the floors were cut and exhibited evidence of salvaging the iron drift pins. Space between floors varied between 11⅜ and 14⅝ inches producing a room and space measurement of approximately 17½ to 19⅜ inches. Floors were positioned on centers that ranged randomly from 18 to 24 inches.

Forward of the first floor the Newington Landing north vessel consists of the forward end of the keel, a section of lower deadwood, the lower stempost and hull planking. Under the deadwood the keel measured 5⅞ inches sided and 11⅛ inches molded. The rabbet in top of the keel was fashioned to accommodate 2-inch thick garboard strakes. Forward of the first floor, a

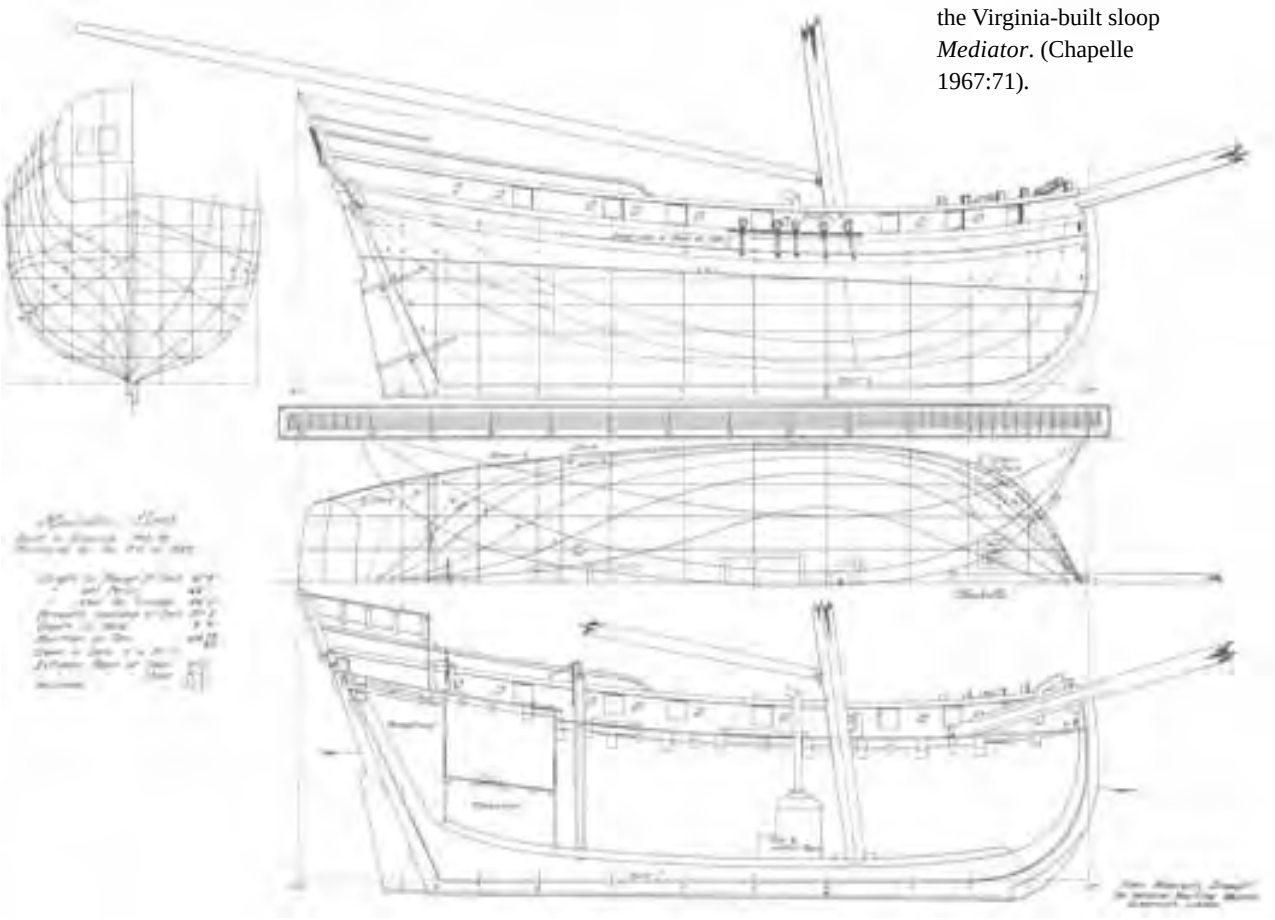


Figure 42. Drawings of the Virginia-built sloop *Mediator*. (Chapelle 1967:71).

deadwood timber extended 79½ to the stempost. The deadwood measured 7⅜ inches sided and as much as 10¼ inches molded. The lower remains of the stem were trapezoidal in section. The aft face measured 7¾ inches and the forward face measured 3 inches. Iron drifts 1 inch in diameter were used to fasten the structure.

On the port side of the hull first futtocks were offset from the keel. The offsets ranged from 9 to 23 inches. No evidence of fastening between the floors and first futtocks was found. Surviving futtocks varied between 5½ and 8 inches sided. Molded futtock dimensions and measured 7 inches in the midship section. They decreased to 6 inches at the aftermost futtock and increased to 9 inches at the first floor forward. Lengths varied with damage from 26 inches to 80 inches.

Ceiling on the port side of the hull consisted of five ceiling planks. No limber board was in place. The ceiling planking varied in width from 8 to 11 inches and measured 1¼ inch in thickness. All of the ceiling was constructed from white oak and fastened using 1-inch diameter wedged trunnels.

Associated Artifacts

Artifacts clearly associated with the Newington Plantation North Vessel included a quantity of bottle glass fragments, ceramic samples and a collection of wrought iron fasteners. The bottle glass included fragments of bases and necks. All dated to the period around 1730 to 1740. Ceramic samples from the bilge date similarly and include porcelain, stoneware and delft all common to the second quarter of the 18th century. A variety of pipe stems and bowls included one example produced by John Okley a Bristol manufacturer working in the 1730s. Nonferrous

artifacts included a button, a buckle fragment, a coin, an upholstery tack and a straight pin. Nails and spikes are wrought iron and hand forged. A number of vessel related artifacts include cleats, a deadeye, a belaying pin, a clinch block and a partial fishplate from the stern. Organic material was similar to that recovered from the South Vessel and included black walnuts, peach pits and fragments of a gourd[s] (Appendix 2).

Data Analysis

The Historical Context

Literature and archival research carried out by JRIA and TAR clearly illustrates the historical significance of the Mattaponi Region in general and Newington Plantation in particular. Clearly the early plantations on the Mattaponi were connected to the rest of Colonial America, the West Indies and Europe by the river. As early as 1725, vessels as large as the 350-ton ship *Burwell* were clearing at the Port of York for London. Smaller ships and brigs ranging from 100 tons to over 200 tons were regularly clearing at Port of York to and from transatlantic destinations like Bristol, London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Dublin. While larger vessels dominated the transatlantic trade and transportation, vessels of 50 to 70 tons, like the 50-ton *Sarah* and the 50-ton *Providence* were making voyages to ports in England. In 1725, most of the smaller vessels were carrying trade and passengers between Virginia and Bermuda, Barbados, Jamaica and the Colonial ports on the North American Atlantic seaboard.

Although shoals characterized the Mattaponi above West Point at the confluence with the Pamunkey River, moderate size vessels capable of oceanic navigation could reach that far into western Virginia on the York River. Delaware Towne, later West Point, became a center for the transfer of cargos from those vessels to small pinnaces, shallops, schooners and sloops more suited for navigating the Mattaponi. Mattaponi planters and merchants owned and/or contracted for the services of small vessels like the 20-ton sloops *Exchange* and *Spry* owned by Thomas Wood and the 40-ton brig *Lucy* owned by Henry Armistead. Thomas Chamberlayne and his son Edward, William Meridith (or Meredith) and Frances Corbin were Mattaponi planters and vessel owners along with George Braxton.

The Braxtons that owned Newington Plantation during most of the 18th century were affluent planters with varied agricultural and commercial interests. They were well connected in Colonial Virginia society with personal and mercantile associations that included trading in tobacco, rice, ship stores and slaves. George Braxton was also allied with English merchants in Bristol, Liverpool and London. As early as 1728, Braxton owned and operated the ship *Braxton* in trading with England, New York and the West Indies (Stamford Mercury 16 May 1728a). Although listed in the Port of York outbound vessels for 28 July 1764 under the name of "Carter Braxten" it is possible that the 30-ton sloop *Harry* belonged to George Braxton III. Both George II and George III were heavily engaged in exporting the products of their plantations, importing manufactured goods and spirits, and extensively trading in African slaves.

While it is not possible at present to tie the Newington vessels to the Braxton family, the geographical location of the wrecks certainly implies a direct relationship. The Braxtons owned several of the vessels that supported their trading ventures. They owned the ship *Braxton* and later possibly the sloop *Harry*. The absence of the ship *Braxton* in the Port of York shipping records could suggest that Braxton vessels cleared at the Colonial Customs office in West Point. The Newington vessel remains certainly indicate that due to the shoals of the Mattaponi, the Braxtons and other planters used small vessels to transport cargos on the Mattaponi to and from Newington.

The Newington Plantation Vessels

Remains of the Newington Plantation vessels represent a valuable source of information about historic Virginia small craft. Although heavily damaged by fire, salvage and the elements, both hulls preserve important design and construction data. Both vessels appear to date from the first quarter of the 18th century and were likely in use into the second quarter. Their framing pattern is indicative of English and Anglo-American vessel construction in the early to mid 18th century. Hull sheathing confirms the intended use of the vessels in coastal and possibly trade with the Bahamas and West Indies. English ballast recovered from the South Vessel indicates that use in trans-Atlantic navigation cannot be overlooked. Clearance at Port of York of the inbound 42-ton *Dispatch* and the 40-ton *Providence* in 1725, both from Africa, clearly illustrates that transatlantic voyages in vessels approximately the size of the Newington vessels was not considered beyond their seakeeping capability. During the 18th century small craft like the Newington Plantation vessels were extensively used in coastal trade, transportation and fishing.

The proximity to Newington Plantation and the fact that both vessels were extensively salvaged strongly suggests an association with the early to mid-18th-century activity at the plantation. It is possible that the vessels were locally built, perhaps on the plantation or at the Colonial shipyard downstream. With the exception of pine sheathing, samples of construction material indicate that oak was universally employed. Oak was the traditionally preferred wood for vessel construction in the 18th century and, although becoming scarce in England, it was plentiful in the southern colonies. The framing pattern of both vessels reflects the Anglo-American pattern of floors and offset first futtocks that appears to be common at the time (Morris, Watts and Franklin 1995:125-133).

The combination of iron pins and trunnels employed in fastening the floors to the keel and keelson suggests that the vessel was constructed in the early 18th century as the use of iron drift pins increased as industrial manufacturing significantly lowered costs and increased availability by the third quarter of the century. The fact that both vessels were heavily salvaged for iron fastenings lends credence to a loss date early in the 18th century when iron fasteners represented an expensive commodity.

Their length on keel and surviving hull configuration provides sufficient information to make an estimate of their tonnage. Using the length on keel and estimating the rake of the stem and sternpost produced a hypothetical length between perpendiculars. Using the surviving floors and futtocks to identify a turn of the bilge, estimate for the beam and depth of hold for each vessel was roughly calculated. For the South Vessel those dimensions are, length between perpendiculars on deck 44 feet, beam 16 feet and depth of hold 6 feet. For the North Vessel those dimensions are, length between perpendiculars on deck 41 feet, beam 15 feet and depth of hold 6 feet.

Questions of Design, Rig and Tonnage

Although the level of salvage precludes confirmation of their rig, early 18th century small vessel statistics suggest that they were most likely rigged as sloops. However, the schooner, brigantine or other rig cannot be conclusively ruled out with the data at hand. Conservatively sparred sloops would have required less of an investment in masts, spars, canvas and standing and running rigging. With a conservative sail plan they would have required a minimal crew. Minimal drag to the keel and the marginal deadrise indicated by the surviving floors, suggests that both vessels would have been safe to ground for loading and discharging cargo on the sandy shore at Newington Plantation. The 1692 last testament of John Parker, and previous owner of "Mattapany" Plantation, devised one half of his "great sloop" to his son John and

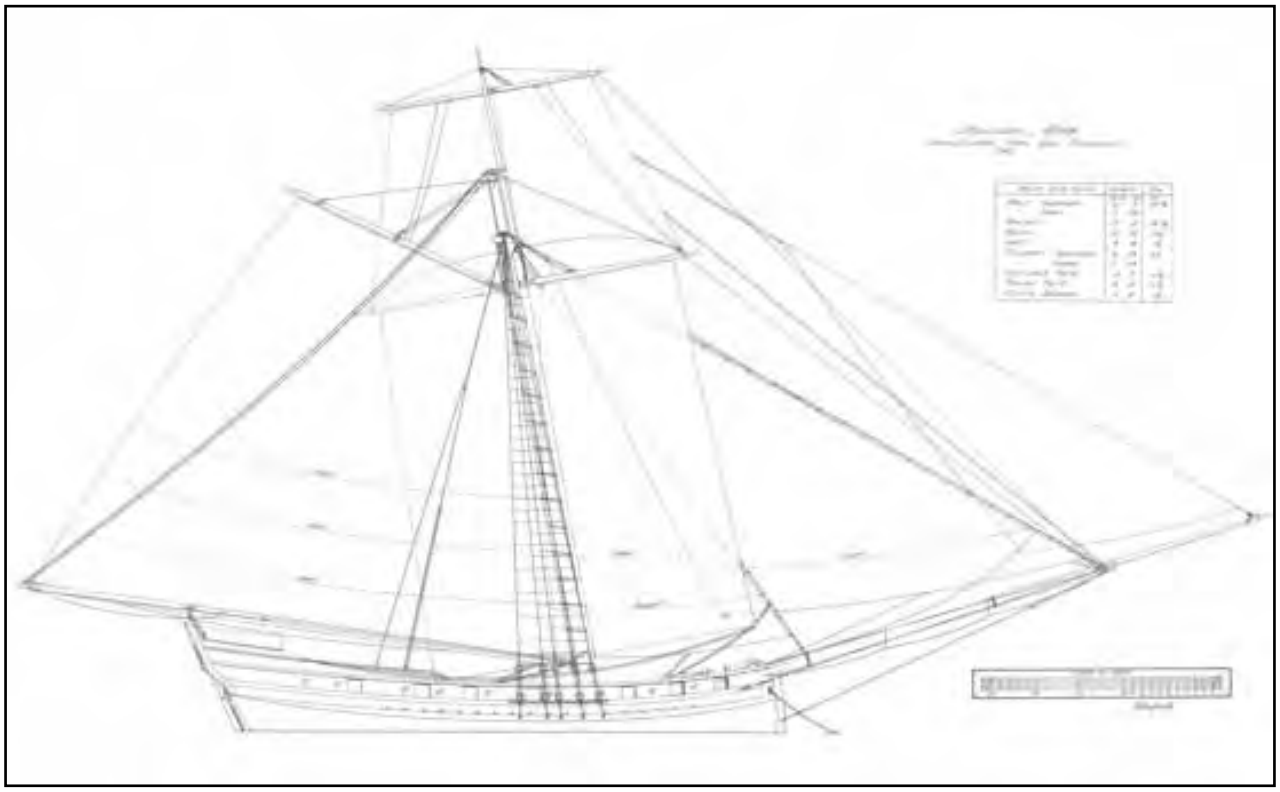
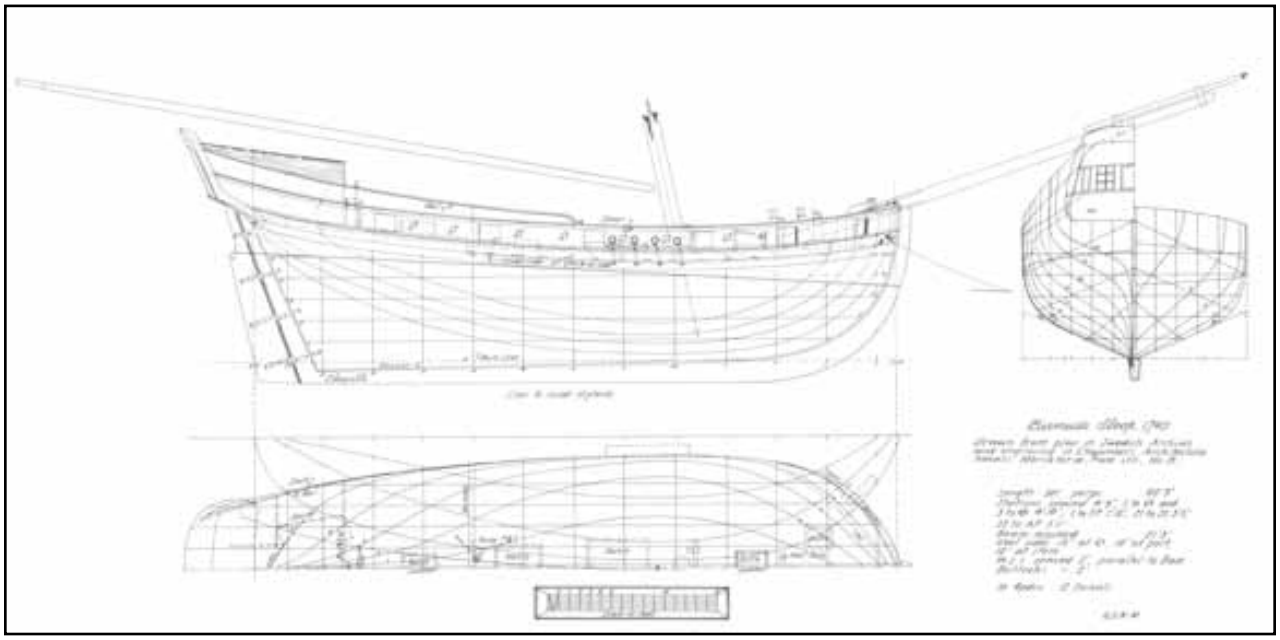


Figure 43. Sail plan and outboard profile of *Mediator* (Chapelle 1967:73).

one half to his wife Amy. This document also provided that his sloop "Arlington with all her appurtenances" become the legal property of his son William (Nottingham 1999:25). As early as 1697 Virginia Governor Andros reported that there were 15 sloops operating in Virginia (Baker 1966:106). Sloop popularity rapidly increased and by the second quarter of the 18th century they were prevalent on Virginia waters. In 1723, an Elizabeth River shipyard owner listed two sloops among the vessels he owned at the time. One was 40 feet in length and was valued at 230 pounds sterling a clearly smaller sloop named *Indian Creek* and owned by Captain Samuel Tatum was valued at only 25 pounds sterling, possibly in part due to a less then Bristol condition.

Five years later in 1728, William Byrd recorded that he saw "twenty sloops and brigantines" at Norfolk (Evans 1957:30). Between 1725 and 1751, ten Virginia-built sloops averaging about nine tons burthen were trading in North Carolina ports (Goldenberg 1976:165). Two Virginia-built sloops averaging 32 tons were trading in Philadelphia during the period from 1726 to 1736. Based on a statistical sample of vessels owned in Connecticut in 1730, owned in Newport, Rhode Island in 1762, in the Port of Philadelphia on 25 September 1763 and in service as Connecticut-based privateers during the Revolutionary War, sloops out numbered every other rig of vessels including ships, brigantines, snows and schooners (Morris 1927:8-9).

Figure 44. (Below) Chapman's lines of a Bermuda sloop reproduced in Chapelle (Chapelle 1967:67).



Those statistics compare favorably with surviving records from Virginia. Based the number and type of vessels clearing Port Hampton in 1752 sloops were the predominant rig. That year 59 sloops, 40 schooners, 40 ships, 18 brigs and 12 snows entered the port, and 64 sloops, 46 schooners, 20 brigs, 16 ships and 10 snows cleared the port. In regard to Port York, 77 vessels (7,882 total tons) entered that naval district with 70 (6,717 total tons) clearing during 1752. Many of the vessels identified at these two ports in 1752 were Virginia built (Huntley 1951:298-299).

During the month of March 1737, five sloops cleared Port York at Yorktown. The English sloop *Southampton* arrived from London and the Virginia sloop *Betty* arrived from Jamaica. The New England sloop *Medford* departed for New England and the sloops *Francis* and *Mary* both departed for their homeports in Bermuda. Between May 1737 and May 1738, the Virginia sloop *Molly* cleared at Port York three times to-and-from Barbados and from Jamaica. The Virginia sloop *Betty* arrived at the Port of York in March 1737 from Jamaica and departed in June for Bermuda. That same month the Virginia sloop *Phoenix* cleared at Port York for Barbadoes and in October 1737 the Virginia sloop *John and Mary* cleared for St. Christophers (Evans 1957:69-71). One Virginia sloop, *Mattapony* arrived at Maderia between 3 December and 12 March 1730 on a voyage from Dover to Virginia. During that

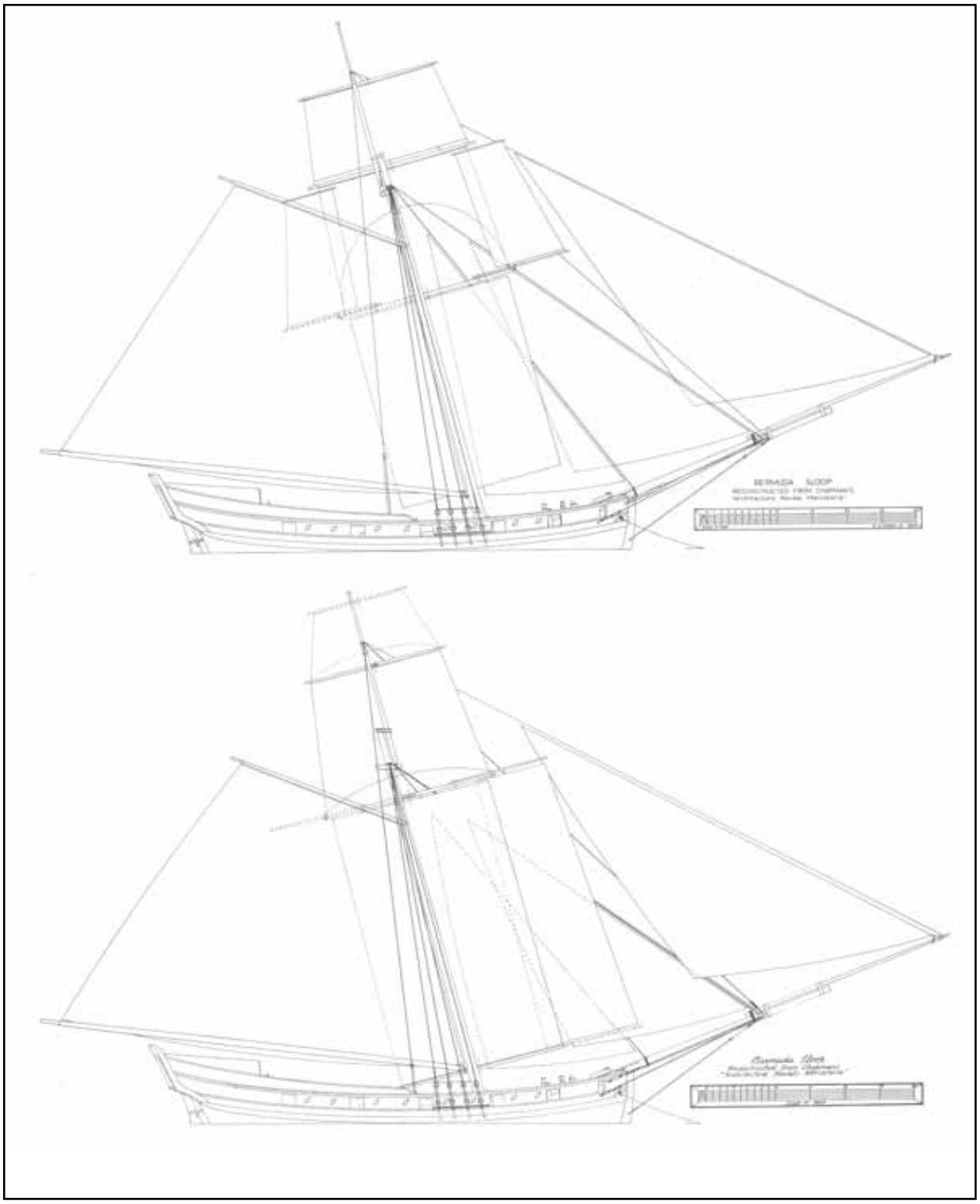


Figure 45. Rig plans for Chapman's Bermuda sloop developed by Chapelle (Chapelle 1967:69).

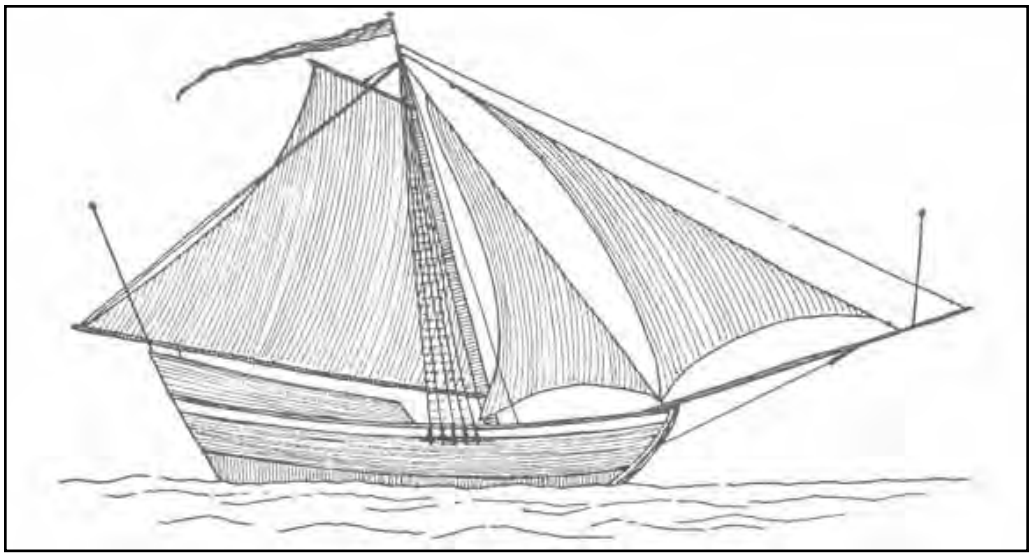


Figure 46. Chesapeake Bay sloop redrawn from the 1707 "Platt of the Town & Port of Oxford" by William Baker (Baker 1966:109).

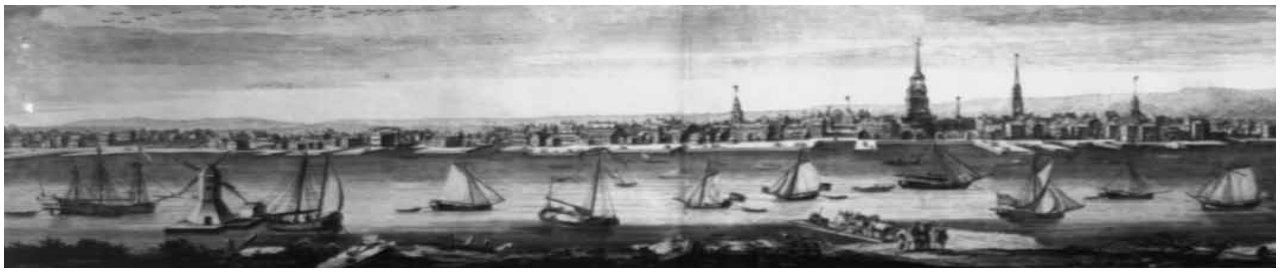


Figure 47. An east prospect of the city of Philadelphia; taken by George Heap from the Jersey shore, under the direction of Nicholas Scull surveyor general of the Province of Pennsylvania. 1768. (Library of Congress)

same period the Virginia sloop *Success* arrived from that colony on a voyage to an unidentified destination (*The Daily Journal* 30 March 1730). Clearly "sea sloops," both Virginia built and otherwise, were instrumental in early 18th-century Virginia's oceanic maritime commerce.

Much of Virginia's coastal trade and both local and regional transportation was carried on with small sloop rigged vessels. For those small coastal vessels, even less specific information than that associated with "sea sloops" survives in the historical record. From late April 1725 to Christmas Eve 1768, some 80 sloops, schooners, snows, and shallops registered at 30 tons or less entered the Port of York (CNHP 2011a). Among those were the five-ton sloop *Princess Carolina* from North Carolina and the three-ton sloop *Tryal* from New York (CNHP 2011a). The six-ton sloop *Rainbow* also sailed to North Carolina in early December 1725. In May and August 1730, the 6-ton *Frederick* and the five-ton sloop *Princess Carolina* returned to North Carolina, respectively. *Frederick* also cleared the York River during November 1730, and on this occasion, sailed to South Carolina (CNHP 2011b). An illustration titled "Robert's Prospect of Charleston" produced in 1735 illustrates a number of small craft in the Cooper River at Charlestown Harbor (Fleetwood 1993:46). The vessels include a variety of sloops including one particularly small example such as *Frederick*, several small schooners and a number of sprit rigged vessels (Fleetwood 1993:46).

Apparently, early 18th century Virginians identified two types of sloops. Large ocean-going sloops were not uncommonly referred to "sea sloops". As early as 1709, William Byrd II hired a boat builder to "build me a little boat for my sea sloop" (Evans 1957:14). Sea sloops were apparently designed and built to handle voyages to the West Indies, Bermuda and, as necessity dictated, trans-oceanic voyages to England. Without question the best and most detailed surviving evidence of what would have been characterized as a Virginia "sea sloop" is the *Mediator*. *Mediator*

Figure 48. The south prospect of the city of New York in America, 1761, with large and small craft in the foreground. (Library of Congress)

Figure 49. A south east view of the great town of Boston in New England in America (between 1730 and 1760), showing warships, merchant vessels and small craft. (Library of Congress)

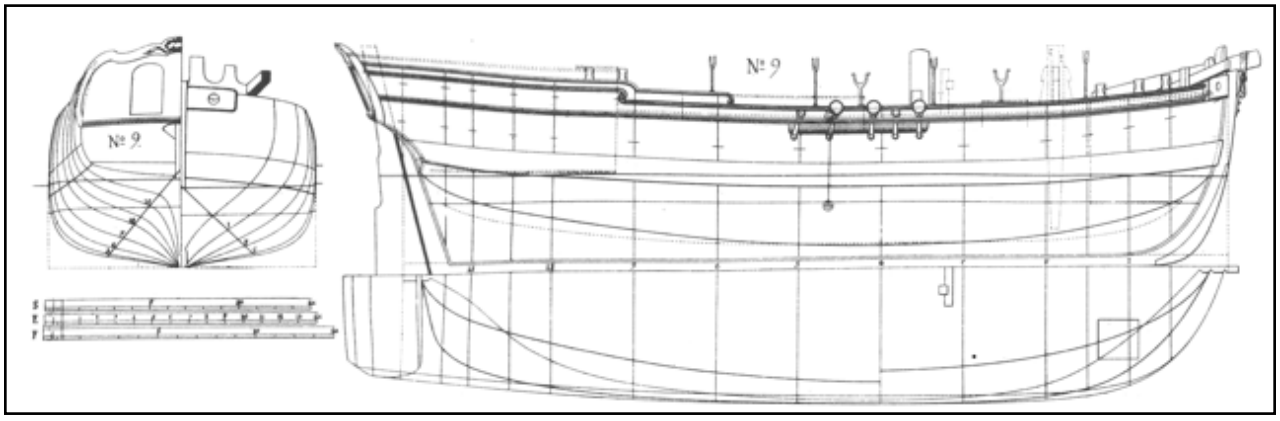


Figure 50. Lines of Chapman Sloop No. 9.

was built in Virginia in 1741 for trade with the West Indies. The sloop was purchased by the Royal Navy in 1745 and her lines were taken off in England before being lost at Oostende on the coast of Belgium (Chapelle 1967:70). *Mediator* was 61 feet 4 inches on deck, with a moulded beam at the deck of 20 feet 11 inches and a depth of hold of 9 feet 9 inches (Figure 42). The sloop had a moulded displacement of 124.36-long tons and a measurement of 104 $^{7}\!/_{94}$ tons burthen (Chapelle 1967:71-72). A plan of *Mediator*'s rig was developed by Chapelle (Figure 43).

Swedish naval architect Fredrik Henrik ap Chapman recorded the design details of several 18th century sloops including a Bermuda-built vessel also constructed for the West Indian trade about the same time as *Mediator*. Chapman's Bermuda sloop was of similar dimension, 60 feet 9 inches between perpendiculars with a moulded beam of 21 feet 3 inches and a moulded depth of hold of 9 feet 5 inches (Figure 45). While details of design and construction differed, these two vessels can certainly be considered as representative of the "sea sloops" of the period. Two plans for the Bermuda sloop's rig were developed by Chapelle (Figure 45).

Design and construction details associated with the small sloops that supported local trade and transportation are virtually nonexistent in the historical record. However several images of small sloops exist. "A Platt of the Town & Port of Oxford," Maryland produced in 1707 provides an illustration of a small, early 18th century Chesapeake Bay sloop (Figure 46) (Baker 1966:109).

Maps and port engravings of the 18th century illustrate sloops, cutters, schooners, brigantines and other small craft. Philadelphia (Figure 47), New York (Figure 48), Boston (Figure 49) and Charleston exhibited established maritime connections with the planters and masters of vessels carrying the 18th century trade of the Mattaponi. Artists like George Heap and Henry Sturgis produced excellent images of the vessels in port. Those images provide additional insight into the hull and rig configurations of vessels like the "sea sloops" and plantation sloops or country cutters like those at Newington Plantation.

Each of these illustrations documents both the larger ocean-going sloops and those smaller sloops built for local and coastal service. The most readily apparent differences, aside from size, appear to be in rigging. None of the small sloops appear to be rigged with a topmast, topsails or carry yards for a square sail on the mast. Most are fitted with a short gaff rigged, loose footed main and two headsails. There appears to be little evidence of a caboose but there is evidence of a quarterdeck or poop. Another issue is the subtle difference between a sloop and a cutter. Perhaps the most significant difference is in the location and rake of the mast. The sloop mast is located farther forward than that on a cutter. The mast of a sloop is raked, some considerably, and that of a cutter almost perpendicular to the keelson. Less decisive is the number of headsail. On the traditional cutter two might be expected but on sloops one, two or three can be found in contemporary illustrations. Under certain circumstances the two terms might be used to describe the same vessel. Because of the absence of the keelson upon which the mast would have been stepped or the gunnel where chainplates for the stays would have been attached, it is virtually impossible to determine the nature of the rig of the Newington Plantation vessels.

Because of the nature and scope of the surviving vessel remains, it would likewise involve considerable speculation to establish the configuration of the hulls. However, one of the sloop hulls documented by Chapman affords an example as good as any. Both were merchant sloops relatively similar in size to the Newington Plantation vessels. Sloop No. 9 was 45 feet between perpendiculars, 14 feet 8 inches in moulded breadth. It drew 5 feet 5 inches of water and was rated at 30-tons burthen (Figure 50). Sloop No. 10 was smaller. It measured 37 feet 2 inches

Figure 51. Lines of Chapman Sloop No. 10.

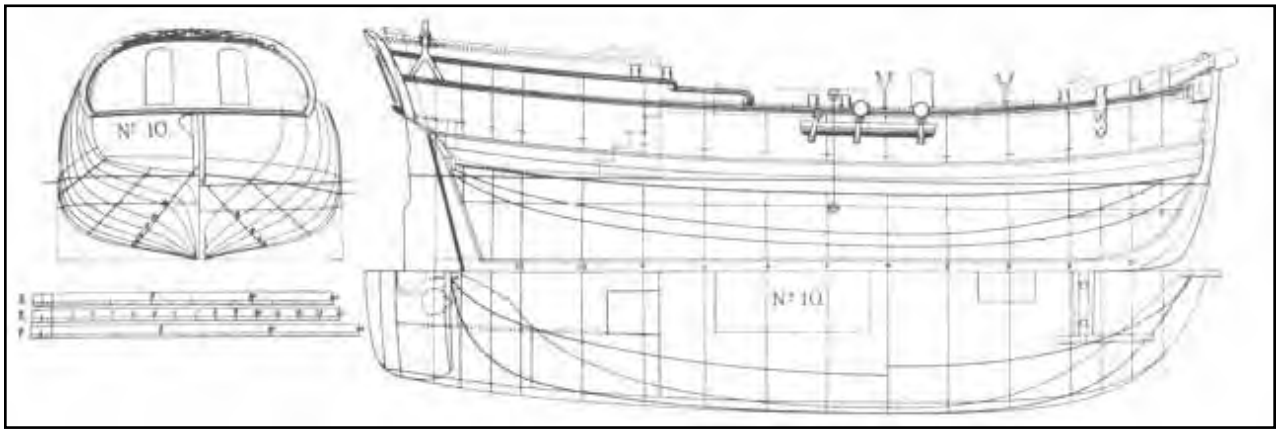


Figure 52. Gloucester Point, circa 1755. (Courtesy Mariners Museum)

between perpendiculars, 13 feet 8 inches in moulded breadth. That sloop drew 4 feet 8 inches of water and was rated at 30 tons burthen (Figure 51). Both sloops fall within the range of dimensions of the Newington Plantation vessels and both have shallow deadrise like the surviving Newington hull remains.

Perhaps the best artistic illustration of a sloop of the size and rig that might be anticipated for the Newington Plantation vessels is a water-color painting in the collections of The Mariners Museum. That painting illustrates the Gloucester, Virginia waterfront circa 1755 (Figure 52). Of the four vessels in the painting, three are small sloops. Two are underway and the third is either getting underway or coming to anchor near the shoreline. All three of the sloops are illustrated with one short gaff loose-footed main and two headsails. Only one appears to be fitted with a caboose.

Assuming that the Newington Plantation vessels were rigged as sloops and were constructed to the dimensions hypothesized on the basis of surviving remains and historical

data, some potentially useful estimates of the range of tonnage for each vessel can be made in conjunction with historical evidence.

Using small sloop data and drawings produced by Fred H. Chapman in his 1768 *Architectura Navalis Mercatoria* several estimates for tonnage were produced (Chapman 1967).

A Plate XXIX Sloop 9) 45'X14'8"X5'5" and a tonnage measurement of 30;

B Plate XXIX Sloop 10) 37'2"X13'8"X4'8" and a tonnage measurement of 17;

C Plate XXVI Sloop 40) 45'3"X15'X6'8" and a tonnage measurement of 41;

D Plate XXVI Sloop 39) 57'4"X17'8"X8'3" and a tonnage measurement of 84.

Using the formula LBPXBXDP and dividing that figure by Chapman's tonnage figures produces the following ratios:

A 45'X14'8"X5'5" divided by 30, produces a ratio of roughly 123;

B 37'2"X13'8"X4'8" divided by 17, produces a ratio of roughly 145;

C 45'3"X15'X6'8" divided by 41, produces a ratio of roughly 113;

D 57'4"X17'8"X8'3" divided by 84, produces a ratio of roughly 101

Using those ratios with the estimated dimensions of the Mattaponi Vessels produces a spectrum of tonnage calculations.

Using 41'X15'X6' for the North Vessel and 122, produces roughly 30.24 tons;

Using 41'X15'X6' for the North Vessel and 145, produces roughly 25.44 tons;

Using 41'X15'X6' for the North Vessel and 113, produces roughly 32.65 tons;

Using 41'X15'X6' for the North Vessel and 101, produces roughly 36.53 tons;

Using 44'X16'X6' for the South Vessel and 122, produces roughly 35.40 tons;

Using 44'X16'X6' for the South Vessel and 145, produces roughly 29.79 tons;

Using 44'X16'X6' for the South Vessel and 113, produces roughly 37.38 tons;

Using 44'X16'X6' for the South Vessel and 101, produces roughly 42.77 tons.

Given the fact that length on deck between perpendiculars, beam and depth of hold are all highly relative extrapolations, no exact tonnage can be developed. Based on those conceptualized dimensions and dividing by each of the ratios the North Vessel would possibly be as small as 25.44 tons and as large as 36.53 tons. The South Vessel would possibly be as small as 29.79 tons and as large as 42.77 tons. At best these calculations provide a marginally useful estimate of the tonnage of each of the Newington Plantation vessels. Chapman's data and estimated dimensions do provide a relative range of tonnage useful for correlations with historical shipping records and contemporary imagery that illustrates hull design and rig configuration.

The Artifacts

Prehistoric Artifact Intrusions

Excavations of the Newington Plantation North Vessel and South Vessel wrecks produced a variety of artifacts from a wide date range that reflect evidence of nearby occupation from prehistoric times until the early 19th century. Some undoubtedly were deposited as a result of natural causes such as erosion and migration by river currents and others may be the result of trash disposal and are thus not directly associated with the Newington Plantation vessels.

Consisting of both ceramic and lithic material, the Native American artifacts were recovered from the North Vessel only. Yielding little sig-

nificant information, the lithic assemblage includes two unrelated bifaces that were made long before English settlement in the New World. The oldest is known as a Hardaway-Dalton (N04) (Figure 53). First described and named by Joffre Coe, this type dates to the Paleo-Indian period, 8700 to 8200 BCE (Coe 1964:54). The second biface is known as Poplar Island (N05), a type named in 1959 by Fred Kinsey, and it dates to the Late Archaic period, 2500 to 1500 BCE (Figure 54) (Kinsey 1959:109-133).

Also of Native American manufacture are a few ceramic sherds from the North Vessel. Most are water worn, suggesting that they were deposited by river erosion. All belong to a type known as the Townsend Series, a late Woodland to early Contact Period ware commonly found in the Chesapeake region (N13). They are shell-tempered and fabric impressed, and some are incised with shallow lines (Figure 55). Named by Margaret Blaker (Blaker 1950; Blaker 1963:14-29) and dating ca. A.D. 950 – A.D. 1600, these sherds predate the ca. 1650s Anglo-American move in the upper reaches of the Mattaponi River (Laird, Luccketti and Smith 2009:9). A single fragment of a terra-cotta tobacco pipe stem (N-14.01a) also was recovered. This water-worn artifact was made in Virginia of mica-bearing clay either by a Native American or a 17th century colonist (Figure 56).

Historical Artifact Intrusions

Found in the North Vessel, but unrelated to the wreck, are a small number of historic ceramic sherds that post date George Braxton III's death in 1761. Like the prehistoric material, the historic intrusions may have been deposited by erosion or river currents. These fragments may belong to Mary Blair Braxton and Robert Burwell's occupation, or to the later Thomas Roane use of the property (Laird et al., 2009:17). They include a creamware vessel sherd and plate base, both dating after 1762 (N-12.01 and N-13.06)

Figure 53. Hardaway-Dalton point.

Figure 54. Poplar Island point.

Figure 55. Prehistoric sherds.

Figure 56. Terracotta pipe stem.

Figures 57. Creamware sherds.

Figure 58. Creamware sherds.

Figure 59. Blue shell-edge pearlware.

(Figures 57 and 58), and a pearlware plate sherd with a blue shell-edge rim, dating post 1800 (N-13.02) (Figure 59) (Hunter and Miller 2009:13). In addition, remnants of two ca.-1800 Virginia-made stoneware vessels were recovered (N-13.01) (Figure 60). They were deposited after Thomas Roane's death in 1799 and maybe shortly after the original Newington manor house burned around 1800 and the family moved to the office on the property (Laird et al., 2009:17).

The remains of an earlier pipe with a small bowl and heel predates material used in establishing a date for the Newington Plantation vessels. That pipe (N3.03) was found in the overburden on the North Vessel (Figure 61). The ⁶⁄₆₄th-inch stem hole diameter and bowl and heel form reflect dating from the period 1680 to 1710 identified by Nöel Hume (Nöel Hume 1982:298, 303). The pipe could suggest the period of construction and early use of the North Vessel.

Artifacts from the Newington Plantation North Vessel

A few small 18th century ceramic sherds recovered from the North Vessel may have been among the wreck's original contents, but their manufacture dates are difficult to pinpoint because of their fragmentary condition. Thus, verification that they were within the ship when it collapsed is impossible. This small assemblage of wares that were produced throughout much of the

Figure 60. (Right) Virginia saltglaze stoneware.

Figure 61. (Below) Late 17th or early 18th centtury pipe from the North Vessel.

Figure 62. (Top Left) Saltglaze stoneware rim.

Figure 63. (Top Right) White saltglaze stoneware hollow body.

Figure 64. (Bottom Left) Delftware vessel base.

Figure 65. (Bottom Right) Westerwald saltglaze stoneware mug handle.

18th century includes: a white saltglazed small vessel rim (N-08.03) (Figure 62); a white saltglazed stoneware hollowware body (N-17.01) (Figure 63); a delftware vessel base (N-15.03) (Figure 64); and a Westerwald saltglazed stoneware mug handle (N-15.05) (Figure 65).

The Newington Plantation North Vessel excavations also revealed a number of large artifact remnants, which includes the following: English tobacco pipe bowls and stems; English and French glass wine bottles; and a Chinese porcelain tea saucer. Their sizes and the lack of wear suggest that the wreck was the primary source of these artifacts.

Smoked by men, women, and children alike in the Colonial period, tobacco pipes were cheap and readily available. Whether the recovered examples were shattered in the wreck is impossible to determine, but it is obvious they saw little or no use. They were mold made in England of white ball clay and stained reddish-brown from contact with iron oxides in a submerged environment. They belong to one of two styles: a heel-less bowl type (N04.06) dating ca. 1720-1820 (Figure 66); and a heeled bowl (N03.02), ca. 1700-1770 (Figure 67) (Nöel Hume 1982:304). The diameter of most of the stem holes is 5/64 inch, a size that generally dates ca. 1710-1750. A few are 4/64 inch in diameter, which fall into the ca. 1750-1800 date range. One notable bowl (N03.04a) with a heel is stamped on its back with an incuse "I0" under an incuse asterisk (Figures 68 and 69). This is the mark of John Okely who was working in St. James parish in Bristol in the 1730s (Walker 1977:1479-1471). It is important to note that a 1730s parallel to this example has a stem hole diameter of 4/64 inch. One other bowl bears a simple crown astride the heel.

Glass beverage bottle bases and necks were recovered in significant numbers. Dating ca. 1730-1745, most were made in England of dark olive green glass. They were mouth blown, probably in "dip-molds" (Jones and Sullivan 1989:22).

Figure 66. Pipe bowl fragments without heel.

Figure 67. Pipe bowl with heel.

Figure 68. John Oakely makers mark.

Figure 69. John Oakely pipe bowl with heel.

Figure 70. Dark green bottle neck.

Figure 71. Dark green bottle neck.

Figure 72. Dark green bottle neck.

Figure 73. Dark green bottle neck.

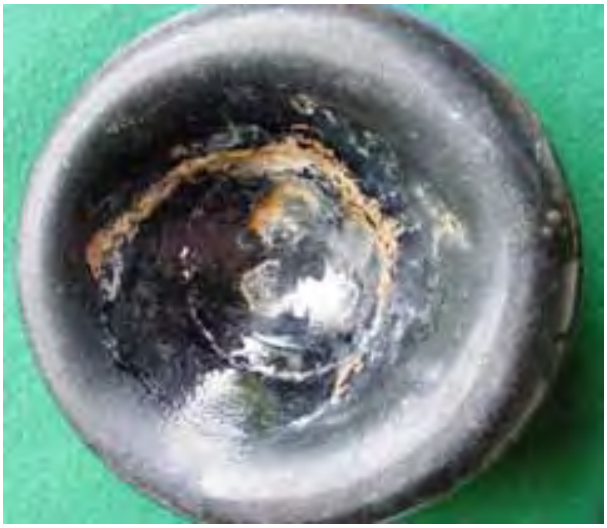
Their tapered necks are finished with lips that are either flattened or rounded, and straight or out-turned, and string rims that are v-tooled, down-tooled, or rounded (N01.04 (Figure 70), N01.05 (Figure 71), N10.03 (Figure 72) and N01.03 (Figure 73). The bottle shoulders are rounded and their round bases are either dome-shaped or rounded cone-shaped in profile.

Bottle bases varied in diameter and the base pontil marks were improved. Three bases display a well-defined quatrefoil impression in the top of the kick (N01.06), a mark that was formed by an iron rod, the end of which was split into quadrants (Figures 74 and 75). English glass beverage bottles with this type of mark date as early as the 1720s (Jones 1971:66). Notable among the beverage container glass is a bottle of probable French manufacture (N01.04) with a tapering neck, a flattened round-trailed string rim, and sloped-down shoulders (Figure 76). Mouth blown, and possibly in a style known as the "flower pot" because of its shape, it is similar to a French example recovered from a Canadian site dating ca. 1732- 1745 (Jones 1971:66). Three sherds of a single Chinese porcelain saucer N06.04 (Figure 77), N01.01 (Figure 78) and N17.03 (Figure 79) were excavated from the North Vessel. This delicate item is decorated on the interior with a hand-painted underglaze cobalt blue foliate motif and it dates to the second quarter of the 18th century. The date, size, and lack of wear on this porcelain saucer

Figure 74. (Left)
Improved pontil base.

Figure 75. (Bottom Left)
Base with quatrefoil mark.

Figure 76. (Bottom Right)Fragments of a French bottle from the North Vessel. (Photo: Bill Utley)



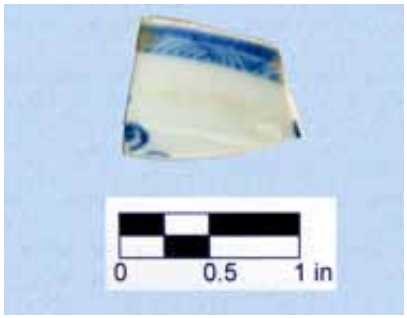


Figure 77. Porcelain.

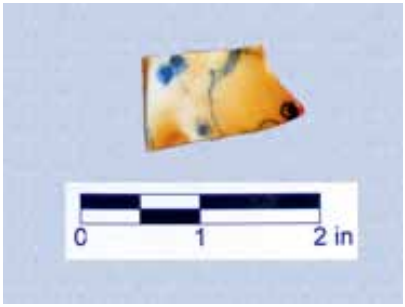


Figure 78. Porcelain.

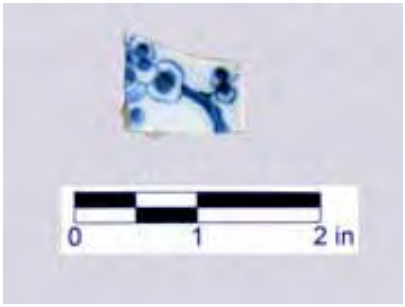


Figure 79. Porcelain.


Figure 80. Buckle.


Figure 81. Button.


Figure 82. Straight pin.


Figure 83. Tack.


Figure 84. Coin.


Figure 85. Bead.


Figure 86. Spike from North Vessel.


Figure 87. Spike head detail.

suggest that it is original to the vessel's sinking. Also possibly dating to the wreck event is a handful of small finds, all of which may date to the second quarter of the 18th century. Included among these finds are a copper alloy knee buckle fragment N13.05 (Figure 80); a copper alloy button N13.07b (Figure 81); a copper alloy straight pin N13.07a (Figure 82); a copper alloy upholstery tack N03.01 (Figure 83); an illegible copper coin N17.04 (Figure 84); and a white glass tubular bead N14.02 (Figure 85). As well, a number of wrought iron fasteners were recovered (Figures 86 and 87).

Investigation of the north wreck also produced a number of vessel fittings and other elements. Two wooden cleats were recovered. Both cleats were hand made from oak.

One cleat was intact and one horn on the other was broken. The intact cleat measured 14 inches in length 2½ inches in thickness and 4 inches in height. The base measured 6 inches in length. Two spikes were employed to attach it (Figure 89). The broken cleat measured 9 inches in length 2½ inches in thickness and 4 inches in height. The base measured 6 inches in length. Two spikes were also employed to fasten it (Figure 90).

A single broken belaying pin was found on the north wreck (Figure 90). The pin measured 16 inches in length. The handle measured 6 inches in length and 2 inches in diameter. The shaft of the pin measured 10 inches in length and 1¼ inch in diameter. Oak was used to fashion the pin.

A single stave from a small bucket was found in the wreck (Figure 90). The stave measured 12 inches in length and was 2 inches in width. One end was scalloped and a croze had been cut across it for to fit the bottom. The stave was oak. A deteriorated fragment of what could have been the oak bucket bottom or a cask head was also recovered (Figure 91).

Figure 88. Two views of a wooden cleat from the North Vessel. (Photos: Bill Utley)

Figure 89. Two views of a broken wooden cleat from the North Vessel.

Figure 90. (Below)Wooden belaying pin and bucket stave from the North Vessel. (Photo: Bill Utley)

A second wood object appears be a cinch block. It measures 10 inches in length, 2 ¼ inches in width and ¾ inches in thickness. Two ¾ inch holes drilled on 5 ¼ inch centers provide access for a light line securing an awning or other such feature requiring line tensioning (Figure 92).

A single deadeye was found on the North Vessel. It measured 6 inches in diameter and 4 inches thick. In addition to the three traditional holes for attaching a stay, a groove in the deadeye was cut to facilitate attaching it to a chainplate. The deadeye was fashioned from Lignum Vitae (Figures 93 and 94).

Figure 91. Fragment of barrel bottom or head of a small cask from the North Vessel.

Figure 92. (Below) Wooden object, possibly a clinch block from the North Vessel.

Figure 93. (Left) North Vessel deadeye.

Figure 94. (Right) Deadeye grovve for chain plate.

Wrought iron fishplates were used to reinforce attachment of the keel and the sternpost and stem. Each plate was forged to fit across the 5-inch bottom of the keel and extend 16 ½ inches up the base of the posts. The upper ends of both plates were forged into a clover leaf design. The upper end of each plate was attached with two square spikes and drift bolts were used through the post and keel. A second bole was driven up through the keel and into the base of the associated post. A section of the stern fishplate was loose and was recovered (Figure 95). A second fragment of iron plate with square holes for spikes was recovered and could be a missing section of the stern fishplate (Figure 96).

Figure 95. Top end of a fishplate from the stern of the North Vessel.

Figure 96. Wrought iron plate, possibly another section of the North Vessel fishplate.

Figure 97. Animal hair and pitch used to coat the North Vessel hull before sheathing. (Photo: Bill Utley)

Figure 98. Black walnuts.

Figure 99. Peach pits.

Figure 100. Fragments of gourd from North Vessel.

Figure 101. (Below) A tool likely used for husking rice found in the North Vessel.

Samples of pitch and animal hair were also recovered from the north vessel. The sample came from between the hull planking and sheathing strakes. It was made from pitch and coarse animal hair (Figure 97).

Also among the organic material recovered from the Newington Plantation North Vessel were several examples of food residue. Several black walnuts N01.BW (Figure 98) were recovered from the bilge along with peach pits N02.PP (Figure 99). Fragments of gourd N02.GOU were also present in the bilge material (Figure 100).

The most unusual artifact recovered from the Newington Plantation North Vessel was a crudely fashioned wooden artifact (Figure 101). It was made from a log 12 inches in diameter and 36 inches in length. One end has been cut down to form a 2½ inch diameter shaft leaving 12 inches of the opposite end at the original diameter. Two opposite sides of that end were beveled leaving the tip a flat, rough-shape rectangle 12 inches in length and 3 inches in width.

The purpose of the object appeared to be pounding in a vertical motion. Research revealed that

Figure 102. Samples of distinctive ballast recovered from the South Vessel.

Figure 103. Single intact bottleneck recovered from the South Vessel.

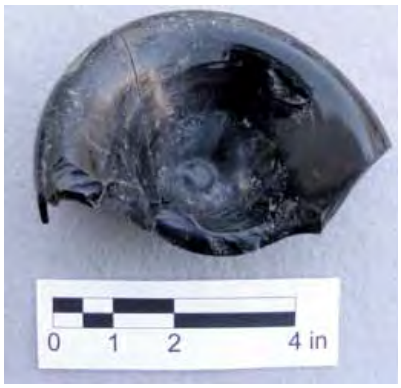


Figure 104. Improved pontil base.

Figure 105. Improved pontil base.

similarly fashioned tools were used in husking rice. Examples and documentation was found in the Rice Museum in Georgetown, South Carolina. Research into the agriculture and trade on the 18th-century Mattaponi confirmed that rice was one of the early crops of plantations along the river.

Artifacts from the Newington Plantation South Vessel

The bilge ceiling of the Newington Plantation South Vessel contained a considerable amount of unique ballast. It has been identified as Lower Devonian Old Red Sandstone with quartz inclusions (Figure 102). That type of material appears likely to be associated with the south coast of England. The origin of the ballast has been identified as the area around Plymouth (Benton, Mary, e-mail message to Gordon P. Watts, April 20, 2012).

In addition to ballast, limited excavation of the bilges of the Newington Plantation South Vessel produced a small collection of artifacts. That assemblage includes: glass and ceramic fragments; a pipe stem; fire tempered nails; shoe leather; European and Colonial American pottery; and an unusual stone.

Beverage bottle glass from the Newington Plantation South Vessel consists of base and neck fragments also dating ca. 1730- 1745. Like the bottle remains from the Newington Plantation

Figure 106. Shards of lead-glazed earthenware from William Rogers facility in Yorktown from the South Vessel.

Figure 108. Pipe bowl fragment.

Figure 107. Pipe stem fragment.

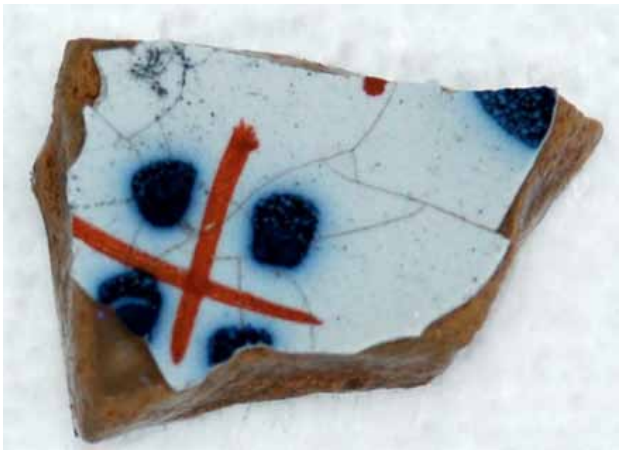


Figure 109. Shard of delftware, possibly produced in Bristol circa 1725–1745.

North Vessel most were made in England of dark olive green glass. They were mouth blown, probably in "dip-molds" and the single intact neck was finished with a lip that was out-turned and the string rim was v-tooled (Figure 103). The bottle shoulders are rounded and their round bases are either dome-shaped or rounded cone-shaped in profile. Both base examples have improved pontils (Figures 104 and 105). Similarly, two mendable red-bodied, lead-glazed ceramic sherds recovered from the bilge were made in Yorktown, Virginia, at the William Rogers pottery manufactory, and thus date ca. 1720-1745 (Figure 106).

Two pipe stems with a bore diameter of 4/64 inch of an inch (Figure 107) and a bowl fragment (Figure 108) from the South Vessel suggest a date comparable with the Rogers pottery.

One delftware sherd was recovered from the South Vessel (Figure 109). While it does not provide a firm date, it is Colonial and could be a representation of delftware patterns produced in Bristol between 1725 and 1745 (Hume 2001:190). In addition to vessel parts and associated artifacts excavation of the Newington Plantation South Vessel produced a number of shoe fragments. The most readily identifiable are

Figure 110. One of the fragments of insole from the South Vessel.

Figure 111. Elliptical heel fragment.

Figure 112. Section of welt.

Figure 113. Black walnut.

Figure 114. Peach pit.

Figure 115. (Above) Fragments of gourd from the South Vessel.

Figure 116. Tibia and rib recovered from the South Vessel bilge.

Figure 117. (Left) Bone from a large bird such as a turkey.

fragments of two insoles, a heel and a section of welt. The surviving section of one insole is 8½ inches in length (Figure 110), the illustrated heel is elliptical (Figure 111). Both the insole and heel retain holes for wooden pegs. The fragment of welt is less diagnostic (Figure 112).

Among the organic material recovered from the Newington Plantation South Vessel were several examples of food residue. All three examples were also present in the bilge material excavated from the North Vessel. One black walnut (N01.BW) (Figure 113) was recovered from the South Vessel bilge along with a peach pit (N02.PP) (Figure 114). Several fragments of gourd (N02.GOU) were also present in the bilge material as well (Figure 115).

Three examples of as yet unidentified bone were recovered from the South Vessel bilge. The smaller bone possibly represents the rib of a small bird or mammal. The larger, likely a tibia, possibly represents a deer and contained evidence of butchering and/or breaking for the marrow (Figure 116). The third bone appears to also be associated with large bird remains such as a goose (Figure 117).

Although not positively identified, two additional wood objects have suggested use aboard the North Vessel. The first could have served as a latch block for a light door such as on a cabinet. The base is flat with a 1¼ inch by ¾ inch notch in the center. The arched back and

Figure 118. Two views of a wooden object, possibly a latch block.

Figure 119. (Below) A sample of hull planking with pitch and animal hair attached.

flat base contain holes for mounting fasteners on either side of the notch. A sliding bar the approximate size of the notch could have been used to secure a door (Figure 118).

A sample of the hull planking with pitch and animal hair was recovered from the South Vessel. Nail holes in the sample identify the location of fasteners that attached the sacrificial pine sheathing (Figure 120).

Several samples of non-ferrous metal were recovered from the South Vessel. Two fragments of small diameter brass wire appear to have been twisted together to retain one or more objects (Figure 121). Two samples of metal, one copper (Figure 122) and one lead (Figure 123) suggest that the South Vessel may have been burned. It is also possible that both samples represent residue from light forging and/or casting using the galley stove as a source of heat.

Samples of coal were recovered from both of the Newington Plantation vessels. At the time coal could have been used aboard fof heat and cooking. It is also possible that coal from mines in England was being imported for similar use in the Newington Plantation house (Figure 124).

Figure 120. (Left) Fragments of small diameter brass wire.

Figure 121. (Right) Melted copper.

Figure 122. Melted lead.

Figure 123. Coal sample from the South Vessel.

Figure 124. Enigmatic pentagonal stone artifact similar to one recovered at Jamestown, Virginia.

An enigmatic stone artifact was also recovered from the South Vessel. It is flat, pentagonal-shaped, and tile-like. It was fashioned from fine-grained sandstone and displays slightly beveled edges (Figure 125). A comparable sandstone item was recovered during Preservation Virginia's Jamestown Rediscovery excavations at Jamestown Island, Virginia (Straube, Bly, e-mail message to David Hazzard, May 2012). Unfortunately, the Jamestown piece was retrieved from a disturbed context and is not datable. It is possible that both stones found their way to Virginia in ship ballast and are of similar origin.

Analyses of Sediment, Ceiling Plank Wood and Ballast Stones

Beneath the ceiling planks of the North Vessel, a thick layer of clay, silt and organic material had accumulated. A sample of that sediment and fragments of ceiling planks were collected for elemental and microbiological analysis. X-ray fluorescent (XRF) analysis of elemental components from that sediment, carried out by Dr. Raymond Hayes, revealed a predominantly silicon, iron and sulphur composition with minor amounts of lead, rubidium, strontium, zinc, chromium and vanadium (Table 2). Similar analysis of the wood planking revealed a predominantly silicon and iron composition with slightly lesser amounts of sulphur, potassium, titanium and zirconium and minor amounts residues of vanadium, manganese, arsenic, rubidium, strontium and serbium (Table 3).

Sediment and wood samples were streaked or blotted onto sterile agar plates and incubated at room temperature (25 degrees Celsius) for two-to-four days. The plates used for microbial analysis were those routinely selected for identification of clinically significant enteric microbial flora. Three types of agar plates were selected for bacterial culture: Blood Agar, McConkey agar and HE (Hektoen) agar. One half of each plate was streaked with a moist sample of sediment from the interval between ceiling and hull planking. The other half of each agar plate was blotted with a freshly cut interior surface of wood from the wet ceiling plank.

The presence of gut bacteria in the pores of the wood is confirmed for each of the three agar plates. Although a few small colonies were apparent in the blood agar plate streaked with sediment, no growth is found on the comparable McConkey or HE agar plates. All microbial colonies are typical non-pathogenic flora. There is no indication of enteric pathogens in either the sediment or the wood samples. The combined results of these microbial assays indicate that enteric microbes are definitely present in both sediment and wood from the North Vessel, and that the wood shows the most active colonization of enterobacteria. These microbes are most likely *E. coli* or other *Enterobacter* species. This strongly suggests that fecal material, perhaps of human origin, has been absorbed into and retained by the structural wood planking. A portion of the wood sample was dried and analyzed with x-ray fluorescence. That revealed silicon and iron as the principal elements with lesser amounts of sulphur, potassium and titanium.

The wood planking shares an elemental fingerprint with pine and harbors harmless enteric bacteria that may be of human origin. The compacted sediment is nearly abiotic, perhaps indicating that the environment is anoxic. The differential chemistry of the wood and sediment shows that constituents within the site are not in equilibrium and that each component, at least prior to disturbance during this archaeological survey, has preserved a distinctive chemical composition.

Two geologically distinct ballast stones were found on the South Vessel. One was a carbonate stone (Figure 125a). The other stone was metamorphic rock composed of quartz with flecks of mica (Figure 125b). The quartz rock is characteristic of rock found in the Piedmont plateau at the headwaters of the river system in VA and therefore could be of local origin. However, the carbonate stone is not of local origin and may be dolomite limestone. An internal surface of each stone was analyzed using x-ray fluorescence. Elemental chemical composition of the two stones is shown as a histogram in (Table 4). The grey stone is rich in calcium (Ca), but no calcium is contained in the quartz stone. The strontium level of the quartz is much less than in the limestone rock. Otherwise, the chemical components of the two stone types are similar in quality and quantity.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The Newington Plantation vessels represent the oldest vessel remains found to date in the waters of the Commonwealth of Virginia. They represent the types of small craft that are rarely documented in historical records. Although remains of the Newington Plantation vessels consist of less than 15 per cent of original hull structure, the vessels preserve important design and construction data

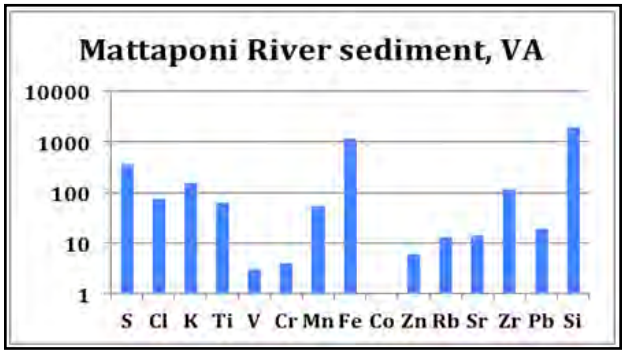


Table 2. XRF analysis data showing elemental composition of sediment in the North Vessel from the Mattaponi River.

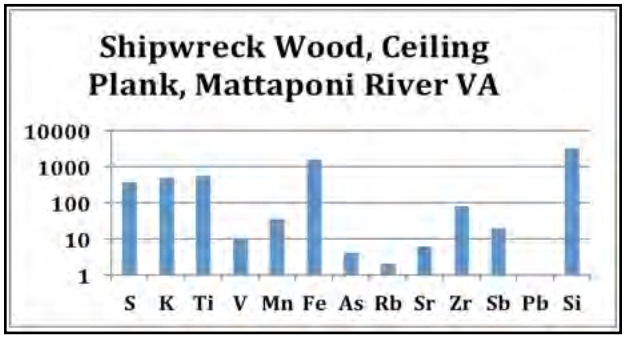


Table 3. XRF analytical data showing elemental composition of ceiling plank wood from the North Vessel.

Figure 125a. Grey ballast limestone.

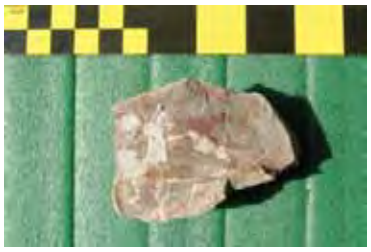
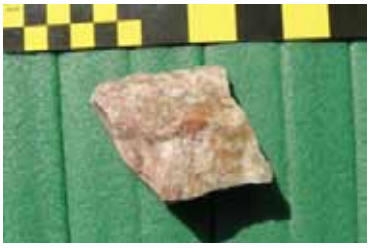


Figure 125b. Red ballast quartz stone.



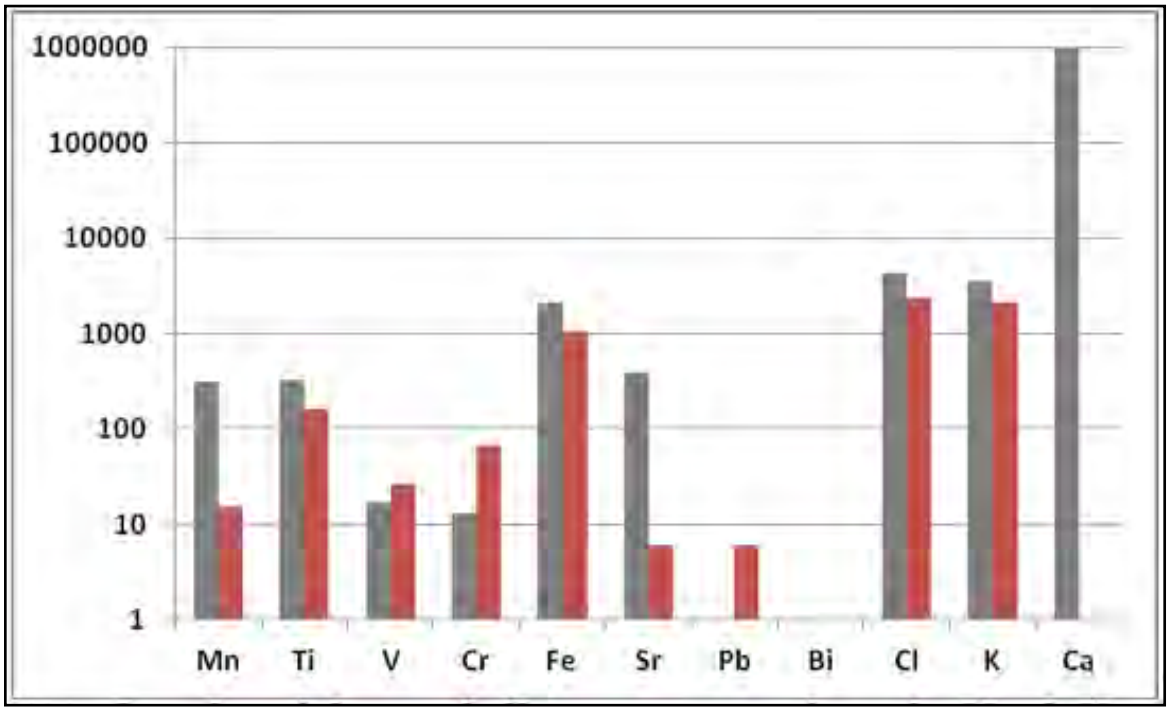


Table 4. Samples of the two ballast stone types from the North Vessel and the X-ray flouresence analyses of calcific ballast stone (grey) and quartz ballast stone (red) indicating elemental composition for each.

and reflect the craftsmanship of skilled shipwrights. While ownership and use of Newington vessels remains to be established, they are spatially and temporally associated with the Braxton family. Given the Braxton family's documentable role in 18th century Virginia's maritime culture, the vessels can be considered to be representative of the small craft that supported that culture.

As such, they certainly played a role in, and made a contribution to the broad patterns of 18th century Virginia plantation transportation, commerce and possibly fishing on the Mattaponi and York rivers as well as a potential involvement in both the coastal and West Indian trades. Given the Braxton's participation in the slave trade, it is also possible that the Newington Plantation vessels were used to transport captive Africans from Yorktown and/or West Point to up river plantations. Although not yet specifically identified, both vessels should be considered as contributing elements of the Newington Plantation NRHP designation. As such, they should be included in a revision of the NRHP nomination.

Because the Newington Plantation vessels preserve an important archaeological record associated with

early-18th-century Virginia maritime heritage and are clearly eligible for inclusion on the NRHP, their preservation should be a priority. Their location in shallow water is subject to disturbance by river currents, wind wave energy, boat wakes and looting, periodic inspection of the wrecks should be an annual objective of VDHR. While considerable effort has gone into documentation of the surviving wreck structures, comprehensive recording will require additional investigation. That would include additional disassembly of elements of both structures. In light of the nature and scope of design and construction data preserved at the site, this should perhaps not be undertaken unless the stability of the vessels places them at risk.

Artifacts recovered during this investigation provide insight into the nature of Colonial life and trade on the Mattaponi. The collection should be conserved and could be placed on indefinite loan to the King and Queen Historical Society for curation and display in the King and Queen Courthouse Tavern Museum.

Virginia's Threatened Sites Program

Since 1985, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources has administered a program for threatened archaeological sites in the commonwealth. Sites considered for funding must be at least of statewide significance and under threat of destruction. Eligible sites also are ones for which no other sources of funding are available for their rescue. Anyone may bring these sites to the attention of the department. Potential eligible sites are evaluated both by department teams and a Threatened Sites Committee composed of members of the archaeological community. Funds are committed for assessment, excavation, laboratory processing and analysis, and reporting. Volunteers and the public are involved at every possible opportunity.

Research Report Series

*No. 1: Colonial Plantation Hoes of Tidewater Virginia (1980)

No. 2: Archaeological Test Excavations of Site 44RU7 at a Late Woodland Village in Lower Uplands of Southwest Virginia (1981)

*No. 3: Ceramic Study of Woodland Occupation Along the Clinch and Powell Rivers in Southwest Virginia (1987)

No. 4: Archaeological Investigations of Sites 44JC70 and 44JC71 at *Croaker Landing* (1988, out of print)

No. 5: Native American Sites in a Fall Line Transition Study Area (1989)

*No. 6: Blacksmith Shops in Catawba, Virginia: Archeological and Historical Investigation (1994, out of print)

No. 7: Archaeological Assessment of Sites 44PY7, 44PY43, 44PY152 at *Leesville Lake*, Pittsylvania County (1996)

No. 8: Archaeological Investigations of Site 44SX202, *Cactus Hill*, Sussex County, Virginia (1997, out of print)

No. 9: Native American Settlement at *Great Neck*: Report on VDHR Archaeological Investigations of Woodland Components at Site 44VB7, Virginia Beach, Virginia (1998)

No. 10: The *Potomac Creek Site* (44ST2) Revisited (1999)

*No: 11: The Life of a Potter, *Andrew Pittman* (44FK528), (2001; out of print)

No. 12: Early Horticultural Settlement in the James River Piedmont: Excavations at the *Partridge Creek Site* (44AH193), Stapleton, Virginia, (2003)

No. 13: The *Williamson Clovis Site*, 44DW1, Dinwiddie County, Virginia: An Analysis of Research Potential in Threatened Areas (2003)

No. 14: Emergency Excavations at the Sawyer Site (44RN39), Area B: A Protohistoric Site in Roanoke County, Virginia (2004)

No. 15: The *Buzzard Rock Site* (44RN2): A Late Woodland Dispersed Village (2005)

No. 16: The *Bonham Site* (44SM7): A Late Woodland Village Complex in Smyth County, Virginia (2005)

*No. 17: The Werowocomoco (44GL32) Research Project: Background and 2003 Archaeological Field Season Results (2007)

** Reports that are not associated with threatened sites projects*