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# Squeezing Ceramics for More than Their Worth: Boundary Maintenance at an 18th-Century Port in New Jersey

## **Cover Page Footnote**

This paper was originally presented at the annual conference of the Council on Northeast Historical Archaeology, St. Mary's City, Maryland, October, 1987. The research was done for the author's doctoral dissertation in Anthropology at New York University. I am grateful to Bert Salwen for his comments on an earlier draft of the paper and for his unwavering support and encouragement throughout the research process. It was at his insistence that I dared to use archaeological data to tackle a difficult historical problem. I also wish to thank Joel Grossman who directed the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office excavation at Raritan Landing. In a very real sense, it was Joel who asked the first interesting questions about the Raritan Landing traders. Lauralee Rappleye-Marsett, the director of the cultural resource division of the Department of Environmental Analysis, New Jersey Department of Transportation, generously allowed me to examine the reports and artifacts relating to the DOT's work at Raritan Landing. I am particularly grateful to David Zmoda of the DOT for giving me his time and insights into the collections. I am also grateful to Nan Rothschild of Barnard College for making the collections from Hanover Square and the Stadt Huys available to me and to Diana Wall and Arnold Pickman for directing me to appropriate comparable deposits. Art Carver, formerly of the Fishkill Historical Society, opened up the Van Wyck collection to me and allowed me to remove it from the premises for study. Shari Kondrup and Tony Masso prepared the graphics and photographs for this publication. Finally, I want to express my sincere appreciation to Mary Beaudry and Grace Ziesing for their expert editorial advice and to George Miller and another anonymous reader for their extensive and useful comments.

## SQUEEZING CERAMICS FOR MORE THAN THEIR WORTH: BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE AT AN 18TH-CENTURY PORT IN NEW JERSEY

Rebecca Yamin

*Archaeological excavations and associated documentary studies at Raritan Landing, an 18th/19th-century port site on the Raritan River in Piscataway, New Jersey, suggested that the relationship between this small community of traders and New York City merchants changed during the years preceding the Revolutionary War. Diminishing kinship, commercial, and institutional ties between the Raritan Landing traders and New York investors appeared to reflect increasing independence from New York domination over time. When the ceramics recovered from pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary-period deposits were compared to deposits from several sites in Manhattan and another site within New York, a pattern emerged that has been interpreted as another indication of New Jersey's increasing independence from New York. Interpreted in the context of boundary maintenance theory, this ceramic study contributes a different perspective on New Jersey's history than is available from other sources.*

*D'après les recherches archéologiques et les études documentaires connexes menées à Raritan Landing, emplacement portuaire des XVIIIe-XIXe siècles de la rivière Raritan à Piscataway (New Jersey), les rapports entre cette petite collectivité de commerçants et les marchands de New York ont évolué au cours des années antérieures à la Guerre de la Révolution. La diminution des liens de parenté et d'ordre commercial et institutionnel entre les commerçants de Raritan Landing et les investisseurs de New York a semblé refléter un affranchissement croissant de la domination de New York au fil du temps. La comparaison des poteries provenant de plusieurs gisements archéologiques de Manhattan et d'un autre endroit de New York a fait voir une tendance qui a été interprétée comme constituant une autre indication de l'indépendance croissante du New Jersey par rapport à New York. Vue dans le contexte du maintien des limites, cette étude de poteries fait voir l'histoire du New-Jersey sous un jour différent de celui qui dégage d'autres sources.*

### Introduction

Since the 18th century New Jersey has been characterized as a "barrel tapped at both ends," an amorphous land caught between New York and Philadelphia with no clear identity of its own and certainly no commerce free of its neighbors. With the exception of James Levitt's *For Want of Trade: Shipping and the New Jersey Ports 1680-1783*, published in 1981, and a forthcoming book by Peter Wacker, very little research has been devoted to New Jersey's trade in the colonial and Revolutionary periods. In McCusker and Menard's 485-page book, *The Economy of British America*, the state is mentioned only six times; their discussion of the Middle Colonies says no more about New Jersey than that it was a "satellite settlement" of Pennsylvania and New York (1985: 190). "Economically speaking," they argue, "East Jersey belonged to New York and West Jersey to Pennsylvania" (1985: 87).

It is indeed true that New Jersey failed to develop a major commercial center during the 18th century and consequently never handled a significant amount of overseas trade. However, as Larry Gerlach and others have pointed out, pre-Revolutionary New Jersey was a "beehive of commercial activity, albeit mostly of the local coastal variety . . ." (Gerlach 1976: 9). This study examines the nature of this local trade and what that local trade reveals about the actual relationship between New York and New Jersey.

Archaeological excavations carried out by the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office (RASO) at Raritan Landing in 1979 provided the opportunity to study the documentary record and material remains of a small port community in East Jersey that began business at about the turn of the 18th century and continued through the third quarter of the 19th century. This initial work, in combination with an in-



Figure 1. John Dally map showing Brunswick and Raritan Landing (the Upper Landing).

depth comparative study concentrating on the ceramics recovered from pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary-period deposits at Raritan Landing, and from contemporaneous sites in New York and New Jersey (Yamin 1988), suggests that on the local level, at least, East Jersey was more than a satellite of New York.

### Raritan Landing

Raritan Landing stood on the north bank of the Raritan River in the town of Piscataway, about two miles above and across from New Brunswick (FIG. 1). Both Raritan Landing and New Brunswick were founded in the last decade of the 17th century and grew side-by-side into thriving ports handling grain coming downriver for export and imported goods coming upriver for distribution. Although early historians (Benedict 1925; Thompson 1940; Wall 1931) have characterized the two communities as competitors for the grain trade, a more accurate assessment seems to be that they functioned cooperatively until the coming of the railroad in 1832 which bypassed Raritan Landing in favor of New Brunswick. The commercial functions of the Landing became irrelevant, and by the

third quarter of the 19th century its warehouses, shops, and other commercial structures had been dismantled (Vermeule 1936). The land—in the floodplain of the Raritan River—was converted to other uses and is now a public park.

Raritan Landing was never a very large community—at most there were about 100 households—but it was clearly a center of commercial activities. A somewhat fanciful map reconstruction (FIG. 2) made in the 1930s by a descendant of a Raritan Landing family gives some idea of the community's dimensions (Vermeule 1936). The residents' family names and the churches they attended suggest that it was an ethnically mixed community, although one newspaper advertisement dating to 1762 characterized it as "the village of New Amsterdam" (New Jersey Archives, V.IX: 31). There was a school but no churches. Residents worshipped in New Brunswick as well as in communities further up the Raritan River where many had relatives.

Documentary research indicates that over time the community became increasingly devoted to commercial activities. Of the identified occupations of residents between 1720 and 1739, 38.5% were yeomen or small farmers. This percentage had shrunk to 15% between 1740 and 1763, and to 8% between 1764 and 1783 (TAB. 1). Shopkeepers, traders, carters, sea captains, and merchants rose in number in the middle period, and industrial activities—including milling—increased in the final period.

Land transactions also indicate the increasing importance of commerce at the Landing. Of 31 properties advertised for sale at Raritan Landing in newspapers published between 1720 and 1785, 14, or 45%, were available in the mid-1740s. The advertisements typically emphasized characteristics that would make the property attractive for trade: "very convenient for a merchant or storekeeper" and "lays more commodious for loading boats than any thereabouts . . ." (New Jersey Archives, V.XII: 365). One advertisement even suggests the property would be convenient for "both foreign and inland trade" (New Jersey Archives, V. XII: 266). This is the only mention of direct foreign trade, for which there is absolutely no evidence at the Landing. Trade was coastal, apparently between New York, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia.

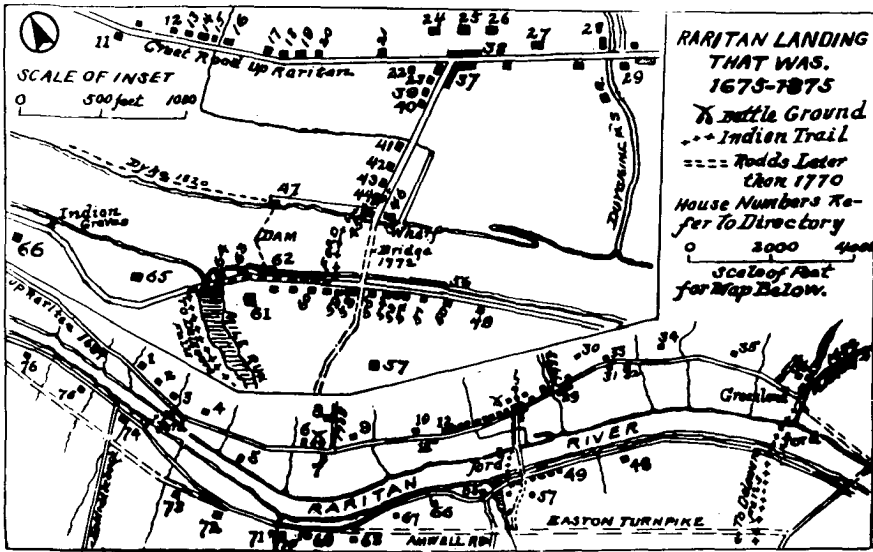


Figure 2. Vermeule's map reconstruction of Raritan Landing.

It is evident from these data that the commercial growth of the Landing got a boost in the mid-1740s. In this period, it was a community of what historian Jacob Price (1974: 138) has called secondary traders, that is, wholesalers who, in addition to performing functions for farmers and planters like carting their produce to market, acted as wholesale suppliers of imported goods to country storekeepers. The storekeepers paid the traders for their goods and services with the produce they had received from local growers, providing traders with the commodities they needed to sell in New York. It is not unlikely that this flurry of activity at Raritan Landing in the 1740s and 1750s had something to do with the fact that New Jersey ceased to be governed jointly with New York in 1739. The joint governorship, which lasted 36 years, may have stifled the colony's overseas trade, but it does not appear to have stopped local traders from making a valiant effort on their own behalf as soon as the opportunity arose.

**The RASO Data**

It was expected that the ceramics associated with this community of secondary traders would reflect patterns noted elsewhere in the colonies. Far from a backwater, Raritan Landing residents would presumably desire and

have the means to purchase the fine imported wares that had become widely available by the third quarter of the 18th century (Deetz 1973; Brown 1973; Martin 1989). Preliminary analysis of the materials recovered by the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office in 1979, however, revealed a slightly different profile. While deposits relating to destruction during the early years of the Revolutionary War contained almost all imported ceramics, the creamware and white saltglazed tablewares seen elsewhere by this period were almost entirely absent. In their place was an unusually large quantity of English slip-decorated buff earthenware including plates, serving dishes, and drinking vessels. A deposit associated with a destroyed small house, for instance, included 22 sherds of Chinese porcelain, 171 of delftware, 78 of coarse redware, 637 of slip-decorated buff earthenware, 10 of Westerwald stoneware, 45 of miscellaneous stoneware, 7 of Astbury, and 4 of creamware (n = 978). The *terminus post quem* (TPQ) for the deposit, based on both ceramics and glass, was 1765, but the mean ceramic date (MCD), skewed by the large proportion of slip-decorated buff earthenware sherds in the sample, was 1734. Another deposit, representing an accumulation of material in a natural drainage ditch behind a warehouse, produced the same TPQ (again based on ceramics and glass) and MCD (n = 650).

Table 1. A comparison of the identified occupations of heads of households at Raritan Landing in three periods.

Occupation	1720-1739		1740-1763		1764-1783	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
<i>Government</i>						
Local/law enforcement	1	4.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
"Esquires" unidentified	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
<i>Service sector</i>						
Doctor	3	7.5	1	4.0	0	0.0
Lawyer	2	5.0	1	4.0	0	0.0
Deed writer	1	7.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Oysterman	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Shopkeeper	3	7.5	1	4.0	0	0.0
Trader	1	7.7	2	5.0	2	8.0
Baker	2	8.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Carpenter	1	2.5	1	4.0	0	0.0
Glazier	1	7.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Painter	1	7.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Blacksmith	1	4.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Carter (freighter)	2	15.4	6	15.0	1	4.0
Innkeeper	2	5.0	1	4.0	0	0.0
Tavernkeeper	1	7.7	1	2.5	2	8.0
<i>Industrial</i>						
Shoemaker	1	2.5	3	12.0	0	0.0
Miller	2	5.0	3	12.0	0	0.0
<i>Commerce</i>						
Sea captain	2	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Cooper	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Merchant	1	7.7	5	12.5	2	8.0
<i>Unclassified</i>						
Yeoman	5	38.5	6	15.0	2	8.0
Gentleman	1	2.5	1	4.0	0	0.0
<i>Total identified</i>	13	100.1	40	100.0	25	100.0

This ceramic pattern does not conform to the pattern suggested by South's horizon concept (1972) or by Deetz's Anglo-American cultural system (1977). For some reason the traders at Raritan Landing, at least those with households represented by deposits within the corridor that RASO excavated, did not embrace the newest ceramics available; they do not seem to have owned sets of dishes in creamware or white saltglazed stoneware that conform to what Deetz predicts for the post-1760 period (Deetz 1973: 30). This departure from a pattern that has been widely documented, as well as the early mean ceramic dates for deposits covering considerably later occupation, called for an explanation.

### Ceramics and Boundary Maintenance

Discrepancies between what is expected and what is observed are fundamental, in any science, to arriving at new knowledge. The problem is to identify an explanatory paradigm that is appropriate to the data. Two things contributed to considering the distinctive ceramic patterning at Raritan Landing as a possible instance of boundary maintenance. One was the documentary study done for the original RASO project, which showed that after 1740 recorded institutional, kinship, and commercial ties between Raritan Landing residents and New York families began to diminish (Yamin 1982: VI.41-VI.43). Although the first

investors at the Landing—the Bayards, Hardenbrooks, Duyckincks, Roosevelts, Gouverneurs, and Frenches—were all well known New York families whose ventures into New Jersey may be understood as extensions of their trading activities centered in the city, these names gradually disappear from the documentary record. Between 1740 and 1763 more ties were recorded between the Landing and New Brunswick than between the Landing and New York City, and during the Revolutionary War and afterward the shift became even more pronounced. This pulling away from dependence on New York connections suggested the possibility that this small community of traders might have been attempting to take control of its own economic operations. In the aftermath of sharing governors with New York, all but one of whom had favored New York's economic interests (Levitt 1973: 20), New Jersey traders might try to establish a boundary between themselves and the competition.

In this context, Ian Hodder's 1979 article, "Economic and Social Stress and Material Culture Patterning," suggested another way in which such a sociocultural boundary might be expressed. Hodder argues that people who have identical economies and are in competition for the same resources tend to stress material cultural dichotomies (Hodder 1979: 447). He has since elaborated on the use of material culture to maintain boundaries (Hodder 1982), but basic to his and others' work is the idea that artifacts have a recursive role in culture. In Hodder's words, artifacts do not "passively reflect society" (Hodder 1986: 6); they participate in its creation. Ceramic choices then, might be used to symbolize, and at the same time create, sociocultural boundaries between groups in competition.

A number of historical archaeologists have explored the recursive role of artifacts, although not specifically in terms of boundary maintenance. Yentsch, for instance, has shown how old houses reinforce a community's idealized sense of its own past (Yentsch 1988), how spatial arrangements and orientations identify political allegiances (Yentsch 1990), and how white and earth-tone ceramics define women's versus men's spheres (Yentsch 1991). Leone and his colleagues have also examined the recursive aspects of material culture, particularly in relation to its role in the production of ideology. In their interpretation of material recov-

ered in Annapolis, they discuss with the public how differentiated sets of dishes separated people from each other and "provided clear rules and divisions which told and showed individuals how to relate to each other" (Leone, Potter, and Shackel 1987: 290). Elsewhere Leone has argued that mid-18th century terraced gardens provided the elite a sense of control when "both their wealth and power were being undermined and diminished" (Leone 1988: 33).

In all these studies the emphasis is not on the power of material culture to communicate or signal, which was the focus of early boundary maintenance work (e.g., Wobst 1977; Barth 1969), but on the reflexive power of artifacts to create and perpetuate culture. In his recent study of the use of transfer-printed ceramics by the *Hivernant* Métis, a semisedentary hunting and gathering people in western Canada, David Burley has shown how ceramics can be used in structuring social interaction which in turn provides the "threads of ethnic integration" (Burley 1989: 105).

It is in this sense, i.e., in their recursive role, that the ceramics from Raritan Landing were considered as possible agents in the definition of a sociocultural boundary between East Jersey and New York. It was, however, necessary first to demonstrate that the distinctive ceramic pattern (1) extended beyond the few households investigated by RASO, (2) that it was not merely a reflection of availability and/or price, and (3) that it differed from the pattern at contemporaneous and socioeconomically comparable sites in New York City and at sites within the colony of New York that were about the same distance from the city as Raritan Landing.

## Excavations at Raritan Landing

The excavation carried out by the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office at Raritan Landing in 1979 was part of a mitigation plan developed in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Environmental Protection (Region 2) and the Office of New Jersey Heritage for the Middlesex County Sewerage Authority, which was in the process of constructing a federally funded, multi-million dollar sewer line. Archaeological work was limited to a 15-foot wide, 500-foot long corridor

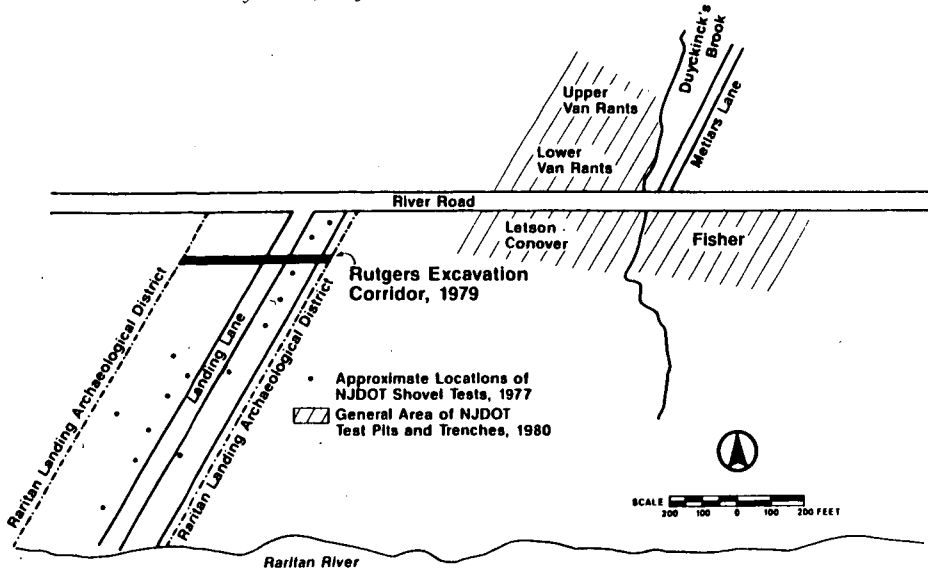


Figure 3. The Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office excavation corridor and Department of Transportation testing areas.

in which the sewer pipe was eventually laid (FIG. 3). Approximately 33% of the corridor was subjected to controlled excavation. The corridor crossed four historic lots, three on the upriver (west) side of Landing Lane and one on the downriver (east) side (FIG. 4).

Structural remains belonging to a warehouse were encountered in the lot on the downriver side, but the associated strata and artifactual material appeared to be secondary fill and were not considered in this study. The structural and artifactual remains on the upriver side, however, were sealed beneath a 2.5 to 3-foot thick layer of sterile shale fill and were well stratified. Deposits associated with a probable warehouse/house on the J. Bodine property (referred to archaeologically as Building B) and a small house to the west of it (Building C) appeared to represent domestic debris left by the destruction of both structures during the Revolutionary War. The British occupied the Landing from December 1776 to June 1777. A Hessian soldier's diary describes great devastation to the general area even before December of 1776. "After a very exhausting campaign, these quarters [a house on the south bank of the Raritan, #48 on FIG. 2], where the soldiers could not even get straw for his bedding, were to serve for refreshing the troops. For this whole region had been completely sacked during the army's march in the past au-

tumn, and had been abandoned by all the inhabitants" (Ewald 1979: 51).

In addition to these rubble deposits, material associated with the occupation surface beneath the rubble (Stratum XV) and the fill above it that was used to level the ground before the community was rebuilt after the war (Stratum VIII) were used for this study. The material from Stratum XV represented a mixture probably associated with the occupants of Buildings B and C as well as with the occupants of the Bodine/Blair lot to the north; the fill may have included artifacts from many Raritan Landing households. Material was also used from an historical plow zone that was apparently behind the Flatt house which faced River Road (FIG. 4). All these properties belonged to trader/storekeepers. In a variety of references John Bodine is identified as a merchant (deed), trader (obituary), storekeeper (store ledger), shipper (store ledger), and freighter (store ledger). Alexander Blair, who bought the adjacent lot to the north from Bodine in 1742, is identified as a yeoman (will), freighter (account book), ordinary keeper (account book), and trader (Vermeule 1936). Jacob Flatt was probably a trader and/or storekeeper (Vermeule 1936).

Material recovered from less extensive archaeological work at Raritan Landing was also examined in order to determine whether the



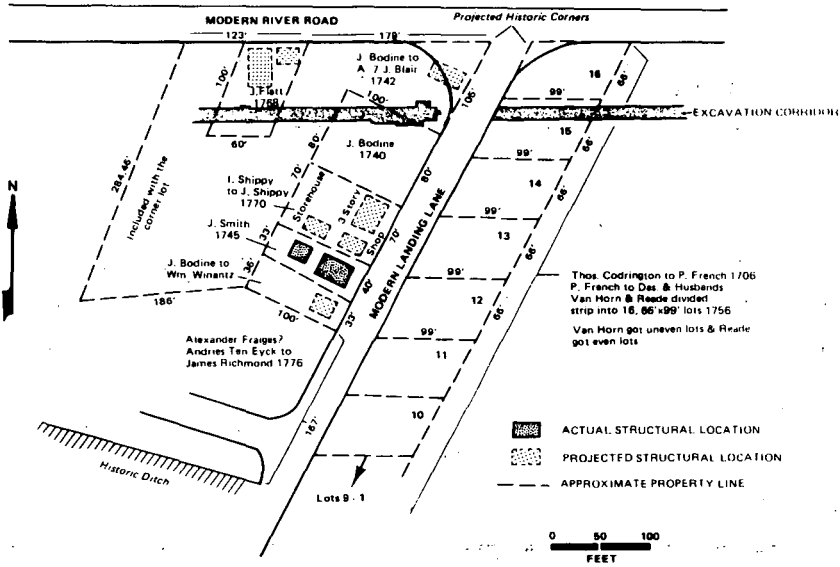


Figure 4. Historical lots crossed by the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office excavation corridor and bounded by River Road and Landing Lane.

distinctive ceramic pattern noted within the RASO excavation corridor was confined to that neighborhood or was a community-wide phenomenon (FIG. 3). A cultural resource survey, including 21 shovel tests, was conducted by the Bureau of Environmental Analysis, New Jersey Department of Transportation (DOT), within the impact area of a proposed Landing Lane Bridge replacement in 1977 (Ferguson 1977) and another larger study was done by the DOT archaeologists for a proposed highway intersection in 1980 (Springsted et al. 1980). The latter study, which included transects of postholes and backhoe trenches, as well as controlled stratigraphic units within identifiable historic properties, proved useful for comparison. Material discussed here came from plow zone deposits within the Upper Van Rants property, a filled well (Feature 2) within the Lower Van Rants property, another filled well within the Letson/Conover property, and an accumulation of material associated with a wall (TR 6) and a possible builder's trench (Feature 10) within the Fisher property.

Van Rants kept a store at the Landing in the late 1750s and early 1760s (probably the Lower Van Rants house which was apparently abandoned after the Revolutionary War); he became a baker in about 1760 and in 1769 bought the Peter Low house on the hill just to the west of the Upper Van Rants property (Yamin 1988:

227). It is not clear who lived in the Upper Van Rants house, possibly a tenant or another member of the Van Rants family. There is no 18th-century record of the ownership of the Letson/Conover property. The Fisher property belonged to Henry Dumont, who won it in a lottery in 1744 (Vermeule 1936), and to his son, John, after 1760. The Dumonts' occupations are not known.

It must be stressed that the samples from the DOT tests represent single excavation units and are much smaller than the stratigraphic samples excavated by RASO, which, in most cases, came from many units. The comparisons made here, therefore, are to be considered suggestive and were only used to determine if a general pattern did or did not exist. Deposits for comparison were determined by using MCDs. The MCDs clustered into early (1730s and 1740s) and late (1750s and 1760s) groups. As can be seen in Table 2 much larger proportions of slip-decorated buff earthenware were found in the early deposits from the RASO excavation units than from either the Van Rants or Letson/Conover properties. However, both Van Rants and Letson/Conover had significant proportions of buff earthenware, and vessels were identified that were identical to vessels recovered from the Bodine and Flatt properties within the RASO corridor. Other differences were greater amounts of redware, coarse salt

Table 2. A comparison of ware type proportions in selected deposits from the RASO excavation corridor and from the DOT excavations, 1980: early group (ca. 1730-1750).

Ware type	RASO Excavation Corridor						DOT 1980 Excavations				Letson/ Conover, Fea. 6	
	Blg. C (Xa)		St. XV		Blg. B XIVa,b		U. Van R. TU 1,0-3"		L. Van R. TU 1,3-7/9"			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Redware	78	8.1	33	5.2	3	7.5	6	27.3	11	28.2	11	16.2
Buff-bodied earthenware	637	66.2	539	85.6	28	70.0	7	31.8	10	25.6	11	16.2
Delftware	171	17.8	25	3.9	8	20.0			2	5.1	12	17.6
Creamware	4	0.4					1	4.5	5	12.8	6	8.8
White saltglazed stoneware	4	0.4	5	0.8			1	4.5	1	2.6	3	4.4
Coarse saltglazed stoneware	45	4.7	16	2.5			2	9.1	6	15.4	21	30.9
Porcelain	22	2.3	12	1.9	1	2.5	5	22.7	4	10.3	4	5.9
Totals	961	99.9	630	99.9	40	100.0	22	99.9	39	100.0	68	100.0
Mean Ceramic Date	1737.7		1738.9		1738.5		1740.7		1740.4		1744.7	

Table 3. A comparison of ware type proportions in selected deposits from the RASO excavation corridor and from the DOT excavations, 1980: late group (ca. 1750-1770).

Ware type	RASO Excavation Corridor						DOT 1980 Excavations				Letson/ Conover, Fea. 6	
	Blg. C (Xa)		St. XV		Blg. B XIVa,b		U. Van R. TU 1,0-3"		L. Van R. TU 1,3-7/9"			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Redware	4	12.9	70	27.7	84	25.5	4	20.0	63	25.9	10	37.0
Buff-bodied earthenware	14	45.2	48	18.9	136	41.2	5	25.0	37	15.2	3	11.1
Delftware	-	-	6	2.4	31	9.4	-	-	25	10.3	6	22.2
Creamware	1	3.2	67	26.5	43	13.0	2	10.0	62	25.5	7	25.9
Pearlware	-	-	1	0.4	3	0.9	3	15.0	16	6.6	1	3.7
White saltglazed stoneware	1	3.2	6	2.4	4	1.2	2	10.0	-	-		6.3
Coarse saltglazed stoneware	11	35.5	46	18.2	16	4.8	-	-	36	14.8		3.1
Porcelain	-	-	9	3.6	3	3.9	4	20.0	4	1.6	-	-
Totals	31		253		330		20		243		27	
Mean Ceramic Date	1756.1		1756.2		1753.6		1759.2		1764.8		1761.8	

glazed stoneware, and creamware from the Upper Van Rants and Letson/Conover deposits. Although better represented on the sites investigated by the DOT, creamware did not constitute a substantial proportion of any of the deposits. Pieces identified appeared to be associated with tea drinking rather than

dining.

Porcelain teawares, however, were well represented, especially in the Van Rants deposits. The porcelain, which included elegant overglaze polychrome examples, suggests an elite life style. Both the Upper and Lower Van Rants properties were eventually owned by the

Table 4. Average values\* of single plates by decade.

	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s
pewter plate	0.12	0.14	0.18	0.13	0.17	0.20
earthen plate			0.07	0.05	0.03	
white stone plate				0.06	0.10	
china soup plate				0.13		
Delph plate						0.08
Queensware plate						0.06
wooden plate		0.07				

\*In pounds, shillings, and pence.

Source: Piscataway and New Brunswick probate inventories, New Jersey State Archives, 1730-1785.

Table 5. Average values\* of single items of iron, copper, brass, earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain, by decade.

	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s
brass kettle	1.00	2.18	1.46	1.50	1.16	0.15.0
copper kettle			2.16.4		4.20	
iron pot	0.60	1.00	0.70	0.4.10	0.31	0.76
iron kettle		0.46	0.41	0.60	0.40	
earthen jug			0.13	0.14		
stone jug					0.06	
stone pot				0.10	0.06	
china teapot				0.16		

\*In pounds, shillings, and pence.

Source: Piscataway and New Brunswick probate inventories, New Jersey State Archives, 1730-1785.

Low family and were for a good part of the century occupied by Low relatives (Van Rants had married into the family). The Lows were among the most well-to-do residents of Raritan Landing. Their teawares may have been more extensive and more frequently used than the traders' across the road although they may not have cost any more.

The later deposits, summarized in Table 3, also show higher percentages of buff-bodied earthenware from within the RASO excavation corridor, but again buff earthenware was also present in significant amounts on the Lower Van Rants and Fisher sites. It is interesting that the proportion of creamware from Lower Van Rants is not very great in spite of the speculation about the probable residents on this property. Even among the rich at Raritan Landing there was not a dramatic shift to creamware as

soon as it was available.

It seems safe to conclude that the predilection for little creamware and a lot of buff earthenware was more widespread than a few adjacent households unless, of course, it was the result of availability and/or price. Although it seemed unlikely that availability could be a factor in a community with regular trading contacts with New York, price conceivably might have been. Both were considered by examining available probate inventories.

### Price and Availability

There are 91 extant inventories from Piscataway and New Brunswick dating from the 1730s through the 1780s (1730-1785) on file in the New Jersey State Archives at Trenton. All were examined for this study. Average

Table 6. Ceramic typology based on terms drawn from Piscataway and New Brunswick probate inventories (New Jersey State Archives, 1735–1780) and organized into functional groupings.

<i>Material</i>	<i>Food consumption</i>	<i>Food service</i>	<i>Beverage consumption</i>	<i>Beverage service</i>
<i>Earthenware</i>	plate Delph plate spotted plate white earthen plates/Queens. bowl (sm.) Phila. plate	bowl spotted dish platter Delph bowl Delph platter mustard pot sugar pot salt seller ladle (bowl) pot bowls cake pot and stand pudding dish flat dish Eng. sauce boat burnt dishes blue and gold cake cups	cup pot (gill) pot mug teacups/dishes teacups saucers coffee cups	jug teapot punch bowl pitcher black earthen jug
<i>Stoneware</i>	white stone plates plates soup plates		mug	jug bottle
<i>China</i>	Eng. cake cups (lg. and sm.) custard cup butter plates burnt plates burnt butter plates burnt saucers burnt breakfast saucers		cups saucers ribbed cups/saucers mug (pt.) Eng. mug (pt.) burnt cordial cups	teapot milk pot
	<i>Food/beverage preparation</i>		<i>Food/beverage storage</i>	
<i>Earthenware</i>	warming pan teakettle coffee pot milk trays churn chafing dish		cannister bottle pot (jar) butter pot	
<i>Stone ware</i>			pot (jar)	

values of individual items listed in the inventories were compared by decade in order to determine whether one item or another was significantly more expensive in a particular period. While not ideal and far from comprehensive, the data generally suggest that in no decade did the price of a ceramic plate exceed that of a pewter plate and even the poorest inventories included pewter (TAB. 4). It is also true that single iron, copper, and brass items, which virtually all household inventories included, were consistently more expensive than single earthenware, stoneware, or china items, thus suggesting that all kinds of ceramics

were within the reach of about everyone (TAB. 5).

The range of ceramics included in at least some of the inventories suggests that availability was not the determining factor in what ceramics people owned either. James Hude's inventory, compiled in 1769, includes quantities of china, burnt china, English china and delft as well as white, black, and red earthenware, French earthenware, and white stoneware.

The inventories thus make it clear that ceramic choices at Raritan Landing were not dictated by either price or availability. A distinctive pattern of choices must then be inter-

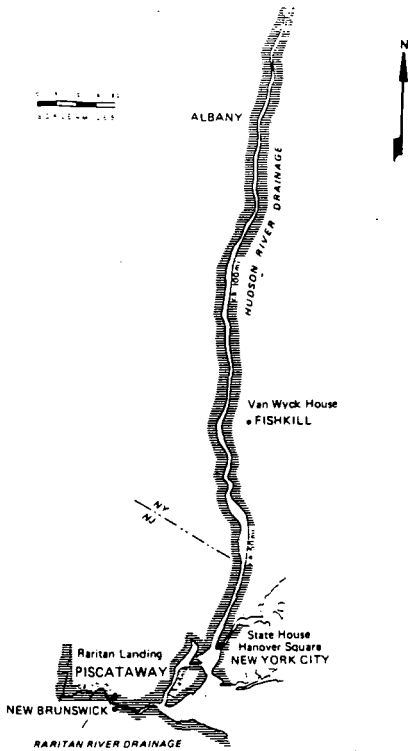


Figure 5. Map showing the geographical relationships between Raritan Landing, the State House, Hanover Square, and the Van Wyck house.

preted as an expression of something else. Whether or not the Raritan Landing pattern was distinct also depends on what the ceramic pattern was at contemporaneous sites in New York City. Ceramics from archaeological deposits at Hanover Square and the Stadt Huys excavations in downtown Manhattan were compared with similarly dated assemblages from Raritan Landing. Although the Hanover Square and Stadt Huys excavation reports (Rothschild et al.) were not available at the time the ceramic analysis was conducted, the materials are stored at Columbia University and were studied there. Comparisons were also made with ceramics recovered at the Van Wyck House in Fishkill, New York. That collection was made available by the Fishkill Historical Society. If ceramic choices at Raritan Landing reflected independence from New York, it was expected that ceramics from a trading community of about the same size as Raritan Landing and about the same distance from New York City, but in New York State, would yield a cultural (artifactual) assemblage more comparable to the commercial center than the collection from Raritan Landing. Figure 5 shows the locations of the sites in the study.

### Constructing a Relevant Typology

For the purpose of making these comparisons, it was necessary to construct a typology that would reflect, to the degree possible, the historical reality and would accommodate the nature of the collections (which unfortunately is mostly small sherds). The problem was to use terms and establish categories that would relate to the way the people who used the ceramics had thought about them. Beaudry's doctoral dissertation (1980) and the article by Beaudry and others on the Potomac Typological System (1983) provided a model for this approach. To construct the Potomac Typological System a sample of 17th-century probate inventories from Virginia and Maryland was used in combination with descriptions (verbal and pictorial) "of the terms' referents in other contemporary sources" to arrive at a functional classification of vessel forms (1983: 21). This functional approach to constructing a typology, the authors assured, would organize ceramics recovered by archaeologists in a way that was closer to that used by the people who owned them than conventional ware type based typologies.

Unfortunately, the terms used for ceramics in the 91 inventories considered for this study were not very descriptive. However, since these were the terms used by the people of the period they were adopted as the emic categories for the typology. The terms were organized into functional groupings, also basically derived from the inventories (TAB. 6). The typology allows for comparisons based on function, ware type, decoration, or any combination of the three. It does not allow for comparisons of vessel form which is only rarely described in inventories and equally rarely reconstructable from the finds.

### **The Ceramic Data—Paired Comparisons from Raritan Landing and New York**

Four comparisons are discussed here. The pairs were chosen on the basis of their documented dates of deposition, not on the basis of mean ceramic dates, which only in some cases concur. Three of the New York deposits were excavated at Hanover Square in lower Manhattan in 1981; the fourth was excavated at the Van Wyck House in Fishkill, New York, in 1974.

#### **Hanover Square**

The Hanover Square site encompassed eight historic water lots (#s 12–19) between Pearl Street and Water Street in the financial district of lower Manhattan. The excavations were directed by Diana Rockman (Wall) and Arnold Pickman; Nan Rothschild was the principal investigator.

The East River shoreline, which now lies three blocks to the south of Water Street, originally followed the present route of Pearl Street. The land encompassing the Hanover Square site was created in two filling episodes in the closing decades of the 17th century. It had been developed for residential use by the end of the second decade of the 18th century (Burgis View of Manhattan, ca. 1720). Deposits from three of the eight lots investigated—Lots 15, 14, and 13—proved relevant for comparison with the Raritan Landing materials.

It is interesting that several of the early owners of these water lots bear family names

identical to those of early residents of Raritan Landing. Lot 15 was originally granted to Evert Duyckinck in 1687. He may have been the father of the Evert Duyckinck who came to Raritan Landing with Adolphus Hardenbrook in about 1710 and eventually married Hardenbrook's daughter, Effie. The elder Duyckinck was in the business of "painting, varnishing, japanning, gilding, glazing, and silvering of looking glasses," as was his son, Gerardus, who also lived at Hanover Square (Rothschild and Pickman n.d.). Lot 15 passed out of the possession of the Duyckinck family in 1746 when it was acquired by a mariner named Francis Goodhorn, and subsequently by his heir, Joost Goderns, but by 1797 it belonged to Ann Duyckinck and later to her son, another Gerardus, together with Diana Smith, probably Gerardus' married sister.

By 1700 Frederick Philipse owned the two lots to the east of Lot 15. Philipse was married to Margaret Hardenbrook whose brother, Adolphus (mentioned above) was one of the earliest residents of Raritan Landing and, according to Vermeule, built the first warehouse on the river bank.

No direct connections have been established between the owners of Lots 14 and 13 and residents of the Landing, but Hanover Square residents were generally similar in terms of ethnic identification and occupation. Lot 14, west of Lot 15, was owned first (1703–1709) by John Van Varick, probably a baker, then by Simeon Sonmaine (1721–24), by the widow Dwight in 1790 and Richard Larnier, a shoemaker, in 1791 (Rothschild and Pickman, n.d.). Lot 13 was granted to Lucas Van Theinoven in 1687 and owned by Lawrence Wessels, a mariner, by 1697. Subsequent owners were Roely Kinstead (1748), Julian Verplanck, and Gerret Ketteltas (1796/8). In general, the residents were artisans and tradespeople.

#### **Van Wyck**

Owned by the Fishkill Historical Society, the Van Wyck house is located on the east side of New York State Route 9 just to the south of its intersection with Interstate Route 84 and one mile south of the village of Fishkill, Putnam County. According to Juliet Cartwright, who directed the excavation, the house is "the only surviving structure of the Fishkill Supply

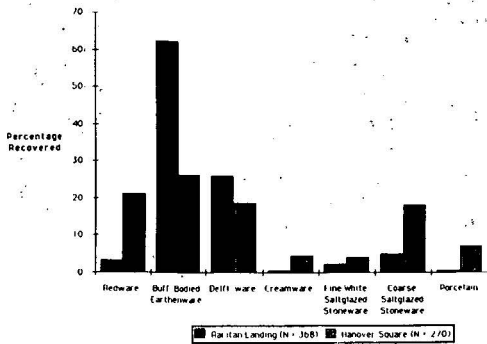


Figure 6. Percentages of ware types in the ceramic assemblages at Raritan Landing, Stratum XV and Hanover Square, Lot 14, Midden 1. N is the total number of sherds recovered from each location.

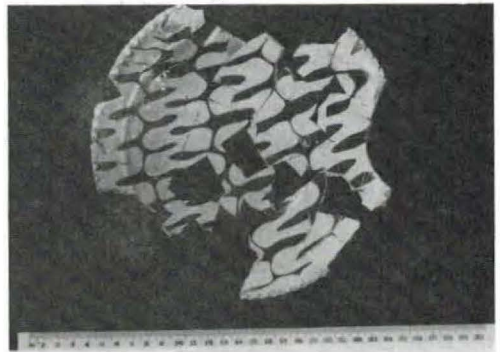


Figure 7. Buff-bodied earthenware dish with yellow and brown meander decoration.

Depot," and "excavations were initiated to uncover data which would lead to a more accurate interpretation of the house's role during the American Revolution" (Cartwright 1974: 1).

A pamphlet about the Van Wyck homestead (Buys 1982) describes the house as having been built in two sections, the first in about 1732 when Cornelius Van Wyck and his wife, Hannah Thorne of Hempstead, Long Island, came to Fishkill. A larger, main section had been added on to the original house by 1757, when it is mentioned in Cornelius' will. Cornelius Van Wyck owned 959 acres of land. At his death the land went to his wife and son, Cornelius Jr., who died six years later and left his share to his son, Isaac. It was Isaac who lived in the house when the American Revolution broke out and Fishkill became the site of a major supply depot and encampment for American soldiers (Buys 1982).

Different secondary sources suggest various roles for the house during the Revolutionary War. Both Cartwright (1974) and Goring (1975) agree that it served as a headquarters for the Depot Encampment, but Cartwright also thinks it may have been used as the printing office of Samuel Loudon, who fled New York City when the British took control in 1777 and published his weekly newspaper, the *New York Packett and American Advertiser*, throughout the war. There is also some disagreement about

the house after the war. According to an active member of the historical society, Art Carver (personal communication, 1985), the house served as a tavern from 1785 to 1810. Buys calls it a stagecoach stop during this period.

With two New York City partners, Isaac Van Wyck established the first New York-to-Albany stagecoach line after the war. He also served in the State Legislature from 1794 to 1811 and, according to Cartwright, "refurbished and remodeled his house in keeping with his newly achieved position."

For comparative purposes, the Van Wyck site covers the appropriate period although, with one exception, the domestic deposits relating to the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary eras were not sealed off from intermixture with later materials. The family—transplants from Long Island of Dutch background—was similar to the families who lived at Raritan Landing. In fact, it is interesting to note that among the several families mentioned by Goring as having been "pressed into service as the town expanded into a major governmental and military center" were those of Major Henry Schenck and Hendrick Kip (Goring 1975: 5). There were two Schencks at the Landing—John, known by his will dating to 1763, and Peter T. who, according to Vermeule, lived there between 1740 and 1780 (Vermeule 1936). A Henry Kip advertised "a good dwelling . . . with a good wharf thereon" at Raritan Landing in 1751.

Fishkill was never a port, but it was close



to the Hudson (one of the reasons it was chosen as a depot and encampment) and at a major intersection of roads—the north-south Post Road and the Danbury-Fishkill-Newburgh Road (part of the main line of communications from Boston to Philadelphia). Although we do not know what the politics of the community were early in the century, by the time of the war it was clearly aligned with the American cause, as was, for the most part, Raritan Landing.

### The Comparisons

A standard procedure was followed to make the comparisons: ware type proportions were compared on a bar graph; when there were discrepancies of more than 5% the samples were broken down into functional categories so that specific vessels, made of the particular ware, could be identified. In this way it was possible to locate the vessel types which accounted for the discrepancies in ware type proportions.

#### *Stratum XV, Raritan Landing, and Midden 1, Lot 14, Hanover Square*

The first pair, referred to as Stratum XV at Raritan Landing and Midden 1 at Hanover Square, consists of two occupational deposits associated with houses destroyed by fire in the 1770s. The most striking discrepancies in ware type proportions represented are in the redware, buff-bodied earthenware, delftware, coarse saltglazed stoneware, and porcelain categories (FIG. 6). The dramatic discrepancy between redware percentages at the two sites is a reflection of the relatively large number of sherds from utilitarian vessels identified in the Hanover Square deposit compared to the small number at Raritan Landing.

The very high proportion of buff-bodied earthenware sherds in Stratum XV appears to represent vessels relating to food consumption and food service (TAB. 7). Five slip-decorated buff earthenware plates and four dishes were identified in a variety of patterns (FIG. 7). These plates and dishes, often referred to as pie plates (a modern term), constitute 71.4% of the identified vessels in the food consumption category at Raritan Landing and 75.0% of the identified vessels in the food service category. The midden deposit at Hanover Square yielded no recognizable fragments of buff-bodied food con-



Figure 8. Slip-decorated buff earthenware drinking pot.

sumption or food service vessels. It would appear that delftware plates and serving pieces, including some dating to the 17th century, were more important in the New York household although the deposit yielded at least one slip-decorated redware plate, a featheredged creamware plate, and a porcelain plate. The uniformity at the Landing in contrast to the mixture in New York is noteworthy.

Small drinking cups and pots at both Raritan Landing and Hanover Square were made of slip-decorated buff earthenware (FIG. 8) but mugs were very different. More dipped white saltglazed and Westerwald mugs were recovered from the Raritan Landing household deposit while English brown stoneware and a lustrous mottled brown or mustard yellow type were prevalent in the Hanover Square deposit (FIG. 9).

#### *Building C, Raritan Landing, and Transitional, Lot 14, Hanover Square*

The deposits in the second pair both overlay the deposits just discussed (crossmends indicate these represent the same households) and have been interpreted as destruction rubble from fires in the middle 1770s. The most striking discrepancies in ware types here are in the buff-bodied earthenware, creamware, white saltglazed and coarse saltglazed stoneware, and porcelain categories (FIG. 10). The large number of buff-bodied earthenware sherds at Raritan Landing is again a reflection of plates



Table 7. Percentage of total vessels identified by functional category, Stratum XV, Raritan Landing (RL), and Midden 1, Lot 14, Hanover Square (HS).

Ware type	Food consumption		Food service		Beverage consumption		Beverage service	
	RL	HS	RL	HS	RL	HS	RL	HS
	Buff-bodied earthenware	71	-	75	-	33	21	-
Delftware	29	56	13	60	-	12	-	-
Coarse saltglazed stoneware	-	-	-	-	13	21	-	25
Porcelain	-	11	-	-	13	29	-	-

Table 8. Percentage of total vessels identified by functional category, Stratum Xa, Building C, Raritan Landing (RL) and Transitional, Lot 14, Hanover Square (HS).

Ware type	Food consumption		Food service		Beverage consumption		Beverage service	
	RL	HS	RL	HS	RL	HS	RL	HS
	Buff-bodied earthenware	14	14	53	-	38	32	-
Creamware	-	43	-	20	-	28	-	100
White saltglazed stoneware	-	14	-	-	4	10	-	-
Coarse saltglazed stoneware	-	-	-	-	13	10	-	-
Porcelain	-	-	-	-	22	24	-	-
Porcelain	-	11	13	-	20	29	-	-

Table 9. Percentage of total vessels identified by functional category, Stratum XIX, Raritan Landing (RL), and Test Cut W, Lot 13, Hanover Square (HS).

Ware type	Food consumption		Food service		Beverage consumption		Beverage service	
	RL	HS	RL	HS	RL	HS	RL	HS
	Buff-bodied earthenware	17	-	20	-	20	13	-
Creamware	17	50	-	-	9	31	-	50
White saltglazed stoneware	17	-	60	-	26	-	-	-
Porcelain	8	-	20	100	20	25	-	-

and dishes as well as drinking cups and pots (TAB. 8). A number of delftware plates was also identified in this deposit at Raritan Landing, however, making it appear more comparable to the New York City household. But there is a significant difference in the relatively large number of creamware vessels in all functional categories recovered at Hanover Square in contrast to none recovered at Raritan Landing. The items identified at Hanover Square included

rim patterns of Royal and featheredged plates, beaded and feathered cups and saucers, and fragments of various serving vessels, including a possible Whieldon teapot, a probable sugar pot, and a creamer. At Raritan Landing comparable items were made of slip-decorated buff earthenware or delftware.

In general, the Hanover Square household had a much greater variety of ceramics than the Raritan Landing household. For drinking,



Figure 9. Staffordshire mottled mug.

in addition to creamware cups and saucers, the Hanover Square deposit included slip-decorated buff earthenware pots, Staffordshire mottled mugs, English brown stoneware mugs, white saltglazed (including scratch blue) teacups and a variety of underglazed as well as overglazed Chinese porcelain. In contrast, drinking pots identified at Raritan Landing were either slip-decorated buff earthenware or white saltglaze, mugs were slip-decorated buff earthenware or Westerwald, teawares were delftware and underglazed Chinese porcelain.

*Stratum XIX, Raritan Landing, and Test Cut W, Lot 13, Hanover Square*

The third pair of deposits represent households in different lots at both Raritan Landing and in New York. In both situations the deposits appear to be slightly disturbed sheet midden behind houses built by the third decade of the 18th century. Pronounced ware type discrepancies are noticeable in the buff-bodied earthenware, creamware, fine white saltglazed stoneware, coarse saltglazed stoneware, and porcelain categories (FIG. 11). In spite of the high proportion of slip-decorated buff earthenware sherds, the plates identified in Stratum XIX at Raritan Landing represented a variety of styles including three of blue-decorated delftware, one of slip-decorated redware,

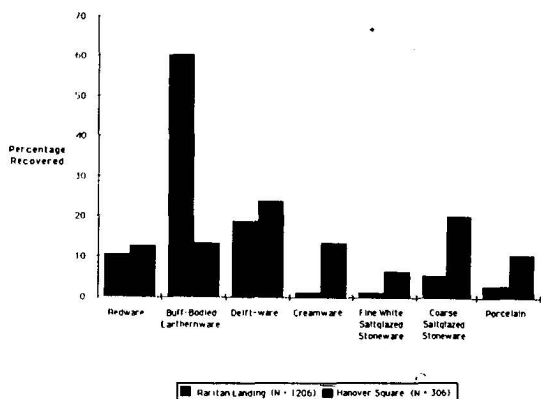


Figure 10. Percentages of ware types in the ceramic assemblages at Raritan Landing, Building C and Hanover Square, Lot 14, Transitional. N is the number of sherds from each location.

two of slip-decorated buff earthenware, one each of porcelain and creamware, and two of white saltglazed stoneware (TAB. 9). The New York household had a comparable mixture.

This Raritan Landing household appears to have been less inclined to limit itself to delftware and slip-decorated buff earthenware plates but just as inclined to own a small amount of creamware. In addition to the plate already mentioned, the only creamware recovered was from a few teacups and saucers, whereas, in addition to plates, the Hanover Square deposit included bowls, a Whieldon teapot, and numerous cups and saucers. What distinguishes this Raritan Landing deposit is the large number of items made of fine white saltglazed stoneware, including several scratch blue bowls and as many as nine drinking pots, some plain and some with scratch blue decoration. Relatively few fragments of pots or mugs were recovered from the Hanover Square deposit suggesting that this family preferred pewter. Teawares were Chinese porcelain (underglazed and an elegant overglazed olive green and gold) and creamware.

*Stratum VIII, Raritan Landing, and Feature 3, Van Wyck House*

The last pair of deposits is a little differ-

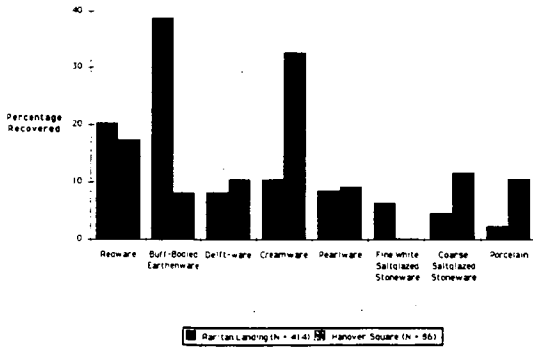


Figure 11. Percentages of ware types in the ceramic assemblages at Raritan Landing, Stratum XIX and Hanover Square, Lot 13, T.C. W. N is the number of sherds from each location.

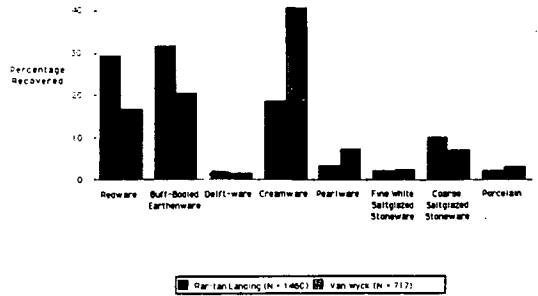


Figure 12. Percentages of ware types in the ceramic assemblages at Raritan Landing, Stratum VIII (gravel fill) and Van Wyck, Feature 3. N is the number of sherds from each location.

ent than the other three. Stratum VIII at Raritan Landing was fill laid down over the foundations of buildings that had been destroyed during the Revolutionary War. The fill contained artifacts from before the war and from during the war, including such things as buttons off British officers' uniforms. Feature 3 at the Van Wyck House also appears to be fill, probably laid to improve the walking surface outside the back door of the house when it became a tavern/stagecoach stop in 1785. The purpose of comparing Raritan Landing with Van Wyck was to see if people within pre-revolutionary and revolutionary-period upstate New York were more likely to identify with and imitate styles set in New York City than people within pre-revolutionary and revolutionary period New Jersey.

Ware type discrepancies are most notable in the redware, buff-bodied earthenware, and creamware categories (FIG. 12). The presence of domestic redwares in both these deposits distinguishes them from the others discussed. The substantial proportion of slip-decorated red earthenware plates, identified in the Raritan Landing sample—there were 13—suggests that they had taken on a particular significance,

perhaps as a replacement for the British slip-decorated buff earthenware ones which are considerably less well represented (TAB. 10). The larger slip-decorated buff earthenware pie plates or dishes still remain important, however, probably for decorative purposes or maybe as heirlooms. This deposit at Raritan Landing did contain the same proportion of Queensware and other creamware plates as the Van Wyck deposit, but other creamware vessels were conspicuously missing. Creamware recovered at Van Wyck included a brown and green mottled Whieldon bowl, a variety of teacups and saucers, and most notably, fragments of an unidentified vessel made of the surface-decorated type of agateware (Plate 51 in Buten, 1980, shows a covered vase, marked "Wedgwood and Bentley," made in this manner).

Sherds from a large variety of elegant creamware vessels were found in the earliest deposits excavated within the Van Wyck property suggesting that this family in Fishkill may very well have been anxious to keep up with what was stylish in the city. Another noticeable similarity between the Van Wyck sample and the last sample considered

Table 10. Percentage of total vessels identified by functional category, Stratum VIII, Raritan Landing (RL), and Feature 3, Van Wyck House (VW).

Ware type	Food consumption		Food service		Beverage consumption		Beverage service	
	RL	VW	RL	VW	RL	VW	RL	VW
Redware	46	20	7	-	7	-	-	-
Buff-bodied earthenware	14	15	50	-	16	14	-	-
Creamware	25	25	7	50	23	57	-	50

from New York City is the paucity of ceramic drinking pots and mugs, presumably reflecting a preference for pewter (or possibly glass; Lois Carr, personal communication, 1987). Stratum VIII at Raritan Landing included many pots and mugs, 10 of slip-decorated buff earthenware, 5 of Westerwald, and 4 of white saltglazed stoneware.

## Discussion

Although the differences in ceramic patterns in New York and at Raritan Landing are not absolutely clear cut, some general, if tentative, conclusions may be drawn. First, in all instances but one, any significant discrepancies in ware type proportions could be explained by differences in vessels associated with food and beverage consumption and service. In other words, the vessels in which there was conspicuous variation were the vessels that would be most visible—the ones Piscataway probate inventories list for the “large room under the stairs,” “the dresser,” and “the chamber.” At Raritan Landing those dishes were made of delftware, slip-decorated buff earthenware, and white saltglazed stoneware; in New York City they were made of delftware and creamware.

Second, there was consistent variation in drinking pots and mugs—even more than teaware—suggesting that drinking was an activity during which information might be exchanged nonverbally—through things—as well as with words. The tendency in New York to give up ceramic drinking vessels—presumably for pewter or glass—was not imitated at Raritan Landing nor was there a tendency at Raritan Landing to put much emphasis on

teawares. Although not discussed in any detail here, numerically, sherds of both porcelain and creamware teawares were much better represented in the New York City deposits than at Raritan Landing although the proportion of identified vessels was often the same. Tea drinking may have been disdained at the Landing, perhaps as a statement of not wanting to do what was English. There is evidence that most Raritan Landing residents were patriots (Vermeule 1936) and it is not inconceivable (though in no way provable) that they expressed their political sentiments by rejecting what was a fundamentally English custom.

Overall, the differences between the New York and Raritan Landing ceramic assemblages tended to occur in categories of objects that were used in display and entertaining. This result supports the idea that ceramics were used to express social solidarity internally and perhaps to maintain a sense of boundedness vis à vis New York. As hypothesized, the site up the Hudson River—the Van Wyck House—did indeed include ceramics more similar to those of the New York City sites than to those from Raritan Landing, again supporting the idea that ceramic patterning in New Jersey was different by choice.

## Conclusions

The problem posed here could not be solved by conventional means. No primary documents explicitly discuss the relationship between local East Jersey traders and New York City merchants in the years preceding the Revolutionary War. However, a pattern of diminishing kinship and commercial ties between Raritan Landing residents and New York City

merchants (derived from the analysis of primary documentary data), that began in about 1740, seems to be corroborated by the analysis of ceramics when they are considered as participants in the maintenance of boundaries between groups. Raritan Landing residents chose to own different things than Manhattan residents of similar means and background even though the same range of things was available to them.

The artifact analysis adds a dimension to our knowledge of this particular piece of the past that was previously inaccessible. For many reasons, not the least of which is the limited nature of the ceramic data and the circumstances under which it was excavated, the conclusions must be considered tentative. For New Jersey history the implications are dramatic and diametrically opposed to the usual presentation of East Jersey as an extension of New York. The Raritan Landing data suggest that pre-revolutionary New Jersey had a life of its own, that its traders were busily engaged in their own self interest, and that they chose to own things that expressed their differences rather than similarities. It is hoped that these suggestive findings will lead other scholars to serious research on a subject that has been neglected for the very reason that this study contradicts. New Jersey may have been a barrel tapped at both ends, but the history of what was going on in the middle has yet to be written. In the absence of an explicit documentary record, the grab-bag of techniques available to historical archaeologists may be the most productive approach to getting at this story.

## Acknowledgments

This paper was originally presented at the annual conference of the Council on Northeast Historical Archaeology, St. Mary's City, Maryland, October, 1987. The research was done for the author's doctoral dissertation in Anthropology at New York University. I am grateful to Bert Salwen for his comments on an earlier draft of the paper and for his unwavering support and encouragement throughout the research process. It was at his insistence that I dared to use archaeological data to tackle a difficult historical problem. I also wish to thank Joel Grossman who directed the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office excavation at

Raritan Landing. In a very real sense, it was Joel who asked the first interesting questions about the Raritan Landing traders. Lauralee Rappleye-Marsett, the director of the cultural resource division of the Department of Environmental Analysis, New Jersey Department of Transportation, generously allowed me to examine the reports and artifacts relating to the DOT's work at Raritan Landing. I am particularly grateful to David Zmoda of the DOT for giving me his time and insights into the collections. I am also grateful to Nan Rothschild of Barnard College for making the collections from Hanover Square and the Stadt Huys available to me and to Diana Wall and Arnold Pickman for directing me to appropriate comparable deposits. Art Carver, formerly of the Fishkill Historical Society, opened up the Van Wyck collection to me and allowed me to remove it from the premises for study. Shari Kondrup and Tony Masso prepared the graphics and photographs for this publication. Finally, I want to express my sincere appreciation to Mary Beaudry and Grace Ziesing for their expert editorial advice and to George Miller and another anonymous reader for their extensive and useful comments.

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