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Bert Salwen

Sarah Bridges

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THE CERAMICS FROM THE  
 WEEKSVILLE EXCAVATIONS,  
 BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Bert Salwen and Sarah Bridges

In 1969 and 1970, salvage archaeology was conducted in an urban renewal area in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, where, according to documentary record and oral report, a free black community called Weeksville had existed during much of the 19th century. The field work, conducted in haste under the pressure of imminent destruction of the site by heavy construction machinery, produced a great many artifactual specimens, the full analysis of which must await the availability of the necessary time and money. In the meantime, it was felt that it would be worthwhile to publish a partial analysis of some of the materials and accordingly, it was decided to concentrate on the ceramic specimens, the single category that would most readily yield information about the chronology and sociocultural background of the site.

Archaeological research in urban settings often takes place under extremely unfavorable conditions. This is often painfully apparent in the deficiencies of the recovered data. Yet, in some cases, such data may be the only remaining source of information about some aspects of the growth of cities. It would, therefore, seem necessary to develop theoretical approaches and techniques for extracting at least some useful information from them. As will be seen below, the Weeksville "excavation" encountered more than the usual quota of urban problems; specimens were salvaged, but

with virtually no information about original proveniences, either vertical or horizontal, and the documentary record was correspondingly sparse. This paper utilizes an analytical technique designed to cull useable knowledge from these materials, which, by normal archaeological standards, would be considered unworkable. We believe that it has been generally successful, though we are aware of some of its weaknesses. Comments or suggestions for improving the methodology will be welcomed.

The Weeksville Project

In 1968, Mr. James Hurley, a community resident and neighborhood historian, began the project under the sponsorship of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth in Action. He began the excavations with the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and later acquired the assistance of Mr. William T. Harley, a community resident. In 1969, the Project was refunded by a grant from the Chancellor's Fund of the City University of New York and the New York City Community College which provided housing and services for the Project. Mr. Hurley became the Project Director. In 1969, field work began, supervised by Mr. Harley and with advice from Michael Cohn of the Brooklyn Children's Museums. Digging was suspended during the winter months and resumed in late March 1970. The field crew, which worked on Saturdays, consisted of interested adult volunteers, Boy Scout Troop 342, and work-study students from New York City Community College.

In 1970, adult volunteers, under the leadership of Mr. Hurley, formed the "Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History" to preserve the artifacts and establish a museum to house the collection. The Society was instrumental in having four houses in the old Hunterfly Road district placed on the National Register of Historic Places (National

Park Service 1973:5420).

In June 1970, under a grant from the National Science Foundation, Ann Ottesen, a graduate student in anthropology at New York University, was employed to establish a training program in field and laboratory methodology and to direct the continuing field project. Her summer crew of the Neighborhood Youth Corps from the Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth in Action and neighborhood volunteers concluded work at the end of August, 1970.

In December 1970, the Project was refunded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, and under the new direction of Ba-ba'ra Jackson, an additional grant from the National Science Foundation to Project Weeksville made possible the ceramic study that makes up the bulk of this report. The analysis was carried out between December 1970 and March 1971, by Sarah Bridges, a NYU graduate student under the supervision of Bert Salwen of NYU.

### Historical Setting

The Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History - successor to the Society for the Preservation of Weeksville - mainly community volunteers, initiated historical research into the community of Weeksville, and Project Weeksville is currently carrying out this research with academic formalism, under the direction of Robert Swan. The written accounts are incomplete, but gradually, through the inexhaustable efforts of the members of the society, particularly in the field of oral history, and the documentary research of Mr. Swan, data are slowly accumulating. We are indebted for most of the information presented below to Mr. Hurley, now on the staff of the Long Island Historical Society, and to Mr. Swan, who is carefully separating those accounts

which can be substantiated from the data collected.

Mr. Swan (personal communication) cannot as yet document the founding of Weeksville before 1838. James Weeks, a free black man, bought some land from Simon Van Curen of New York, with a house that was built on it by Van Curen after 1837, on what is now the corner of Dean Street and Schenectady Avenue in Bedford-Stuyvesant (Fig. 1). Though slavery was abolished in 1827 in New York, other blacks did not move to join Weeks in building a community until 1838.

The oral history has provided much of the information directly associated with the Weeksville community. Accounts by some of the older residents of the area, who, in turn, report stories told by their parents and grandparents, seem to confirm that Weeksville was a community of black freemen and freed slaves. The men are said to have worked in the markets of Fulton Street, while the women worked for the white residents of Bedford Village.

Mr. Swan reports that there were many structures of frame and brick in the area before 1860. A number of black institutions were operating at this time, all of them located on or near the block which was excavated. They included, Colored School No. 2, later P.S. 68; Howard Colored Orphans Asylum; Zion Home for Colored Aged; a branch of the African Civilization Society; Bethel AME Church; and Weeksville Baptist Church. The Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church received its charter in 1847 and was enlarged and dedicated as the African Methodist Episcopal Bethel Church of Weeksville on August 29, 1853. If found, the records of this church may reveal the actual size of the community that buried its families in the Citizens Union Cemetery, just outside the village boundary.

Some of the residents interviewed by the oral history project recalled stories of the July, 1863, Draft Riots when blacks were beaten or lynched. Interpretations of the effects of the riots vary. Mr. Swan has found that they occurred mainly in New York City, with only minor battles in Brooklyn. Many of the blacks escaped into Weeksville and New Jersey, he has found, and feels that Weeksville expanded as a result of the riots. However, an article in the Brooklyn Eagle of July 30, 1873, reports a temporary dispersal of the Weeksville community as a result. It tells of the gradual displacement of the black citizens from their community as New York City began to expand and land speculators bought property for development (anon. 1873:3). By the end of the 19th century, little was left of Weeksville beyond a few scattered buildings.

In 1946, the orphanage and elementary school, located on the corner of Dean Street and Troy Avenue, were torn down to make room for a bus repair depot of the New York City Transit Authority. Soon after, most of the remaining structures were demolished. The site of weeksville is now part of an area being used for construction of low-income housing under the urban renewal program.

#### The Archaeological Excavations

The archaeological site covers a 7,000 square foot area - a full city block bounded by Troy and Schenectady Avenues and Dean and Pacific Streets in central Brooklyn (Fig. 2). This block is located within the area scheduled for urban redevelopment, and, with the exception of two small factories, had been completely cleared of above-surface structures at the time of excavation. Hence, field work was conducted under severe handicaps, sometimes side-by-side with the demolition bulldozers.

*Revised*

Because of the extremely disturbed condition of the site, it was realized from the first that records of vertical distribution of specimens would be virtually meaningless. Hence, the first excavation crew kept records of horizontal location only. During the first field season, a grid of 25-foot-square units - measured from a datum point at the corner of Dean Street and Troy Avenue - was established for Area 1, in the western portion of the block; all grid lines being parallel with or at right angles to Troy Avenue. Each grid square was designated by a letter (south to north) and a number (east to west), running from A to I and 1 to 28 respectively (Fig. 2).

During the latter part of the 1970 season, an additional grid of five-foot squares was established for Area 2, in the eastern portion of the block. A datum point was set up on the extended north-south property line (adjacent to Schenectady Avenue) at a point 7.5 feet north of its intersection with the east-west property line (adjacent to Pacific Street). Each grid square was designated by the coordinates of the stake at its southwest corner. Five test pits in this area were also located in relation to this datum point (Fig. 3).

Decisions regarding the locations of the test excavations in Area 1 were guided, in large part, by information provided by William Harley, who had explored some of the unoccupied houses in the area before they were demolished. (The specimens found in these buildings were included in the "non-excavated" category in the tabulation of artifactual material (Table 1). Consequently, squares F-26, containing a well, F-27, C-17, and G-10 (Fig. 2), where the 19th century materials were believed to be least disturbed, were most thoroughly explored. All of these tests revealed

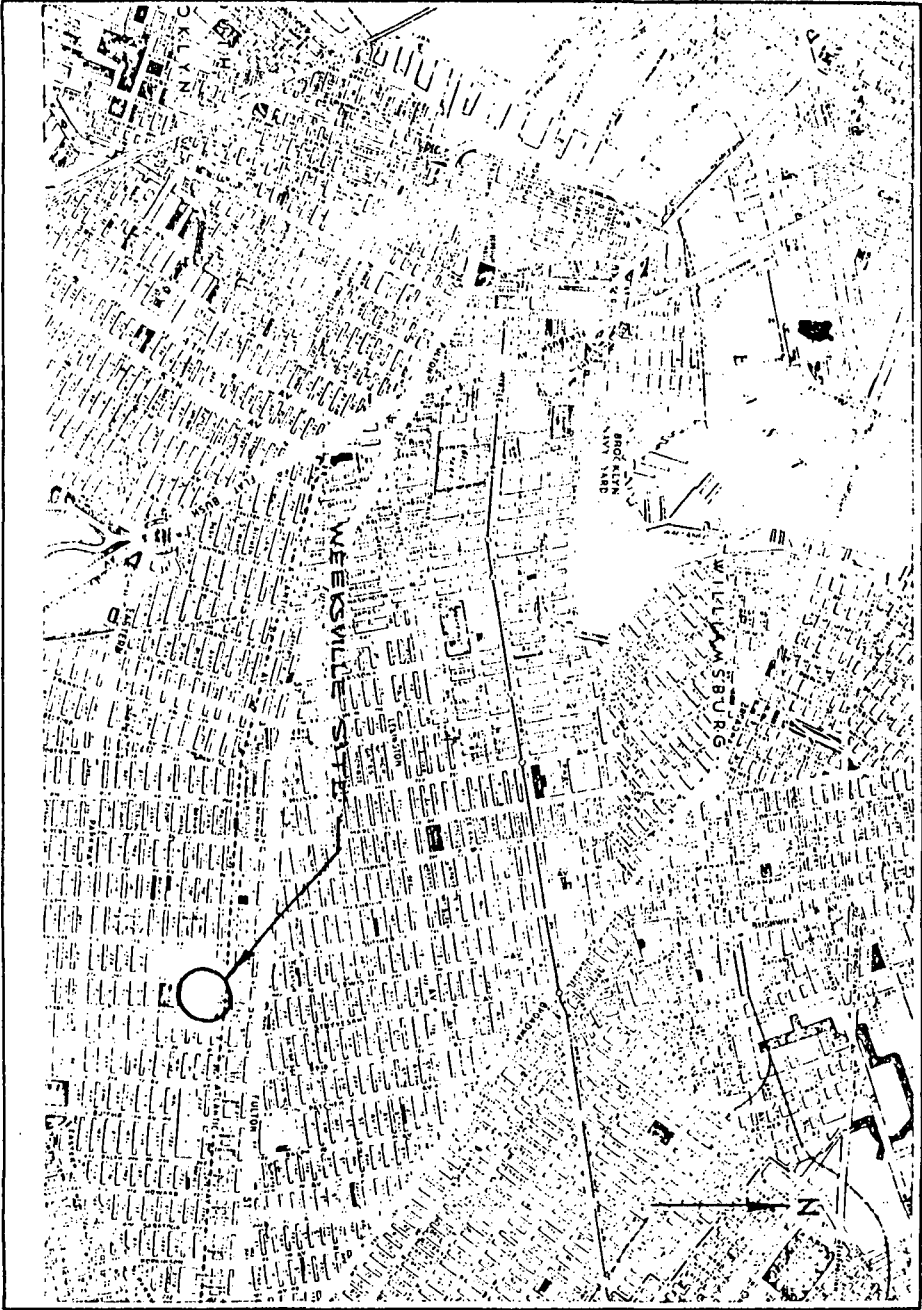


Figure 1: Location Map, Weeksville Site

Figure 2: Block Plan, Weeksville Site

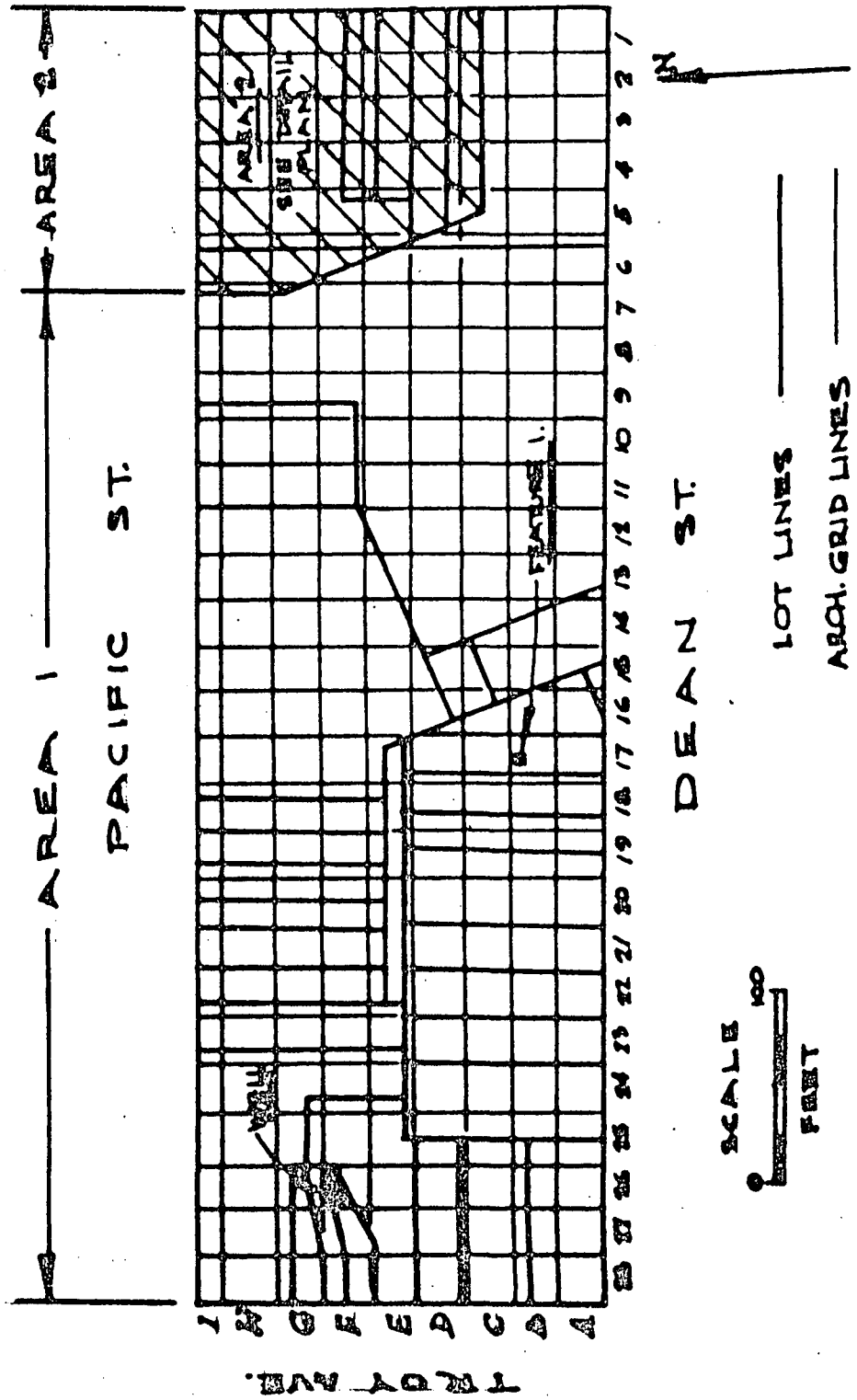
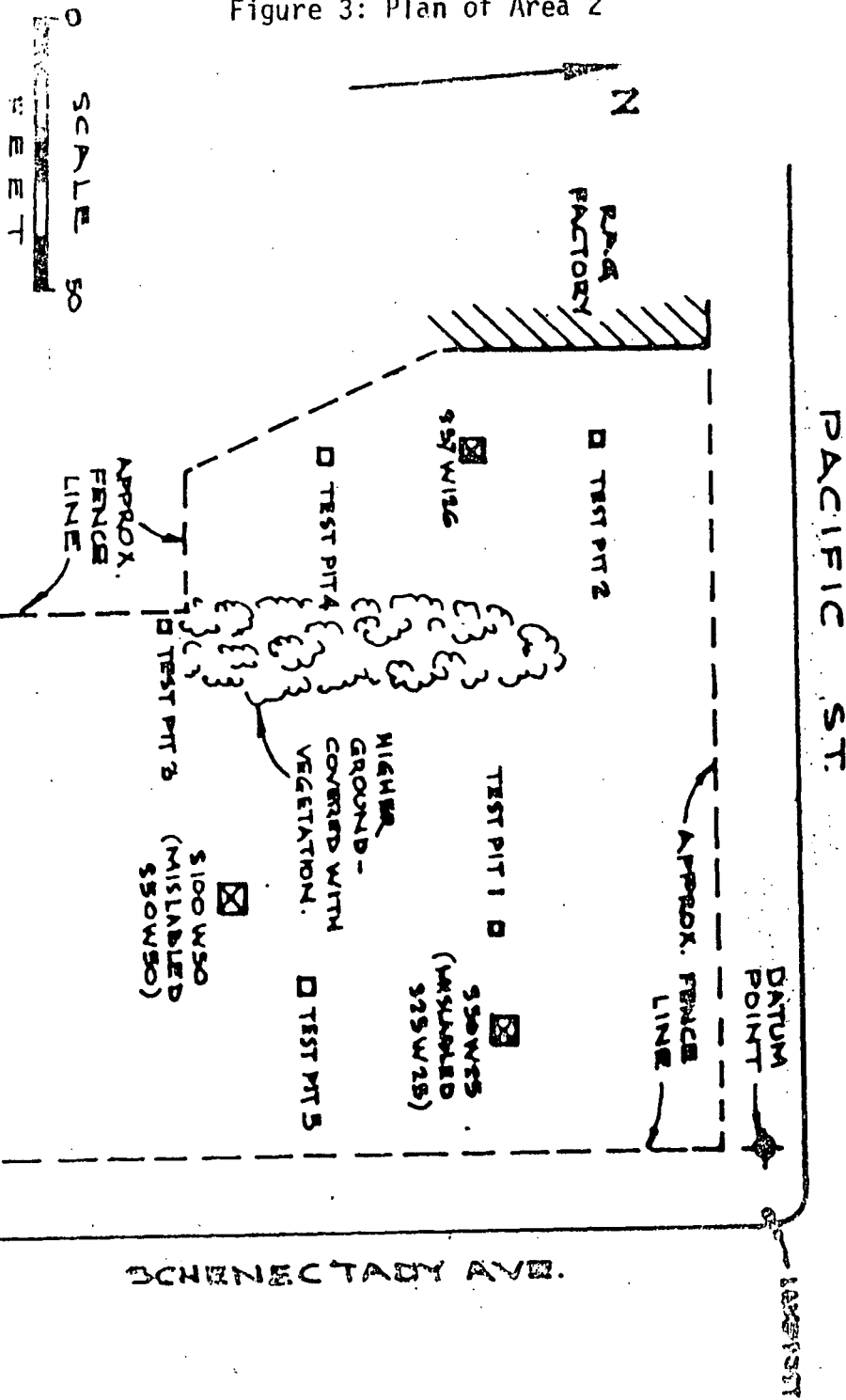


Figure 3: Plan of Area 2



a great deal of disturbance, and, in 1970, Area 2, which was separated from Area 1 by an extant rag factory, was opened in the hopes of finding more meaningful stratigraphic or horizontal distribution of materials. However, this area too was found to have been disturbed, both horizontally and vertically, by the activities of heavy demolition machinery.

Thus, because of the long history of major disturbance at this site, it has been reluctantly decided that the ceramic specimens must be treated, in effect, as a surface collection. While associations between specimens and find spots may occasionally be suggested in the pages that follow, these will be extremely tentative. Table 1, in which all specimens are listed according to horizontal provenience, shows clearly that there is no significant relationship between distribution and artifact classes. Conclusions concerning both chronology and culture will have to be based almost exclusively on the analysis of the formal attributes of the specimens themselves.

#### The Ceramics

The ceramic specimens were chosen for the first full scale analysis of Weeksville archaeological specimens primarily because the majority of the pieces are from household utensils and are thus directly associated with the day-to-day activities of the people of the community; secondly, because some of them were relatively easy to date; and finally, because the ceramic artifacts far outnumber any of the other material categories found.

The 2,852 ceramic specimens were organized for analysis first by type of paste (see Appendix 1) and then by date of manufacture (Appendix 2 and Table 2) in an attempt to reveal possible cultural and chronological patterning. Changes in material, form, and function over time were then investigated (Table 3).

All of the materials have been classified as either "porcelain" or "pottery." "Porcelain," here (after Thorn 1947:xii), refers to a translucent white ware, generally glazed, of either hard or soft paste. Hard paste porcelain resists impressing or incising, while soft paste can be worked in these ways. The hard paste is distinguished by a smooth fracture surface and the soft paste by a granular surface. The ware and its glaze are generally fired together with painted decoration appearing either over or under the glaze. This term also covers what is sometimes referred to as china. Unglazed porcelain, or bisquit (or "bisque") is usually used in forms to produce figurines and similar objects.

Semi-porcelain is a porcelain - though it is like earthenware in its lack of translucency and its rough finish. It appears after 1820, and is extremely hard to identify as to source or date unless pieces bear maker's marks (Noel Hume 1970:131).

The term "pottery" includes all wares distinguished from porcelain by being opaque. It can be made of white, buff, or colored clay and then fired. It is also called earthenware, when fired. If glazed, the decoration is applied under the glaze, which is fired separately from their heavy, clear or colored glaze. Decoration, if any, on stoneware appears under the glaze.

The ceramic fragments from Weeksville site seem to come from either tableware (plates, cups, bowls, etc.) or from a variety of miscellaneous household items, including kitchen storage crocks, chamber pots, crockery bottles, coffee and tea pots, and toys. A large proportion of the sherds are too fragmentary for complete identification of the original pieces, but often, because of their relative thick-

--- AREA TWO ---										
	S25 W25	TP1	TP2	TP3	TP4	TP5	S50 W50	S57 W126	Total	non-excav.
<u>Porcelain</u>										
Undecorated	7					8	3		18	1
Decorated		4							4	1
Bisquit									0	
Semi-Porcelain							6		6	3
<b>Total Porcelain</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>				<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>5</b>
<u>Pottery</u>										
Unglazed			14	5					19	
Glazed										
Undecorated		35				16	3		54	1
Decorated		1							1	4
Stoneware										
Saltglaze		2							2	
Blue										
Brown	19	8			14				41	3
White										
<b>Total Pottery</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>16</b>		<b>3</b>		<b>117</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Total All Sherds</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>13</b>

TABLE I HORIZONTAL DISTRIBUTION

ness, rim shape, or, in some cases, manufacturer's mark, the general nature of their use and/or date of manufacture can be determined.

	16					
	----- AREA -----					
	A-17	B-24	C-17	C-19	D-16	D-18
<u>Porcelain</u>						
Undecorated	48					
Decorated			8			1
Bisquit						
Semi-Porcelain			42			
<hr/>						
Total Porcelain	48		50			1
<u>Pottery</u>						
Unglazed						
Glazed	9					
Undecorated				19	25	
Decorated						2
Stoneware						
Saltglaze			41			
Blue						
Brown			4			
White						
<hr/>						
Total Pottery	9		45	19	25	2
<hr/>						
Total All Sherds	57	-	95	19	25	3

Since, as pointed out above, distributional evidence was of little help in defining artifact complexes, we attempted to determine groups of specimens which might have been in contemporaneous use by developing a chronological chart based on the formal attributes of the specimens themselves. All 90 classes of specimens described in Appendix 1 are listed according to probable date of earliest manufacture (Appendix 2). Each class was then represented by a line on a bar graph indicating its probable earliest and latest dates of manufacture (Table 2). Inspection of the results of these exercises indicates groups of specimens occupying four major date ranges: 1790-1835, 1835-1875, 1875-1900, 1900-1969.

	17								Total	Totals: all areas
	----- ONE -----									
	E-14	E-26	F-25	F-26	F-27	G-10	I-18	Fea. I		
		9	32	111	24	13				237
			7	157	1	64				238
			4	20		11				35
			1	10		23	26	17		119
<hr/>										
		9	44	298	25	111	26	17		629
				22		24				46
				123	583		142			901
		2	30	288		12				334
					16	11	45			113
					4	11				15
					59	264	37	19		383
						195		78		273
<hr/>										
		2	216	1379	48	320				2065
<hr/>										
		11	260	1677	73	431	26	17		2694
										2852

While classes of ceramics first made in an earlier time range sometimes continue to be produced in a later one, thus preventing clear-cut boundaries from being drawn between "periods," there are enough changes - both terminations of old wares and introductions of new ones - to suggest that these somewhat arbitrarily chosen time ranges have some objective reality.

Each group of specimens varies quantitatively from the others with reference to functions of specimens, places of manufacture, and types of paste - presumably reflecting changes in both technology and style preferences over time.



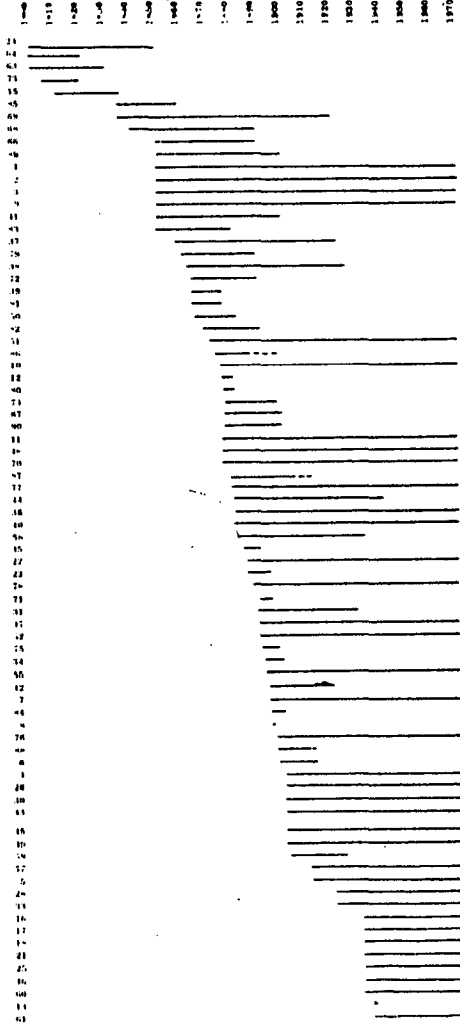


TABLE 2 DISTRIBUTION OF CERAMIC GROUPS BY DATE OF MANUFACTURE

	FUNCTION table- ware 100%	PLACE OF MANUFACTURE			PASTE		
		Domestic 0 00%	Imported 69 100%	Unknown 0 00%	Porcelain 27 39.13%	Semi-porcelain 0 00%	Pottery 42 60.87%
1790-1835 Total: 69	0 00%	69 100%	0 00%	27 39.13%	0 00%	42 60.87%	
1835-1875 Total: 710	404 56.90%	252 35.49%	41 5.78%	212 34.08%	45 6.34%	423 59.58%	
1875-1900 Total: 1,235	235 19.03%	46 3.72%	892 72.23%	72 5.82%	65 5.26%	1,098 88.91%	
1900-1969 Total: 523	15 2.87%	26 4.97%	478 91.40%	103 19.69%	16 3.06%	404 77.25%	

Not included: 315 pieces unidentifiable as to these traits  
Total ceramic sample 2,852 sherds

TABLE 3 QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN CHARACTERISTICS OF CERAMIC GROUPS FROM DIFFERENT TIME RANGES

Porcelain	Canton ware	Imported (China)
Pottery	Pearlware	Imported (England)
Pottery	Stone China	Imported (England)

TABLE 4 SUMMARY OF CERAMIC SPECIMENS FIRST MADE BEFORE 1835

All of the 69 specimens made before 1835 are fragments of tableware, all are imported, and all are of relatively fine workmanship. The Canton export ware was made in China for export to England, and, along with the willow design and shell edged pearlware (a symbol of status when produced) and the stone china, was brought to North America. All of these types were being manufactured before 1810; most were no longer made after 1836. As a group, they may represent the earliest settlement of this particular area. The pieces were all found in excavation units F-25 and F-26, adjacent squares at the northwest end of the block, or in G-10, some 300 feet farther east. While this concentrated distribution may reflect the presence of two early farmsteads, it should be noted that material from all periods was most plentiful in these and immediately adjacent units making this distributional evidence extremely tenuous.

On the other hand, the fact that all of the ceramic specimens from this time range are from fine tableware - with no utilitarian kitchenware pieces represented - suggests that we are not dealing with a complete cultural inventory, but rather with a few family heirlooms that were actually being used at a later date.

The period between 1835 and 1875 (Table 5) cor-

Tableware	27 pieces
Tableware	37 pieces
Tableware	5 pieces

Total number of specimens in group: 69 pieces  
Percentage of total collection: 2.4%

responds, in a general way, to the time of the first major growth in the population of the Weeksville community, and the growth appears to be reflected by the increased number and variety of ceramic wares. The 710 specimens include a high proportion of heavy kitchen wares, and the range of functions represented by the ceramics seems to more faithfully reflect the full range of household activities.

The high proportion of porcelain tableware, all of which must have been imported since American producers were not yet able to successfully manufacture this ware (Noel Hume 1970:100), suggests a fairly comfortable standard of living. The cheaper, sturdier semi-porcelain tableware fragments are much less frequent in this group. In addition, it should also be remembered that the fine tableware made in the earlier 1790-1835 period may actually have been in use at this time.

The places of origin of 41 of the 45 semi-porcelain fragments could not be ascertained because both materials and methods of manufacture in England and North America were so similar by this time that pieces are indistinguishable without makers' marks. This reflects increasingly successful attempts by American producers to imitate this type of English ware (Noel Hume 1970:131).

The great majority of the pottery fragments, primarily

Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Semi-Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Semi-Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Semi-Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Pottery	white, undecorated	thin
Pottery	white, undecorated	thick
Stoneware	gray saltglazed	
Stoneware	white exterior	thick
	brown interior	
Stoneware	Rockingham lustre	thick
Stoneware	light gray	thick
Ironstone	white	thick
Ironstone	white	thick

TABLE 5 SUMMARY OF CERAMIC SPECIMENS FIRST MADE AFTER 1834 AND BEFORE 1875

from utilitarian stoneware items, were domestically made, reflecting a longterm pattern of locally produced and utilized household wares.

The ceramics from the time span between 1875 and 1900 again reflect an increase in population (Table 6) and some major economic and technological shifts. The 1,235 specimens are primarily fragments of heavy pottery tableware. The high proportion of pieces of semi-porcelain, pottery, and ironstone of unknown origin appears to reflect the acceleration of the technological trend noted for the 1835-1875 time span - the continuing refinement of American ceramic production techniques, making the differences between imported and domestic pieces more difficult to determine without makers' marks.

The predominance of tableware pottery over kitchen

Imported	Tableware	240 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	2 pieces
Imported	Tableware	3 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	1 piece
?	Tableware	41 pieces
Imported (England)	Tableware	1 piece
Domestic	Tableware	2 pieces
Domestic	Crockery	115 pieces
Domestic	Crockery	132 pieces
Domestic	Coffepot & Doorknobs	151 pieces
Imported (England)	Marmalade jar	6 pieces
Imported (England)	Tableware	2 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	14 pieces

Total number of specimens in group: 710 pieces  
 Percentage of total collection: 24.9%

wares indicates the introduction of new materials for kitchen use (for example, metal containers for storage) or, possibly, a reliance on surviving older pieces for such uses.

The insignificant amount of porcelain tableware, coupled with the greatly increased proportion of domestic pottery used for this purpose suggests a shift in the economic status of the residents of the area to one of less affluence. The fragments of German-made bisquitware dolls' heads are not unexpected in a collection such as this one, since they are the products of a standard technique in wide use from 1890 on (Coleman 1968:362).

The group of specimens first made after 1900 (Table 7) reflects a sharp drop from the previous period in the total number of pieces, reflecting either a dispersal of

Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Porcelain	white, decorated	thin
Bisquitware	molded	
Semi-Porcelain	white, undecorated	thick
Semi-Porcelain	white, decorated	thick
Semi-Porcelain	white, undecorated	thick
Semi-Porcelain	white, undecorated	thick
Earthenware	unglazed orange	
Pottery	white, undecorated	thick
Pottery	white, undecorated	thick
Pottery	buff, decorated	thick
Earthenware	brown	
Stoneware	brown	
Stoneware	white	
Ironstone	white, undecorated	thick
Ironstone	white, undecorated	thick
Ironstone	white, decorated	thick
Ironstone	white	thick

TABLE 6 SUMMARY OF CERAMIC SPECIMENS FIRST MADE AFTER 1874 AND BEFORE 1900

the population, or, just as possibly, continuing use of older ceramic objects by residents of the area. The trends noted earlier in both household and ceramic technologies appear to continue in this time range; the use of ceramics for items other than tableware decreases sharply, and the origins of specimens without manufacturer's marks are practically impossible to determine in most cases. There is, however, one change in direction - the increase in the proportion of porcelain to nearly 20% of the sample from this time range probably reflects the improved domestic ceramic technology

Imported (England)	Tableware	2 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	6 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	44 pieces
Imported (Germany)	Doll heads	20 pieces
Imported (England)	Tableware	12 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	10 pieces
?	Tableware	42 pieces
?	Mustard jar	1 piece
Domestic	Flowerpot	63 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	10 pieces
?	Tableware	633 pieces
Imported (England)	Tableware	2 pieces
Domestic	Bottles	39 pieces
Domestic	Crockery	105 pieces
Domestic	Bottle stop	7 pieces
Imported (England)	Tableware	10 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	11 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	2 pieces
?	Tableware	216 pieces

Total number of specimens in group:	1235 pieces
Percentage of total collection	24.9%

and consequent mass production of this ware that has developed during the 20th century (Noel Hume 1970: 100). The presence of porcelain in the early 20th century does not have the same socio-economic significance that it does in the early 19th century.

#### CONCLUSIONS

In this report, we have discussed two aspects of change - one concerning the North American ceramic manufacturing industry, the other relating to sociocultural changes within the Weeksville community itself.

Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Porcelain	white, undecorated	thin
Porcelain	pale blue, undecorated	thin
Porcelain	white, decorated	thin
Porcelain	white, decorated	thin
Porcelain	white, decorated	thick
Porcelain	molded, blue	
Semi-Porcelain	white, decorated	thick
Semi-Porcelain	white, decorated	thin
Earthenware	unglazed, decorated	
Pottery	white, undecorated	thick
Pottery	white, undecorated	thick
Pottery	white, decorated	thin
Pottery	white, decorated	thin

TABLE 7 SUMMARY OF CERAMIC SPECIMENS FIRST MADE AFTER 1900

In spite of the total lack of distributional evidence at the site, supporting data about the ceramic industry is fairly secure, since it is based solely on the formal attributes of the sherds themselves and on their known dates and places of manufacture. Thus, it has been possible to trace, in a general way, the development of ceramic manufacture in North America from the early 19th century, when all but utilitarian earthenware were imported from china and Europe, through the level of domestic semi-porcelain production in the third quarter of the 19th century, to the local production of porcelain by the end of the 19th century. European and North American ceramics were so technologically similar by 1900, that, in most cases, it was impossible to determine places of origin of individual

Imported(France)	Tableware	3 pieces
Imported(England)	Tableware	1 piece
Domestic	Tableware	1 piece
Imported (Japan)	Tableware	8 pieces
Imported (Japan)	Teapot frag	19pieces
?	Tableware	57 pieces
?	Tableware	3 pieces
?	Statuette	11 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	14 pieces
?	Alc. Lamp	2 pieces
Domestic	Flowerpot	2 pieces
?	Tableware	103 pieces
Domestic	Tableware	2 pieces
Imported (England)	Tableware	3 pieces
?	Tableware	294 pieces

Total number of specimens in group:	523 pieces
Percentage of total collection	18.3%

pieces without makers' marks.

Our hypothesis concerning sociocultural changes in the Weeksville community are based on much more tenuous evidence. Since it was impossible to segregate complexes of contemporaneously used ceramics on the basis of the undisturbed distribution of specimens in the ground, it was necessary to resort to the creation of temporal clusterings of ceramics - based again on formal attributes of sherds - which, while they seem to have cultural reality, are nonetheless much less dependable. The interpretation of these clusters leads to conclusions about culture in Weeksville that corresponds to the available historical record.

The accumulation of a variety of both fine table wares and utilitarian household ceramics in the first three quarters of the 19th century occurs during the

period of initial occupation and community growth. This expansion is also reflected by the records of the construction of private and community buildings.

The reduction of the proportion of expensive imported wares and the emphasis on sturdier, heavier potteries that started in the latter part of the third quarter of the 19th century may possibly be associated with the changes in Weeksville which followed the influx of land speculators and the expansion of the urban metropolitan region into the area. At this time, according to oral history, there may have been dispersal of the original Weeksville residents into surrounding areas. No documentary records of community development are available for this period.

Finally, in the 20th century, the total numbers of sherds of all wares decreases sharply. This change seems to be associated with the gradual industrialization of the area, and a consequent absolute decrease in resident population.

These conclusions, based as they are on analysis of the ceramic sample alone, are, of course, preliminary and tentative. It would be extremely interesting to test these hypotheses against the remaining artifactual categories and against a more complete analysis of documentary sources.

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