

1989

Be Ye Friend or Foe?: An Analysis of Two Eighteenth Century North Carolina Sites

Anna Lois Gray
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Gray, Anna Lois, "Be Ye Friend or Foe?: An Analysis of Two Eighteenth Century North Carolina Sites" (1989). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539625494.
<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-6265-cv28>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

**BE YE FRIEND OR FOE?
AN ANALYSIS OF TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
NORTH CAROLINA SITES**

**A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia**

**In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts**

**by
Anna L. Gray
1989**

APPROVAL SHEET

**The thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

Anna L. Gray

Anna. L. Gray

Approved, December 1989

Marley R. Brown III

Marley R. Brown III

Norman F. Barka

Norman F. Barka

Theodore R. Reinhart

Theodore R. Reinhart

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	2
CHAPTER I HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NORTH CAROLINA.....	10
CHAPTER II PERSONAL HISTORIES.....	23
CHAPTER III DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.....	31
CHAPTER IV PREVIOUS ANALYSIS.....	40
CHAPTER V A TEMPORAL ANALYSIS OF THE REID SITE AND NATH MOORE'S FRONT.....	57
CHAPTER VI A REANALYSIS OF THE REID SITE AND NATH MOORE'S FRONT.....	62
CHAPTER VII COMPARISON OF RESULTS.....	74
APPENDIX A 1740 ESTATE OF SOLOMON POOL.....	85
APPENDIX B ARTIFACT FREQUENCY RATIOS.....	86
REFERENCES CITED.....	87

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to express my utmost appreciation to John W. Clauser Jr., of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of State Archaeology and Terry M. Harper of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Historic Sites Section for their assistance in the development of this thesis. Their untiring help and suggestions with both the artifacts and revisions of the early drafts are most appreciated. I would also like to thank Dr. Marley R. Brown III for his useful comments and criticisms throughout the formation of this manuscript. Also, a special thanks to Dr. Norman F. Barka and Dr. Theodore R. Reinhart for their comments and recommendations of the final drafts. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their eager support and endless encouragement.

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Percentage of Population owning slaves.....	34
2. Reid Site Minimum Vessel Count (Total Site).....	64
3. Reid Site Minimum Vessel Count (Ash)	65
4. Nath Moore's Front Minimum Vessel Count (Total).....	69
5. Nath Moore's Front Minimum Vessel Count (Ash)	71
6. Artifact Class Frequencies for S10.....	72
7. Vessel and Percentage comparisons of the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front (Total).....	75
8. Vessel and Percentage comparisons of the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front (Ash)	77

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Map of North Carolina showing locations of the Reid Site and Brunswick Town.....	5
2. Collet Map 1770	24
3. Mouzon Map 1775	25
4. Moseley Map 1773.....	29
5. Brick floor and foundation of the Reid Site	42
6. Copper teapot spout	43
7. “Dot and Combed” slipware porringer	44
8. Furniture escutcheon plate	45
9. Sauthier Map 1769.....	48
10. Excavation Unit S10 Nath Moore’s Front	49
11. Archaeological Features of S10.....	51
12. George II halfpenny coin (observe and reverse).....	54
13. Bone handle knife.....	55
14. Key.....	56
15. Reid Site Comparison of Pipe Stem Dates.....	59
16. Time Range Comparison	61

ABSTRACT

The general purpose of this study is to apply pattern recognition analysis to an eighteenth-century North Carolina household site which has not been previously examined in this fashion. This new site is compared to a site which was previously analyzed. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to delineate the basis of differentiation between the two sites. The three major factors of differentiation considered in this study include those of geographical position, socio-economic status and cultural background.

The method of study is based primarily on artifactual materials, but historical documents are used as a complementary source. Artifactual data are compared through the use of pattern recognition; the availability of a significant corpus of materials from each of these sites and their contemporaneity make them ideal for this type of analysis. Documentary sources consist of histories of the two sites and the individuals who inhabited them during the eighteenth century.

The results of the study suggest that the differences between the two households are based on a combination of variables rather than one single factor.

BE YE FRIEND OR FOE?
An Analysis of Two Eighteenth Century
North Carolina Sites

INTRODUCTION

The general objective of this analysis is to apply the analytical method of pattern recognition to an eighteenth-century North Carolina site which has never been analyzed using this type of approach. The two sites involved in this study include the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front. They are located in distinct coastline areas of North Carolina, the Albermarle and the Lower Cape Fear respectively. Nath Moore's Front was used extensively in Stanley South's original formative pattern recognition studies, notably, the Carolina Artifact Pattern (1977). The Reid Site is an eighteenth-century North Carolina household which should predictably fit South's artifact pattern. This study will provide an opportunity to apply pattern recognition analysis to the Reid Site and compare the results with those of the previously analyzed Nath Moore's Front. It has been argued that pattern recognition studies are useful in historical archaeology because they provide a standardized means for establishing a patterned variability in the archaeological record. In this case study, the patterns resulting from the applications of these methods are compared in order to delineate the nature of the two archaeological sites.

Although there were important differences between the two sites examined in this analysis, the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front share a great deal in common. They are both household sites; they are located along the coastline of North Carolina, and they were occupied in the eighteenth century. These similarities can be seen in many of the artifacts which are common to both sites.

An important factor to consider in the comparison of the two sites involved in this study is that of archaeological context. Neither site is composed solely of "in situ de facto refuse" (Schiffer 1972). Ideally, for comparative purposes, the content of the two

sites should be recovered from the same archaeological context. However, due to the disturbances received by the two sites, this is not possible. Therefore, an effort is made to distinguish and interpret their eighteenth-century compositions to the fullest extent.

Specifically, the purpose of this study is to determine the differences between two eighteenth century household sites and to explain the basis of their variation. The study will attempt to assess whether variations are due primarily to three variables: geographical, socio-economic or cultural. To an extent, all three of these variables are interrelated and should be considered in the evaluation of the two sites. The geographical variable extends beyond the locational position of the two sites and includes other factors as well. The geographical factor examines the two sites in terms of them being two distinct, private households. However, a commercial or public element is added to the site function of Nath Moore's Front, due to the fact that it also served as a public ordinary during the eighteenth century, as well as being a private residence. The socio-economic variable reflects possible distinctions between the status of the two individuals of each site. Although the two men were of the same general status, the specific distinctions within this shared socio-economic group is discussed. The cultural aspects involved in this study are centered primarily around the religious differences of the two individuals. The two men share a common English heritage, yet their religious persuasions create a variation in their cultural identity. The Quaker and non-Quaker cultural aspects are considered, but perhaps do not best reflect the variation between the two sites.

The Reid Site is located in Pasquotank County, North Carolina and represents a small, rural, Quaker-owned farm of the eighteenth century. The site was excavated in 1985 by John W. Clauser Jr., an archaeologist with the state of North Carolina. Nath Moore's Front, an eighteenth-century urban residence is located in Brunswick Town along the Cape Fear River in Brunswick County, North Carolina. Nath Moore's Front

was excavated in 1958 by Stanley South who was an archaeologist with the state of North Carolina at the time. The location of these two sites is shown Figure 1.

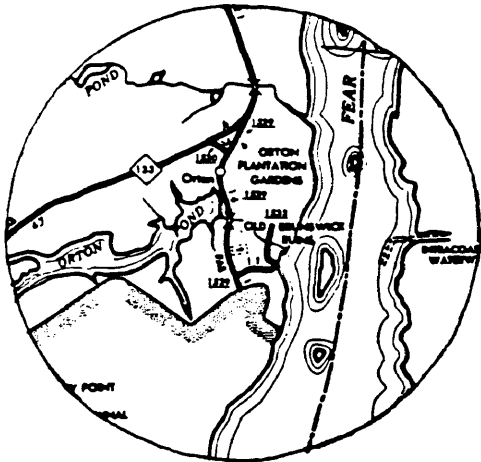
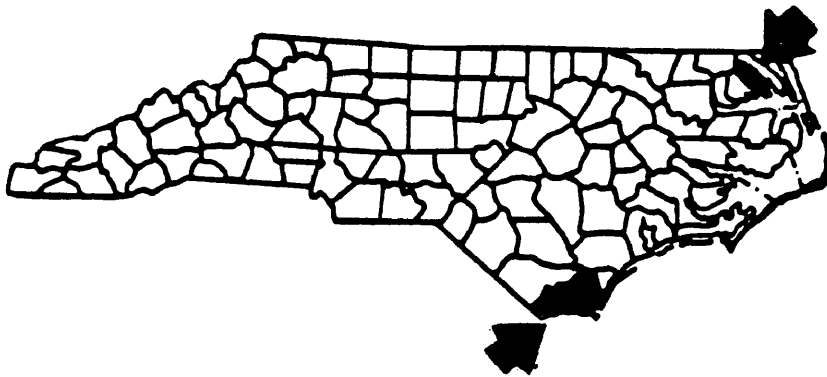
Since the initial excavation in the 1950s of Nath Moore's Front, this particular site has been subject to analysis by Stanley South who used the Brunswick Town material extensively in his pattern recognition studies of the 1970s. South's now widely known pattern recognition studies have had a tremendous impact on the archaeological community. The use of the Brunswick Town assemblages, including the artifacts associated with Nath Moore's Front were predominant components in his recognition of patterns and regularity in the archaeological record. For instance, the Brunswick Pattern of Refuse Disposal reflected the routine practice of the inhabitants in the eighteenth-century town of Brunswick. Nath Moore's Front was one of the house sites used in his study and demonstrated its applicability to predicting behavior practices on any British-American site.

Other findings of South's, the Carolina Artifact Pattern and the Frontier Artifact Pattern, also demonstrated the regularity and patterned behavior expressed in artifact ration percentages found on British-American sites. Again, this assemblage from Nath Moore's Front was used as an example in his initial explanation of the Carolina Artifact Pattern. Subsequent archaeological studies have included South's theories and usually adapt a modification of his pattern recognition studies in the analysis of artifact assemblages.

There are three major methods which are used in this reanalysis of both the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front as follows:

- 1) The first method involves the comparison of each site's artifact assemblage and an investigation of their similar background histories. In order to address the question pertaining to their material culture, however, the sites are compared according to their household assemblages. This further separation in to the distinct households is especially useful with the Brunswick Town material. In examining the individual

Nath Moore's Front
Brunswick Town
Brunswick County



Reid Site
Nixonton Vicinity
Pasquotank County

Figure 1. Map of North Carolina showing the locations of the Reid Site and Brunswick Town

households, hopefully an overview of the two separate areas can be distinguished. As Mrozowski (1984:31) points out in his study of household assemblages, "... there is an underlying assumption that different households mean different types of society. Thus discovering the structure of household relations addresses problems of more general significance such as the adaptation to shifting economic and ecological conditions."

2) A second method used in the comparison of the material culture of these two sites is the use of South's pattern recognition and artifact frequency ratios. Over the past 10 years or more, pattern recognition has been a significant factor in many historical archaeology studies. These pattern recognition studies were developed in response to a need for more quantification in historic archaeology and less emphasis on the particularistic description. This method of quantification of data was accomplished by a formation of artifact patterns which in turn would reveal certain broad regularities or pulsations of culture process against which any deviation from such regularity can be contrasted as reflecting behavior somewhat different from expected margins" (1977:86). Essentially, South summarizes the postulates relating to the artifact patterns by suggesting that,

(1) British colonial behavior should reveal regularities in patterning in the archeological record from British colonial sites and (2) specialized behavioral activities should reveal contrasting patterns on such sites. These patterns will be recognized through quantification of the behavioral by-products which form the archeological record (1977:88).

Although South's pattern recognition studies have been used extensively in historical archaeology analysis, there has been much criticism as to the purpose of these pattern studies and even in the formation of the patterns themselves. Perhaps the most significant criticism of South's patterns is that it only allows a "synchronic, functional analysis of an archaeological site" (Orser 1989). Therefore the use of pattern recognition analysis fails to truly incorporate a whole-cultural concept and any temporal

meaning is abandoned as well. As Orser (1989:34) comments, “The internal contradictions, overt eclecticism, and synchronic perspective in South’s theoretical foundation are partially to blame for the lack of success historical archaeologists have had during the past ten years applying his analytical methods.”

Other criticism of South’s patterns point out the fact that they do not take into account any environmental adaptations which may influence the structure of the pattern. For instance, South’s pattern assumes that, “each household in an eighteenth century British colonial society represents a system within a much larger system imposing on each household a degree of uniformity in the relationships among its behavioral parts. This uniformity is expected to be revealed in various classes of cultural remains” (1977:86). These postulates regarding the broad cultural process are supported by South’s example of a hypothetical British colonial family in America. South’s assumption that “a British family on the way to America in the eighteenth century would bring a basic set of behavioral modes, attitudes, and associated artifacts that would not vary regardless of whether their ship landed at Charleston, Savannah, or Philadelphia” (1977:86). This “basic set of behavioral modes, attitudes, and associated artifacts” should then be consistent in the archaeological record despite their location. These patterns do not consider however, the possibility that these settlers in different areas would most likely encounter, “a variety of different social and physical environmental factors that would substantially alter the nature of eighteenth-century British-American adaptations and subsequently affect the expected similarity of cultural deposits” (Warfel 1983:268).

Despite the uniformity or regularities demonstrated in South’s pattern recognition studies, their use in archaeological studies is still questioned. In order for quantification techniques such as patterns and artifact ratios to be helpful in historical archaeology, they must be incorporated into a complete study of the archaeological site. Also, some attention should be paid to the temporal or diachronic sequence of a

particular site. The use of historical documentation as well as any available ethnographic accounts is essential to fully comprehend the “past behavior associated with the entire culture process” (Warfel 1983). Otherwise, the use of pattern recognition in historical archaeology studies will be little more than, “a mass of interesting data that in the long run will not contribute to any unified theme” (Orser 1989:36). Although there is much criticism towards the use of pattern recognition studies, they do provide a means for systematically examining the archaeological data that in the long run will not contribute to any unified theme” (Orser 1989:36). Although there is much criticism towards the use of pattern recognition studies, they do provide a means for systematically examining the archaeological data from a historic site and allow an orderly technique for comparative analysis.

3) Finally, a third method to be considered in this study is the incorporation of the historical records. Although the records are not complete for either site, they do provide some framework for their comparative study. The historical documentation is able to interpret many questions which are not readily apparent in the archaeological data. Conversely, the archaeological data provide some of the missing information which is not stated in the remaining documents.

The thesis begins with a discussion of the background history of North Carolina and the two coastal settings being compared. This background history describes the reasons for early settlement, the religious influences on these settlers, and describes the beginnings of trade and commerce within the Carolina colony. It is followed by a discussion of the individual histories of the occupants of both the Reid Site and Nath Moore’s Front. Their personal histories are significant because they contribute to the general understanding of any cultural or socio-economic factors which are unique to the expression of each.

The third chapter describes the available documentary records which are present for each site. This discussion is especially important because it also helps to identify socio-economic factors which are relevant to this study.

The fourth chapter reviews the previous analysis of the two sites. In addition, the methodologies and results of the prior researchers are explained. The fifth chapter includes the temporal analysis of the two sites. The different methods of determining the mean dates for each site are presented. Temporal comparisons of the two sites are made in terms of their individual mean ceramic dates, pipe stem dates, and the use of any available historical documentation. The sixth chapter contains the reanalysis of the two sites, and describes the methods used in their comparison. The results of the reanalysis are presented, and then discussed in terms of their similarity or difference from those results of the previous analysis.

In the final chapter, the comparisons of the two sites are summarized. The use of the archaeological evidence along with the documentary record and historical background are all considered in the conclusions of this study. The degree of similarity and variation of the two sites is discerned, and the factors responsible for the observed variation are summarized.

CHAPTER I HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NORTH CAROLINA

Early Settlement

Permanent settlement in North Carolina began in the late seventeenth century. By 1650, settlers began moving into the areas along North Carolina's coastline, especially in the Tidewater region situated near the Albermarle Sound. Soon after the turn of the century, settlements expanded further south and eventually included the area of the Lower Cape Fear. The movement into the Tidewater was primarily due to the availability of land, but there were also other factors involved. To a certain extent, North Carolina offered a guarantee for religious freedom. Therefore, many dissenting groups, especially from Virginia, were attracted to North Carolina and gradually became well-established.

One of the primary factors for North Carolina's earliest development was the abundance and availability of land, which influenced expansion into the Tidewater. As Hartley (1986) demonstrates in his study of Charles Town, South Carolina, there were certain policies which led to the settlement of English colonies. In an examination of Richard Hakluyt's 1578, Notes on Colonization, Hartley explains the Elizabethan policies towards colonizing and settlement. The "English Model" (Hartley 1986:54) for settlement was essentially a procedure in which a colony would be established to serve as the center of occupation. It would then extend flanking colonies to both the north and south of it to secure the boundaries. According to Hartley, this was accomplished by the settlement of Jamestown which was the center, and then later, the Massachusetts Colony to the north and Charles Town to the south. After these three points were secured, an infilling process between the areas could begin. The settlement of the

Albermarle region and then later the Lower Cape Fear was therefore a result of this infilling process.

The settlement and location of a colony was very specific in that it should be situated on or nearby a major navigable river, which would not only offer protection from enemy attack, but also be accessible for active trade and shipping. Other factors, such as the soil quality for cultivation purposes, availability of “sweet water” and peaceful relations with the indigenous people, were all considered as well. The proper location of the early settlements was therefore extremely important.

Settlement within the Albermarle area was attractive due to several influential factors. A mild climate, an abundance of fish and game, as well as fertile soil which was suited to yielding large crops affected many in their decisions to move to Carolina. Although some individuals moved to Carolina with the intentions of using it as “... a headquarters for hunting and foraging expeditions, others began to occupy it with the idea of staying permanently” (Wood 1954:3). These early settlers of Carolina’s Tidewater were a fairly homogeneous group. The area in which they were settling was not that much different than the environment of the Virginia Tidewater which they had left. Their expansion into Carolina was simply a means whereby a small to middling farmer could own a reasonable amount of property. In 1663, Governor William Berkeley issued 28 patents for tracts of land varying in size from 200 to 300 acres. A typical landowner may have owned about 250 acres of land. There was a scarcity of truly wealthy men in the Albermarle region during the late seventeenth century; however, there were a few men who did own considerable amounts of land. At the end of the seventeenth century, the Albermarle could easily be characterized by its undifferentiated society of small to middling landowners” (Ekirch 1981:20).

Another example of the early settlement in North Carolina occurred in 1660. A party of adventurers from Massachusetts began the first trade along the Cape Fear River. The lure of this area began primarily because it seemed like an excellent place to

raise stock. A few years later, in 1664, a colony was established and named Charlestown, in honor of King Charles. The founders of Charlestown were John Vassall of Barbadoes and others from the New England colony of Massachusetts. Many colonists soon arrived in Charlestown from Barbadoes and New England and the population soon reached over 600 inhabitants. By 1665, problems with the local Indians began, and there was also a dissatisfaction on the part of the colonists with the regulations of the proprietary government. Some of the New Englanders had sold Indian children into slavery, causing great friction between the two groups. Also, many colonists wanted to elect their own governor instead of having one appointed by the Lords Proprietors. The settlers of Charlestown soon became very disheartened and felt "cut off and abandoned from the other colonies" (Sprunt 1916:32). The colony was disestablished in Virginia. This ended any permanent settlement along the Lower Cape Fear until several years later, in the 1720s.

As the eighteenth century progressed, the area surrounding the Albermarle began to feel the pressure of a growing population. Many of these early colonists began moving out of the Albermarle to areas to the south and west. The land around Core Sound was quickly inhabited as well as the Swill settlement of the town of New Bern.

The settlement of New Bern in 1710, however, sparked immediate trouble with the local tribe of Indians, the Tuscaroras, who also occupied this area. The Tuscaroras resented the white settlers for encroaching on their hunting grounds, kidnapping and enslaving their women and children, and the unscrupulous trading practices which frequently cheated the Indians. All of these factors provoked the Tuscaroras into staging a bloody massacre in which "the Indians ... dividing into small groups, attacked white settlements all the way from the Neuse to Pamlico, killing, scalping, and burning" (Lefler and Newsome 1974:64). The Indians continued their attack on white settlers; and without immediate outside help, the colony would have soon been obliterated. The Albermarle Sound area had been appealed to for help, but Quakers

who made up almost all of the population refused to take up arms. Therefore, Governor Hyde requested assistance from both Virginia and South Carolina. Virginia could not send troops to defend against the Indian attacks because there was not a guarantee for provisions for them. South Carolina, however, did agree to send both troops and supplies to assist the devastated colony. Uprising continued with the Tuscaroras until 1715 when they agreed to a treaty. By this time though, many of the Tuscaroras had left North Carolina to join tribes in New York.

Immediately after the Tuscarora Indian War expansion and settlement continued along the coast of North Carolina. This growth was slow however due to North Carolina's coastline which was riddled with shallow inlets and treacherous shoals. "The absence of a good port and harbor tended to stifle the growth of the colony, while more favored and attractive localities drew elsewhere the enterprising immigrants from Europe who sought new homes in America" (Ashe 1925:220). The Cape Fear Valley however was a newly explored area which began to interest many. The Lords Proprietors had been reluctant to grant land in this region, but many people began moving in anyway. Essentially the Cape Fear was avoided up until 1720 because of "the presence of hostile Indians and the fact that many pirates frequently used the river for careening their ships and as a place of refuge" (Lefler and Powell 1973:86). Soon both of these threats had been removed from the Cape Fear and permanent settlement could begin.

Colonel Maurice Moore, a South Carolinian who had come to North Carolina to assist during the Tuscarora War, was very impressed with portions of the Lower Cape Fear. Although it was against restrictions made by the Lords Proprietors, Governor George Burrington began issuing land patents for the Cape Fear after he entered office in 1724. On June 3, 1725, Maurice Moore was granted 1500 acres of land on the west side of the Cape Fear. He set aside 350 acres of this tract for the establishment of the town of Brunswick. These lots were one half acre each and he divided the town into

336 lots. The new town, situated on a low bluff along the banks of the Cape Fear River, awaited the arrival of many new settlers. Maurice Moore soon began selling these Brunswick lots on the condition that "... a habitable house sixteen by twenty feet be built on the lot within eight months. This was done so that the town would develop more quickly and to discourage holding lots merely for speculation" (South 1960:4). The early years of Brunswick Town's development were somewhat slow. As a visitor described it, it was "... a poor, hungry, unprovided place, consisting of not above 10 or 12 scattering mean Houses, hardly worth the name of a Village" (Lee 1965:119). By the end of 1731, Brunswick's growth had increased rapidly and the fact the the Port of Brunswick was opened began to encourage more trade and commerce, merchants and wealthy planters from South Carolina and the Albermarle began pouring into Brunswick. A courthouse and a gaol were constructed; and there were several taverns, shops, and ordinaries in the town.

Although the majority of the settlers were of English stock, the Cape Fear attracted a variety of other groups as well. The society of Brunswick was a mixture of English, Irish, Highland Scots, and some Germans, as well as numerous colonists who had moved from Pennsylvania and many of the New England colonies. This society was certainly a cumulation of differing groups more so than the society of the Tidewater.

The Lower Cape Fear society could also be distinguished from the society of the Albermarle in terms of its gradual stratification and an emergence of a truly wealthy elite class. By the 1730s, the Cape Fear was inhabited by not only wealthy men of the Albermarle who wished to relocate some of their fortunes, but also by many South Carolinians. These wealth South Carolinians saw settlement within the Cape Fear as "an opportunity to recoup some of their losses served during their depression" (Ekirch 1981:21). Unlike the small subsistence farmers of the Albermarle, the Cape Fear residents were depicted as a wealthy planter class who owned large tracts of land and

usually had sufficient slave labor to work the large plantation crops. By the mid-eighteenth century, the well-established settlement of the Albermarle and the newly settled Brunswick Town in the Cape Fear reflected a North Carolina Society which was gradually becoming more stratified and differentiated.

Religious Influences

The availability of land was certainly a tremendous influence on the settlement of North Carolina in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, yet religious developments served as a second factor which attracted many to move to North Carolina. "While it may be assumed that most early Carolina settlers came seeking land, some few Quakers and other religious dissenters from New England and Virginia were attracted by the air of religious freedom" (Hinshaw 1984:2). Throughout the entire proprietary period of North Carolina's history, the intentions of the Lords Proprietors called for the establishment of the Church of England to serve as the official religion of the Carolina colony (Weeks 1896:12). Yet, in actuality, during the early settlement of the colony, the Carolina Charter granted in 1663 by King Charles II, did not discourage the immigration of various religious groups and furthermore guaranteed their protection.

No person ... shall be in any ways molested, punished, disquieted, or called into question for any differences in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernment, but every person shall have and enjoy his conscience in matters of religion throughout all the province (Saunders 1886:1:45).

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Proprietors were very reluctant to make religion a barrier to further settlement. It seemed evident that "... a general indifference to issues of faith and church accounted for the generous provisions that were made for religious liberty" (Lefler and Powell 1973:192).

Quakers along with Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians quickly became established. Religious freedom soon prevailed in North Carolina; and there was "a

sharp contrast with the intolerance in Puritan Massachusetts, and in Virginia under Governor Berkely” (Hinshaw 1984:2). In Virginia especially, a dissenter’s status depended entirely upon the will of the governor and the assembly. Quakers were often severely persecuted and fined heavily. Nevertheless, due to the strong foothold which the Quakers had in North Carolina, the toleration and prosperity of the group continued until the turn of the century. By the early 1700s there were numerous circumstances which would greatly effect the Quakers.

In colonial Carolina society, there was very little opportunity for social interaction. Settlers were essentially isolated from each other except on rare occasions in which they may have gathered for a certain event. This dispersed population and lack of social interaction therefore gave the Quakers an ideal atmosphere in which they could develop. Quakers offered some form of worship and also provided an opportunity for friends and neighbors to gather for meetings on a regular basis.

In 1672, William Edmundson and George Fox, two very influential Quaker missionaries, visited the Albermarle. Their journals give descriptive accounts of the visits they made with members of the Society of Friends while in North Carolina. William Edmundson gives an account of his visit which he made in May of 1672:

I was moved of the Lord to go to Carolina, and it was perilous travelling for the Indians were not yet subdued, but did mischief, and murdered several. The place they haunted much was in that wilderness betwixt Virginia and Carolina; scarce any dust travel that way unarmed.

It was all wilderness and no English inhabitants or padways [sic], only some marked trees to guide people; the first day’s journey we did pretty well, and lay that night in the woods, as we often used to in these parts (Saunders 1886:1:215).

Upon his arrival at Henry Phillip’s house in Hertford:

He and his wife had been convinc’d of the Truth in New England and came there to live, who having not seen a Friend for seven years before, they wept for joy to see us: yet it being on a First Day Morning when we got there, although I was weary and faint, my cloaths [sic] all wet, I

desired them to send to the People there-away to come to a meeting about the Middle of the Day.

Now about the hour appointed many People came, but they had little or no Religion, for they came and sate [sic] down in the Meeting smoking their pipes: but in a little time the Lord's testimony arose in the Authority of His Power and their Hearts being reach'd with it several of them were tender'd and received the Testimony. After Meeting they desir'd me to stay with them and let them have more Meetings (Saunders 1886:1:226).

The arrival of Edmundson was a great time for visiting, exchanging news, especially of happenings in England, and even a chance to indulge in trade. As Anscombe points out, "The coming of Edmundson was a welcome relief and break in the monotony and drudgery of early colonial life. His message came to weary men with hungry hearts, and hundreds came long distances often on foot to hear the Gospel" (1959:37).

George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends had a similar experience when he came to Carolina for 18 days, and was able to convince several people of his Quaker faith.

... from Hence we went down the creek in a canoe to Macocomocock River, and came to Hugh Smith's where people of other professions came to see us (no Friends inhabiting that part of the country) and many of them received us gladly (Saunders 1886:1:216-217).

Fox was described as having an extraordinary power and influence over "a great many people of account in this word — justices, magistrates, majors, captains, and divers others of considerable account in the government" (Anscombe 1959:61).

Both of these missionaries were very influential in the establishment of the Society of Friends in North Carolina. "The seed fell upon receptive ground; the Quaker faith had been planted in colonial Carolina" (Hinshaw 1984:5).

Quakers enjoyed peace and prosperity throughout the end of the seventeenth century in North Carolina. The Quaker strength was concentrated primarily in the two precincts of Perquimmans and Pasquotank, and "... throughout the ensuing years they continued to maintain close relationships with nearby Friends in Virginia" (Hickey

1982:8). They continued to have their monthly meetings and their faith began to flourish without the presence of clergy. The customs and practices of Quakers who lived in North Carolina seemed very indicative of Quakers who lived in other colonies. As Frost points out in his book on colonial Quaker life, "Because Quakers were a family sharing a common faith, they met together to reaffirm their beliefs and to discuss their dilemmas. Close-knit because they were different from their neighbors, Friends preserved a distinctive culture wherever they lived" (1973:211).

Quakers not only established a religious outlet for the early settler, but also had an impact on other aspects of society such as education and politics. The first school established in North Carolina began in 1705 at Symon's Creek in Pasquotank County. The teacher, Charles Griffin was Anglican; yet oddly enough, the Quaker families approved of him and sent their children to his school. The government of North Carolina was also influenced by these early Quakers. Many held public offices in the lower courts and assembly. John Archdale, a Quaker, was appointed governor of North Carolina in 1696. Due to many laws passed in the early 1700s which required Quakers to take an oath of office, these regulations quickly diminished the Quaker influence in the Government. Quakers refused to take oaths, and consequently, their power was no longer a threat to the majority of Anglican leaders.

Because the Quaker influence was well established by 1700, the Church of England had some difficulty in gaining control. The Vestry Act of 1701 passed a law in which land was laid off into parishes. There was also a provision for the building of churches and the maintenance of the clergy by tithes. This act was certainly unpopular with the Quakers of the Albermarle and with other colonists as well. Up until 1700, Anglican missionaries had occasionally visited the colonists in North Carolina. They would come to baptize children and perform marriages, but the length of time between visits was usually very long (Wood 1954:5). By 1704, however, when the first Anglican church was built, the attitudes began to change.

In North Carolina, not unlike many of the other colonies, the Church of England had to struggle in order to adapt to the New World. Most of the population during the seventeenth century was unchurched unless they did belong to dissenting groups such as the Quakers. According to Anscombe (1959:56), "... the majority of the colonists up to 1700 were nominally Episcopalians, and were of English descent. However, for nearly fifty years, according to some authorities, the church dignitaries had done nothing to care for the spiritual needs of the colonists". The children who were born and raised within this society therefore lacked "any familiarity with religion which their parents had from their own English experience" (Graham 1988:297). By the eighteenth century, the presence of the Church of England was apparent. There was a distinction to be made between the early immigrant population of the seventeenth century, and the native-born population of the eighteenth century. Graham (1988:304) in his study of the establishment of the Church in Maryland indicates, "The increasing stability of family life created a demand for a more regular religious life which the church ceremonies provided. As the population began to more closely approximate the English norm, additional pressures were placed upon institutions to become more like England's."

At the start of the permanent settlement in 1725, the predominant religion of the Cape Fear was the Church of England. Although the establishment of parishes was begun by the Lords Proprietors, the Church was certainly not a leading factor in the society of the Cape Fear. This was due to the lack and disinterest of clergymen. Very few ministers were attracted to this area, so as a result the established church was very weak.

The first minister to serve Brunswick was Reverend Jean Lapierre, a Frenchman, who arrived in 1728. Although Lapierre was described as being "a godly man fired with religious fervor," he was unable to overcome the frustrations which faced him in the new settlement of Brunswick and its outlying parish (Lee 1965). Due to a lack of

funds which would provide him with a rectory and glebe and perhaps a small salary, Lapierre resigned after serving for four years.

The next minister sent to the Cape Fear was the Reverend James Moir. He served both St. Phillip's Parish at Brunswick and St. James' Parish which included Wilmington. He traveled back and forth from both parishes, but finally elected to stay in Brunswick. Moir, however, was very dissatisfied with his situation at Brunswick, where he lived in the garret of a small house which was used as a church and "took his meals in the public taverns of Brunswick which he described as being the very worst on the face of the Earth in more respects than one" (Lee 1965:210). By 1746, Moir had returned to Wilmington and again Brunswick was without religious services. It was not until 1759 that a church in Brunswick was built. St. Phillip's was completed due to a lottery which was held in order to provide funds for the church's construction. Brunswick Town's religious roots were very unstable because of the lack of support both financially and spiritually and were major factors in St. Phillip's frustrating development.

The religious development within North Carolina during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was very influential upon the state's settlement in general. Factors such as "a chronically weak Anglican church, dispersed character of the settlements, shortage of ministers and a seemingly indifference to organized religion on the part of the planters, all effected the religious developments in North Carolina" (Ekirch 1981:29). The Society of Friends among several other dissenting groups were able to gain influence and become well-established within North Carolina's colonial society. The Church of England did however manage to emerge as the intended religion for the colony in the eighteenth century, and was able to gain control among a large percentage of the population.

Trade and Commerce

A third factor which greatly affected the early colonial settlement of North Carolina was the practice of commerce and trade. The lack of an accessible port and the treacherous coastline prevented trade and shipping from becoming as extensive as that of North Carolina's neighbors. Throughout the early eighteenth century, trade was confined mainly to New England and Virginia. Very often small sloops would bring in goods and travel from river to river distributing them. Their return cargoes would usually be items such as produce, which was not conveniently transported over land. The majority of West Indian goods permitted by the British Navigation Laws, were brought in from Virginia by land or in canoes in very small quantities and at unreasonable rates. Smuggling was inevitable because the coastline offered the opportunity for ships to unload goods before they saw the customs collector and to take in goods before they were cleared (Saunders 1886:3:xvi). Large quantities of North Carolina tobacco were exported by New England ships without paying customs.

As the eighteenth century progressed, there was more of an effort to regulate the trade of North Carolina. By the 1730s there were five official ports of entry which included: Brunswick, Bath, Roanoke, Beaufort, and Currituck. British collectors were located at each of these five ports and were responsible for regulating the trade activity. By far, the two most important ports were Brunswick and Roanoke.

The goods exported from the North Carolina ports, especially Port Roanoke of the Albermarle and Port Brunswick of the Cape Fear, were indicative of the settlements in each of these areas. A significant factor in all of North Carolina's trade was the exploitation of leading factor in the production of naval stores because the products would be shipped down the river to the Port of Brunswick from the large plantations located further into the interior. Therefore the best land was not only important for the production of naval stores, but also "the best water frontage was essential to this colonial industry" (Lee 1951). The Cape Fear could now be distinguished by its

planter class who could afford the large tracts of land and who owned sufficient slave labor to produce these vital goods. Unlike this planter class of the Cape Fear, the people of the Albermarle usually produced small amounts of certain crops and products in order to supplement their incomes rather than engaging in the large scale production of naval stores.

CHAPTER II PERSONAL HISTORIES

Reid Site

Settlement within North Carolina's Tidewater was well underway by the 1660s; and as was previously noted, the Quakers were among the first group of settlers. A remonstrance sent to the Lords Proprietors in 1679 states that, "most of us whose names are hereunto subscribed have been inhabitants in Carolina since the years 1663: and 1664. The twenty one men who signed this were, people of God who are in scorn called Quakers: (Saunders 1886:1:250). One of these signers was Solomon Pool. Solomon Pool had moved to Pasquotank County in 1670 from Middlesex, England. The Pasquotank Monthly Meeting Minutes for the year 1679 indicate that Solomon Pool married Margaret White, daughter of Henry White, a prominent Quaker leader of the region (Hinshaw 1969:161).

The earliest land record listed for Solomon Pool is a grant issued in 1684 for "a plantation containing two hundred acres of land English measure lying and being on the East side of Little River in the Precinct of Pasquotank" (North Carolina Land Grants Book 1:78). In 1718, Pool received a deed for 67 acres of land which were adjacent to this property from Jonathan Rapier. Subsequent eighteenth century maps show the Pool family situated on the east side of Little River (Figures 2 and 3). The Pool property was bound by a small branch on one side and the road leading into Nixonton on another side.

Solomon and Margaret Pool had four children, Richard (b. 1680), Anne (b. 1682), Mary (b. 1683), and Solomon (b. 1687) according to the Quaker records (Hinshaw 1969:85-W). The Pasquotank Monthly Meeting Minutes for the "13th day

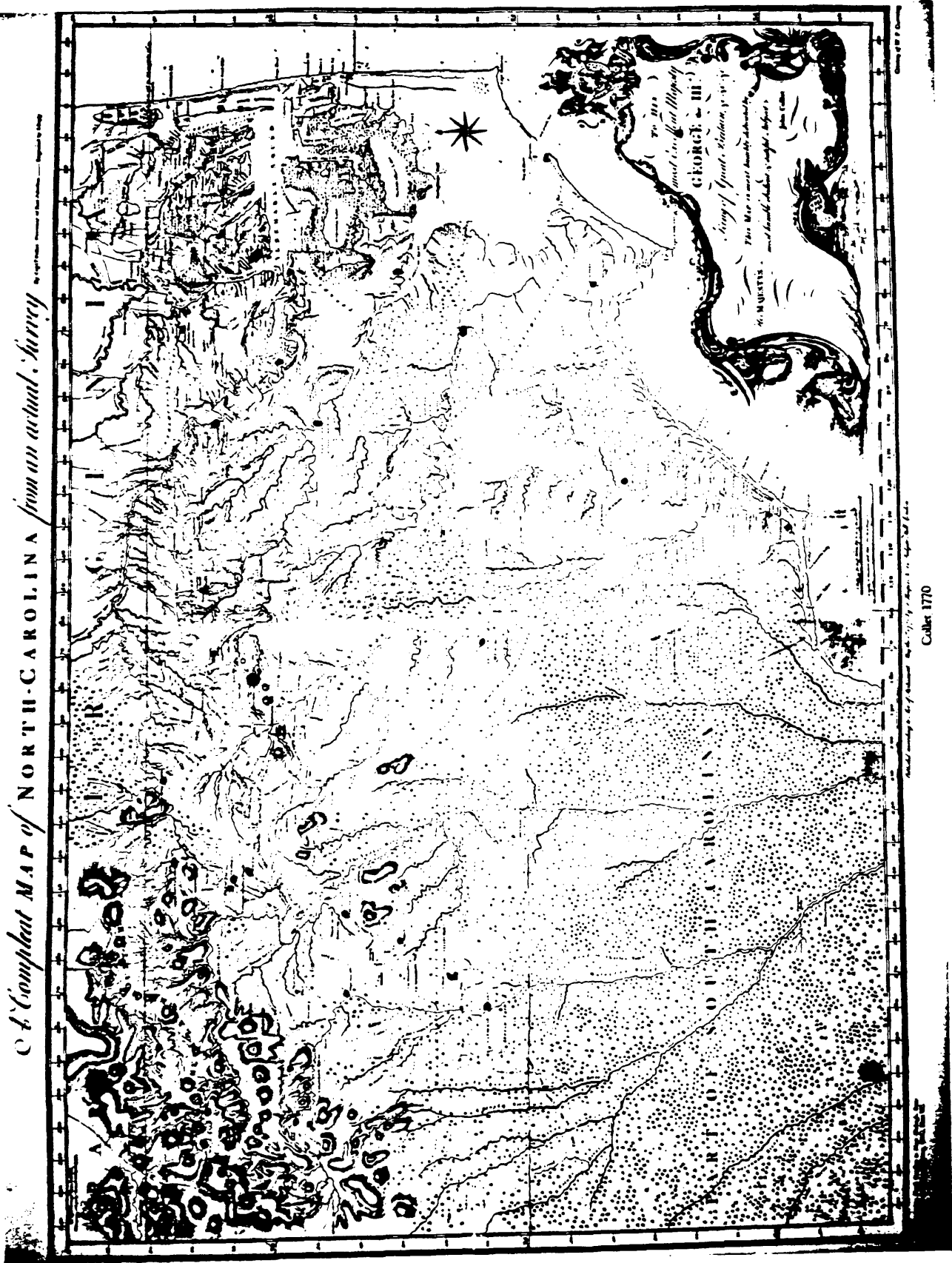


Figure 2. Collet Map 1770

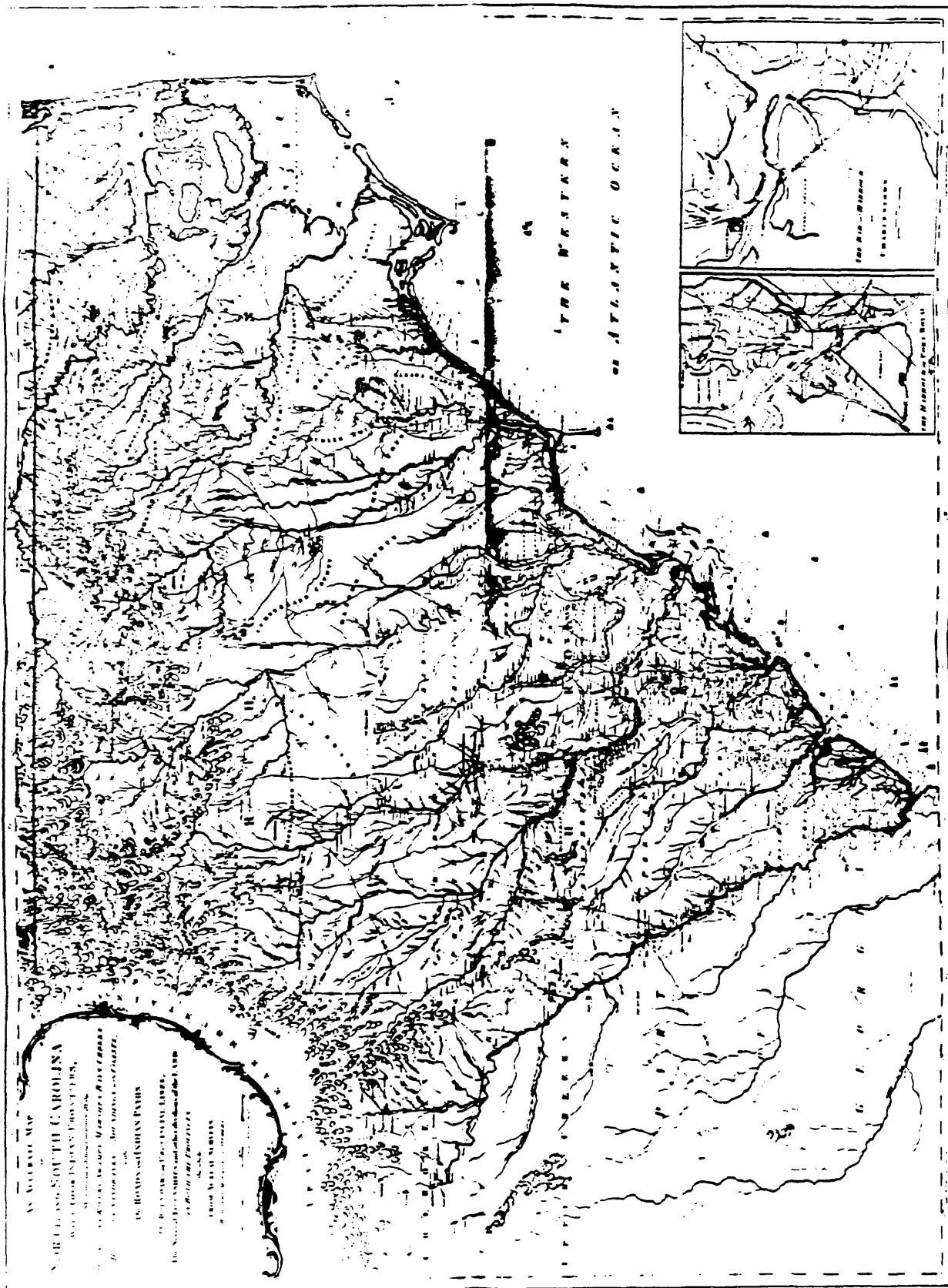


Figure 3. Mouzon Map 1775

of the 9th month 1707” recorded that “Christopher Nicholson and Mary Pool appeared before this Meeting and declared their intentions of marriage...” (Hinshaw 1969:161). The marriages of the other children were not recorded. Although a will does not exist for Solomon Pool, it seems likely that his four children received the divisions of his estate.

In examining the land records for Pasquotank Precinct in the early eighteenth century, Solomon Pool (b. 1687) lived on the previously mentioned property which was located on the east side of Little River. Solomon Pool and his wife Grace also had four children, Joseph, Solomon, Jacob, and Sarah. Public records, other than the deeds and land records which mention Solomon Pool include the County Court minutes for Pasquotank Precinct. In 1737, Solomon Pool and his son Solomon Pool Jr., served on a jury to lay out a road and build it according to law. Zachariah Nixon petitioned for this road to be “laid and cleared from the Maine [sic] Road to his Mill” (Pasquotank County Court Minutes 1737:35).

Solomon Pool died in 1739 and left a will indicating his instructions for the division of his property. He named his son Joseph and his wife Grace as executor and executrix of his estate respectively, and requested that first and foremost all of his debts and duties which he may have owed be paid. Pool left all of his property to his four children. Joseph, the oldest son, received a parcel of land containing 99 acres and his Negro wench Blear. His son Solomon also also received 99 acres of land and his Negro boy Moses. The youngest son, Jacob received the manor plantation and land where he was currently living and his Negro boy, Dolphin. This was a common practice for the youngest son to receive the family’s house and its surrounding land. Pool does specify that if Jacob should die before reaching legal age, his share of the inheritance was to be given to his brother, Solomon. Apparently Jacob did die as a minor and his share of the estate went to his brother Solomon. Sarah, Solomon Pool’s only daughter, received two of his slaves, Sarah and Hagar. He requested that his wife

Grace be allowed the use of all of his slaves until her own death. The four children were also to receive two cows and calves at their arrival of age or day of marriage.

Based on the available records and certain reasonable assumptions which can be made, Solomon Pool was a man of moderate wealth. Pool seems to represent a fairly prosperous farmer of North Carolina in the early to mid-eighteenth century.

Nath Moore's Front

The first permanent settlement of the Lower Cape Fear region began in the late 1720s. Yet, the land records do not serve as good indicators of the early residents of the Cape Fear due to several reasons. As Lee (1965:102) points out, "many people received patents before they took up the land, others may have occupied their land on the basis of warrants before patents were issued, and at times, the land occupied or claimed often exceeded that specified in the original grant." Despite the confusion in these early land records, it is obvious that only a few men who were related either by blood or marriage owned most of the land in the Lower Cape Fear. "This concentration of land in the hands of the few established the plantation pattern that characterized the region for many years. Moreover, it increased the difficulty of acquisition by others" (Lee 1965:102). Nathaniel Moore along with his brothers Roger and Maurice were members of the select few who acquired vast amounts of property in the Lower Cape Fear during the eighteenth century.

Brunswick Town was first laid out by Maurice Moore in 1725. Settlers, predominantly from South Carolina, began moving into the town; and by the spring of 1726, a ferry was established that operated between the town and the opposite bank of the river (Lee 1965). Although the settlement of the entire region was slow, by 1728 it was described as "...a dispersed multitude of People residing up and down the Cape Fear" (Saunders 1886:2:698).

The earliest references to houses in Brunswick Town date to 1728, when James Leach, a resident of “Cape Fair” sold his lot to Mich Jobson of Pennsylvania. This lot was adjacent to Nath Moore’s Front containing one half acre (New Hanover County Deed Book AB:79). Nathaniel Moore owned lot 29 in Brunswick which was located on the corner of Front and Cross Streets. In addition to his lot in Brunswick, Nathaniel Moore also owned York, a plantation further up the Cape Fear River, according to Moseley’s map of 1733 (Figure 4). Therefore it is likely that Nathaniel Moore was a prominent citizen of not only Brunswick, but the entire Cape Fear as well.

In May, 1733, Nathaniel Moore sold his lot in Brunswick to Edward Scott for 700 pounds, “with the dwelling house, out houses, and gardens...of late in the occupation of the said Nath Moore (New Hanover County Deed Book AB:125). Even after this transaction the house and lot continued to be referred to as Nath Moore’s Front.

Edward Scott, who was a mariner, operated the ferry from Brunswick across the river to the “Haulover.” Although little is known about Edward Scott’s personal history, some information about him can be derived from the remaining court minutes. According to the county court minutes for 1737, Scott renewed his petition to resign as the ferry keeper. Shortly thereafter, Scott was issued a license to keep an ordinary in the basement of his home. The ordinary was most likely kept in the basement of this house on lot 29. Edward Scott died in 1744 and Roger Moore was made executor of his estate. Roger Moore sold the lot to Hugh Blening for 1300 pounds on August 27, 1744. Four days later, Blening deeded the lot back to Roger Moore for 1300 pounds as payment of a mortgage. This is the last reference to the house in the public records. It seems likely that this house remained unoccupied before it was destroyed by fire in 1776.

According to historical accounts, the houses in Brunswick were burned by the British in January 1776. An account from the Virginia Gazette in April 1776, states

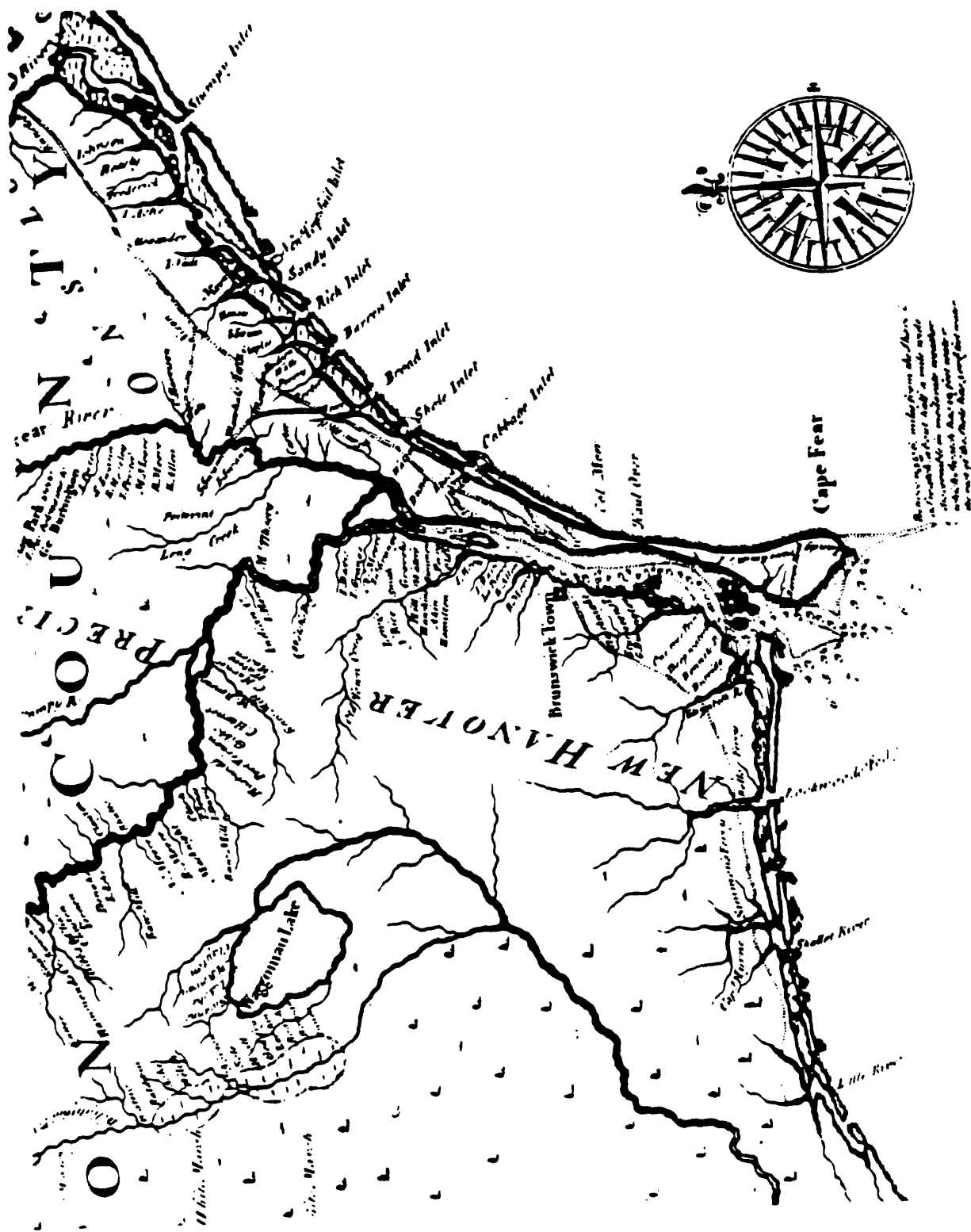


Figure 4. Moseley Map 1773

that, “The town of Brunswick is totally deserted, and the enemy frequently land in small parties, to pillage and carry off negroes...” For the most part, Brunswick Town was indeed abandoned by the late 1770s. Only a few people continued to live there through the turn of the eighteenth century.

Although Brunswick Town’s occupation was very short lived, it did serve as a viable port community in the mid-eighteenth century. Brunswick Town never achieved the status of many other communities such as Charleston or Williamsburg. It did serve as a facility for commerce and trade for planters, investors, and all other newcomers recently immigrated to the area. The series of owners of lot 29 in Brunswick Town may represent the variety of settlers who first moved to this region of the Lower Cape Fear.

CHAPTER III

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Documentary sources such as tax list, wills and probate inventories used in conjunction with the archaeological record, can be very helpful in determining the socioeconomic status of the inhabitants of a specific site. All of these sources may assist in estimating the wealth and income of the individual as well as contributing to a better understanding of the society itself. Unfortunately for this particular study, the documentary evidence is somewhat biased and any conclusions made about the two sites will certainly be tentative. Tax lists, wills, and inventories were not available for New Hanover County. These records were either destroyed by fire or are missing for the early eighteenth century. Consequently, there are no documents available for comparison with the ones which did survive for Pasquotank County. Nonetheless, the sources which are available will be examined to hopefully draw tentative conclusions about the two sites.

Unlike its neighbors to both the north and south, North Carolina's society in the early eighteenth century was not very diversified. The majority of the inhabitants were small to middling farmers who were widely scattered mainly in the counties located in North Carolina's Tidewater. Although the majority of the inhabitants were of English stock similar to the colonists in Virginia, a distinct class formation did not emerge. by the eighteenth century, Virginia could be characterized by its "system of family networks, in which one's family as well as one's wealth determined social position" (Kulikoff 1986:8). The well-established tobacco society of the Chesapeake would

easily be recognized by its class distinctions between the gentry and the yeomanry. "This allowed for both an economic and political elite to emerge" (Kulikoff 1986).

South Carolina's society could also be distinguished by its class stratification. Although South Carolina's society was not as homogeneous as that of the Chesapeake, it too developed a hierarchy of wealthy planters, free whites, and slaves. The "Carolina Society" (Bridenbaugh 1954) emerged quickly due to the good port facility at Charleston and the prolific rice and indigo culture which utilized the swamplands and encouraged their profitable improvements. As Bridenbaugh (1954:57) suggests in reference to the rice and indigo culture in South Carolina, "Each of these staples was better suited to a large rather than to a small farm economy, and as a result the plantation system with slave labor firmly rooted itself in the Low Country."

In North Carolina however, very few men owned over 20 slaves according to Ekirch (1981), and only in the Cape Fear did a few men own over 100 slaves. Although some of the wealthier planters did not own large numbers of slaves, they did own large amounts of property. Landholdings may have been large due to several reasons, including "the agricultural and forest industries within the colony, the ever-present lure of land speculation and the availability of cheap land" (Ekirch 1981:25). Regardless of this fact, landholding was not a particularly good indicator of wealth because the value of land in North Carolina was very low. Land value remained low because of the lack of a good port and an overall absence of slave labor to work larger tracts of land. Therefore, land speculation had little effect on North Carolina's settlement except perhaps in the case of the Cape Fear where it was a significant factor (Merrens 1964).

Even though there were obstacles which hindered diversification of the population, by the middle of the eighteenth century, North Carolina's society was gradually becoming more differentiated and more stratified. Yet as Ekirch (1981:27)

points out, “the slow pace and checkered pattern of economic growth were not conducive to the creation of the truly wealth elite.”

The tax lists for Pasquotank County in 1739 includes the male inhabitants of the county and the number of taxables or tithables which they had to list. The definition of a tithable was given in 1715 by the General Assembly which stated that,

...all Males not being slaves in this Government shall by Tythable [sic] at the Age of Sixteen years and All slaves male or female, either imported or born in the country shall be tythable at the Age of Twelve years (Saunders 1886:2:889).

The inhabitants of North Carolina during the colonial period generally fell into four distinct groups which included the gentry, yeomanry, white servants, and slaves (Parker 1928). The gentry’s forms of wealth usually consisted of land and slaves. This group, however, represented a very small percentage of North Carolina’s population. The yeomanry was by far the largest class in this social division. A yeoman usually owned small holdings of land which he worked by himself. White servants, who in many cases were indentured, also represented a small percentage of the population. Normally after completing the required years of service, a white servant could become free and work and own his own land. Finally, black slaves composed the second largest social class within colonial North Carolina’s society.

North Carolina’s colonial economy relied heavily on the poll tax which was imposed merely on numbers; and in the case of slaves, their value was not considered. “During the entire colonial period, this tax was levied uniformly upon every person subject to it; a wealthy landowner with hundreds of slaves paid the same amount for each of his slaves as he did for himself” (Parker 1928:102).

Solomon Pool

The 1739 list of tithables for Pasquotank County lists Solomon Pool and his two slaves. There is also a listing for his older sons, Joseph and Solomon Jr. Although his

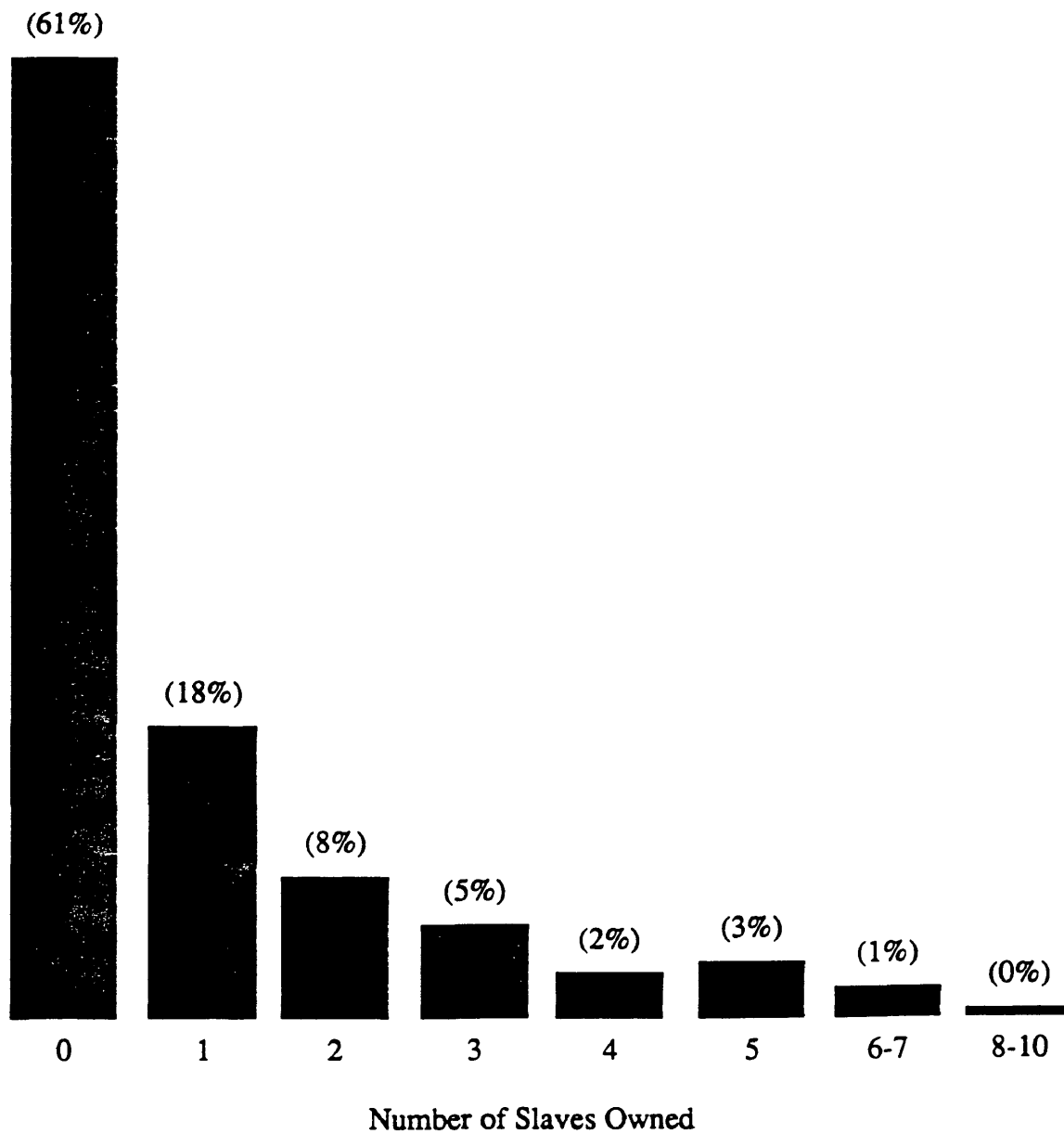
will and estate record show that he owned five slaves, according to the 1739 tax list he only listed the two which were of age. Table 1 represents the percentage of population who owned slaves in Pasquotank County for the year 1739. Lists of tithables for four districts within the county totaled 278 people. Solomon Pool was included in the eight percent who owned two (taxable) slaves. The majority of the population, 61 percent, did not own any slaves; and only one percent owned seven or more slaves.

The 1739 will and 1740 estate record of Solomon Pool are interesting from the point of view of seeing what he owned when he died. The estate record lists a variety of items, but does not provide a monetary value or price for them. Also, a list of his outstanding debts is not available. Therefore an exact reconstruction of his wealth is not possible. The items which are listed do deserve some attention, especially since they seem to represent the typical possessions of a middling farmer of the eighteenth century Albermarle area.

The estate record had been divided into several different categories in order to make an analysis of the items easier. A complete listing of the inventory can be found in Appendix A. Real property, which included land and its improvements, was not listed in North Carolina inventories. Normally, inventories consisted of items which were considered chattel property. This chattel property, as Walsh and Carr (1980) have defined it in their Chesapeake study, usually consisted of "moveables" or things which could be stolen or hidden from creditors or heirs if not listed in the public record. These moveables could include "household items, furniture, clothing, tools or any type of personal belongings" (Walsh and Carr 1980:82). The 1740 estate of Solomon Pool has been divided into several different categories. The first items which were listed included the names and ages of the five slaves which he owned. For Quaker planters of the Albermarle, slave ownership was fairly common. It was not until about 1750 that the Quakers statewide began to consciously object to the institution of slavery.

Table 1
Percentage of Population Owning Slaves
in Pasquotank County in 1739
(Total population 278)

Percentage of Population
in Parentheses



The other categories of his estate include furniture, books, tools, kitchen and household, livestock, clothing, and personal items. He owned a wide variety of earthenware as well as stoneware, however, it is not very clear as to what types he had other than stating whether it was a “stone jugg” [sic] or earthen dish. The books listed are both religious and non-religious and include several Bibles, a Common Prayer Book, a spelling book, a primer, and an eighteenth century book of etiquette, A Young Man’s Pocket Companion. Other items of interest are the personal belongings such as the 12 pounds of currency, 100 pounds of tobacco and the various clothing which is listed. Special attention may also be made to the 2000 new cypress shingles and the ample amount of livestock, particularly pigs and cattle, he owned.

Nath Moore

The lack of record for Brunswick Town is certainly a disadvantage for comparative purposes. Little is known about the owners of lot 29 in Brunswick Town; therefore, any assumptions made are definitely tentative.

Nathaniel Moore, the builder and the first owner of the house was one of the wealthy South Carolinians who settled in Brunswick. He, along with his brothers Roger and Maurice, owned a great deal of property within the entire Cape Fear region. According to Wolf (1979:268), “the Moore family on the Lower Cape Fear patented at least 48,172 acres between 1713 and 1729.” In addition to his house in Brunswick, Nathaniel Moore owned a plantation about 40 miles above Brunswick Town along the Cape Fear. It is clearly evident that the Moore family was part of the emerging elite class which soon inhabited North Carolina in the 1730s.

Despite the stipulation concerning building and settlement in Brunswick Town merely for speculation, it seems likely that the town was inhabited predominantly by settlers of moderate wealth who wanted to invest in the trade activity of the area.

Edward Scott, who operated an ordinary in Brunswick Town, was most likely one of these eager entrepreneurs.

An ordinary, as recognized elsewhere during the eighteenth century was “an establishment that provided public meals at a fixed price” (Wenger 1989:8). In North Carolina during the eighteenth century, ordinaries were establishments that were frequented by a more common or meaner sort of people, rather than the higher class or gentry. More refined establishments such as taverns or perhaps accommodations in a private home catered to this gentry class when they traveled. Nevertheless, these ordinaries or public houses had a vital role in the eighteenth century.

During the 1700s, ordinaries were regulated by proclamations passed by the Assembly which called for a certain standard to be set on the price of meals and services. Frequently, ordinary keepers tended to overcharge their patrons for the food and drink they received. The ordinary keeper had to obtain a license and pay a fee in order to operate an ordinary. The owner also had to have two men to serve as securities. Edward Scott had William Dry and Cornelius Harnett as securities for his ordinary at Brunswick. Both of these men were prominent members of the community. After obtaining his license, Scott had to follow certain regulations which concerned the operation of an ordinary and provide “good wholesome and cleanly Lodging and Dyet [sic] for Travellers and stable....” (Clark 1904:183). Very often ordinaries opened in towns which were also serviced by a ferry. This was certainly the case at Brunswick Town. Travellers could be assured a meal, lodging, and stabling and feed for their horses, although the quality was sure to vary from ordinary to ordinary. In most cases, ordinaries in towns were usually of a higher standard than those of more remote areas. Often leading members of a community would operate an ordinary in addition to their usual occupation.

In general, the colonial ordinary served as a meeting place for socializing, food and drink, gaming, gambling, exchanging news, conducting business and often,

occasional fistacuffs. As Watson (1968:83) suggests, "In addition to their social usefulness, the ordinaries supplemented the private hospitality reserved for persons of the upper class as well as implemented such commercial functions as the general post".

The Brunswick ordinary operated by Edward Scott was probably very similar to ones found elsewhere in smaller North Carolina towns of the eighteenth century. It no doubt served numerous travellers, merchants, townspeople, and a wide range of other clientele.

Port Records

According to the available port records, there were numerous English ships which were clearing the port at Brunswick and active in the vital sea trade with the planters and merchants of the Cape Fear. The Admiralty Records of the Public Record Office of London included the names of ships which were all involved in North Carolina trade. Twenty of these British ships listed were specifically designated as "masters of Cape Fear trade." A list of the ships from New England or the other colonies was not available. The goods either imported or exported were not indicated in the early records. However, for later records, especially those after 1760, it is clear that naval stores served as the major export and English commodities served as the major import.

The only early records for Port Roanoke at Edenton were of the ships which cleared customs from 1742-1750 and paid the required duties. Tobacco, pork and lumber products seem to be the major exports for this port. A list of the imports was not available for Edenton either, so the extent of English trade is uncertain.

Certainly without the specific records, many broad assumptions have been made. However, the two sites involved in this study may indeed be good indicators of the contrast of settlers who were living in separate areas along North Carolina's coast in the early eighteenth century. The validity of the documentary evidence which remains

may be somewhat unreliable, so it is necessary to look at other sources in order to determine the probable socio-economic status of the occupants of these two sites.

CHAPTER IV PREVIOUS ANALYSIS

Reid Site

The Reid Site (31Pk8) is located in southeastern Pasquotank County, North Carolina, in the vicinity of Nixonton. This site, which is in the Tidewater region of North Carolina is on a nearly level plain or marine terrace. The elevations for this area are very low and are typically only three to six feet above sea level. This property is bound by a small stream which runs into the Little River on both the north and east borders. The soils in this area tend to vary from loamy sands to sands with low organic content. At the time of excavation, the site was under extensive agricultural activity.

In March 1985 Douglas Reid, the property owner was clearing this field for planting. During the clearing operation his machinery repeatedly hit an obstruction in the middle of the field. He uncovered ballast stones, bricks and a variety of artifacts. Mr. Reid immediately halted his clearing operation and contacted local authorities at the Museum of the Albemarle to help him identify what this deposit was in the middle of his field. Later, John Clauser, and archaeologist with the Office of State Archaeology of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, was notified and a preliminary investigation of the site was scheduled.

Clauser, along with Mr. Reid, began an initial survey of the site after a major portion of the feature had been exposed. "The field procedure was one of inspection and interpretation rather than one of survey and testing" (Clauser 1985). Clauser, Reid and several volunteers then began the week-long excavation in which a brief surface collection was made in the area surrounding the entire feature, where only diagnostic

artifacts were collected. This collection procedure was extremely biased especially in terms of the dateable ceramics recovered. The sample did include, however, available materials from all time periods.

The extent of the feature had been determined by probing. An effort was made at cleaning up the previous clearing operation done by the farm machinery, and the soil was kept separate according to horizontal provenience. Vertical provenience was impossible since the area had already been greatly disturbed.

The feature proved to be a ballast stone foundation containing a full brick floor, as seen in Figure 5. The exterior dimensions were 10 feet on a north-south axis and 16 feet on an east-west axis. The foundation was just below the present ground surface. The feature contained a six-inch layer of intact archaeological deposits which remained below the plow zone.

The artifacts recovered during the investigation of the Reid Site represent a wide variety of articles which may have been typical possessions of an eighteenth-century North Carolina household (Figures 6-8). The bone preservation was excellent for this site and offered a wide variety which may be useful in a future dietary study. Several metal artifacts recovered were also well preserved. They included architectural items such as hinges and nails, and eating utensils such as two-tined forks, knife blades and pewter spoons. A copper teapot spout was found and proved to be very interesting because its interior was filled with pewter. "This may suggest that the pewter was melted within the vessel and used in the manufacture of spoons" (Clauser 1985:4). Another explanation for the pewter-filled spout is that it may have simply been the result of the fire. Ceramics and glass artifacts were also present and in good preservation. The fragments recovered indicate that there was very little disturbance within this feature. Fortunately, the plowing had never reached the lower deposits.

In Clauser's initial analysis of the artifacts from the Reid Site, the dating would seem to suggest a very brief time period. Based on these artifacts, the time span for



Figure 5. Brick floor and foundation of the Reid Site

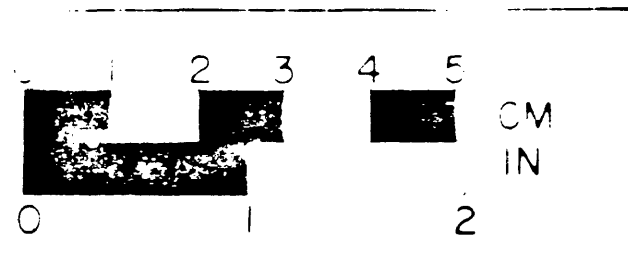
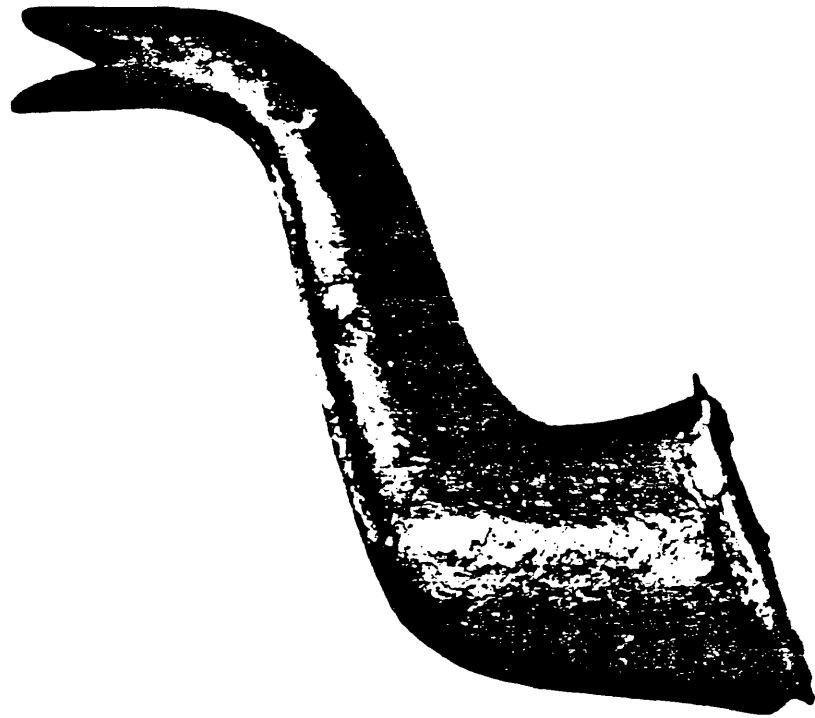


Figure 6. Copper teapot spout



Figure 7. "Dot and Combed" slipware porringer (reconstructed)

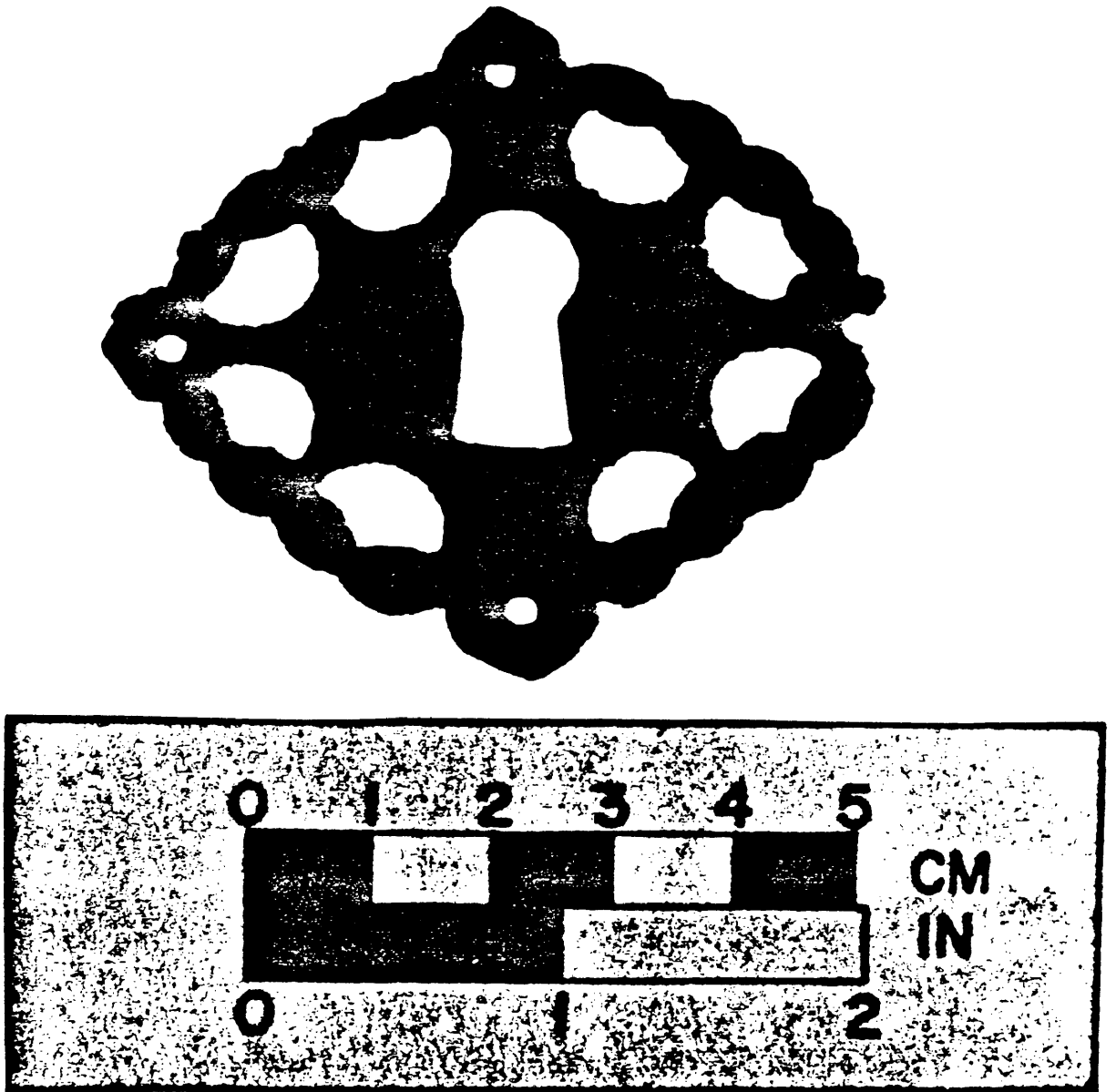


Figure 8. Furniture escutcheon plate

this site was between 1720-1750. The pipe stems which were recovered were sorted and measured according to the Harrington (1954) formula. The pipe stem mean occupation date was 1746.9. The mean date for the ceramic context suggested a somewhat later date of 1773. This mean ceramic date (South 1972) included the ceramics from the entire feature. There was a variety of predominantly early to mid-eighteenth century ceramics. All of the later ceramics were found on the surface or in the plowzone and were not present in the cellar fill or burn layer.

In Clauser's artifact analysis, he also looked at the stylistic dates of the eating utensils which were recovered. Some of the spoon handles and bowls seemed very similar to a type popular between 1710 and 1750. Yet, another spoon handle indicated a later time span of 1700-1790. This later date was perhaps more appropriate for the temporal analysis of this site.

Although the week's excavation did contribute a great deal of information pertaining to 31Pk8, additional study is needed to fully comprehend this site. Further testing and excavation would be desirable in order to locate possible adjacent outbuildings or trash deposits which may have been associated with the structure.

Nath Moore's Front

The site of Brunswick Town is located on a 30 foot high sand bank on the west side of the Cape Fear River, 15 miles south of Wilmington. The initial work at Brunswick Town was begun by Dr. Lawrence Lee. Dr. Lee was a professor of history at the Citadel and had done extensive research on colonial Brunswick for his master's thesis and doctoral dissertation from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dr. Lee was instrumental in obtaining the ruins of Brunswick Town as a state historic site; and in 1955, the land on which the Brunswick Town ruins were located was given to the state by Mr. J. Lawrence Sprunt, owner of Orton Plantation.

On June 1958, Lee began his research of uncovering the foundations of the houses and shops which were once a part of the town of Brunswick. In many cases, there was a dense underbrush that had covered the ruins and had to be removed in order to identify the specific sites. In August of the same year, Stanley South, archaeologist with the state of North Carolina, was asked to assist in the archaeological excavation and historical research of the newly acquired state historic site. The location and layout of the town was based primarily on the Sauthier Map of 1769 (Figure 9). The map indicated that the town's limits were between St. Phillip's Church to the west and the Cape Fear River to the east. Lee was able to correlate the remaining foundations of the structures based on this map. A grid system was established so that each excavation unit could be measured from a set base line which was the northeast corner of the church wall. The units were then referred to in terms of being either north or south of the base line.

Lot number 29 according to the deeds and the Sauthier Map was referred to as structural unit S10, or Nath Moore's Front (Figure 10). The excavation of S10 began in September of 1958, after all of the dense underbrush had been removed. The area outside of the foundation was divided into ten-foot squares and those in the interior were five feet. In the interior, a six-inch layer of roots, humus and black soil was removed revealing a layer of brown soil, brick bats, mortar fragments, and various other types of artifacts. There was a noticeable thicker layer on the inside just to the west of the south entrance where it was apparent that this entry was used as a garbage dump. The ceramics associated with this midden layer date to the early nineteenth century. Below this nineteenth-century midden layer was a six-inch layer of black ashes, white plaster, lathing nails and charcoal. In the west room was a charcoal floor and in the east room was a brick floor. None of the nineteenth-century artifacts were found in this ash layer, so it seems likely that the house was burned in the eighteenth century as the documents indicate.



Figure 10. Excavation Unit S10 Nath Moore's Front

Based on methodological excavation and the identification of 16 individual features associated with structural unit S10, an early interpretation was made (Figure 11). The house known as Nath Moore's Front measured 21.5 feet by 30 feet and was divided into two rooms by a partition wall which was partially bricked. The south entrance to the east room was sealed with bricks sometime after the house was built. When the house burned, the brick seal (Feature 8) fell into the south yard above the entranceway. The west room had a wooden floor which was made up of twenty eight boards. The floor (Feature 1) was intact except along the north wall where it appeared that the boards had partially rotted away before the house burned. After the house burned two holes (Features 12 and 14) were dug in the floor of the west room. The fallen brick chimney (Feature 2) in the floor of the west room seemed to have been intentionally pushed over after the house burned to salvage the bricks. Feature 4 represented the layer of sand over the brick floor in the east room. A hole (Feature 6) was dug in the center of the room before the house burned and this sand layer was piled around it. A brass barrel cock was found within the sand layer which perhaps indicated that the "room was used for storage of wine casks and other supplies" (South 1958). Both Features 3 and 5 represented the fallen brick chimney in the east room. This chimney apparently fell after the house burned and was also salvaged for bricks. Only a portion of the intact chimney, (Feature 5) remained.

The remaining features represented disturbances made within the house and yard prior to and after the house burned. A brick platform (Feature 7) was built in the southeast corner on top of the rubble and numerous fires were built there. This platform may have been built by someone salvaging bricks from the fallen chimney or perhaps by someone living in the burned structure. A pit in the yard (Feature 10) consisted of mortar and bricks which were probably used during the construction of the house. Several other shallow pits were dug and were used as dumps after the house

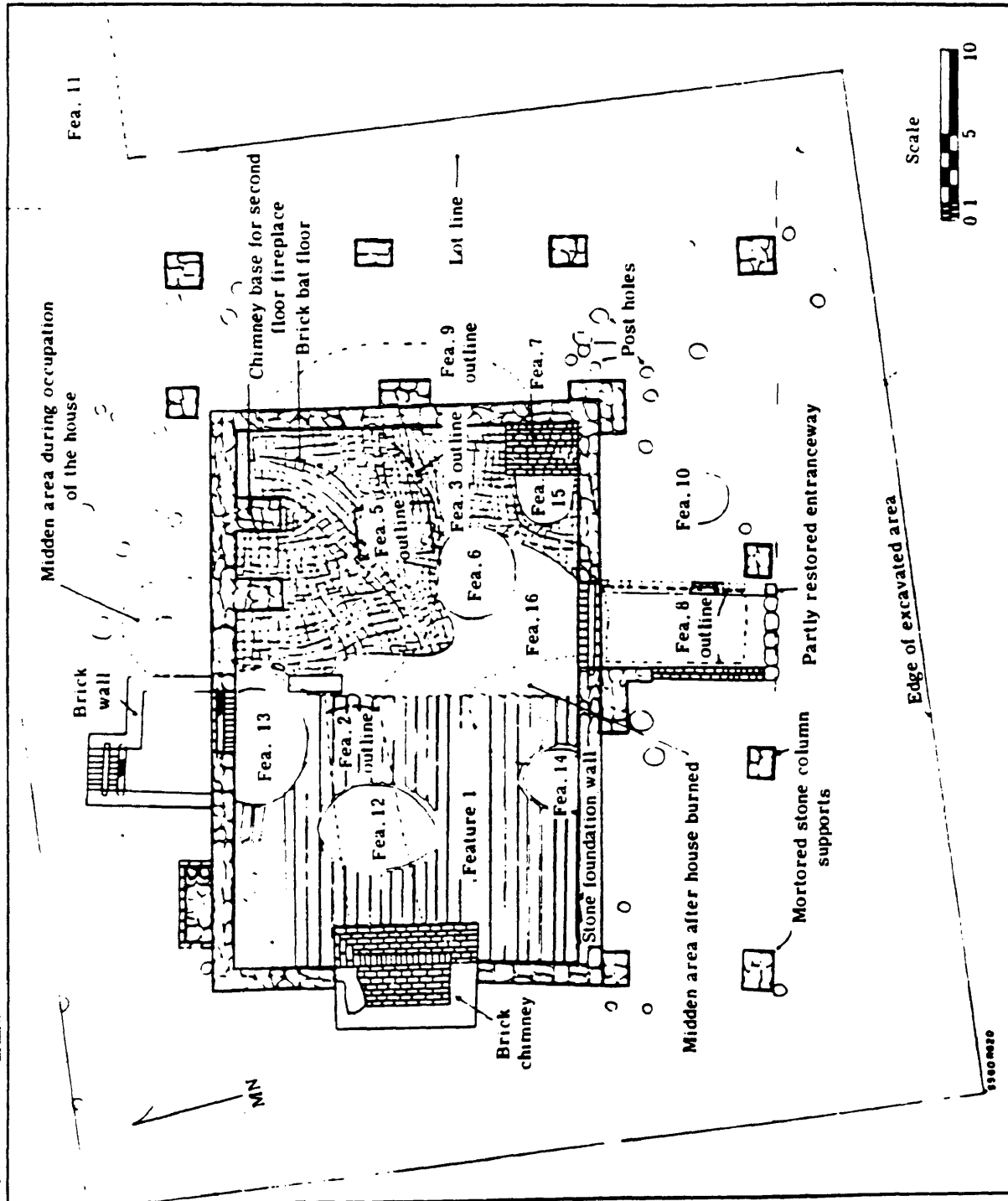


Figure 11. Archaeological Features of S10

burned. In 1865 the house was hit during the bombardment of Fort Anderson by Union troops.

Other distinctions could also be made about the house after all of the separate features were identified. The walls of the basement were of ballast stone, and the walls above the basement floor were of lime plaster over wooden lathing strips. The second story of the house was also weatherboarded. A porch extended around the house on the east and south side and was supported by post next to the house and other 10 feet away on stone footings. Entrance to the second floor was by steps to the porch.

South's analysis of S10 revolved around the separation and distribution of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century artifacts. "The artifacts around the ruin were combined by square and on the interior were separated according to floor level and post-destruction levels" (South 1977:50). In accordance with the Brunswick Pattern of Refuse Disposal, "large concentrations of ceramics prior to pearlware were found to the right of the rear entrance, to the right of the public entrance, and in the trench towards the area of the public street" (South 1977:56). The presence of pearlware and later nineteenth-century ceramic types in the levels above the ash layer and in the yard reflected the site's use as a refuse dump after its destruction. The remaining inhabitants of Brunswick Town most likely used many of the abandoned structures as dumps well into the nineteenth century. There seemed to be a somewhat clear distinction between the distribution of ceramics of the pre-Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary periods which may have indeed reflected different "Behavioral practices regarding this class of artifacts. The artifact distribution could also reflect, a bomb burst effect inside the ruin in which there was a general scatter over the entire area..." (South 1977:61).

Despite the disturbances received by this site, some interpretations were made. The wide variety of ceramics recovered include those of early eighteenth-century manufacture to those of the later nineteenth century. The mean ceramic date for S10 was 1794. The percentage of eighteenth-century ceramics for Nath Moore's Front

correlated with the other properties at Brunswick, except perhaps for a smaller percentage of white salt-glazed stoneware and a higher percentage of combed yellow slipware. The abundance of nineteenth-century ceramics in the midden layer indicated that the house may have been used as a garbage dump as early as 1800. “A copper disc-like object with the inscription “Mearechal Girard and General LaFayette” found at S10 suggest that the site was used as a dump at least until 1830” (South 1958).

The pipe stem dating was also used in South’s analysis of the S10 material. Applying the Binford (1962) formula, a mean pipe stem date of 1738 was obtained. The 12 years between 1726 and 1738 were then added to this date and 1750 was established as the terminal date for the accumulation of S10. According to South (1958:29), “the occupants of Nath Moore’s Front between 1750 and 1776 apparently did not smoke.”

The ceramics, pipe stems, and other artifacts of S10 were all used extensively in conjunction with South’s artifact frequency studies and the formulation of the Carolina Artifact Pattern. Although the site of S10 received considerable disturbance, it provided some interesting material which was used in the study of this eighteenth-century site (Figures 12-14).



Figure 12. George II (obverse and reverse) halfpenny coin

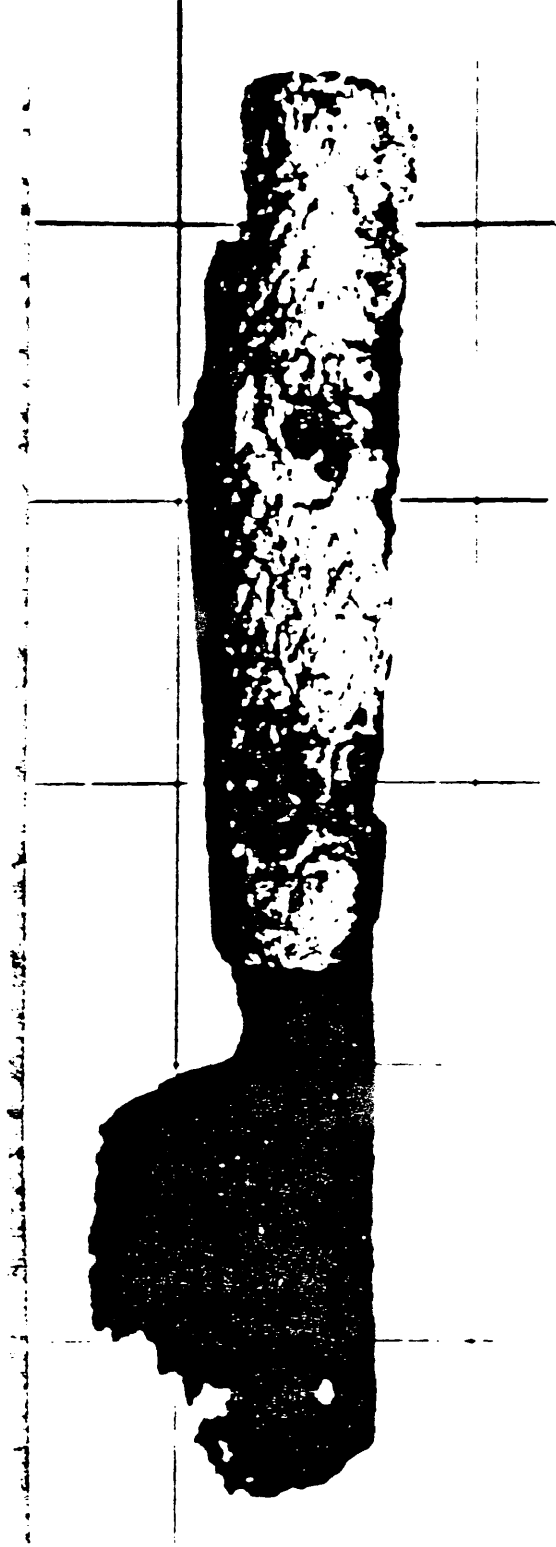


Figure 13. Bone handle knife

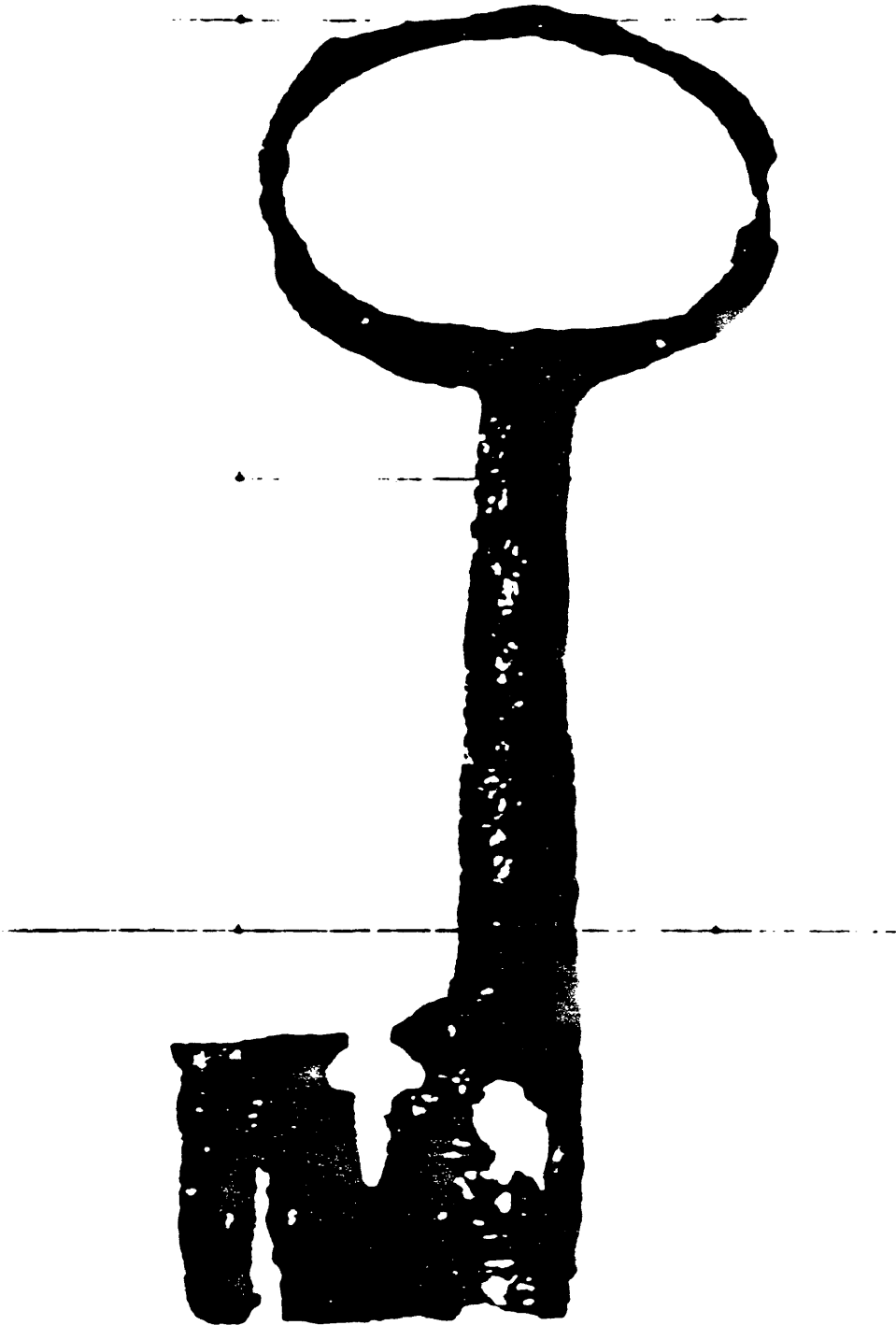


Figure 14. Key

Chapter V
A TEMPORAL ANALYSIS OF THE REID SITE AND
NATH MOORE'S FRONT

The temporal analysis of the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front is important to this study because it provides a control necessary to justify their further comparisons. The two sites' assemblages provide a wide variety of different artifacts which substantiate the dates of these sites. The mean ceramic dates, the pipe stem dated and the historical background are all considered in the temporal comparisons of these two sites.

Reid Site

The household material for the Reid Site was easily identifiable due to the fact that there was a definite concentration of early to mid-eighteenth century artifacts within the actual burn layer. Although the surface collection included ceramics from all time periods, there were only three pieces of later ceramics, specifically creamware, pearlware and whiteware found within the cellar fill and burn layers. Therefore, it seems likely that these three pieces were due to contamination and not associated with the eighteenth-century layers. Applying the formula (South 1972) for the mean ceramic date, a date of 1775.6 was obtained for the Reid Site. This corresponds with Clauser's formula date of 1773.

The tobacco pipe stems were also reanalyzed for the Reid Site. Employing both the Harrington (1954) method and the Binford (1962) formula, a mean pipe stem date of 1765.8 was obtained. This varies somewhat from Clauser's date of 1746.9; however, the difference could certainly be due to variations in the measurement

techniques. A comparison of these dates is illustrated in Figure 15. Utilizing all three dates for comparative purposes, the pipe stem date for the Reid Site seems to fit into Harrington's 1750-1800 time span. This would suggest a mid-eighteenth century occupation date for the site which closely corresponds with the mean ceramic date.

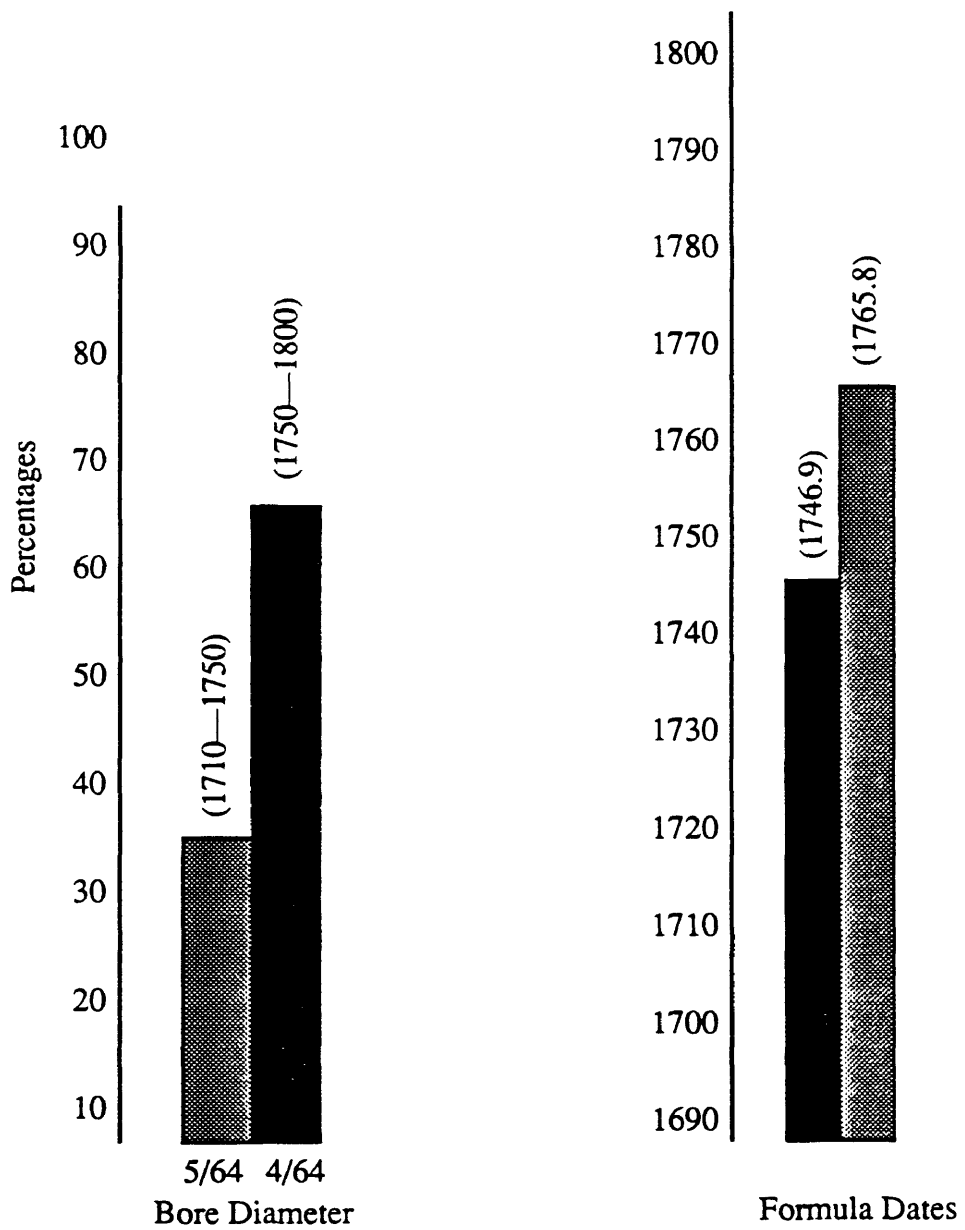
Nath Moore's Front

The reanalysis of materials from Nath Moore's Front was somewhat more difficult primarily because of the disturbance received prior to and after the house's destruction. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to distinguish the household assemblage of Edward Scott, the primary inhabitant during the house's period of occupation. Due to the "bomb burst effect" much of the artifact assemblage was widely scattered, and essentially only the ceramic types were useful in distinguishing between the eighteenth-century occupied layers and the later areas of disturbance. The same formulas and dating procedures were used at Nath Moore's Front that had been used at the Reid Site. The mean ceramic date for Nath Moore's Front was 1767.8. This was an extreme deviation from South's original mean date for this site of 1794. Upon closer examination, there were differences in the identification of some of the ceramic types, especially those of later manufacture. Also, the total ceramic fragment count was less than South's, undoubtedly the result of misplaced or discarded fragments.

The pipe stem dates for Nath Moore's Front were recalculated and also differ from the results of South's analysis. Again, both the Harrington and Binford formulas were used. The mean pipe stem formula date of 1762 was derived for Nath Moore's Front. According to the histogram, this site also fit the 1750-1800 time period for the pipe stem date. The new mean ceramic date and the new pipe stem date from Nath Moore's Front correspond well.

Figure 15

Reid Site Comparison of Pipe Stem Dates

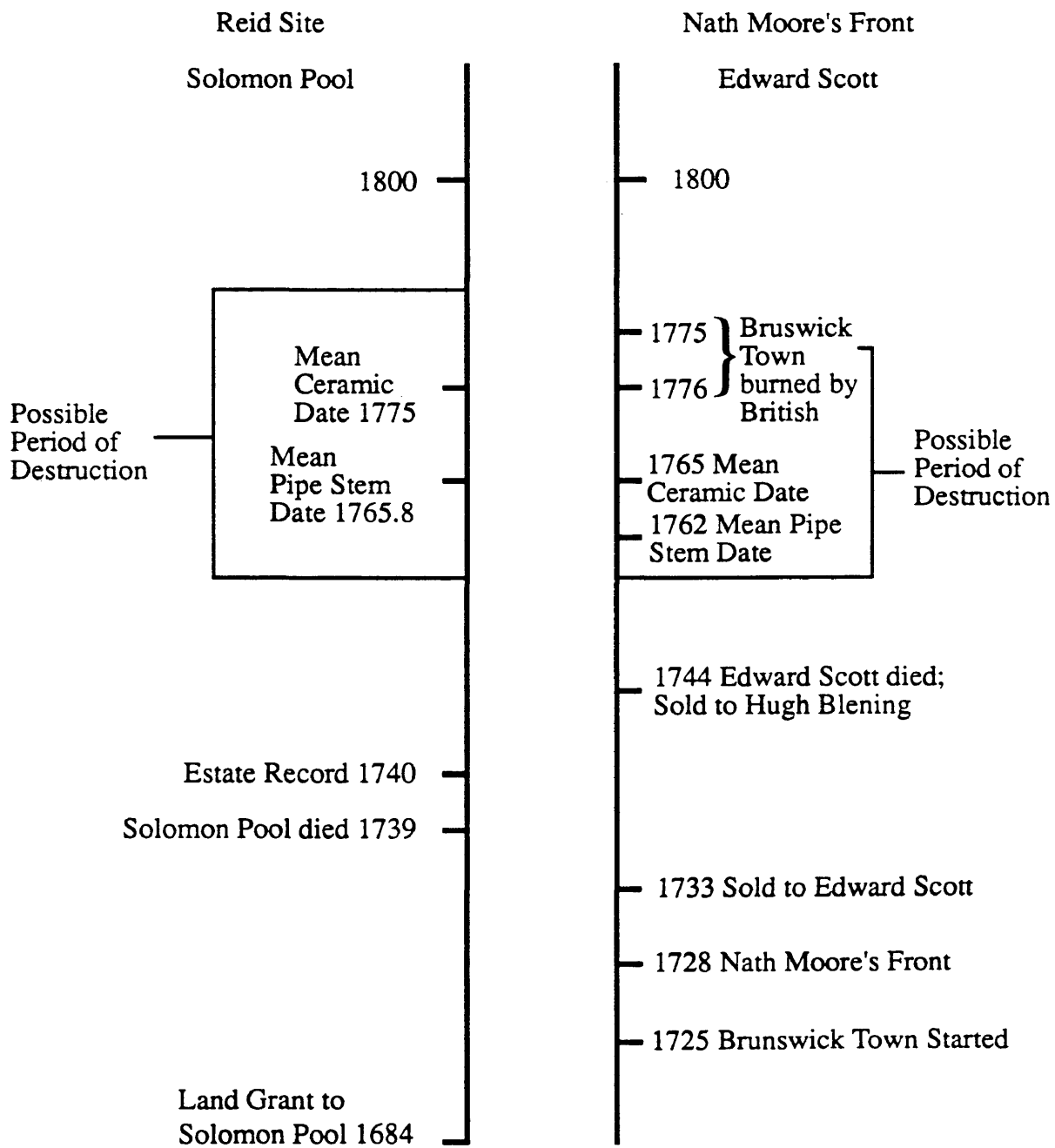


Comparisons

The temporal similarities of the two sites were very helpful in their analysis. The artifact assemblage for the two sites suggest that each house was probably abandoned when they burned, which was within the decade before the Revolutionary War. Historical accounts indicated that Brunswick Town was almost completely abandoned before being burned by the British in 1776. The house known as Nath Moore's Front could have been unoccupied for as many as 25 years or more, since, according to the available records, the last transaction involving the house was in 1745. Its use as a secondary refuse dump could therefore have begun before the Revolutionary War.

The time range for the Reid Site is similar to that of Nath Moore's Front, although there are no specific dates for either its construction or destruction. According to the historical records, the land of the Reid Site was acquired in 1684, however the subsequent records do not indicate when a house was built on the property. The earliest ceramics recovered suggest a possible date of construction of mid-1720s. It is not know whether an earlier house preceded this particular one. The date of destruction of the Reid Site closely corresponds to Nath Moore's Front. The ceramic assemblage in the cellar fill and burn layer suggest that the house burned in the middle of the eighteenth century. The land records do not indicate when the house burned or if another house was constructed on the same property. It is possible that the house burned in the mid-1750s after the death of both Solomon Pool, who died in 1739, and his youngest son Jacob, who had inherited the house and property. The house was not rebuilt by the other brothers who were still living, but instead an adjacent house may have been built in close vicinity to this structure. The later artifact types found at both Nath Moore's Front and the Reid Site consequently represent intrusions of post-destruction materials being deposited at the two sites. A comparative diagram of the time ranges between these sites is shown in Figure 16.

Figure 16
 Time Range Comparison of the Reid Site
 and Nath Moore's Front



CHAPTER VI
A REANALYSIS OF THE REID SITE AND
NATH MOORE'S FRONT

The reanalysis of the materials from both the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front consisted of applying the same methodology to each site in order to have a basis for comparison. The artifacts from the sites were recounted and reanalyzed again in order to replicate many of the results which were obtained by previous researchers. In addition, the mean dates of both the pipe stems and ceramics were determined again for each site. Some discrepancies do indeed occur, although the small differences were not unexpected. For instance, many of the Brunswick Town artifacts seem to have been misplaced, lost or discarded over the 30-year period since they were initially studied. Minor differences occur as well in the identification of some ceramic types, such as what is currently referred to as whiteware in this report and had previously been identified as ironstone (Clauser 1985) and pearlware (South 1958). Despite these discrepancies, some interesting comparisons were evident in the reanalysis of the data from both sites.

Over the past 10 years, one of the main methods of artifact analysis has been through pattern recognition. It is assumed that a major part of pattern recognition is a "free exploration of the regularity and variation of the archaeological record which will offer some understanding of the dynamics of past cultural systems (South 1977:84). In this study, the analysis of the artifacts incorporates the Carolina Artifact Pattern (South 1977) as well as trying to extend the research beyond the pattern recognition in order to delineate the differences between the household assemblages of the two sites. It is necessary to determine the two specific household assemblages in order to draw

substantial comparisons between their material culture. The reanalysis of the two sites includes a comparison of their minimum vessel counts and then an explanation of their artifact group frequency ratios.

A minimum vessel count was conducted for both the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front. In order to provide a more complete analysis, the sites were first analyzed according to their overall composition and then the individual burn layers were distinguished.

Reid Site

The household material for the Reid Site was easily identifiable because this site had received relatively little disturbance. The eighteenth-century deposits were intact for the most part and there was only a small amount of later period ceramics found on the site. The total site minimum vessel count of the Reid Site (Table 2) shows a larger number of eighteenth-century ceramics, although there was a noticeable amount of pearlware present. Of the 94 vessels represented in the total vessel count, 54 were eighteenth century ceramics, roughly 57.4%. In the minimum vessel count for the burn layer (Table 3) the percentage of eighteenth century ceramics was significant as well. In the burn layer, 37 of the total 43 vessels were eighteenth-century ceramics, approximately 86.0%. Various vessel forms of white salt-glazed stoneware, lead glazed earthenware, tin-enamelled earthenware, and slipware were the predominant ceramic types found in the occupational layer of the site. The amount of porcelain found both on the exterior and in the interior of the structure was very low, 5.5%. Most of the vessel forms present seemed to be ones which were essential to household operations or had some all-purpose or utilitarian function. The presence of the more refined white salt-glazed stoneware as well as some of the tin-enamelled earthenware and slipware indicate an access to an eighteenth-century English market where popular or fashionable ceramics were available.

Table 2

31Pk8 Reid Site
Minimum Vessel Count
Total Site

Stoneware	Form	Number	Tin-Enamelled Earthenware	Form	Number	Silpware	Form	Number
Grey	jar	2	Monochrome	bowl	3		platter	1
Grey	mug	1		cup	2		mug	1
Westerwald	chamber pot	2		plate	2	Combed	cup	3
Westerwald	mug	2	Polychrome	bowl	1	Combed	porringer	1
Brown	jar	1	Plain	bowl	1	"Dot ware"	cup	2
Nottingham	mug	1						
White Salt								
Glaze			Earthenware					
Scratch blue (dbsd)	cup	1	Red body, black glaze	mug	1	Porcelain	bowl	1
W.S.G.	mug	1	Red body, clear glaze	mug	1	English	cup	2
Dot, Diaper, Basket	plate	3	Buff body, clear glaze	mug	1	Underglaze Blue	bowl	1
W.S.G.	plate	2	Red body, clear glaze	pitcher	2	Underglaze Blue		
W.S.G.	bowl	6	Buff body, clear glaze	chamber pot	1			
W.S.G.	saucer	1		pitcher	1			
W.S.G.	chamber pot	1	Red body, clear glaze	milk pot	1			
W.S.G.	cup	5	Coarse Agateware	bowl	1			
Creamware			Pearlware					
Lighter Color	bowl	2	Green edge	plate	3	Whiteware	bowl	1
	cup	3	Blue edge	plate	6	Plain	plate	1
	plate	1	Hand painted	bowl	2	Purple transfer print	plate	1
	mug	1	Hand painted (polychrome)	cup	3			
	chamber pot	1	Blue transfer print	plate	2			
	plate	1		cup	1			
Feather edge			Plain	bowl	1			
				plate	1			
				bowl	2			
				cup	1			

Table 3
31Pk8 Reid Site
Minimum Vessel Count
Burn layer, Feature 1, Zone 2, Cellar fill

Stoneware	Form	Number	Earthenware	Form	Number	Slipware	Form	Number
Nottingham	mug	1	Red body, black glaze	mug	1	Combed	cup	2
Grey	jar	1	Buff body, clear glaze	mug	1	"Dot ware"	porringer	1
White Salt Glaze	saucer	2	Red body, clear glaze	pitcher	1	(White slip)	cup	1
	plate	2		mug, tankard	1		cup	1
	small bowl	1	Course Agateware	pitcher	2		plate; platter	1
	chamber pot	1		bowl	1		mug	1
	cup	3						
	bowl	3						
Tin-Enamelled	Earthenware		Porcelain			Creamware		
Monochrome	bowl	3	English	bowl	1	Lighter Color	Mug	
	cup	2	Underglaze blue	cup	1			
	plate	2						
Polychrome	bowl	1						
Plain	bowl	1						
Pearlware			Whiteware					
Hand painted (blue)	cup		Plain	bowl	1			
				plate	1			

The second method used in this reanalysis was the application of the Carolina Artifact Pattern to each of the sites. The Reid Site's material had never been studied in terms of pattern recognition, so this demonstrated a new test of the artifact pattern on an eighteenth-century North Carolina site.

The basic premise of the Carolina Artifact Pattern is that by "examining the relations between artifact groups with the view of establishing certain broad regularities or cultural process against which any deviation from such regularity can be contrasted as reflecting behavior somewhat different from expected margins" (South 1977:86). As predicted, when the Carolina Artifact Pattern was compared with the artifacts from the Reid Site, all of the artifact frequency ratios from the site fell within the range of the pattern. Therefore, it seems likely that the Reid Site material corresponds with other eighteenth-century house site assemblages of similar composition. None of the artifact frequency ratios reflect a deviation from the predicted range and therefore the patterned behavior or regularity coincides with similar household assemblages of the eighteenth century.

Although the artifact frequency ratios from the Reid Site do correspond with the predicted range of behavior presented in the Carolina Artifact Pattern, its validity may still be questioned. Also, in order for a true test of the artifact pattern to be conducted for the Reid Site, further excavation and analysis would be helpful. Certainly the presence of adjacent deposits or secondary refuse middens could assist in the analysis of the total site assemblage. Since the present study can only use the remains which were directly associated with the house itself, a complete pattern study of the entire site is not realized.

Nath Moore's Front

As previously noted, Nath Moore's Front received numerous disturbances after its abandonment. An effort was made to distinguish between the widely scattered eighteenth century occupied layers and the other, post-destruction layers which were imposed on this site. Not unlike the Reid Site, the minimum vessel counts were conducted for both the overall site assemblage as well as the burn or ash layer.

The total site minimum vessel count (Table 4) for Nath Moore's Front includes a wide variety of ceramics of the eighteenth century as well as some of the early to mid-nineteenth century. There was also a wider variety of vessel forms included in the overall site vessel count. The minimum vessel count for the ash layer and yard (Table 5) of Nath Moore's Front reflects this variety of types and forms as well. There seems to be a high percentage (59%) of refined eighteenth-century ceramics including diverse items such as teapots, candlesticks, and various other forms. The ash layer and yard contained early to mid-nineteenth-century ceramics as well; however, this is not surprising due to the disturbances and inevitable mixture of the deposits. The diversity of ceramics in the ash layer of Nath Moore's Front also reflects the socio-economic status of its mid-eighteenth century inhabitant. The wide variety of European ceramics, specifically of English manufacture, may suggest that the individual was somewhat affluent and could acquire these refined ceramics, in addition to the ordinary utilitarian ceramics for general household use.

The second method of reanalysis was the use of the Carolina Artifact Pattern. Here again, an attempt to distinguish only the mid-eighteenth-century materials was made.

Nath Moore's Front was initially used in South's formation of the Carolina Artifact Pattern. The artifact frequency ratios were again used on the reanalyzed data. However, these yielded somewhat different results, as seen in Table 6. The ratios for the most part fell within the predicted range of the artifact pattern, except in certain

groups. The tobacco group ratio was extremely high and did not correspond with the previous ratio or the predicted range. Also, other groups varied slightly, especially the architectural group which had a somewhat lower ratio. These differences may also be attributed to the misplacement of some artifacts over the 30 years, causing the total counts for the groups to vary.

In order to determine the mid-eighteenth-century household assemblage of Edward Scott, just the artifacts from the ash layer were divided into their respective artifact pattern groups. The frequency ratios of the groups corresponded to the pattern range except in the case of two extreme examples. The architectural group (8.3%) was especially low, and the activities group ratio of (9.9%) was very high. The small amount of nails was a primary reason for the architectural group's low ration. In the reanalysis, most of the nails were either not labeled according to their source number or were missing. For comparative purposes, this breakdown of the artifacts in the ash layer was somewhat misleading, therefore causing this application of the Carolina Artifact Pattern to be skewed. The actual counts and ratios are inaccurate due to the fact that many of the artifacts which were most likely in the ash layer context were not labelled as such. In many cases during the reanalysis of Nath Moore's Front materials, many different artifacts were not specifically grouped into general categories. This was true especially for faunal remains, nails, window glass, and some ceramics. Although this artifact frequency ratio is inaccurate, the variety and extent of the mid-eighteenth century articles can still be detected. It is most probable that many of the actual artifacts associated with the ash layer were widely scattered during the numerous disturbances received by this site.

The significance of the artifact frequency ratios in the reanalysis of Nath Moore's Front material demonstrates how even the slightest deviations from the pattern may alter its regularity or variability, thus leading to entirely different interpretations of the site. However, throughout the reanalysis of the Nath Moore material, there were problems

with not only the inaccuracy of the ratios, but also in the misplacement or loss of many of the artifacts. The variability of the artifact group ratios in the reanalysis may consequently be the result of this type of conflict, rather than an extreme behavioral deviation from the artifact pattern.

Table 4
 S10 Nath Moore's Front
 Minimum Vessel Count
 Total Site

Stoneware	Form	Number	Stoneware (cont.)	Form	Number	Tin-Enamelled Earthenware	Form	Number
Grey	jar	5	Molded (cont.)	teapot	1	Monochrome	bowl	22
	mug	6	White, blue sprigged	other	1		cup	3
	pitcher	1	Rouletted edge	mug	1	Polychrome	plate	10
	other	14	Barley, Basket	cup	1		bowl	2
Albany Slip	jar	1	Barley	plate	7	Plain	cup	1
Westerwald	mug	4	Barley	platter	1		apothecary jar	11
	chamber pot	7		plate	11		ornament pot	2
	jar	4	Dot, Diaper, Basket	platter	1			
English Brown	pitcher	1	Basket	plate	5			
	jug	1	Scratch Blue	plate	2			
Nottingham	jar	4		bowl	1			
	mug	1						
	bowl	1						
English Dry Body	teapot	1	Slipware					
White Salt Glaze	cup	20	Combed	plate	8	Porcelain		
Plain	bowl	8	Dotted	bowl	2	Underglaze blue	bowl	22
	plate	8		cup	2		cup	4
	platter	2		chamber pot	1		plate	3
	chamber pot	4	Sgraffito	bowl	1	Overglaze enamel	other	2
	mug	22	Slipware	plate	4	Under/Over enamel	bowl	5
	other	4		bowl	5	Plain	bowl	15
Slip dipped	mug	1	Jackfield	cup	6		bowl	11
Overglaze enamel	bowl	1		chamber pot	2		plate	2
Molded	plate	2		other	5		cup	2
	finial	3					other	3
	candlestick	2						
	bowl	3						
	cup	5						
	mug	10						

Table 4 (Cont.)

S10 Nath Moore's Front Minimum Vessel Count
Total Site

Earthenware	Form	Number	Creamware	Form	Number	Green Glazed Creamware	Form	Number
Buckley	bowl	2	Lighter Color			Molded Floral	bowl	2
	jar	3	Feather edge	plate	20		plate	2
Manganese glaze	jar	1	Queen's ware	plate	2	Fruit, Ring, & Dot	bowl	2
	bowl	1	Barley, Basket	plate	1		plate	4
Black glaze	mug	1	Beaded	cup	1	Barley	plate	4
Lead glazed &	bowl	3	Bead & Reel	cup	2		plate	2
Red body	jar	6		mug	1			
	mug	1		bowl	1			
	other	1		plate	1			
Lead glaze &	bowl	1	Rouletted edge	bowl	2			
Buff body	bowl	2	Molded	cup	5			
	lid	1		finial	1			
	finial	1		other	1			
Coarse unglazed	jar	3	Plain	bowl	9	Pearlware	mug	1
	bowl	5		cup	2	Mochaware	bowl	5
Coarse Agateware	tankard	1		plate	2	Annular & Finger	mug	1
	mug	1		platter	1	Painted	lid	1
				pitcher	1	Hand painted	finial	1
							cup	4
							plate	1
							bowl	2
Whieldon	cup	2	Darker Color	plate	4	Sponge decorated	mug	1
Clouded or	bowl	3	Feather edge	cup	1	Plain	mug	3
Toroiseshell	plate	2	Bead & Reel	mug	1		plate	4
	other	1		chamber pot	1		platter	1
Cauliflower	cup	1	Beaded edge	bowl	1		bowl	1
			Plain	cup	1		plate	10
				mug	2		platter	3
Whiteware	bowl	3	Yellowware	bowl	3		plate	1
Transfer print	plate	1	Annular & Mocha	mug		Blue shell edge	platter	3
	saucer	2				Green shell edge	plate	1
	bowl/mureen	1				Transfer print	plate	3
Plain	plate	2					cup	10
	cup	1						
Beaded edge	plate	1						

Table 5

S10 Nath Moore's Front Minimum Vessel Count
Ash layer and Yard

Stoneware	Form	Number	Tin-Enamelled Earthenware	Form	Number	Creamware	Form	Number
Grey	jar	4	Monochrome	bowl	3	Lighter Color	cup	3
	bed pan	1		plate	2		bowl	2
	mug	1	Polychrome	bowl	3		plate	3
	other	3	Plain	ornament pot	1		chamber pot	1
Blue/Grey	jar	1				Darker color	finial	1
	mug	1	Earthenware				bowl	1
Westerswald	chamber pot	3					cup	1
	mug	2	Black glaze	mug	1			
	jar	1	Red body	bowl	1			
	pitcher	1	Red glaze	bowl	1	Pearlware	bowl	2
English Brown	jar	2	Manganese glaze	jar	2	Annular	lid	1
	jug	1	Buckley	jar	6	Hand painted	plate	1
	mug	1	Clear glaze,	bowl	2	Transfer print	cup	1
	bowl	1	Red body	mug	1		cup	1
Scratch Blue	bowl	1		lid	1	Plain	cup	1
White Blue spigged	bowl	1	Clear glaze	bowl	1	Spatter decoration	mug	1
English Dry Body	mug	1	Buff body	chamber pot	1			
White Salt Glaze	teapot	1		jar	1			
Molded	teapot	1	Coarse, unglazed	mug	1	Whiteware	plate	5
	candlestick	2	Coarse Agateware			Transfer print	saucer	1
	mug	4					bowl	1
	lid	1	Jackfield	teapot		Plain	plate	1
Barley	plate	2						
Barley, Basket	plate	3						
Dot, Doozer, Basket	plate	1						
Plain	cup	1						
Slipware								
Combed	plate	4	Whieldon	bowl	1	Porcelain	plate	1
	bowl	1	Tonnoisshell	cup	1	Underglaze blue	bowl	1
Sgraffito	plate	2	Cauliflowerware				bowl	2
Dotted	cup	1				Overglaze	plate	1
	bowl	1	Green Glazed creamware	bowl	2	Under/Over		
Slipware	chamber pot	2	Molded floral	plate	1			
	bowl	2	Fruit, ring, dot	bowl	1			
	cup	2		plate	2			
	other	1						

Table 6

Artifact Class Frequencies

<u>S10 Nath Moore's Front</u>		<u>Predicted % Range</u>		<u>S10 Nath Moore's Front</u>		<u>Predicted % Range</u>	
<u>for Carolina Artifact Pattern</u>		<u>for Carolina Artifact Pattern</u>		<u>for Carolina Artifact Pattern</u>		<u>for Carolina Artifact Pattern</u>	
Kitchen Group							
1. Ceramics	2258			23. Straight pins	1		
2. Wine bottles	1664			24. Hook and eye	1		
3. Case bottles	30			25. Bal scales	1		
4. Tumbler	90			26. Glass beads	3		
5. Pharmaceutical	52				64	.8%	.6-5.4
6. Glassware	188			Personal Group			
7. Tableware	24			27. Coins	5		
8. Kitchenware	21			28. Keys	4		
	4327	55.7%	51.8-69.2	29. Personal	8		
9. Bone	519			Tabacco Group	17	.2%	.1-.5
Architecture Group					1517	19.5%	1.8-13.9
10. Window glass	828			Activities			
11. Nails	640			31. Conatr. tools	19		
12. Spikes	128			32. Farm tools	3		
13. Construction Hdwe.	49			33. Toys	8		
14. Door locks	4			34. Fishing gear	5		
	1649	21.2%	19.7-31.4	35. Sub-stemmed pipes	--		
Furniture Group				36. Caloro-Indian	--		
Arms Group		.5%	.1-.6	37. Storage items	21		
16. Balls, shot, sprus	6			38. Botanical	3		
17. Gunfims	14			39. Horse tack	8		
18. Gun Parts	8			40. Misc. Hdwe.	58		
	25	.3%	.1-1.2	41. Other	28		
42. Military obj.					--		
Clothing Group					153	1.9%	.9-2.7
19. Buckles	13			Total	7790		
20. Thimbles	2			(excluding bone)			
21. Buttons	41						
22. Scissors	2						

CHAPTER VII

COMPARISON OF RESULTS

For comparative purposes, the artifacts from both the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front were examined according to their overall site assemblages and then their individual burn layer assemblages. The material culture available for each site offers a variety of items which date to the eighteenth century. In this study, only artifacts which date to the early to mid-eighteenth century were included. Although many artifacts, particularly ceramics of later dates were found at both sites, they are only mentioned, but are not included in the comparative analysis. Ceramics, perhaps the most diagnostic tool in historical archaeology, were very useful in the comparisons of the two sites. Procedures for identification and dating of the ceramics were based primarily on those established by Noël Hume (1970). Based on the ceramic counts, the overall site totals for the minimum vessel count from Nath Moore's Front offer more of a variety in type as well as form. In a vessel to vessel comparison, the number of vessels for Nath Moore's Front was definitely higher than that of the Reid Site (Table 7). For instance, at Nath Moore's Front, the total site's count of white salt-glazed stoneware mugs was 22 as compared to the Reid Site having only one. Westerwald stoneware chamber pots are another example, where there are seven for Nath Moore's Front and the Reid Site has two. There are numerous other examples in which the vessel form counts from Nath Moore's Front are drastically higher than those of the Reid Site. The variety of eighteenth-century ceramics was also greater at Nath Moore's Front than the Reid Site which may suggest a better access to the English market of such goods. Some of the early refined earthenware such as Jackfield and Whieldon "clouded" or

“tortoiseshell” were found at Brunswick but were not at the Reid Site. Porcelain was also more abundant at Nath Moore’s Front than the Reid Site.

Perhaps a more comparable analysis between these two sites is reflected in the minimum vessel count of each site’s burn layer. It is in this further division that the vessel to vessel comparisons can be more useful in the sites’ interpretations (Table 8). The artifacts present in each site’s burn layer include items which were essential to household operations. Utilitarian vessels and common ceramic types were found at each site, and their numbers correspond quite closely. It is in the more elaborate or exceptional ceramics that the true differences in the material culture can be seen. The ash layer of Nath Moore’s Front contained more of a variety of English ceramics than the Reid Site as previously noted. A variety of forms as well as types was clearly evident. A higher percentage of teapots, candlesticks, cups, bowls, mugs, plates and chamber pots were present at Nath Moore’s Front and were available in several different ceramic types. The Reid Site contained some items which may have been considered nicer ceramics, such as the white salt-glazed stoneware, tin enamelled earthenware and combed and dotted slipware. Overall, however, the quantity and perhaps even the quality of ceramics present at the Reid Site is much less than Nath Moore’s Front.

The use of the minimum vessel counts for both sites is helpful in identifying their separate assemblages. When considered with the historical information however, the minimum vessel counts for the two sites reveal some surprising results. According to Solomon Pool’s Inventory, he owned a wide variety of eighteenth-century goods, including diverse ceramics. However, in the vessel counts, the variety of the Reid Site is much less than at Brunswick Town. This is interesting because it seems to be the opposite situation of what was expected. In actuality, the Brunswick ordinary had more of a variety of eighteenth-century ceramics than did the prosperous farmer of the Albermarle.

The use of the artifact patterns, although they may be misleading in some cases, are helpful in determining the entire extent of the available artifact assemblages for each site. The artifact patterns incorporated into the reanalysis of the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front indicate a patterned regularity in their material remains. Yet, they may not best represent the, "behavioral by-products of the British-American culture system as a result of shared norms" (Warfel 1983:268). Instead, the variability may be caused by other outside influences such as differing adaptations or even in the construction of the patterns of the reanalyzed material. Nevertheless, the pattern recognition study provides an opportunity to quantitatively compare the data from each of the two sites in order to determine their similarities as well as differences.

The overall purpose of this study was to apply South's pattern recognition to an eighteenth-century site in coastal North Carolina which had not been previously analyzed in this manner. Although the use of patterns in the archaeological record may at times be ambiguous, they do provide a means for an initial analysis of the recovered date. In order for pattern recognition studies to be truly effective, however, additional factors which lead to variation within a site should be considered. It is in this respect that a pattern recognition study serves as a useful tool in the analysis of historic archaeological sites.

The initial question presented pertaining to the degree of variation in the material culture of the two sites revolved around the causes of these differences. As evident in this study all three variables, the geographical, socio-economic and cultural had some impact on the variation. In the following, each of these factors is described.

The geographical differences between the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front are very significant and should be carefully considered in the analysis. Both of these sites are located along the coast, which was an essential requirement during the eighteenth century. Each site was located on a navigable river and offered access to a principal port. The most significant difference in the site locations is that the Reid Site was

certainly more isolated than Brunswick Town. Essentially, the Reid Site was a rural farm or plantation which belonged to a fairly prosperous farmer. On the other hand, Nath Moore's Front was located in an early town along North Carolina's coast. Therefore, there would be variations in the access which these two areas had to the trade market. Canoes or smaller sloops would have to bring the goods in and out of the Little River or overland travel was required to reach Port Roanoke in the town of Edenton. Brunswick Town, however, had a direct access to its port. The direct access to the sea trade consequently created an urban setting for the houses, shops and other facilities of Brunswick to develop. The eighteenth-century goods and products indigenous to both areas also represent a slight difference. The vegetation of both the Albermarle and the Cape Fear was very similar. The Cape Fear however, was certainly more heavily exploited for its pine products of pitch, tar and turpentine more so than any other area of the state. The Albermarle produced some lumber products along with its livestock and staple crops of corn and tobacco.

From a cultural standpoint these sites are very similar, due to the fact they are both based on English backgrounds. This common English heritage is reflected in several general aspects of their society. The Pool family was most likely indicative of the early settlers who resided in the isolated areas of the Albermarle; and Edward Scott, a mariner, may represent the typical inhabitant of the Cape Fear. For the most part, the wealthy planters of the Cape Fear region were an exception rather than the norm. Solomon Pool and Edward Scott both seem to fit into the middling class which was comprised of the majority of inhabitants in eighteenth-century North Carolina. For the purpose of this study, the term middling is used to include a wide range of North Carolina's inhabitants during the mid-eighteenth century. The middling class fell somewhat between the gentry and the yeomanry of early Carolina society. The middling class was neither as wealthy as the gentry class nor were they merely subsisting as the yeomanry. Instead, the middling class of North Carolina could

include fairly prosperous small farmers and planters as well as shop owners, tavern and ordinary keepers, merchants or even some tradesmen.

One difference in the cultural factors between the two individuals revolved around their religious persuasions. Pool, a farmer, was a member of a Quaker family who was among the first settlers in the Albermarle. As noted from the records, he was a fairly prominent citizen within the community and most likely adhered to the Quaker principles of moderation in all things. Previous studies of eighteenth-century Quakers have had little success in identifying observable differences in the material possessions of Quakers from those of their contemporaries. Instead, it has been noted that the Quakers could be distinguished by their behavior practices and religious beliefs rather than any outward distinctions. The Quaker tenet of plainness served as a guideline for these early Friends and included a broad range of behavior. As Frost (1973:188) points out, "A Friend was expected to live balanced between moderation and asceticism. His use of food and clothing as well as his habits of speech, work, leisure and politics were influenced by his identification with Friends." In a sense, there were various life patterns which existed within the limits of Quaker beliefs and a stereotype of an eighteenth-century Friend is extremely difficult to formulate. In Frederick Tolles study of eighteenth century Quaker merchants of Philadelphia, he notes that apart from examples such as clothing, furnishings, and domestic architecture, it is hard to detect substantial differences in the wealthy Quaker merchants and wealthy merchants of other denominations. Their concept of plainness could include items of very good quality and of the latest fashion as long as they were not excessively ornamental or superfluous. Essentially, these Philadelphia Quakers could enjoy a variety of items "of the best Sort but Plain" (Tolles 1942:128). Throughout all of the colonies in the eighteenth century, Quakers in both rural and urban settings developed their own individual interpretations of plainness.

For the purpose of material culture studies, a cultural identity of Quakers is not easily determined. Except for the unsubstantial cases of clothing, furnishings, and architecture, “a distinct Quaker identity is not likely to be read from the archaeological record” (Brown 1987:275). Consequently, in the analysis of the Reid Site, the material possessions of Solomon Pool which remain in the archaeological record do not readily distinguish Pool’s Quaker identity.

There are no personal records for Edward Scott. However, a reasonable assumption that he belonged to the Anglican Church can be made, and certainly he was a non-Quaker. Scott, who was at first a mariner and then later opened an ordinary, seems characteristic of the settlers of Brunswick. Most of Brunswick Town’s inhabitants were drawn to it by its port facility and the potential it offered for conducting a profitable business or trade.

The differences in the material culture of these two sites can also be seen from a socio-economic perspective. The economic perspectives of both sites are closely related to their geographical locations of being either in a rural or an urban setting. Nath Moore’s Front as seen in the house site itself and its artifact assemblage represents the occupation of a typical middling person. The well-built house was multi-level and could serve as a good facility for an ordinary. The variety of ceramic forms and types reflect the service to a wide range of clientele. Fine English ceramics and stemware were found along with the more common types of tavern goods. The variety and quality of the ceramics is not surprising due to the fact that the port of Brunswick could provide a direct link to the English market. Goods of all types were more readily available at this port town than they would have been in outlying areas.

The Reid Site’s material may at first reflect the possessions of a less affluent person than at Brunswick Town. Although this may have indeed been the case, other factors should be considered before any definite conclusions are made. In comparing the house at the Reid Site with that of Nath Moore’s Front, it is noticeably smaller.

Although a 16 by 10 foot house seems small, it is not unusual for the Tidewater area (Lounsbury 1977). “The elaborate brick floor with a ballast stone foundation seems to suggest a small, yet impressive hall and parlor type house” (John W. Clauser Jr., personal communication, 1989). Possible adjacent structures to the house may have served as dependencies or housing for the family's five slaves. Solomon Pool owned many of the same ceramics and stemware types which were found at Brunswick Town, although they were not as numerous. The quality of the white salt-glazed stoneware, tin-enamelled earthenware, slipware and air-twist stemware reflect Pool's access, if not means, whereby he could afford to buy these more fashionable items. Also, in examining the 1740 estate of Pool, many pewter items and other utilitarian vessels were listed which probably served as objects for their everyday use. He also listed the amount of currency, tobacco and other personal items which he owned. Solomon Pool was a reasonably well off farmer of the Albermarle who owned land, slaves and other property.

A final point which should be considered in the comparison of the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front is the dichotomy between their private and public uses. The Reid Site served as a private, family, Quaker-owned farm, and Nath Moore's Front served as a public ordinary as well as a private residence. The material remains from each site should be expected to vary based on the different activities of each area. The Reid Site was a working farm or small plantation, and the material remains would naturally seem to reflect agricultural activities such as dairying. The inventory of Solomon Pool indicates that he was able to acquire a wide range of extraneous items and material goods. The material remains from Nath Moore's Front may indicate an inconsistency in the normal expectations of a colonial ordinary. Ordinaries were usually depicted as public facilities which catered to the common man and provided the barest essentials. Edward Scott, however, must have operated an above average establishment at Nath Moore's Front, in which he offered a variety of services. Scott could presumably

afford the luxury of providing a higher quality of ceramics and glassware for his clientele. Any personal records of Edward Scott would certainly support or dispute this assumption.

Current studies in historical archaeology often examine the material culture related to a particular site in order to gain a better understanding of the society in which it was produced and used. This type of study is frequently accomplished by isolating an individual household assemblage which will be used to analyze the composition of the assemblage. Secondly, pattern recognition is useful in terms of determining a patterned regularity or uniformity in the archaeological record. Special attention should be paid however, to historical records and any pertinent documentation which is relevant to a particular site.

In the comparative analysis of these two sites, a combination of all three variables should be considered. Neither the geographical, socio-economic or cultural factors can be used exclusively to determine the degree of variation between the two sites. Instead, a combination of these three will provide the most information. Also, the use of the vessel counts and the artifact patterns should be incorporated into the comparisons of the two sites. The similarities between the two areas are fairly easy to decipher, however the differences present more of a problem. A pattern recognition study is helpful in determining the differences between two comparable sites because it provides a systematic method for examining the data. The artifact frequency ratios used in conjunction with the historical record and any other influential factors will result in a most efficient and interesting analysis of an historical archaeological site.

In this study, two household assemblages were examined and compared in order to detect any differences between the two sites. Although the sites had their variations, they both seem representative of typical inhabitants of North Carolina during the eighteenth century. The Reid Site provided an opportunity for the analysis of an eighteenth-century site which had not been used in the Carolina Artifact Pattern. As

predicted, in the reanalysis, its ratios fell within the expected limits of the pattern; however the additional variables should also be considered in the comparisons of the Reid Site and Nath Moore's Front.

The most significant difference contributing to the variation between the two sites cannot be limited to a single variable. The artifact assemblages and use of the pattern recognition support this conclusion. Both the archaeological information and the historic sources are essential to this type of study and their use should complement each other. Finally, this reanalysis of the two sites had demonstrated the importance of the historical information used in conjunction with the archaeological materials. Hopefully, a better understanding of the two sites can be realized and contribute to the overall commentary of North Carolina's varied and interesting eighteenth-century coastal society.

APPENDIX A

1740 Estate of Solomon Pool

"A True and Perfect Inventory of all, and Singular the Goods, Chatties, Rights, and Credits of Solomon Poole Late of the County of Pasquotank Deceased Taken this 14th Day of April 1740 By us the Esquire and Executor of last Will & Testament of the said Deceased."

SLAVES

One old Negro woman called Sarah
 One Middle-aged woman called Blear
 Negro Girl aged six years
 Negro Boy aged four years
 Negro Boy aged four years

FURNITURE

3 feather beds & furniture
 3 old bed cords
 6 black chairs [sic]
 1 maple oval [sic] table
 1 small trunk w/out lock & keys
 3 Small old Boxes
 2 small chests w/out Locks & keys

BOOKS

1 old Small Bible
 1 Small Bible
 1 Common Prayer Book
 1 Young Man's Pocket Companion

PERSONAL/MISCELLANEOUS

1 Razor
 25 yrs new Home Made Lining [sic]
 5 yards of Ozonbrnds
 12 pounds Currency or Lawfull Money
 Small Quantity of Wooo) yard
 1 Whier's slac
 Quantity of Tobacco 100 pounds
 2 Old pr of Speckicles [sic]
 small amount of unpick'd Cotton

TOOLS

1 pr Sheep Shears
 4 falling Axes
 1 Set of Cooper's Tools
 2 old Augers
 2 Carpenter's Hammers
 2 small Nail Gimbles
 3 large New Weeding Hoes
 7 old hoes
 1 plough Harrow
 1 small old Draw Knife
 Small parcel Shoemaker's tools
 old (shot?) Handmill & frame
 s old alays & harness

KITCHEN/HOUSEHOLD

1 pottle
 1 old erect 2 qt pottle
 6 pewter plates
 23 old pewter spoons
 1 half Gall: tin Measure
 1 Bell Mottle Spice Mortar
 4 glass tumblers
 6 quart Glass Bottles
 1 Flat earthen dish
 2 white Earthen porringers
 Small Brass kettle
 3 Iron pots
 2 pr old Sizzors
 2 old Washing tubbs
 1 Cedar Cann [sic]

2 qt. pewter bason
 3 flat [sic] dishes
 1 old pint Bason
 1 Stone Drinking jugg
 2 small earthen plates
 1 (stool?) candlestick
 1 drinking glass
 3 small Earthen Butter potts [sic]
 1 small Stube Butzer Chum [sic]
 Large Brass Kettle
 1 Iron Kettle
 1 iron spit
 1 Case with 12 Bottles
 1 Bar: Salt 5 1/2 bushels
 1 Stone jugg cont. 2 Gall:

LIVESTOCK

11 Gees [sic]
 1 yering horse
 1 one yr Stear
 1 year old stear
 3 Cows w/out Calves
 3 head of Shoes somewhat younger
 13 Sows 68 pigs

6 Hives of Bees
 1 Mare & Colt
 3 five yr old stear
 1 4 yr old stear
 83 head of yr old hogg
 5 1 1/2 Barrows
 1 4 yr old Bull

CLOTH/CLOTHING

1 Red Close Bodced [sic] coat
 4 old Shirts
 1 Hornmade Vest
 1 Suit Broad Cloih half wom
 one Caster Hat [sic]

(Pasquotank County Estate Records 1712-1931, N.C.S.A.)

APPENDIX B

Artifact Class Frequencies

	<u>Nath Moore's Front (Bum)</u>				
<u>31Pk8 Reid Site</u>					
Kitchen Group			Personal Group		
1. Ceramics	919	243	27. Coins	4	2
2. Wine bottles	87	20	28. Keys	0	3
3. Case bottles	20	3	29. Personal	1	0
4. Tumbler	13	4		5	.3%
5. Pharmaceutical	1	2			
6. Glassware	5	19			
7. Tableware	20	5			
8. Kitchenware	6	3			
	1071	299		107	5.8%
		67.5%	Tobacco Group		
9. Bone	1813	45			
			Activities Group		
Architecture Group			31. Constr. tools	1	8
10. Window Glass	63	21	32. Farm tools	0	2
11. Nails	502	2	33. Toys	1	5
12. Spikes	3	1	34. Fishing gear	0	4
13. Construction Hdwe.	7	9	35. Stub-stemmed pipes	0	0
14. Door locks	0	4	36. Colono-Indian	0	0
	575	37	37. Storage items	2	10
			38. Botanical	0	1
Furniture Group			39. Horse tack	0	1
	4	6	40. Misc. Hdwe.	21	5
			41. Other	2	8
Arms Group			42. Military obj.	0	0
16. Balls, shot sprue	3	2		27	1.5%
17. Gunflints	7	1			
18. Gun parts	3	4			
	13	7	Total	1828	443
Clothing Group					
19. Buckles	7	1			
20. Thimbles	0	0			
21. Buttons	17	7			
22. Scissors	0	0			
23. Straight pins	0	0			
24. Hook and eye	0	0			
25. Bale seals	0	0			
26. Glass beads	2	0			
	26	8			
		1.4%			1.8%

REFERENCES CITED

- Anscombe, Francis C.
1959 I Have Called You Friends The Story of Ouakerism in North Carolina. The Christopher Publishing House, Boston.
- Ashe, Samuel A'Court
1925 History of North Carolina Vol. I from 1584 to 1783. Charles L. Van Noppen, Greensboro, North Carolina.
- Binford, Lewis R.
1962 "A New Method of Calculating Dates from Kaolin Pipe Stem Fragments". Southeastern Archaeological Conference Newsletter. 9(1):19-21. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Bridenbaugh, Carl
1952 Myths and Realities Societies of the Colonial South. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
- Brown, Marley R. III
1987 "Among Weighty Friends": The Archaeology and Social History of the Jacob Mott Family, Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 1640-1800. Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Clark, Walter (editor)
1904 The State Records of North Carolina. vol. XXIII. Nash Brothers Book and Job Printers, Goldsboro, North Carolina.
- Clauser, John W., Jr.
1985 Site Inspection at the Reid Site 31Pk8 Nixonton Vicinity Pasquotank County, North Carolina. Office of State Archaeology, Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Collet, John
1770 "A Compleat Map of North Carolina from an actual survey By Captn. Collet. Governor of Fort Johnston. Engraved by J. Bayley. Published according to Act of Ludgate Hill, London". North Carolina State Archives. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Ekirch, A. Roger
1981 "Poor Carolina" Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina. 1729-1776. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

- Frost, J. William
1973 The Quaker Family in Colonial America A Portrait of the Society of Friends. St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Graham, Michael
1988 "Churching the Unchurched: The Establishment in Maryland 1692-1724". Maryland Historical Magazine. 83(4):297-309.
- Harrington, J.C.
1954 "Dating Stem Fragments of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes". Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia. vol. 9(1). Richmond, Virginia.
- Hartley, Michael O., Sr.
1986 Elizabethan Policies and the Charles Town Colony: An Ethnohistorical-Archaeological Analysis. M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Hickey, Damon Douglas
1982 Bearing the Cross of Plainness Conservative Quaker Culture in North Carolina. M.A. thesis, Department of History University of North Carolina at Greensboro, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- Hinshaw, Seth B.
1984 The Carolina Quaker Experience 1665-1985. Briarpatch Press, Davidson, North Carolina.
- Hinshaw, William Wade
1969 Encyclopedia of American Quaker Geneology, vol. 2. Geneological Publishing Company, Baltimore, Maryland.
- Kulikoff, Allan
1986 Tobacco and Slaves The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake 1680-1800. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- Lee, Lawrence E.
1951 The History of Brunswick in North Carolina: The Political and Economic Development of a Colonial Town. M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- Lee, Lawrence E.
1965 The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- Lefler, Hugh T. and Albert R. Newsome
1974 The History of a Southern State North Carolina. 3rd ed. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- Lefler, Hugh T. and William S. Powell
1973 Colonial North Carolina A History. Charles Scribners' Sons, New York.

- Lounsbury, Carl
1977 "The Development of Domestic Architecture in the Albermarle Region." North Carolina Historical Review. LIV (1):17-48.
- Merrens, Harry Roy
1964 Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century A Study in Historical Geography. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- Moseley, Edward
1733 "A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina. By Edward Moseley, late Surveyor General of the said Province, 1733. Cumming, plates 51-54" North Carolina State Archives. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Mouzon, Henry A.
1775 "An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina and their Indian Territories by Henry Mouzon and others". copy. North Carolina State Archives. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Mrozowski, Stephen A.
1984 "Prospects and Perspectives on an Archaeology of the Household". Man in the Northeast. (27):31-49.
- New Hanover County Deeds. Book AB:125. North Carolina State Archives. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- New Hanover County Deeds. Book C:80-81. North Carolina State Archives. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Noël Hume, Ivor
1970 A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- North Carolina Land Grants. Book I:78. Office of the Secretary of State. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Orser, Charles E., Jr.
1989 On Plantations and Patterns. Historical Archaeology 23(2):28-40.
- Parker, Coralie
1928 The History of Taxation in North Carolina During the Colonial Period 1663-1776. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Pasquotank County Deeds. Book A:195. North Carolina State Archives. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Pasquotank County Estate Records 1712-1931 (Pool, Joshua A.-Pool, Solomon). North Carolina State Archives. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Pasquotank County Wills (Pool, Solomon). North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

- Public Records Office. London, England. Admiralty Records 1731-1750. North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Saunders, William L. (editor)
1886 The Colonial Records of North Carolina. 10 Vols. State of North Carolina. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Sauthier, C.J.
1769 "Plan of the Town and Port of Brunswick in Brunswick County, North Carolina. Survey'd & Drawn in April 1769". copy, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Schiffer, Michael B.
1972 "Archaeological Context and Systemic Context". American Antiquity. 37(2):156-165.
- South, Stanley A.
1958 Excavation Report Unit S10, Lot 29 Brunswick Town, N.C. Nath Moore's Front 1728-1776. State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

1960 Colonial Brunswick 1726-1776. North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

1972 "Evolution and Horizon As Revealed in Ceramic Analysis in Historical Archaeology". The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 6:71-116. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

1977 Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology. Academic Press Inc., New York.
- Sprunt, James
1916 Chronicles of The Cape Fear River 1660-1916. Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Tolles, Frederick B.
1948 Meeting House and Counting House The Quaker Merchants of Philadelphia 1682-1763. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- Treasurer and Comptroller Records. Ports. Port Roanoke Collector's Account 1742-1751. North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Virginia Gazette. April 11, 1776. Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Walsh, Lorena S. and Lois Green Carr
1980 Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658-1777. Historical Methods. 13(2):81-104.

- Warfel, Stephen G.
1983 A Critical Analysis and Test of Stanley South's Artifact Patterns. In Forgotten Places and Things, edited by A. Ward, pp. 267-275. Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- Watson, Alan D.
1968 Ordinaries in Colonial Eastern North Carolina. North Carolina Historical Review. XLV (1):69-83.
- Weeks, Stephen B.
1896 Southern Quakers and Slavery. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland.
- Wenger, Mark R.
1989 The Rebirth of Shields Tavern. Colonial Williamsburg The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Inc. XI(3):8-16.
- Wolf, Jacquelyn H.
1979 Patents and Tithables in Proprietary North Carolina, 1663-1729. North Carolina Historical Review. LVI(3):263-277.
- Wood, John Elliot
1954 A Brief Sketch of Pasquotank County. Pasquotank Historical Society Year Book. vol. I. Elizabeth City, North Carolina.

VITA**Anna Lois Gray**

Born in Garner, North Carolina, October 22, 1964. Graduated from Garner Senior High School in that city, June 1983, A.B. in Anthropology from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, May 1987.

In August 1987, the author entered the College of William and Mary as a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology. She has participated in numerous archaeological excavations of both prehistoric and historic sites throughout North Carolina and Virginia.