

BRUNSWICK TOWN COLONOWARE: A LOOK AT FORM AND FUNCTION

by

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ABSTRACT

BENJAMIN EARL JOHNSON. Brunswick Town Colonoware: A look at form and function. (Under the direction of DR. DENNIS OGBURN).

This paper discusses the history of Brunswick Town through an archaeological study of Brunswick Colonoware as it applies to African-American life. By looking at the artifactual record from the original excavations of the town, I was able to determine that African-Americans were visible within the center of town, and most likely performing kitchen duties related to cooking and serving food in two primary locations. The first location is at the manor house of Judge Maurice Moore, and the second is at the Public House, which may have served as an inn and tavern. As a ceramic, Brunswick Colonoware appears to have been for rustic use.

DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to Donald E. Johnson, Sr., Billie Johnson, and Donald E. Johnson, Jr.

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BRUNSWICK TOWN COLONOWARE: A LOOK AT FORM AND FUNCTION

As a British colony during the North American colonization period, Brunswick Town, North Carolina (1726-1776) was home to a variety of cultural influences. One of those influences was brought forth from the African-American presence in the developing New World. Brunswick Town was seated in Brunswick county, just off the Cape Fear River (see Figure 1), which facilitated the importation of slaves directly from the vessels of the Middle Passage. In demographic numbers from 1767, the picture begins to emerge a little more clearly. At that time, there were 1,095 African-Americans living in Brunswick County, and only 224 white European-descended citizens (Pedlow 1997:30-31). And even though the vast majority of those African-Americans were enslaved, they left behind some unique material culture.



Figure 1: Modern map showing Brunswick Town, Google Maps

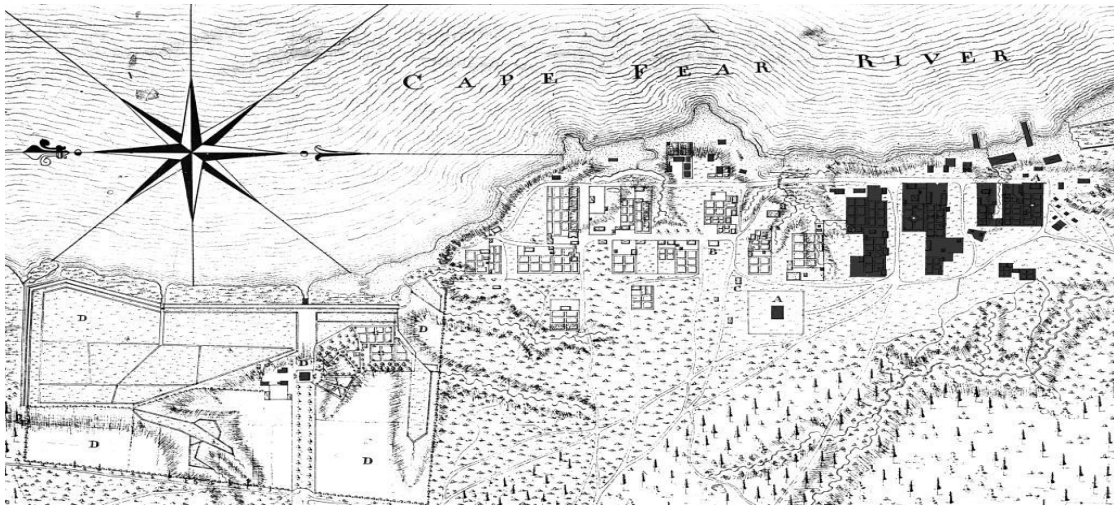


Figure 2: Map of Brunswick Town, 1769, Sauthier

However, the story at Brunswick Town is incompletely told. Most of the stories one hears upon visiting the current historic site are about the town's prominent citizens, the revolution, and the history of the most prominent architectural features. This leaves out most of the town's African-American inhabitants, and how they contributed to the town. The purpose of this paper is to help describe their existence in a better way, and to use the artifacts that they have left behind to do so. Specifically, I will use African-American ceramics to make statements about where they might have resided, what types of vessels they were producing (and, therefore, what they might have been using them for), and how this can describe something about their relationship with the town's European-descended inhabitants. Throughout this paper, I will discuss the concepts and procedures necessary to do this. The paper will move through the town's history, describing previous archaeological work and how artifacts types were defined and studied, discussing the details of specific artifacts used at Brunswick Town and where they were found, and then conclude with a summary of my analysis.

Archaeologically, it has been discovered that African-American potters were

producing their own low-fired earthenware ceramic vessels in the mid-Atlantic and southeastern United States during the 18th and 19th centuries (Ferguson 1992:3-9). This pottery tradition is usually called colonoware, and these vessels have been found at a variety of colonial settlements throughout the New World, including Brunswick Town (South 2010:215-216). Colonoware is classified as an earthenware, and is specifically a hand-made, low-fired, unglazed ceramic that is first put together by coiling ropes of clay into the preferred vessel shape, and usually finishing the exterior through a process called burnishing (Ferguson 1992:18-25). However, this description fits more than one ceramic type, so “true” colonoware must be found in a post-Columbian setting in the Americas where it is sure that European settlers had made contact (Ferguson 1992:18-25, 37-41, 44-55, 82-92). The broad category of colonoware has variously been attributed to African-American and Native American potters. The designation is still contested at many sites. But scholars who have examined the material from Brunswick Town attribute the colonoware found at the site to African-Americans. It is generally of a design which is indicative of the African pottery tradition, especially in technique, vessel shape, and many of the decorative additions (Loftfield and Stoner 1997:6-9). For these reasons, I will refer to the colonoware found at Brunswick Town as Brunswick Colonoware. This will ensure that the discussions found in this paper are taken as being meant only to refer specifically to the artifacts found at Brunswick Town. However, a general discussion of the controversial history of colonoware is appropriate before moving to the specifics.

COLONOWARE AND ITS HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

What is now referred to as colonoware was originally defined by Ivor Noël Hume, a British archaeologist working on colonial-period sites in the United States (see Noël Hume 1967). Noël Hume opined that the ware must have been of Native American manufacture, and thus named it Colono-Indian ware, or “a ware made by Indians influenced by Europeans, within the colonial period” and having no known method of dating (Noël Hume 1967:5-7). This was an opinion which dominated until the ware was revisited in the 1970s, when it was being found in high rates at plantation sites in the southern United States (Ferguson 1992:7-8). For contextual reasons, Noël Hume's term “Colono-Indian” was contested, and later changed to simply “Colono Ware” by archaeologist Leland Ferguson (Ferguson 1992:19-20). The artifacts that Ferguson was finding were stylistically comparable to African pottery, and were being found on slave sites throughout the Carolinas (Ferguson 1992:18-20, 50-54). However, the debate has continued, and will be discussed a little more thoroughly in the next section.

Because colonoware is a very simple ceramic, it can easily be emulated, and is found in a variety of contexts. For this reason, it is best to attribute colonoware to a manufacturer based on its context, and not on a broad scale that refers only to one population of manufacturers. In the case of Brunswick Colonoware, this is especially true because of the previously mentioned scholarly studies and the historical record. The latter of these two shows a high presence of African-Americans living in the area (Pedlow 1997:30-31). Considering the principles and theories defined through historical archaeology (Deetz 1996;Johnson 2010), I will use both previous research and the written

record to demonstrate in this paper that colonoware is an artifact that can be used to bring an aspect of the African-American presence at the site into the larger conversation more clearly.

COLONOWARE AND CONTROVERSY

The techniques of low-firing and coiling are not unique to colonoware, nor are the bowls, jugs, and other vessel shapes of the ware. The ware can also be created relatively easily, and often comes without decorative embellishment (Ferguson 1992:18-25). Considering these statements, much of the colonoware found is hard to attribute to any particular manufacturer without considering context. However, this type of argument is what catalyzed the debate. Because Noël Hume originally included the word “Indian” in his definition of the ware (Noël Hume 1967:5-7), it gave an impression that the artifact could be ascribed to a manufacturer in a far more general fashion than modern research has found to be usefully applicable when local context is considered (Ferguson 1992:18-20, 50-54; Galke 2009; Agha and Isenbarger 2011:184-187). Later, the word “Indian” was dropped from major discussions of the ware because context was beginning to prove that its origins were far more complex (Ferguson 1992:8). This cleared up the terminology, but it did not stop researchers from claiming either African-Americans or Native Americans as the manufacturers in a broad and definitive sense for either group.

In some instances, archaeologists may have begun to discuss colonoware in a manner that highlighted the African-American aspects over anything else. Archaeologist Leland Ferguson, for instance, was one of the main proponents of dropping the word “Indian” (Ferguson 1992:8). Later, Ferguson wrote a book that both explained the reasons that the term was dropped, and then went on to overwhelmingly provide reasons that the ware could be attributed to African-American makers (Ferguson 1992). Meanwhile, researchers were still making contextual discoveries that pointed to several Native

American origins of the ware, and some of them were even conducted on African-American slave sites (Garrow and Wheaton 1989). The various arguments seem to be best solved by a recognition that context is more important than broad manufacturer attribution.

Today, scholars are beginning to recognize that one of the problems confronted when looking at colonoware is this very assumption that the ware must be attributed to one manufacturer or the other in a broad sense. This has been described as the “paradox of globalization,” since colonoware is useful in making determinations about a site specifically, but becomes largely inaccurate when one begins to generalize (Cobb and DePratter 2012). As a cultural marker, colonoware can become very attractive because it can certainly be used to connect an outsider presence in major European colonies. But the reality is that colonoware is more useful in that sense after other research or the historical record has first linked these groups to the colony.

On the other side of the controversy, colonoware's simple manufacturing techniques mean that it can be used to quickly replace other wares when they become scarce. For this reason, many European colonists found use for colonoware when it could be made to emulate European vessels (Loftfield and Stoner 1997:6-9). Among other reasons, this could have been occurring during a period of low imports in which European colonists needed ceramics (this will be discussed in detail later). Because of that, it is especially useful to consider what forms colonoware is found in at a given site in order to determine for whom the ware was being made. If a European-style colonoware sample is found in a home near a plantation, or in a home which housed a plantation owner who used slaves, then that could indicate that African-Americans were

the manufacturers.

Throughout the controversy, one thing seems to be agreed upon; colonoware must be found on a colonial site in the Americas (Ferguson 1992:18-25, 37-41, 44-55, 82-92), or on a post-revolutionary site up until the point when colonoware was no longer manufactured. That much is certain. But colonoware needs contextual study for its provenance to become clear. Because the colonoware at Brunswick Town has already been studied for context (Loftfield and Stoner 1997:6-9), I think that it is safe to use it as an ethnic marker in that location. The next step is to look at where it has been discovered in order to determine its highest frequency, most common forms, and with whom it can be associated.

THE THREE TIME PERIODS OF COLONWARE

Colonoware's use and prevalence changed over the course of the colonization period. Three time periods have been defined in order to note substantial changes in these qualities (Espenshade 1996:7-9). The study identifying these chronological divisions was conducted in South Carolina, and can be used for comparison with other sites. The first period is the Early to Mid-1700s, and is described as a frontier period in which colonoware was highly prevalent in both slave residences and manor houses, was frequently used to emulate European wares (more common in manor settings), and was more frequently found in jar forms than bowl forms (Espenshade 1996:7). The second period is the Mid to Late 1700s, and is a more established colonial period in which colonoware was still common in slave areas, jars became less frequent compared to bowls, it was rarely found in manor houses, and European imitation is also less frequent (Espenshade 1996:7). The third period is the Early to Mid 1800s, and is a period in which colonoware was not found in manor houses, was rare on slave rows (only discovered on isolated rows in the Gullah area), was mainly in the form of small bowls, European bowls were found in slave rows, and bowls were being found that possessed geometric markings (Espenshade 1996:8). As the time periods indicate, colonoware was an important ceramic staple early on, but later dwindled in favor of European imports.

The above is important to note because Brunswick Town's time period is known. As an area which was established in 1726 and ended in 1776, Brunswick Town's colonoware should fall within the first two time periods, or the Early to Mid 1700s and the Mid to Late 1700s, and should correspond to similar areas that contained colonoware

with regard to the criteria set forth by the previous research. Further, Brunswick Town's structures have deeds and other records that establish them within the absolute dating record, meaning that those structures may also correspond to a particular time period. Later, I will use these time periods to look at two structures, the Public House and Judge Moore's House, in order to establish whether or not these time periods hold true for them.

BRUNSWICK TOWN'S HISTORY

The brief and contentious period in which Brunswick Town was inhabited (1726-1776) was part of a national uprising. Since Brunswick Town's citizens were especially vocal against British taxes such as the Stamp Act, it was a target for military invasion and burning shortly after the revolution began (South 2010:95-97). Once it was invaded in 1776, the British burned Brunswick Town down (South 2010:39). It was never again inhabited as a functioning town, and lay in ruins after 1776. Due to these circumstances, Brunswick Town has been uniquely preserved.

Because of the site's location on the Cape Fear River, it served as a major port. According to South, Brunswick Town at one time shipped more goods to Britain than any other of its colonial ports (South 2010:77-78). Some of the incoming traffic was from the East India Company, but some of it was from the slave trade. As a major port, Brunswick Town certainly saw the import of Africans into the New World. Many of those Africans would end up working on the plantations in Brunswick County and adjacent areas that supplied the colony with wine, rice, and naval stores.

Naval stores, or tar, pitch and turpentine, were vital for ship function. The British, in particular, made use of the naval stores from the pine forests in Brunswick that produced these items (South 2010:77-78). This meant that there was a considerable presence of those vessels in the area. Once the revolution broke out, an invasion could be made straight from the waters of the Cape Fear River. Brunswick Town was burned rather quickly, and one might surmise that its history of sedition was part of the reason that the British so thoroughly destroyed it. Once the damage was done, Brunswick Town's history

would be considerably quieter until Stanley South began his work.

As for my broader intentions concerning Brunswick Town's history, I want to ensure that a complete picture as it is portrayed by those detailing it includes as much of reality as we can decipher. This includes the African-American story. For the rest of the colonial world, I think it is important that the African-American story at large comes into better focus. Hopefully, this study will augment other accounts of African-American history as they have been revealed through archaeology, including those conducted by Charles Fairbanks and Robert Ascher (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971), Theresa Singleton (Singleton 1985;1995;1999), and Leland Ferguson (Ferguson 1992). American history cannot properly be told without studying the early African-American people.

BRUNSWICK TOWN'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY

From 1958 to 1968, archaeologist Stanley South directed the excavations at Brunswick Town. During that time, South excavated several prominent features that were corroborated through the historical record, and found that a map (see Figure 2) produced in 1769 was accurate. Among other things, South discovered many ceramics, one type of which was what is now known as colonoware (South 2010:23-24). Because Brunswick Town was excavated before the colonoware controversy, South originally deferred to Noël Hume's opinion that it was manufactured by Native Americans (South 2010:23-24). This was later corrected (Loftfield and Stoner 1996:6-9; South 2010:23-24). But the ware was definitely present.

Because South used the imported ceramic wares he was finding to date some of the structures in which they were found, he organized them meticulously by creating seriation patterns (South 1978:223-230). While colonoware was not dated by its makers, it was still cataloged through this process. Because of the association of it with dated imported ceramics, we know when the Brunswick Colonoware was produced in the area.

Since South deferred to the opinion that the colonoware was of Native American origin, the research that was involved with it did not concern African-Americans. As noted above, later studies corrected this notion (Loftfield and Stoner 1997). Another circumstance that lends credence to the idea that Brunswick Colonoware is not Native American is that the Native American presence in the area during Brunswick Town's founding was extremely low. As early as 1701, it had been noticed that the Native American population on the coastal plain of North Carolina had been seriously reduced

(Ward and Davis, Jr. 1999:275). Since then, not much has been done in the way of research into either colonoware or African-Americans in Brunswick Town. This makes that part of the archaeological record an obvious choice for those wanting to know more about African-American inhabitants.

Currently, the colonoware from Brunswick Town is housed at the Office of State Archaeology (OSA) in Raleigh, North Carolina. South labeled much of the ware as Indian Pottery, Earthenware, or Prehistoric ware. The research conducted at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, however, corrected this problem by going through the artifacts and noting which ones were mislabeled (Loftfield and Stoner 1997). I have been able to retrieve the artifacts myself and have verified that this is the case.

The archaeological research conducted at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington was conducted in 1996 and published in 1997, and its purpose was to review the colonoware ceramics at the site that South had labeled otherwise (Loftfield and Stoner 1997). Using the definition provided by Leland Ferguson, the research was able to position Brunswick Town's colonoware squarely within the realm of African-American manufacture (Loftfield and Stoner 1997:6-9). The study involved the retrieval of the artifacts from the OSA, where they had been archived in several boxes corresponding to the features in which they were found. As noted earlier, South's seriation efforts enables easy retrieval of the artifacts in groups. These groups were temporarily removed from their boxes, and were studied for general form and decorative embellishment, as well as general location (Loftfield and Stoner 1997:6-9). While the study provided insight into the types of structures and locations the colonoware was generally found in, it did not discuss individual structures in detail.

Part of what this paper will do is clarify the details of each individual structure in order to determine what forms were the most popular in those locations, and whether or not the wares were emulating European types (used by white colonists), or if they were the more utilitarian types found at slave sites (used by African-Americans), which will help point to whether or not African-Americans were present in those locations. On the whole, the time periods defined earlier have been useful in making this determination.

South's excavations have been used for research before. One of the main studies coming from the artifacts at the OSA was conducted on olive jars (Beaman and Mintz 1998), with another coming from the many discoveries of pipe stems that still are sometimes found laying on the surface of the ground (Beaman 2005). Both studies prove that a rich archaeological collection can be used to say important things about the town.

In conclusion, it has already been asserted that Brunswick Town's colonoware is most likely of African-American manufacture (Loftfield and Stoner 1997:9). The University of North Carolina at Wilmington research offered the position that the colonoware could specifically point to African-Americans residing in the main parts of town and using it themselves (Loftfield and Stoner 1997:9). The research discussed in this paper will strengthen the earlier analysis.

METHODOLOGY FOR THIS PROJECT

Since this project involved re-analysis of already excavated artifacts, I first had to retrieve them from their location at the Office of State Archaeology. To do this, I gained permission, and then proceeded to scour the paper record of the artifacts for relevant information and, once found, used it to find the artifacts. This involved referencing the catalog system and then pulling the artifacts from their location.

To undertake my own study of Brunswick Colonoware, I recorded four variables. There was a thickness measurement, a diameter measurement when there was a rim sherd, a vessel count, and a feel test that detected for burnishing. Burnishing could also be detected in most cases by simply looking at the sherd in bright light. These measurements and notations served to inform me of what the complete vessels might have looked like, and for what purpose they might have been used.

Thickness Measurements

A thickness measurement is necessary to determine the width of a sherd between the inside and outside of the vessel. Since each artifact was a sherd and not a full vessel, the insides and the outsides were determined by looking at the relative concavity and convexity of each sherd, and treating the concave area as the inner surface, and the convex area as the outer surface. Since there was no evidence of any fluted rims or design innovations that indicated the reverse to be true, I was able to use the same determination for each sherd. If one looked at each sherd, it was usually easy to determine the side. However, a flatter piece could be tested by placing it on a perfectly flat surface. The distance between the two surfaces of each sherd was noted as the thickness. This helped

to determine how sturdy or durable a vessel might have been, and for what use it was probably most appropriate.

To precisely measure the thicknesses of the sherds, I used a set of Mitutoyo electronic calipers. The calipers were set to inches, which were displayed digitally in decimal form. Once I had recorded the thickness of a sherd, I entered the data into an electronic spreadsheet. If the sherd was a rim sherd, I also noted this, and measured that, as well. Along with both sherd measurements (in the event that it was a rim sherd), or the thickness measurement alone, I recorded whether or not a sherd was burnished on the inside, the outside, or on both sides.

Diameter Measurement

A diameter measurement was necessary to estimate the overall size of the opening to what would have been the original vessel that each sherd belonged to. Like the thickness measurement, this can help indicate what the vessel might have been used for. A large opening might mean that a vessel was used to contain a large amount of a substance, that it was used for cooking, or that it was used from which to transfer a substance to another location. Since every rim sherd seemed to indicate a deep vessel, there was no evidence that a sherd belonged to a plate, the diameter of which would tell a different story.

To measure the diameter, I used a standard diameter chart on which protracted concentric circles were drawn from a center point that included both the metric and the imperial, or inches, measurements of each circle's diameter. Because Brunswick Colonoware is an historical artifact category, I recorded the measurement in inches. To estimate the diameter of the original vessel from each sherd, I placed the sherd rim-side-

down onto the protracted circle of the diameter chart to which it most closely aligned.

From the placement of the rim sherd, I noted the corresponding measurement of the circle that was drawn on the diameter chart. From this measurement, I estimated the opening of the vessel to which the sherd belonged. This was recorded into an electronic spreadsheet, and was noted in decimal inches that I converted from the fractional inches from the chart.

Burnishing

As with the two measurements, a look at which surfaces a sherd was burnished on can help provide insight into what the original vessel was used for. If the vessel had burnishing on the outside only, for instance, it can be assumed that the maker was only concerned with the smoothness of the handling surface. This could mean that a vessel was not used for presentation, that it did not contain a substance that was hard to remove, or that it was too narrow at the opening to adequately treat. If a sherd contained burnishing on both sides, then perhaps it was used as a presentation container. Using burnishing as a sort of complement to the two measurements, I tried to better explain what the vessel's use might have been.

To note whether burnishing was present, I used very simple techniques.

Burnishing is a smoothing technique, and can be seen in the light to contain a slight sheen on most pieces of Brunswick Colonoware in the collection. Therefore, one of the easiest ways to detect it is to look at it in bright light. However, some of the burnishing is more subtle, and the piece must be felt between the fingers for smoothness. If a piece did not reflect light and was rough to the touch, then I considered it not to have burnishing.

Vessel Count

A vessel count can help estimate the minimum number of vessels that existed where the sherds were discovered. This was done by taking average thicknesses, rim diameters, and burnished areas and grouping those factors together in order to see which pieces might have belonged to the same original vessel. There are four areas in which I have performed a vessel count. Those are the Public House with regard to body sherds, the Public House with regard to rim sherds, Lot 27 with regard to body sherds, and Judge Moore's House with regard to body sherds. The reason I did not include any other areas is that the sample sizes were not significant enough in number. The charts can be found in the appendix.

A note on the state of the artifactual record at the OSA concerning Brunswick Town:

Brunswick Colonoware as I found it in storage at the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology, and as it was reported in the paper record from South's original excavations were not in numerical agreement. This is a problem that is not specific to my project. Earlier researchers found that much of the same conflict I experienced when looking at the numbers and at the state of the artifacts in general might be common among all of Brunswick Town's artifactual record (Beaman 2016). Broken bags, crumbling ceramics, disintegrating nails and other metals, and woods that are barely splinters are scattered across the dusty bottoms of cardboard boxes. A reboxing of the artifacts occurred in the early 1990s, and was an event that resulted in confusion among the logs.

Now, those that search for Brunswick Town's artifacts must hope that no major mistakes were made, that artifacts are in the right spot, and that the original count is at

least somewhat similar to the archival records. This was something that researcher Tom Beaman lamented over at the 49th annual Society for Historical Archaeology conference this year concerning some of his own original projects (Beaman 2016). Regardless, most of the artifacts in the record are fascinating specimens that are well-preserved, and there is a rich set of objects that is viable for future study. Discrepancies in the record aside, I was able to complete a full project with a very nice set of artifacts. Just like history itself, the artifactual record is prone to revision.

EXCAVATED AREAS IN WHICH BRUNSWICK COLONWARE WAS FOUND

Brunswick Colonoware was found in various places throughout the town, but only in relatively large numbers at two locations. The excavated locations are identified as buildings owned by specific individuals and families, based on the historic documentation. A sherd count performed from the paper record that was created at the time of excavation has revealed the following numbers:

Excavated Structure	Total Sherds of Colonoware Recovered
Russellborough (Governor's Mansion)	2
Newman-Taylor House	3
Wooten-Marnen House and Kitchen	1
Hepburn-Reonalds House	12
Judge Maurice Moore's House	43
Judge Maurice Moore's Kitchen	7
Judge Maurice Moore's Smokehouse	9
Public House	231
Courthouse	9

It is obvious that Brunswick Colonoware is most prevalent in two locations, the Public House (231 sherds), and Judge Moore's House (43 sherds, or 59 sherds if the Kitchen and Smokehouse dependencies are combined with it), making it appear that there were limited areas of activity that involved the use of Brunswick Colonoware. For this reason, I have used the two main locations as the basis for this study. The function or functions of the Public House is currently under discussion, so the analysis will take that into consideration. But the function of Judge Moore's residential areas are not contested, so the following analysis can provide important insight into the life of a very prominent

citizen, and how African-Americans might have been substantially involved in his private life.

THE PUBLIC HOUSE

There were two original proposals for the function of this structure, both formed by Stanley South (South 2010). Archaeological research revealed some unique patterns that led to these conclusions, and those conclusions seemed to line up with deed records. One of the patterns South discovered included several rows of beads that seemed to line up with what would have been the separations between the floorboards, making South believe that the building once served as a tailor shop (South 2010:16). Bolstering that argument was the concomitant discovery of many pins and thimbles (South 2010:15). However, several other inconsistencies made South believe that the edifice only served as a tailor shop for part of its history.

Some other artifacts, including a pocket knife with Arabic scripts engraved into it that suggested it was from Malaya, a panoply of broken ceramics near the back exit, and a nearby roasting pit caused South to believe that the building was also at some point used as a motel of sorts for itinerant sailors (South 2010:21-24). The knife, he reasoned, must have been dropped by a sailor who had traveled wide distances, which symbolized world trade (South 2010:22). As well, many of the ceramics discovered were found to be colonowares (South 2010:24-25). These findings resulted in South's opinion that the building had two functions.

Today, some alternative interpretations for the function of the “Public House” have been proposed (Beaman, personal communication, February-March 2016). One of them is serving as a brothel. However, none of these arguments have been academically settled. But because some of the arguments have originated from academic scholars

familiar with the site, I will refrain from making hard statements about what the building did or didn't function as. However, there is consensus that the "Public House" was not a family residence, in contrast to Judge Moore's House. Thus, it is certainly the case that these two structures allow us to compare a public space and a private space.

The Public House is separated into six rooms or compartments, and its long axis is almost perpendicularly aligned to the Cape Fear River as it can be seen on the map in the middle shaded area at the foremost right corner (see Figure 2). The rooms are side by side, and there is a single back exit where many of the ceramics were found. A curved town wall was located just east of the building heading toward the Cape Fear River where many people could have easily walked from the wharf straight into the area in which the Public House is located. It seems that it would have been easy for sailors to make their way through. The lot on which this wall is located is called Lot. 27, and was of public domain (South 2010:12). In general, the whole area adjacent to and serving the Public House was an area that seems to have been designated for public use.

Interestingly, the Public House is the location where the vast majority of Brunswick Colonoware was found. It seems that, whatever was going on there, African-American ceramics were a popular item for that activity. As mentioned earlier, there were a total of 231 sherds to be found from this location. The next most prolific location where Brunswick Colonoware was found, while significant, was substantially under this count. Judge Moore's House contained 43 sherds. The use of this building was obviously private. To say that the most Brunswick Colonoware was found in one very public and one very private location offers an interesting view into the lives of the African-Americans living in the area, making it seem as if they were performing widely different

activities from one location to the next.

PUBLIC HOUSE SHERD ANALYSIS

As with every bag of sherds considered in this project, the number from the paper record count did not match what I found in the existing bags from the Public House as a whole. However, the numbers are not so far off that they are detrimental to the project. To the contrary, the lack of parity helps to tell the story of Brunswick Town's artifacts as they have been kept over the years, which is an important side note for any researcher who wants to continue exploring the site from its archives.

At the time of excavation, the Public House contained more Brunswick Colonowares than any other single unit. This is still the case with modern inquiry. At the time of my count, there were 202 sherds of Brunswick Colonoware in the Public House collection. This count is 29 sherds less than the original record provides, and also includes a count of sherds from the public lot adjacent to the Public House that has seemingly been put into a separate category due to a reboxing of those artifacts in the early 1990s. The reboxing was an event that also caused some confusion with the artifact record in general. This is unfortunate, but not disastrous to the overall project.

The sherds from the Public House are fairly consistent in form. In the appendix, I include a chart of the actual thicknesses of each sherd. I measured each sherd for thickness, and only sherds measuring over one inch in length on any dimensional plane have been considered. This last consideration means that only 190 of the 202 sherds were measured. A total of 12 of the sherds were under one inch. As well, I have included whether or not the sherds appeared to have burnishing on the insides, outsides, or both sides. The sherds are recorded in four charts (see Appendix). The first chart is for Public

House body sherds found in the direct vicinity of the Public House; the second is for rim sherds found in the direct vicinity of the Public House; the third is for body sherds found in the easily accessible public lot (Lot 27) next to the Public House; and the fourth is for rim sherds from the Lot 27 area. Rim sherds include a diameter extrapolation measurement. All measurements are in inches.

The first thing to note when looking at the charts is that there were no sherds found with burnishing on the inside only. Altogether, 77.2% of the sherds were burnished on both sides. The vessel side was determined by examining the relative concavity and convexity of the sherd I was analyzing. Many samples were very rough on the concave side, meaning that little to no treatment was applied to the inside of the original piece. All vessels seemed to have a semi-shined outer surface that reflected some amount of white light, even when the sample itself was nearly black in color. No sherds, however, had a high sheen. This is consistent with the second time period of colonoware (Mid to Late 1700s) mentioned earlier, in which vessels were much less ornate, and did not typically emulate European vessels (Espenshade 1996:7). On that note, no sherds examined possessed any sort of exterior treatment except for burnishing, which was found on the exterior of all pieces.

Also consistent with the Mid to Late 1700s time period is the average thickness of the sherds. Sherd thickness seems to indicate that vessel thickness was related to the need for high durability and basic function rather than specific application. An average thickness (see Figure 3 for example) equaling 0.3 inches indicates that the vessels were all quite thick. The two modes, or most frequently occurring vessel thicknesses (0.304, 0.326), also indicate that the vessels were made for heavy use. This is also consistent with

the Mid to Late 1700s time period (Espenshade 1996:7), in which vessels were needed for utilitarian purposes.



Figure 3: Body sherds

The thinnest piece in the collection is 0.127 inches, but there are no other sherds that indicate anything like this. On the other hand, the thickest sherd is 0.472 inches thick, and has a rim diameter of 12 5/8 inches, meaning that it was probably a heavy cooking pot. Most vessels seem to be for this purpose.

On that note, the rim sherds all reinforce this idea. The modal reconstructed diameter is 13 3/8 inches. Every rim sherd had a flat rim that is typical of the rustic style mentioned in the middle range of the three periods (Espenshade 1996:7). The average diameter is 10 1/4 inches, reinforcing the idea that the vessels were mostly heavy cooking pots. The lower diameters were complemented by very thick measurements, as well, meaning that those vessels were probably storage containers. This means that jars and heavy cooking pots were the vast majority of vessels coming from the Public House,

which further adds to the idea that this Brunswick Colonoware is from the Mid to Late 1700s time period described earlier.

There were no sherds that seemed to come from plates or small cups, which would have been indicative of colonowares in the forms of European-style vessels. Again, this is consistent with the middle time period for the ware. The wares I studied seemed to be for heavy kitchen use rather than any sort of table ware. This indicates that European-descended settlers were probably not using this ceramic type at all. The primary users of the Brunswick Colonoware found in the Public House would have most probably been African-Americans since they were likely the creators of the ware and the handlers of it based on the Mid to Late 1700s time period. They were also quite frequently those relegated to food preparation duties, as was the general trend of the time, in which slaves were being moved toward the kitchen (Olmert 2009:40-42). The Public House, whatever its functions might have been, was a facility in which African-Americans appeared to be performing kitchen duties and other serving tasks. Their presence in this location means that they were easy to see in the public areas of Brunswick Town, and, if the Public House was a hotel of sorts, by visitors to the area, also.

The fact that these types of wares were found most heavily in the public areas of town means that African-Americans were at the center of action in Brunswick Town and in the lives of those who might not have even owned slaves. The Public House was also abutted by Lot .27, which, on the side closest to the river, contained a curved wall, steps, and an opening that led to the Public House, which gave direct access to the wharf and any people who were coming into the town from ships. The lot also seemed to serve as a

sort of dumping grounds for broken pottery, including a significant amount of Brunswick Colonoware. It cannot be known who dumped it there, but I would conjecture that African-Americans were doing it through instruction or at least as a common practice.

The vessel count revealed that there were at least 23 vessels originating from the Public House area. In the Public House itself, it looks like there were at least 7 vessels from the body sherd evidence, and 9 by looking at rim sherds. There were fewer rim sherds, but it was easier to group those based on the combination of specifics that I entered from both thickness and diameter, as well as burnishing. The categories can be seen in Tables 1 and 6 in the appendix. It appears that, overall, the Public House contained bowls, but there were some jars present, too. However, the body sherd evidence was numerous for the category I chose of 0.21 inches to 0.3 inches and having been burnished on both sides, which totaled 39 sherds. The category of 0.31 inches to 0.4 inches in thickness and containing burnishing on both sides was a count of 29 sherds. There could have been far more vessels present, and those two categories could have been the most popular type. For Lot 27, it appears that much the same was true. The evidence points to a high volume of large bowls and a few jars.

One of the reasons that Brunswick Colonoware of this time period was probably not used by European-descended colonists is that the colonoware forms it was found in were not typical of ceramic forms seen in Europe. Another reason is that European settlers were able to obtain European wares in great quantities at this time. The quantities were so great that South was able to create a ceramic dating formula from the sherds he excavated (South 1978a;South 1978b). For example, the Hepburn-Reonalds ruin contained 1,960 ceramic sherds that were used to date the edifice, and this number by

itself is greater than all colonoware sherds at the site combined (South 1978a:225). Also, Brunswick Town was trading with Great Britain at such a rate that around that time it was shipping more goods there than were any other British ports (South 2010:77-78). It is very likely that British colonists in Brunswick were able to obtain European wares of their choice in the Mid to Late 1700s. It is my argument that Brunswick Colonoware was mostly reserved for African-Americans at this time.

Another consideration is the Public House's date of construction. While there are no records serving to prove when the building was constructed, it is known that the lot was sold to Cornelius Harnett, Sr. in 1732 (South 2010:14). Harnett, Sr. sold the lot two weeks later (South 2010:14). During excavation, it was discovered that two Spanish coins had been left there, one dated 1747, and one marked 1758, making it seem as if there were visitors staying there during those time periods or later (South 2010:17). Regardless, the figures represented here in dates all fit within the Mid to Late 1700s time period for operation. This makes the Brunswick Colonoware discoveries consistent with the time periods outlined earlier.

JUDGE MAURICE MOORE AND HIS PROPERTIES

Judge Maurice Moore's father was also named Maurice, and Maurice was Brunswick Town's founder (South 2010:29). This made Judge Moore one of the most prominent members of local society. The roots in high society run deeper, as Moore's grandfather had been the governor of South Carolina (South 2010:1). The Moores were not only prominent, but influential. Maurice Moore, Sr. was also responsible for dividing the town into 336 half-acre lots that were up for sale to incoming citizens (South 2010:2). Judge Moore began to establish his own property in Brunswick Town in 1759 (South 2010:29). From the town's 1726 inception up to its burning in 1776, the Moores remained highly important in determining the development of the town.

Judge Moore received a lot that was purportedly a half-acre section of land that was said to be one of the best located lots in Brunswick Town (South 2010:29-30). On the lot, there was a house (or dwelling) and three dependent structures, including a well, a smokehouse, and a kitchen (South 2010:29-30). The smokehouse was not documented in the historical record, but was discovered archaeologically, and it was dated by associated ceramic artifacts to the 1770s, meaning that Judge Moore was still making additions to the property near the time it was burned along with the rest of the town (South 2010:39). The smokehouse was most probably used to cure hams and bacon (South 2010:38). Judging by the size of the smokehouse's curing box, the quantities of meat that were smoked in it were of substantial size, which may indicate that Judge Moore did some amount of entertaining guests, or that he could have been selling it.

Since the kitchen was a separate structure, it suggests that servants were carrying

food from the area in which it was cooked to the family table in the main dwelling (South 2010:32). This falls in line with other excavation data on eighteenth century outbuildings in the North American mid-Atlantic, suggesting that either hired servants, slaves, or both were used by the owner of the edifice (Olmert 2009). Underneath the kitchen, it was discovered that Judge Moore's servants or slaves swept broken ceramics and other refuse into a concentrated pile (South 2010:32). As well, coins from several European nations, including Spain, France, and England were discovered throughout Judge Moore's properties, which suggests both his connections to world trade and his prominence (South 2010:32-37). Most things pertaining to the property indicate that Judge Moore was important and affluent, the significance of which will be clarified in the next section. This is especially important since a low-status ceramic such as colonoware was found within Judge Moore's estate.

JUDGE MOORE PROPERTIES SHERD ANALYSIS

The Judge Moore charts are also in the appendix. There are four charts. The first is for Judge Moore House body sherds, the second for Judge Moore Kitchen body sherds, the third for Judge Moore Smokehouse body sherds, and the fourth, because of the relative lack of rims, is for the rim sherds from all three areas.

The numbers from the paper excavation record did not match what I found in the stored boxes. What I found was: House – 40, Kitchen – 10, Smokehouse – 6. There were 6 house sherds and 1 kitchen sherd that measured less than an inch on any dimensional plane, so I did not include measurements for those. Overall, there are 3 sherds fewer than the paper record in this count. There are 3 fewer House sherds, 3 fewer Smokehouse sherds to be found, and, curiously, 3 more Kitchen sherds to be found (although none of these sherds demonstrated recent breaks, so I do not think that the higher number derived from recent breakage).

As with the Public House, all of the Judge Moore sherds contained either burnishing on the outside, or both outside and inside. No sherds only contained inside burnishing. Many sherds contained only outside burnishing, however. Out of 43 sherds, 26 were burnished on the outside only, which is about 60.5% of the total sherd count. This especially makes it seem as if the sherds belonged to vessels that were made for heavy use and not for public display. The charts can be found in the appendix.

The Judge Moore locations offer a conspicuous contrast to those of the Public House and its nearby areas. While the Public House was presumably for almost anyone, Judge Moore's properties were exclusive to Judge Moore. Because he was so prominent,

his house was one of the most prestigious locations in Brunswick Town proper. That Brunswick Colonowares were found in large proportions in two very different locations, and in low quantities elsewhere, makes it seem as if African-Americans were mainly working in two concentrated areas within the town, but living different lifestyles in the town based on which location they worked in. The interactions that African-Americans had with visitors and citizens in the main public areas of the town were probably different than the ones they had with a very prominent private citizen and the people he chose to invite into his home. The Brunswick Colonowares from the Smokehouse may indicate that African-Americans were managing large meat curing activities, and the ones in his kitchen seem to indicate that they were, at least in part, responsible for cooking his meals. South agreed with this assessment based on the location of the kitchen (South 2010:32). The Brunswick Colonowares found in and around his fire-destroyed house are harder to explain. Because the preparation would have been done in the kitchen area, it does not make sense that Brunswick Colonowares would be found in Judge Moore's house unless he was letting guests see the ceramics with food in it, allowing it to be served from at his table, storing food in it, or was keeping some of it for display purposes. In any case, guests, if they had seen it, would have known that the items were not of European origin.

Either way, African-Americans in Judge Moore's house were seeing and serving people of much higher social stature than they were in what would have been the equivalent of an inn at the Public House, and in the surrounding public areas. So, while the duties that African-Americans performed in either location (the Public House or with Judge Moore) were probably similar (i.e., cooking and serving), the duties were likely performed for different types of guests. The type of food might have also been different.

For instance, a visiting sailor from the East India Company or the British Navy that stayed in the Public House would probably not have had the same social stature as someone that Judge Moore invited over, and the type of food served would have presumably been of lesser quality at the first location. It is my conjecture that African-Americans performing their cooking duties would have been more hidden around Judge Moore's guests than they would have around the public areas of town. This is due to the separate nature of the kitchen at Judge Moore's location. To further support this argument, I will refer to the fact that Brunswick Colonowares were found in Lot 27, which would have required public disposal. At Judge Moore's house, the Brunswick Colonowares were not found in the open areas. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to think that African-Americans would have served the food to Judge Moore's guests, making them visible in that setting.

The rim sherds (see Figure 4 for example) at Judge Moore's area were found in the Smokehouse and the main house. Out of the three total, there were two in the Smokehouse, measuring 7 1/4" in projected diameter and 0.288 inches in thickness, and 6 1/4" in projected diameter and 0.181 inches in thickness. The one in the main house was 6 1/4" in projected diameter and 0.204 inches in thickness. While these three sherds do not serve as a representative sample for rim diameters, they do show that the original vessels were probably thick bowls (see Figure 5 for typical sherd). As with the sherds found in the Public House, the rims from the Judge Moore collection were flat.



Figure 4: Rim sherd



Figure 5: Burnished sherds

All sherds together had a mean thickness of 0.319 inches, which is quite thick. The mean thickness of the Judge Moore sherds is also very similar to the 0.3 inch mean thickness of the Public House sherds. On average, the vast majority of the Brunswick

Colonoware sherds I have studied from Brunswick Town are thick, rustic sherds with basic burnishing, and are usually only treated on the outside. The Judge Moore sherds had a range of 0.095 to 0.616 in thickness. Like the Public House sherds, the Judge Moore sherds on the low end of that scale were much fewer in number. The high end of the Judge Moore sherds tops out at a very thick 0.616 inches. This is also somewhat of an outlier. However, the very thick sherds could simply be from parts of a vessel that taper toward the base.

The vessel count indicated that there were at least 6 vessels in the house. Like the Public House, these vessels appear to have been bowls and jars. These vessels were most likely for cooking and serving duties, and may have been found in the house because the food was served from the vessels. I considered burnishing in the grouping, but it is also likely that some serving vessels may have been scraped upon and that some of the burnishing had been removed. There is not currently a good way to know this, but it is my conjecture that it is likely.

All of the sherds I have studied appear to be thick sherds that belonged to vessels of simple shape that were used for kitchen duty. Research at other sites where colonoware has been connected to African-Americans in similar times found much the same in terms of the predominance of bowls and jars (Madsen 2005:116;Garrow and Wheaton 1989:178), the thicker wall types (Garrow and Wheaton 1989:181), and lack of European ornamentation (Espenshade 1996). An overview of studies performed on these types of sites has indicated that a general shift toward this type of colonoware may even indicate increasing African-American autonomy while enslaved (Joseph 2009:20). In short, these sherds are indicative of the Mid to Late 1700s time period in that they show a dwindling

to nearly non-existent European emulation, but are still being found in manor houses and for general duty use among individuals of low social standing who are serving others. In this case, and in this context, those people appear to have been enslaved African-Americans. As a manor house with a couple of dependencies, the Judge Moore property fits into the Mid to Late 1700s time period for colonoware use with regard to the artifacts that I have looked at. Judge Moore began to establish his property in 1759, and improved upon it until the late 1770s (South 2010:29, 39). If the dependencies were created later, which I believe they were, and also contain less Brunswick Colonoware, then that also fits in with the Mid to Late 1700s time period, in which colonoware steadily dwindled in use in manor houses until it was completely replaced by European wares. The Public House was at least two decades older than the Judge Moore House, and this may also partly explain why the Public House contained so much more Brunswick Colonoware. In addition, the Public House was a larger structure and may have been the location of more eating and drinking than even the home of the apparently hospitable Judge Moore.

The way in which Judge Moore seems to have been letting colonoware, a slave ware, into his home is reflected by previous studies that suggest that attitudes had changed toward slaves. In the mid-Atlantic, the treatment of slaves may have reflected on the slave owner, so owners were becoming more hospitable and gentler toward slaves (Olmert 2009:40-41). If Judge Moore was indeed the town's source of hospitality, then it makes sense that he would have wanted to be seen as a good host. As well, it seems that slaves were given more autonomy in this time period (Joseph 2009:20). Both of those ideas lend credence to the conjecture that Judge Moore was letting slaves into his home.

As a side note, the Governor's mansion also came with a dependent kitchen.

However, hardly any colonoware was found there, making it seem as if there was less need for a royal representative to be seen treating slaves in any particular way. This could be because of the way foreign powers viewed the practice, or it could simply be that the Governor was involved in far less town hospitality.

SUMMARY

Colonoware at Brunswick Town is an artifact group that has gathered relatively little attention. There has been one significant study of Brunswick Colonoware since it was discovered and misidentified there during the ten year long original excavation (Lofffield and Stoner 1997). Once thought to be prehistoric, colonoware may have simply been overlooked as an artifact not significantly tied to the colonial period. As understanding of the ceramic was later revised, colonoware saw a resurgence in archaeological study, in which it was used to broadly make statements about ethnic groups, and the ways in which people used it and made it continentally (Ferguson 1992). However, new evidence indicates that colonoware in general is complicated and problematic to tie to ethnicity, but can be used regionally and contextually to provide evidence of certain groups of people, most predominately Native Americans and African-Americans (Cobb and DePratter 2012; Espenshade 1996; Ferguson 1992; Lofffield and Stoner 1997; Garrow and Wheaton 1999). At Brunswick Town, colonoware has been strongly connected to African-Americans through both use and manufacture (Lofffield and Stoner 1997). For that reason, I have discussed Brunswick Colonoware as an African-American artifact that can be used to make statements about where those people might have worked, what jobs they would have done, and for whom they would have done them. This information, however, is specific to Brunswick Town, and should not be used to make broad statements about the ware in general.

One of the main things I have considered in approaching Brunswick Colonoware was the time period in which Brunswick Town operated. As a town that only lasted for

about fifty years (1726-1776), yet was prominent and full of high-status individuals, Brunswick Town contains both a short, specific time period for its artifactual record, and a glimpse into how colonies formed along the coast of North America. Because African-Americans were such a large part of this process, it stands to reason that their story should be told. However, a history of enslavement makes the discovery of their presence in these locations, at times, harder. Fortunately, Brunswick Town and its surrounding areas experienced little disturbance after it ceased to operate, and the vast majority of the artifacts seem to have been in their original locations of discard.

The time period is also important because of the way the use of colonoware in general is suggested to have changed. Beginning as a frontier ware of sorts, colonoware was used to emulate vessels of European origin at times when settlers may have had a hard time procuring those ceramics; thus, colonoware was found in a wide array of locations (Espenshade 1996). Later, the ware dwindled in use to the point that it was no longer found emulating European wares, but was found in its rustic forms in colonial settlements and towns in which European-descended settlers would have been using it for simple purposes, or African-Americans would have been using it in an enslaved capacity (Espenshade 1996). In the final stage, colonoware was relegated to use in slave quarters near plantations, and was rarely, if ever, found in manor houses or in contexts where European-descended settlers would have been using it or even regularly seeing it (Espenshade 1996). It is the middle time period, or the Mid to Late 1700s, about which I am concerned for this project. This is because Brunswick Town's founding and destruction fits within that time scale.

Because other sites have been used to make these time period determinations

(Espenshade 1996), I was also interested to see if Brunswick Town followed the same pattern. In my study of the Brunswick Colonoware, I was able to determine that the wares fit almost perfectly within trends described for the Mid to Late 1700s time period. While there is not really any precedent for earlier colonowares being found there since Brunswick Town did not exist until the Mid to Late 1700s period, nor did it exist in any real capacity after it, it is still interesting to note that the colonowares there follow the same type of use outlined at other sites. All of the Brunswick Colonoware I was able to pull from the archives seemed to be of rustic kitchen or serving use, but was found directly in the middle of town. Notably, there were only two location in which it was found in any significant quantity, one public, and one private.

The very public location is, of course, the Public House, which was a building in the town's civic center that may have had more than one use, but appears to have been used at least temporarily as a motel of sorts (South 2010:32). This building would have, if it was an inn of sorts, been housing individuals coming from sailing vessels that were docked at the town's wharf. The wharf was easily accessible through the town's public Lot 27, which was adjacent to the Public House, and also appears to have been used as a dumping ground for ceramics. Because no other buildings were as close to Lot 27 as the Public House, the ceramics were probably disposed of by individuals working there.

Since many of the ceramics that were disposed of on Lot 27 and out the back of the Public House were Brunswick Colonowares, it appears that African-Americans were working in the center of town, and were probably visible to both the town's inhabitants and its visitors. This fits in with studies of the time period that state the changing attitudes toward kinder treatment of slaves (Olmert 2009:0-41). The evidence I studied put

Brunswick Colonoware into the Mid to Late 1700s time period, and the artifacts all appear to be of thick, rustic kitchen and serving use. None of it looks like it was meant to emulate European wares. The simple external treatments, flat rims, thick walls, and large diameters make the sherds appear to have belonged to simple vessels that served utilitarian purposes. Thus, it seems as if African-Americans at Brunswick Town were using the ware to prepare food for those who were staying at the Public House as visitors. This is an interesting development, since most, if not all, of the history of Brunswick Town is told about white, European settlers who were higher status citizens. While African-Americans were not part of the political process at that time, they surely seem to have been operating in the middle of town in a very conspicuous way.

On the other hand, Brunswick Colonoware was found in significant quantities in a private location that also happened to be one of the most prestigious locations in town. Judge Moore owned a house on one of the best lots in town, where he also installed a kitchen and a smokehouse (South 2010:29-30). Brunswick Colonoware was found in all three buildings, and was most prevalent in the house itself. As a manor house, Judge Moore's house fits into the Mid to Late 1700s time period extremely well since the Brunswick Colonoware found there was of very rustic quality. It was, in fact, the same type found in the Public House and its surrounding areas.

The vast majority of the sherds were thick sherds that appear to have belonged to utilitarian vessels from the kitchen or that were used to cook, store, or serve food. That there was Brunswick Colonoware in the smokehouse indicates that African-Americans were at least partly responsible for tending large quantities of smoked meats that could have been used to entertain guests. The kitchen location is an obvious place to find it,

since that is where food was prepared prior to consumption by Judge Moore and whomever he decided to feed. The manor house itself also contained the ware, and that is the most curious location, since it seems likely that none of the preparation was done there, and also since Judge Moore almost certainly had fine European wares to dine with. For one, Stanley South was able to create a Mean Ceramic Date Formula from European wares, meaning that they were found in high quantities (South 1978a). Secondly, my own research into the boxes at the OSA revealed that there were many fine ceramics in this collection, making it seem as if Moore would have had little reason to use colonoware. This makes it seem as if African-Americans were bringing food straight from the kitchen to serve Judge Moore and his guests, and that the food was contained, at times, in its original Brunswick Colonoware vessel. Another explanation is that Judge Moore was keeping the ware on display in his home, which seems less likely. Regardless, guests would have either seen African-American ceramics, or would have been served by African-Americans themselves. This means that African-Americans were present in some capacity in one of the most prestigious locations in town and along the Cape Fear River in general.

Something that should be discussed briefly is that Brunswick Colonoware was not found in high numbers at any other location in town. This is a story in itself. Perhaps other citizens did not employ much slave labor. Perhaps they had simply converted to European wares. It is my conjecture that the real answer is that Judge Moore might have been the town's major source of hospitality. The evidence of colonoware and the smokehouse, which did not exist in any other area, seem to suggest so. As well, the high volume of traffic coming in and out of the public areas might have necessitated more

slave labor, and the wares that were used to accommodate such traffic were the least desirable to most citizens.

To establish African-American use for colonoware is one thing, but to decipher where it was being manufactured is another. While there is no current evidence to suggest that Brunswick Colonoware was being made in the town, it is likely that areas just north, in what is called the Orion Plantation, contain slave quarters that could be tied to the manufacturing process of Brunswick Colonoware (personal correspondence with Brunswick Town State Historic Site Manager Jim McKee). The Orion Plantation's owners had first and second generation family ties to Judge Moore of Brunswick Town, and it is not unreasonable to think that slaves coming from the plantation could have been working with slaves in Brunswick Town. Perhaps this is the next step in African-American research for the town.

As mentioned earlier, the archaeological record for the site was in some amount of disagreement with regard to the paperwork and the actual objects. This is something that should be noted again in the closing. As with all archaeological sites, artifacts that are removed from the area need to be curated in the best way possible. This includes artifacts that are not on display. The artifacts at Brunswick Town are generally preserved well, but reboxing events and storing methods have become problematic to additional research. While I was able to complete a good study of the available artifacts, it is a shame that some were missing or misplaced, or had been relegated to the bottoms of boxes instead of remaining with their original provenience bags. Two things in this regard need to be said. One, anyone searching for Brunswick Town's artifacts needs to be aware of the problem. And, two, whoever moves the artifacts around needs to do so meticulously and with the

same care with which they would write their findings. That is to say, hopefully with a lot of care.

This project is not meant to be a comprehensive statement on African-American life in the colonial period, at Brunswick Town, or even in the two main locations at which the artifacts I have studied were found. Rather, it is meant to be an opening for further research in that vein. One of my main intentions was to seek whether or not African-Americans and their history could be studied in Brunswick Town through the artifactual record. Through a study of Brunswick Colonoware, I think that African-Americans can be squarely placed in both the center of town, and in the center of the town's history. Their story is much harder to tell because of the obvious; enslavement, lack of political agency, and deprivation of ownership make their history one that is not as easily discernible through historical documents or the artifactual record. However, there are definitely places to look. In the future, a more in-depth analysis of Brunswick Colonoware could help revitalize African-American research at Brunswick Town, and open up new areas of study.

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APPENDIX A: TABLES

Table 1: Public House (Brunswick Town, NC), Body Sherds

Sherd Catalog Number	Thickness, in inches	Location of Burnishing
S25-19 B-1	0.407	OUTSIDE
S25-35 B-1	0.323	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.270	BOTH
S25-12 B-1	0.310	BOTH
S25-15 D-?	0.317	OUTSIDE
S25-20 A-1	0.315	BOTH
S25-28 A-1	0.334	BOTH
S25-17 A-1	0.401	BOTH
S25-16 A-1	0.279	OUTSIDE
S25-16 B-1	0.370	BOTH
S25-14 A-1	0.363	BOTH
S25-12 B-1	0.329	OUTSIDE
S25-28 A-1	0.200	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.347	OUTSIDE
S25-18 E-1	0.234	BOTH
S25-16 D-1	0.226	BOTH
S25-14 A-1	0.194	BOTH
S25-18 E-1	0.300	BOTH
S25-18 D-1	0.323	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.277	BOTH
S25-15 A-1	0.358	OUTSIDE
S25-33 B-1	0.314	OUTSIDE
S25-14 A-1	0.280	BOTH
S25-33 B-1	0.293	OUTSIDE
S25-18 E-1	0.233	BOTH

S25-17 D-1	0.149	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.324	OUTSIDE
S25-17 D-1	0.321	BOTH
S25-35 B-1	0.304	OUTSIDE
S25-33 B-1	0.318	BOTH
S25-28 A-1	0.296	BOTH
S25-12 B-1	0.280	OUTSIDE
S25-17 D-1	0.251	OUTSIDE
S25-23 A-1	0.280	BOTH
S25-18 E-1	0.204	BOTH
S25-16 B-1	0.304	BOTH
S25-18 E-1	0.273	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.223	BOTH
S25-18 E-1	0.269	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.228	BOTH
S25-35 B-1	0.305	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.338	BOTH
S25-23 A-1	0.263	BOTH
S25-34 D-1	0.217	BOTH
S25-19 B-1	0.318	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.338	BOTH
S25-15 A-1	0.369	BOTH
S25-19 B-1	0.249	OUTSIDE
S25-35 B-1	0.321	BOTH
S25-17 B-1	0.279	BOTH
S25-15 B-1	0.372	BOTH
S25-18 E-1	0.323	BOTH
S25-15 B-?	0.314	BOTH
S25-17 B-1	0.304	BOTH
S25-35 B-1	0.237	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.307	OUTSIDE
S25-16 B-1	0.365	OUTSIDE

S25-18 B-1	0.171	BOTH
S25-17 E-1	0.253	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.336	BOTH
S25-15 E-1	0.210	BOTH
S25?	0.210	BOTH
S25-16 B-1	0.353	OUTSIDE
S25-33 B-1	0.356	BOTH
S25-18 F-1	0.326	OUTSIDE
S25-28 A-1	0.205	BOTH
S25-33 B-1	0.193	BOTH
?B-1	0.326	BOTH
S25-36 B-1	0.352	OUTSIDE
S25-16 B-1	0.305	BOTH
S25-18 E-1	0.287	OUTSIDE
S25-18 E-1	0.240	BOTH
S25-18 E-1	0.318	OUTSIDE
S25-16 C-1	0.285	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.209	BOTH
S25-16 B-1	0.326	OUTSIDE
S25-33 B-1	0.217	OUTSIDE
S25-16 C-1	0.331	OUTSIDE
S25-16 C-1	0.244	BOTH
S25-36 B-1	0.333	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.304	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.316	OUTSIDE
S25-16 C-1	0.222	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.256	BOTH
S25-33 B-1	0.311	BOTH
S25-24 B-1	0.316	BOTH
S25-14 A-1	0.310	OUTSIDE
S25-17 D-1	0.325	BOTH
S25-17 C-1	0.277	BOTH

S25-16 B-1	0.213	OUTSIDE
S25-16 B-1	0.324	OUTSIDE
S25-18 F-1	0.262	OUTSIDE
S25-17 E-1	0.242	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.299	BOTH
S25-15 A-1	0.211	BOTH
S25-19 B-1	0.182	BOTH
S25-19 D-1	0.206	BOTH
NONE	0.293	BOTH
NONE	0.217	BOTH
NONE	0.205	BOTH
NONE	0.184	BOTH
NONE	0.244	BOTH
NONE	0.210	BOTH
NONE	0.241	BOTH
S25-16 C-1	0.340	OUTSIDE

Table 2: Lot 27 (Brunswick Town, NC), Body Sherds

Sherd Catalog Number	Thickness, in inches	Location of Burnishing
S13-20 B-1	0.318	OUTSIDE
S13-20 B-1	0.416	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.451	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.331	BOTH
S13-12 C-1	0.381	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.288	OUTSIDE
S13-20 B-1	0.283	BOTH
S13-A-1	0.211	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.249	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.255	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.229	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.148	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.351	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.271	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.316	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.127	BOTH
NONE	0.173	OUTSIDE
S13-20 B-1	0.273	OUTSIDE
S13-20 B-1	0.215	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.194	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.284	OUTSIDE
S13-20 B-1	0.262	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.242	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.230	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.186	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.250	OUTSIDE
S13-20 B-1	0.251	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.253	OUTSIDE
S13-20 B-1	0.275	OUTSIDE

S13-20 B-1	0.287	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.223	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.235	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.275	BOTH

Table 3: Judge Moore's House (Brunswick Town, NC), Body Sherds

Sherd Catalog Number	Thickness, in inches	Location of Burnishing
S11-20	0.095	BOTH
S11-10 B-1	0.257	BOTH
S11-20	0.348	OUTSIDE
S11-21	0.334	OUTSIDE
S11-20	0.330	OUTSIDE
S11-21-1	0.310	OUTSIDE
S11-20	0.334	OUTSIDE
S11-3-1	0.362	OUTSIDE
S11-3-1	0.203	OUTSIDE
S11-20	0.323	OUTSIDE
S11-21	0.252	BOTH
S11-9A-1	0.337	OUTSIDE
S11-9A-1	0.255	OUTSIDE
S11-9A-1	0.250	BOTH
S11-9A-1	0.256	BOTH
S11-6-1	0.343	OUTSIDE
S11-21-B	0.326	BOTH
S11-12-B-1	0.314	BOTH
S11-8 E-1	0.268	BOTH
S11-6A-1	0.507	OUTSIDE
S11-4A-1	0.328	OUTSIDE
S11-5A-1	0.389	BOTH
S11-6A-1	0.352	OUTSIDE
S11-5A-1	0.331	OUTSIDE
S11-5B-1	0.319	OUTSIDE
S11-6A-1	0.303	OUTSIDE
S11-4A-1	0.288	BOTH
S11-6A-1	0.332	BOTH
S11-6A-1	0.332	BOTH

S11-4 B-1	0.314	OUTSIDE
S11-5A-1	0.307	BOTH
S11-6 A-1	0.271	BOTH
S11-7 B-1	0.350	BOTH

Table 4: Judge Moore's Kitchen (Brunswick Town, NC), Body Sherds

Sherd Catalog Number	Thickness, in inches	Location of Burnishing
S20-1-1	0.238	OUTSIDE
S20-5 A-1	0.393	OUTSIDE
S20	0.361	OUTSIDE
S20-3-1	0.178	BOTH
S20-2-1	0.326	OUTSIDE
S20-5-1	0.371	OUTSIDE
S20-3-1	0.297	OUTSIDE
S20-3-1	0.297	OUTSIDE
S20-6-1	0.236	OUTSIDE

Table 5: Judge Moore's Smokehouse (Brunswick Town, NC), Body Sherds

Sherd Catalog Number	Thickness	Location of Burnishing
S15-2-1	0.616	OUTSIDE
S15-6-1	0.363	OUTSIDE
S15-2-1	0.309	OUTSIDE
S15-3-1	0.533	OUTSIDE

Table 6: Public House (Brunswick Town, NC), Rim Sherds

Sherd Catalog Number	Thickness, in inches	Reconstructed Diameter in Inches	Location of Burnishing
S25-36 B-1	0.274	6.250	BOTH
S25-17 E-1	0.346	12.625	BOTH
S25-15 B-1	0.272	13.375	BOTH
S25-16 S-1	0.367	7.250	BOTH
S25-33 B-1	0.472	12.625	BOTH
S25-20-1	0.472	12.625	BOTH
S25-36 B-1	0.339	11.000	BOTH
S25-16 C-1	0.311	3.250	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.273	13.375	OUTSIDE
S24-18 D-1	0.267	6.250	BOTH
S25-16 B-1	0.344	3.250	BOTH
S25-17 E-1	0.250	13.375	BOTH
S25-33 B-1	0.448	13.375	OUTSIDE
S24-18 A-1	0.371	12.625	BOTH
S25-18 S-1	0.241	13.375	BOTH
S25-33 A-1	0.342	11.750	OUTSIDE
S24-22 A-1	0.352	11.750	BOTH
S24-16 C-1	0.264	11.750	BOTH
S25-16 B-1	0.328	10.250	BOTH
S25-16 D-1	0.328	6.250	BOTH
S25-16 C-1	0.324	4.750	BOTH
S25-18 B-1	0.357	7.375	BOTH
S25-17 A-1	0.357	7.375	BOTH
S25-16 B-1	0.357	7.375	BOTH
S25-16 C-1	0.270	7.250	OUTSIDE
S25-17 C-1	0.263	13.375	BOTH
S25-20 A-1	0.358	10.250	BOTH
S25-16 D-1	0.238	13.375	BOTH

S25-17 B-1	0.270	10.250	BOTH
S25-19 B-1	0.351	11.750	OUTSIDE
S25-16 C-1	0.265	9.500	BOTH
S25-37 A-1	0.227	6.250	BOTH
S25-18 D-1	0.288	7.250	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.302	10.250	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.251	13.375	BOTH
S25-18 D-1	0.225	11.750	BOTH
S25-28 A-1	0.344	4.750	BOTH
S25-17 D-1	0.344	10.250	BOTH
S25-18 D-?	0.214	6.250	BOTH
S25-16 C-1	0.404	4.000	BOTH
S25-18 B-1	0.297	12.625	BOTH

Table 7: Lot 27 (Brunswick Town, NC), Rim Sherds

Sherd Catalog Number	Thickness, in inches	Reconstructed Diameter in Inches	Location of Burnishing
S13-20 B-1	0.326	8.625	BOTH
S13-A-1	0.469	5.000	BOTH
S13-30 B-1 S13-A-1	0.292	7.375	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.331	4.000	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.392	11.000	BOTH
S13-A-1	0.326	8.625	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.322	9.500	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.295	9.500	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.254	9.500	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.228	11.000	BOTH
S13-20 B-1	0.304	13.375	BOTH

Table 8: Judge Moore's House and Smokehouse (Brunswick Town, NC), Rim Sherds

Sherd Catalog Number	Thickness, in inches	Reconstructed Diameter in Inches	Location of Burnishing
S11-4A-1	0.204	6.250	BOTH
S15-6-1	0.288	7.250	OUTSIDE
S15-2-1	0.181	6.250	OUTSIDE

Table 9: Public House (Brunswick Town, NC), Minimum Number of Vessels for Body

Vessel	Sherds that are part	Thickness, in inches	Location of Burnishing	Bowl or Jar
1	7	0.2-0.3	BOTH	BOWL
2	39	0.21-0.3	BOTH	BOWL
3	29	0.31-0.4	BOTH	BOWL
4	1	.41-.5	BOTH	BOWL
5	9	.21-.3	OUTSIDE	JAR
6	19	.31-.4	OUTSIDE	JAR
7	1	.41-.5	OUTSIDE	JAR

Table 10: Public House (Brunswick Town, NC), Minimum Vessel Count for Rim

Vessel	Sherds	Estimated Diameter	Location of Burnishing	Bowl or Jar
1	2	3.250	BOTH	JAR
2	3	4.00-4.75	BOTH	JAR
3	5	6.250	BOTH	BOWL
4	6	7.25-7.375	INCONSISTENT	BOWL
5	5	10.250	BOTH	BOWL
6	6	11.00-11.75	INCONSISTENT	BOWL
7	5	12.625	BOTH	BOWL
8	8	13.375	INCONSISTENT	BOWL
9	1	9.500	BOTH	BOWL

Table 11: Lot 27 (Brunswick Town, NC), Minimum Vessel Count for Body

Vessel	Sherds	Thickness, in inches	Location of Burnishing	Bowl or Jar
1	4	0.1-0.2	BOTH	BOWL
2	15	0.21-0.3	BOTH	BOWL
3	4	0.31-0.4	BOTH	BOWL
4	2	0.41-0.5	BOTH	BOWL
5	1	0.1-0.2	OUTSIDE	BOWL
6	6	0.21-0.3	OUTSIDE	JAR
7	1	0.31-0.4	OUTSIDE	JAR

Table 12: Judge Moore's House (Brunswick Town, NC), Minimum Vessel Count for Body

Vessel	Sherds	Thickness, in inches	Location of Burnishing	Bowl or Jar
1	7	0.2-0.3	BOTH	BOWL
2	7	0.31-0.4	BOTH	BOWL
3	2	0.2-0.3	OUTSIDE	BOWL
4	15	0.31-0.4	OUTSIDE	JAR
5	1	0.51-0.6	OUTSIDE	JAR
6	6	0.01-0.099	BOTH	BOWL