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The Inter-Colonial Trade of Domestic Earthenwares and the Development of an American Social Identity

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THE INTER-COLONIAL TRADE OF DOMESTIC EARTHENWARES
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AMERICAN SOCIAL IDENTITY

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

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Master of the Arts

By

Carl Steen

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APPROVAL SHEET


This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

Archaeological research has revealed the presence of earthenwares manufactured in Philadelphia during the third quarter of the eighteenth century at sites along the coast of North America from Charleston to Nova Scotia, and in Bermuda. An even wider distribution is suggested by the few documents that exist, but this trade, and the trade of other manufactured goods of the same period is almost invisible in the documentary record because of their relative unimportance in monetary terms. For this reason their role and the role of the people involved in their manufacture and trade has been largely passed over by economic historians. However using both documentary and archaeological evidence as a basis it is suggested that domestically manufactured goods and intercolonial commerce had a more important role than has been previously recognized. It is suggested that colonial manufacturing, intercolonial coastwise trade and the concomitant social relations essential to such practices were instrumental in forging a shared American social identity, and that sherds of Philadelphia Earthenwares found throughout the colonies are material symbols of this process. Archaeological and documentary evidence relating Edenton, North Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania receive special emphasis in the formation of this argument.

"That's what Jesus meant" whispers the ghost of Slothrop's first American ancestor William, "venturing out on the Sea of Galilee...he saw it from the Lemming's point of view. Without the millions who had plunged and drowned, there could have been no miracle. The successful loner was only the other part of it: the last piece of the jigsaw puzzle, whose shape had already been created by the Preterite, like the last blank space on the table."

Thomas Pynchon
Gravity's Rainbow

**THE INTERCOLONIAL TRADE OF DOMESTIC EARTHENWARES
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Archaeological research has revealed the presence of three easily identifiable types of domestically produced slip decorated, lead glazed earthenwares on coastal sites dating to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. These sites range from as far north as Nova Scotia, to as far south on the mainland as South Carolina, and into the West Indies (Bastian 1987; Bower 1985; Steen 1985, 1986; Barton 1981; Faulkner et al. 1978; Ivor Noel Hume 1985:personal communication; Carrillo 1980:50; Lewis 1978:178; Marley R. Brown 1989:personal communication). The presence of lead glazed earthenwares on sites of this period is not unusual: the important point is that they were produced in Philadelphia (Cosans 1974; Bower 1974, 1985). Since domestically produced ceramics of that period are thought mostly to have been made for local markets, the presence of these ceramics at such a distance from their source is an oddity (Turnbaugh 1985; Myers 1980).

The recovery of domestic ceramics in an isolated instance can indicate idiosyncratic behavior, but a pattern of such occurrences is another matter entirely. Noting patterned regularities in the archaeological record is a necessary

first step toward understanding past cultural behavior, but it is only the first step (South 1977, 1988). With an etic (etic and emic as defined by Harris 1968:575 are used herein) understanding of a phenomenon established it is necessary, when possible, to put the phenomenon into its proper social and historical context to lend meaning to the activity and its physical manifestations. What does a thing, as Roland Barthes (1988:180) says, "Signify"? This thesis, then, is not concerned with the ceramics themselves as much as it is with their symbolic significance; their Meaning (with a capital M), as Clifford Geertz would put it. What do they say to us as students of past cultures? What did these ceramics mean to the people who used and made them?

As near as the author can determine the trade of these ceramics is not documented beyond a few passing references. Since the ceramics recovered archaeologically are from contexts in or near major ports of the period, it is assumed that they arrived there by sea as a product of intercolonial coastwise trading. Therefore, to place the presence of these ceramics in their proper context we must seek data from a wide range of sources. It is important to be acquainted with not just pottery making and potters' lives, as is often the case with studies of domestic pottery (see Turnbaugh 1985; Greer 1981; Burrison 1984 for examples), but also with other areas of influence. Important topics to be discussed in this thesis include, then, the nature of the economic development

of the British colonies in North America which resulted in a system of intercoastal trading; the form that these trading relationships took; and some of the social effects of these relations. As well, some of the social forces at work at the time that may have promoted or hindered the manufacture and trade of these and other wares will also be considered.

Most students of economic history and colonial shipping and trade present a similar picture: that of the colonies sending raw materials (i.e., non-manufactured or minimally processed goods) to England and receiving in return manufactured goods (Sheridan 1984; McCusker and Menard 1985; Braudel 1979A, 1979 B, 1979 C; Wallerstein 1974, 1980; Lewis 1985; etc.). Coastwise trading is seen as an unimportant phenomenon, being mainly redistributive in nature, with the trade of either raw or minimally processed materials or foodstuffs for manufactured goods imported from Great Britain predominating. Little mention is made of the trade of domestically manufactured goods, because relatively few of such goods were, apparently, traded (Shepard and Walton 1972, 1976; Shepard and Williamson 1972; Jensen 1963; Johnson et al. 1915; Bailyn 1959; Clark 1929). Thus to the traditional economic historian because their volume and monetary value was low, these manufactures were "unimportant". It is my contention that their symbolic value was high, however, and that more important than the actual

material goods exchanged was the relationships that these exchanges generated.

A survey of the few available primary historical sources dealing with the coastwise trade (British Public Records Office, Customs and Treasurers records (summarized in U.S. Bureau of the Census 1965), merchants papers and newspapers) tends to confirm the point that the intercolonial trade of domestic goods was relatively unimportant. Because, however, of the dearth and poor quality of the documents that comprise these collections--especially the PRO papers on shipping--it seems entirely possible that this reasoning may be more circular than linear. Inter-colonial trading was practiced from the beginning of the colonies and throughout the colonial period (see T.W. Van Metre, in Johnson 1915). Nevertheless, it can be said that the industries operating in America, indeed, did not mature until the nineteenth century, and the United States did not begin to supply the majority of its internal goods until well into the nineteenth century. So, during the period in question the internal trade of domestically manufactured goods was in no way the equal of that of imported goods.

The ceramics in question here were manufactured on more of a handicraft than an industrial level (as defined by Braudel 1979B:297; and Myers 1980:1,2) and their presence in the colonial trade is barely noted in the documentary record. These ceramics, as near as can be told from the

archaeological data, did not enter the colonial trade in a large enough quantity to rival English wares, or apparently to contribute more than minimally to the overall economy--indeed, even most of the Philadelphia potters to be discussed in this thesis had other business interests besides pottery--but for a time the wares were found over a wide area.

The point should be underlined here that these Philadelphia earthenwares are apparently anomalous in that they entered the intercolonial trade on a large enough scale form an obvious pattern archaeologically. Local potters in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states, and even in coastal Virginia, did in fact rival British potters in production of utilitarian earthenwares, for local markets (see Turnbaugh 1985; Watkins 1950; Barka 1972, etc.). Wares that appear similar to those made by the Bayley family, of Massachusetts (Watkins 1950) have been noted by the author in collections from Williamsburg and Charleston, which, if their provenance is confirmed, further illustrates the phenomenon. When all such wares are identified a different picture may emerge. There is no doubt, however, that the British dominated the market in high quality, non-utilitarian wares, and most likely provided much of the lower south with glazed utilitarian wares.

Because of its size and documentary invisibility, this and other small domestic manufacturing and trade activities

have been passed over, if not totally ignored by most historians. Without artificially inflating the importance of this particular phenomenon it is hoped that this thesis can demonstrate by analogy a growing base of industrial know-how and capability in the colonies. This, along with an ever increasing internal trade, and the social interaction concurrent with these trade relationships, contributed to a sense of independence and a shared American social identity. It is hoped that in so doing, a means for studying other phenomena passed over by the documentary record can be demonstrated, thus showing the contribution that archaeology and material culture studies can make to the study of the past. With the addition of documentary data a more fully integrated study in historical anthropology, or, as Robert Schuyler puts it, historic ethnology, (Schuyler 1988:41) is feasible: a study that, as much as possible, ignores disciplinary boundaries through the use of anthropology as the framework for a more holistic and fully integrated study of the past.

Material Culture and the Study of the Past

From the surface of rubbish heaps the thin and ghostly essence of things human keeps rising through the centuries until the plaintive murmur of dead men and women may take precedence at times over the living voice. A man who has once looked with the archaeological eye will never see quite normally. He will be wounded by what other men call trifles. It is possible to refine the sense of time until an old shoe in the bunch grass or a pile of nineteenth century beer bottles in an abandoned

mining town tolls in one's head like a hall clock...It is the melancholy secret of the artifact, the humanly touched thing (Eisley 1971:81).

Material culture will be used in this study to refer to material items-physical manifestations of culture, Loren Eisley's "humanly touched things"; physical, quantifiable artifacts in short. Some authors would broaden the definition of material culture to include non-material things as well: the cultural rules or mental templates guiding the way in which a house is made, the steps in a dance, the sound of a word, or the form that a proper pot should take, for instance (Schlereth 1982:2; Ferguson 1977:5-7; Deetz 1977B:10). Following their reasoning to its logical end we could say that a thought or a memory is material culture, too, since they consist of electro-chemical reactions that occur within the brain: physical, quantifiable things. They are, of course, correct. In the final analysis there is no real difference: material culture and culture are inextricably interwoven parts of the same system. The author believes, however, that such a broadening of the definition serves only to confuse the issue. Thus for the sake of clarity in this study the definition of material culture will be restricted to "humanly touched" material things. Memories, ideas, mental templates, Georgian "mindsets" and other ephemeral phenomena are perhaps better defined as culture. This does not preclude our study of such phenomena through the means provided by material manifestations of culture if we think of objects as

symbols: of objects having "Meaning" beyond their functional uses.

Archaeologists, art historians, and antique collectors have long been interested in pottery and material culture in general, albeit for different reasons, but historians have tended to ignore material culture in favor of documentary evidence. After all, the argument goes, who cares about George Washington's dinner plates when there are thousands of documents available for study that much more clearly demonstrate the workings of his mind, his activities, and his motivations? This attitude may be valid with George Washington, if only because it can be argued that his public life was far more important than his private life. When considering history's preterite, however, such an attitude is short sighted, and is perhaps the result of a general ignorance of what artifacts can tell us about the past. This is not intended as an attack on documentary history or historians, because it is possible that we who study material culture have often failed to explain our findings in ways that are meaningful to researchers outside of our disciplines. Nevertheless, material culture is of a different order than documentary data and artifacts contain different kinds of information that must be translated in the sense that Geertz (1983:10) uses the concept, into terms that we can make sense of. While the language of artifacts by themselves may seem a faint and equivocal whisper, with the

addition of the documentary record they can speak more clearly to us.

Archaeologists and other students of material culture cannot ignore or even worse, uncritically accept documentary history and properly explain their findings, however. Historians can be fundamentally wrong in their interpretations too. We must then, bear in mind that documents are material culture too. Artifacts are documents just as documents are artifacts: words on a page and pottery sherds are symbols that must be translated into terms we can understand as well.

Words and artifacts can tell the same or different stories, and when they are combined they can tell contradictory stories. Leone et al. (1988 and elsewhere) would say that words on a page are more likely, in fact, to be used to mask reality, while the lowly potsherd speaks a faint but unequivocal truth. Archaeological data, being the preterite--thrown away--fraction of the information available to us about the past, is less likely to be purposely misleading than things recorded for posterity's sake. Artifacts are more reliably truthful than documentary data, but the rules of translating their meaning are different, and the kinds of information they contain are different. We must be careful not to make too much of the information that material culture transmits, however, but at the same time we

must not underestimate the value of material culture when properly understood.

While a fair number of notable figures of the eighteenth century left reasonably complete paper trails of their lives that demonstrate not just what they did and how they lived, but what they thought and felt, the vast majority of the people living in North America have been passed over by documentary history. This preterite mass has indeed left little more than bits and pieces of its material culture behind to tell us of their passage. If we are willing to limit our knowledge of the past to studies of the wealthy, the literate, the "uncommon man" who had the means to leave a written record of his life, and then took the step of actually doing so, then purely documentary history is a good avenue for study. Similarly, if we are willing to limit our studies of agriculture, manufacturing, commerce and trade to that which is present in the documentary record, then we can do so as well. If it is our desire to take our studies a step further; to attempt to understand history's preterite (industries as well as people), then we must consider material culture. As the folklorist Henry Glassie puts it:

Artifacts are less delicately expressive and reflective than most modes of communication... If you wish to know, abstractly, about social mechanisms, you will learn more in a few weeks of observing people [or I would add, reading their words] than you will in years of measuring pots or houses...it is more profitable to study people who can talk, than things which cannot. But when your

wish is to understand people who are dead, [and did not leave documentary evidence of themselves] artifacts are all you have (Glassie 1977:28).

The challenge of archaeology and material culture studies in general, is to document this undocumented majority. Because of what has been perceived of as inherent differences between a "scientific", or anthropological-"New" archaeological approach to such studies, and a "humanistic", documentary historical approach, a false and unnecessary dichotomy between the approaches has been allowed to continue. A decade and a half ago Henry Glassie charged historians with producing histories that were "inauthentic...superficial, and elitist--a tale of viciousness, a myth for the contemporary power structure" (Glassie 1977:29). In the time between the early 1970's and the present, however it must be said that the differences between the various groups studying the past has become smaller. With the publication of a number of works on the slave (Wood 1974; Levine 1978; Littlefield 1982; Joyner 1984; Creel 1988), the small farmer (Oakes 1982), the factory worker (Terrill 1985), and the common person (Hawkes 1985) just to mention a few, it is no longer true that the common person of history has not received his or her fair share of ink. It can no longer be said that the histories that are appearing are strictly tales of viciousness and elitism. Lawrence Levine, Charles Joyner, Rhys Isaacs, T.H. Breen, Jack Larkin, and Margaret Creel's studies in

particular are guided by sometimes overtly anthropological interests. Finally, it is difficult to call Fernand Braudel's or Immanuel Wallerstein's work particularistic. Their work is clearly grounded with the anthropologist's concept of culture, with particular events depicted as part of a larger fabric, as they should be. It should be clear then, that the approaches to studying the past are converging.

Much remains to be studied, however, and as has been previously stated, archaeology offers us the opportunity to study things that are passed over by documentary history. The life of the small farmer in colonial times, for instance may be documented only at his or her birth, marriage, military service, and death. In these instances a person may only show up as a name on a list. Archaeology can flesh out these details, and tell us how people lived. For example it can tell us their taste in food and wine, something of their esthetic sensibilities, whether he or she was up-to-date in fashion and the popular culture of the day: whether the subjects were participating in Wallerstein's English World System, or forging a new order. We must bear in mind however, that the archaeological data base is inherently distorted (Schiffer 1976), and regardless of Binford's apparent arguments to the contrary (Binford 1981), natural and cultural factors combine to affect the preservation and integrity of deposits. Artifacts are transitory and at

times, enigmatic. Recovery methods and interpretations of data combine to provide a view of the past which may be seriously skewed.

Some would say that there is some question as to whether the past can accurately be interpreted by the people of the present at all because, in addition to the factors already alluded to, of the distortion introduced by our education, political beliefs, personal motivations, and the sum of our socialization. Hodder (1985), Leone (1985:416-419), and Leone et al. (1987) summarize these views. Although there are some who would insist that it is our duty to reinterpret the past in such a way as to liberate both ourselves as scholars, and the common person of today from false ideologies imposed by our society, and the capitalist system (Shanks and Tilley 1987, for instance), the author takes a somewhat different view.

Because of the apparent impossibility of attaining true objectivity the author believes that it is our duty to strive even harder to achieve it, rather than throwing it out completely and embracing a new set of biases--even if they can be clearly defined. If it is our desire to understand, as best we can, possible past cultural processes and events our only hope is to be aware of our biases, to document our work accurately, and to try to remain objective; realizing that the next generation, because of the particularities of their lives and times, will

reinterpret our work to fit their perception of the past. It is a disservice to muddle the issue with politics; the "real" story is already distorted enough. Our histories need not glorify or vilify the past or the people who lived in the past by grinding the political axes of the present.

If we want to study the social conditions of the late twentieth century, or to fantasize about a past that we think should have been, then perhaps we should look to other venues more appropriate for such work. Novels, essays, and editorials are three that come immediately to mind. At the same time we must not shrink from the truth. Racism, sexism, and class oppression, for instance, are objectively real, both in the past and in the present. These, and many other values that we would consider "bad" today, were widely accepted in the past and contributed greatly to the shape of today's society. While we may not accept some of these as valid viewpoints today, it is not necessary to berate our subjects for holding values that in most cases placed them firmly in the mainstream of their society. Rather, we must consider these as factors that helped to shape the archaeological record instead of entering a one-sided relativistic debate.

As David Babson (1987) has put it, racism was fundamental to the culture of the southern colonies, and one cannot excavate a site there without coming into contact with the products of this incredibly racist order. We know

today that racism is a pernicious and bad thing, yet at that time and place it was accepted as the norm, and went virtually unquestioned. If we want to moralize, then the people of the past can only be condemned. Following this line of logic out we have two choices, ultimately. We can invent a pleasant past inhabited by people like us; or we can invent a past of which we stand in moral judgement, a past which we revile. Either extreme may reveal more about the psychological orientations of the authors than any real knowledge of the past and the further afield we go with such inquiries, the more distorted the archaeology gets. The author is not calling for an archaeology that is sterile and without imagination, but one which is careful, critical, and self-aware; one which strives for objective truth and "Meaning" at the same time.

An important goal of this paper is to seek the social and symbolic meaning of an archaeological phenomenon; in this case the inter-colonial trade of domestic earthenwares. Leone and Parker have recently, summarized what they consider to be the three most important approaches applied in historical archaeology to the recovery of meaning (Leone and Parker 1988). The first is a functionalist approach that seeks to produce "meaning by creating systematic coherence in the object of study...meaning is equated with religion or any of the other things labeled "ideology" under non-Marxist definitions of that term" (Leone and Parker 1988:3). Leone

and Parker attribute this approach to systemic views of culture, but particularly to the "World Systems Theory" of Fernand Braudel and Emmanuel Wallerstein adopted by Stanley South and Kenneth Lewis (Leone and Parker 1988:3).

Next are the symbolic and structural approaches. They say that to symbolists "meaning is considered to be the entirety of the native point of view" while to the structuralist "meaning is found in the way the mind works, creating, operating and mediating structural oppositions" (Leone and Parker 1988:3). Later, in a discussion of James Deetz's work they paint a more favorable picture, however, citing the strength of this approach's integrative power (Leone and Parker 1988:10).

The third approach is Leone's adaptation of Lewis Binford's middle range theory, establishing linkages between the archaeological data and the documentary data while stressing that they are entirely separate entities. In this way expectations are raised, the fit of observed data to expectations can be examined, and ambiguities can be examined, and explained (Leone and Parker 1988:11-15).

The conception of meaning, used in this study and the method of finding it do not fit neatly into any one of Leone's slots. It is closest in spirit to the third approach, but not necessarily as practiced by Leone. Generally Roland Barthes' and Clifford Geertz's definitions

of meaning are adopted, if only because they are straightforward and somewhat literal.

Barthes uses meaning in the sense that objects signify something more than their mere existence. "To signify means that objects carry not only information...but also constitute structured systems of signs (Barthes 1988:180). Objects have two planes of existence: that of being--the coordinate of classification--and what they connote--the symbolic coordinate. The arrangement of props on a stage set illustrates Barthes conception of the meaning of objects. Everything has its place, everything means something, and even what is not there has meaning. Domestic earthenwares are often summarized in a few lines in archaeological reports. Their presence or absence, and possibly the number of sherds is noted. Like a bible on a stage set, they too have a place, a meaning. Often, however, their meaning is ignored.

To Clifford Geertz there is also meaning in everything. The "unpacking of performed meaning is what...[his]... symbolic action approaches are designed to accomplish" (Geertz 1983:29). Thick description can be seen as an unpacking of the layers of meaning in a single act (or many acts). One cannot read Geertz for inspiration on how to do archaeology, however, except in the most general of terms. While we can accept his view culture, what he considers understanding goes so far beyond the paltry glimpses of past

lives that we can eke out of the archaeological data, that it is clearly an exercise of a different order. One needs only to see his thick description explanation of the meaning of a wink (Geertz 1974:6) to get the idea. Geertz uses "Translation" as a metaphor for his approach to the study of cultures:

Translation "is not a simple recasting of others' ways of putting things in terms of our own ways of putting them (that is the kind in which things get lost)[i.e.; lost in translation], but displaying the logic of their ways of putting them in the locutions of ours; a conception which again brings it rather closer to what a critic does to illumine a poem than what an astronomer does to account for a star" (Geertz 1983:10).

Some may find fault with this, but the author does not see archaeological data producing this kind of understanding. Archaeological data is of a different order than documentary and ethnographic data, and cannot be expected to produce the same results. Nevertheless we can use some of the general principles espoused by Geertz as guiding premises for our interpretation of past cultures. Without getting into the anthropological argument over the primacy of mental or material data it is clear that some material phenomena are related to mental activities, or the manipulation of symbols, as Geertz would put it. If this is the case then we should be able to extract at least some of this level of meaning from material culture. We can also accept his view of culture as a thing that exists in the minds of the individuals of a society, and a thing that is therefore negotiated between

individuals. In the interpretation of archaeological data the author would not carry this point as far as Hodder (1985:3) and adopt a historical-particularist position, but rather would say that culture, while it does exist within the minds of individuals, and is negotiated by individuals according to their needs, is an ongoing system into which individuals are born, and which shapes the actions of individuals through providing them with a range of plausible choices. The choices that each person makes are his or hers particularly, but they are culturally and ecologically determined nonetheless. We can see the results of some of these choices archaeologically, and interpret their "Meaning" but not nearly all of them.

As historical archaeologists we have the luxury of adding documentary information to our archaeological data to give us a far better chance of accurately interpreting the "Meaning" of our data than do prehistorians, and thus of understanding better the dynamics of cultural action and change. While at a basic level all archaeology is more like what an astronomer does than a literary critic, one hopes, in the study of the material remains of our own culture we have the opportunity to interpret our data as a critic or philosopher, or even an ethnographer like Clifford Geertz might. The recovery of clear objective meaning is something more of a possible dream, then, for historical archaeologists, and is one of the primary goals of this thesis.

In pursuit of this goal chapters will be devoted to the archaeological data base, and to a discussion of the historiography of coastwise, intercolonial trading and colonial economic development. As well, the latter chapter includes a critical look at a segment of the documentary data base that has served as the primary source of information guiding studies of coastwise trading. It should be noted that an attempt has consciously been made to integrate data, rather than to uphold the dichotomy between documentary and material culture data, so there are no sections that deal strictly with pottery, or strictly with shipping records, for instance. Rather, it is hoped that the lines of evidence converge to show how the trade of domestically produced pottery symbolically illustrates the growth of a conscious self-identification by the colonists as Americans. There is a lesson here for both archaeologists and historians, it is hoped. For archaeologists it can be pointed out that even the smallest finds can have great symbolic importance if we rise above site specific and ahistorical approaches. The lesson for historians is perhaps no more than a reiteration of the old admonition that documents do not tell the whole story. Yet it is hoped that an alternate line of inquiry is further illuminated with this thesis.

CHAPTER II

The Archaeological Evidence: The Pottery and The Potters

Lead glazed redwares with three distinct decorative motifs are discussed in this thesis. The author has conducted research on ceramics recovered at a site in Edenton, North Carolina (Steen 1985, 1986), and at several sites in the Charleston, South Carolina area (Steen 1987). Collections housed at The Charleston Museum, The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Colonial Williamsburg, and most importantly, at Independence National Historic Park in Philadelphia have also been examined. The wider distribution of these ceramics is confirmed through illustrated examples found in archaeological reports and articles (see Figure 1).

These ceramics are attributed to potters working in the area of Franklin Court, at Independence National Historic Park, in Philadelphia as early as the 1730's, to as late as the early nineteenth century (Cosans 1974; Bower 1985; Myers 1980). The clearest context featuring the best evidence of local pottery making at Franklin Court dates to the 1740's-60's. Collections examined by the author are from the same period. This context consists of a thick layer of ceramics

and other artifacts that were apparently placed in the bottom of a privy in a single episode in about 1769. According to Cosans (1974 Vol. III:42) this was done to bring the bottom of the privy to the regulated depth and to provide a porous drain field. Previously privies had been dug too deep, and had fouled the water supply: With a rapidly growing population Philadelphia had a need for both potable water and a means of waste disposal.

This collection includes kiln wasters, kiln furniture and structural materials, giving clear empirical evidence that the ceramics were made in the area of Franklin Court. These ceramics have been recovered in archaeological contexts in Nova Scotia (Barton 1981:56), Massachusetts (Faulkner et al. 1978:76), Virginia (Noel Hume 1985:personal communication), North Carolina (Steen 1985), and South Carolina in both plantation (Lewis 1978:178; Carillo 1980:50) and urban contexts (Steen 1986, 1987; Bastian 1987). These ceramics have also been found in Bermuda (Marley R. Brown III 1989:personal communication). Documentary evidence, and common sense suggest that these are not the only domestic pottery types to be traded along the North American coast, and indeed they are probably not the only Philadelphia earthenwares in this trade, but for the moment these are the only types that can be tied to a specific area of production with full confidence.

The largest, and most carefully analyzed collection of these ceramics is the Wessington House assemblage from Edenton (Steen 1985). Much of the descriptive information herein is based upon the research done on the artifacts from that site. It should be recognized that this collection was apparently deposited all at once, and appears to be unused. Thus, as it is most likely the breakage from a single shipment, it may represent only the products of a given potter for a few days or weeks. Variation in body composition, hardness, and color can logically be expected from vessels made at other times, from slightly different clays or in kilns in better or worse repair. Decorative motifs can be expected to vary slightly as well over time within the work of a single decorator, and over space among decorators at a given time. As will be illustrated below, there is something, however, that makes these wares "Philadelphia Earthenware" to the people that made and used them, and if that characteristic exists etically, then it should also exist emically. If culture and cultural behavior are negotiated on a minute-to-minute basis as Geertz (1973, 1983, 1988) would have us believe, then the decoration on a pot is imbued with symbolic value. Freehand decoration is the creation of an individual at a particular moment in time, choosing from the options that his or her culture allows: something that is as close to "fossilized" cultural behavior as we can get. Sorting out the unequivocal criteria that

FIGURE 1



Figure 1: A map of North America in 1735, by Matthew Seutter, showing the location of archaeological sites discussed in the text.

would allow one to identify the hand of a single potter is beyond the scope of this thesis. The Franklin Court collection contains a wide variety of locally made pottery, but the best context is from a fill deposit, and thus cannot be used to make meaningful statements about the work of a given potter without further research. The general pattern of characteristics that make up at least these particular types of "Philadelphia Earthenware" can be discerned, however.

At this point we must be content to identify what we can based on similarities that are fairly obvious. These similarities must include context, as well as decoration, body composition, and color. For example, similar wares are made by Moravian potters in North Carolina in the middle fifty years of the nineteenth century, but were not found at the site of Gottfried Aust's 1760's kiln (Bivens 1972; Stanley South 1985: personal communication). Herman (1984) illustrates similar wares from a site in Delaware that he dated to the 1820's. This collection was recovered from spoil left behind by relic hunters and unfortunately lacks context. The presence of a fairly large amount of creamware could allow us to put these materials into a 1780's context if we wished, rather than 1820, but the nineteenth century date is thought to be reliable (George Miller 1989: personal communication). This collection, then, is an example of the local trade of these wares at a time when their production

was in its decline, and the market was retracting. Therefore, if a sherd with a decoration similar to those illustrated below is found, while it can be referred to as a Philadelphia type earthenware, the attendant "Meaning" discussed herein should not necessarily be attached to it. Philadelphia earthenwares traded locally, and similar wares produced at different times have their own unique tales to tell: their own "Meaning".

The Pottery

The artifact descriptions herein refer to the wares recovered at Edenton unless it is otherwise stated. The ceramic nomenclature and dates used in this section follow Turnbaugh (1985) for domestic wares, Noel Hume (1970), and South (1977) for imported ceramics. Three distinctive types have been defined, and all three types share the following characteristics: they possess a coarse, relatively thick, soft, and friable body fabric that ranges from orange to red-brown. Munsell colors were not recorded, unfortunately. The wares have a clear, somewhat yellowish lead glaze, and are decorated with white slip. The first two types frequently feature splashes of copper that appear green when fired. This green splashing was seen on pottery with several decorative motifs in the Franklin Court collection, and may be an important factor in identifying the wares of a particular potter, since many of the pieces found in archaeological

FIGURE 2

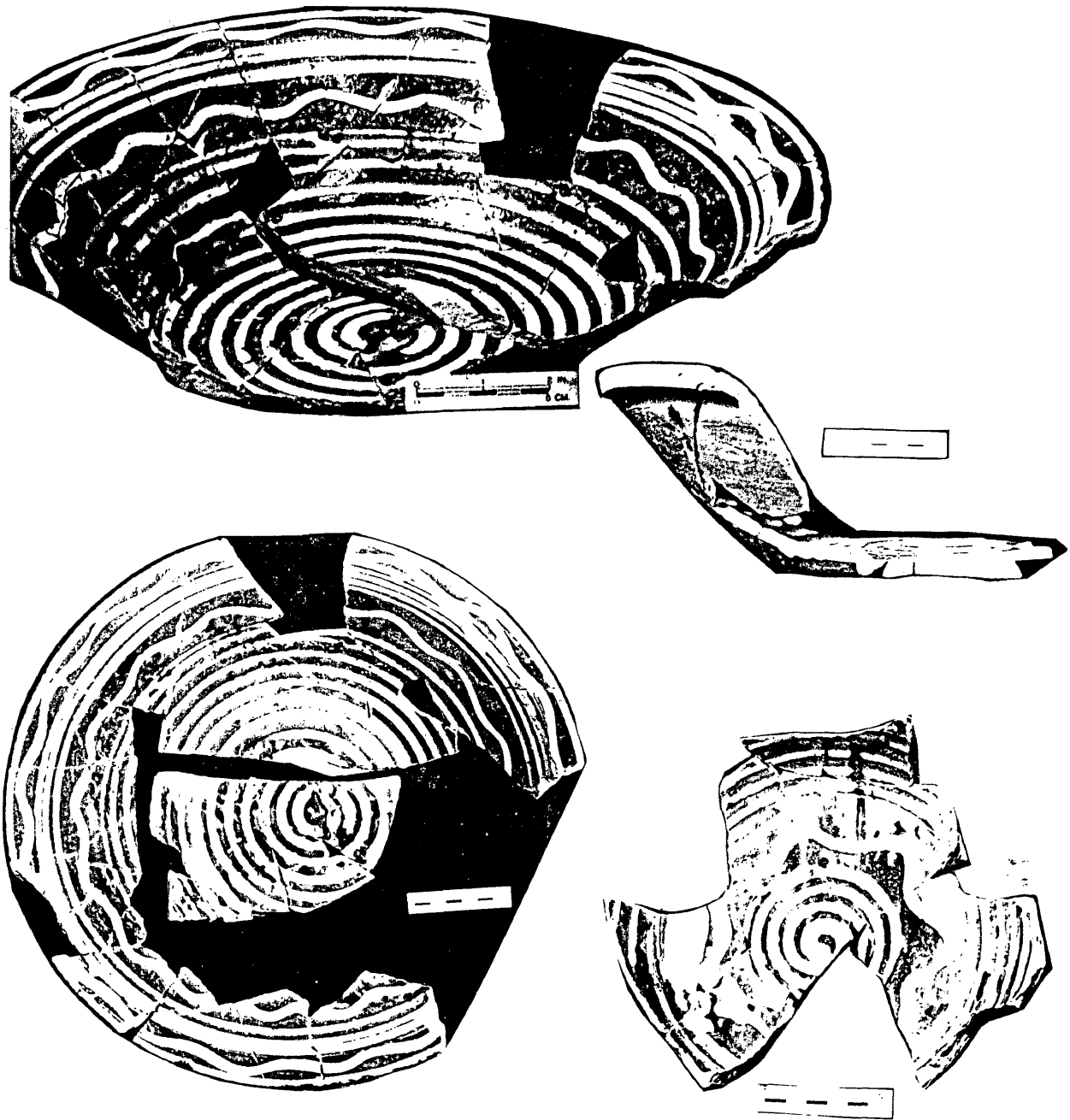


Figure 2: Trailed Wares from Edenton. Note that green splashing appears black here.

contexts do not feature this accent. Since no organized research into the kiln sites has been conducted, the study of this pottery has not, obviously, reached such a refined stage yet. The three types are found in different vessel forms, and their decorations vary. In the discussion we will refer to the first type as trailed ware, the second as combed ware, and the third as clouded ware. Formally these wares can be referred to as trailed, combed, or clouded Philadelphia Earthenwares.

The trailed ware, at Edenton, is seen in large, flaring sided basins or milk-pans (Beaudry et al. 1983). These vessels range in size from about twelve to fourteen inches in diameter, and four to six inches in depth. At Franklin Court a much wider range of sizes and decorative motifs was seen (see figure 3). In the Edenton assemblage (figure 2) these wheel thrown vessels were decorated as follows: first, on top of the slightly everted rim there is a continuous wavy line of white slip. Beneath this, on the interior wall of the vessel a continuous line of slip spirals about a third of the way down the side, where it stops, forming a reserve in which another wavy line is seen. The spiral begins again, and either continues to a point in the center of the base of the vessel, or a second reserve and a second wavy line are seen. Green splashes accent the decoration, and the glaze itself is thick and glossy--which, it should be noted, is not always the case. Both the Edenton and the Franklin Court

FIGURE 3

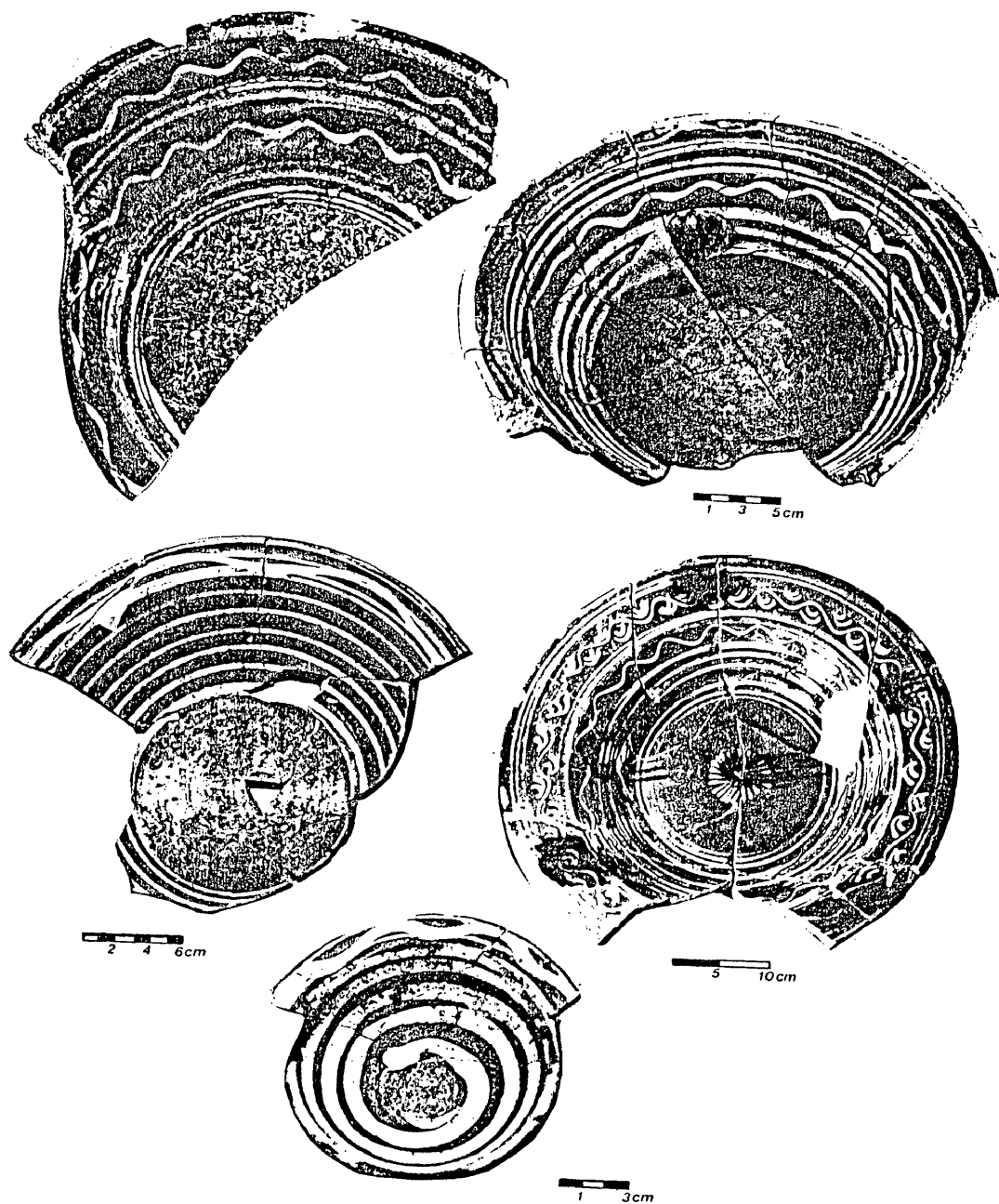


Figure 3: Trailed wares from Franklin Court. Note that variation in size, shape, and decoration is emphasized here.

collections reveal several variations on this theme, actually, with there occasionally being no reserve and second wavy line on the wall, a spiral that continues all the way to the base, more or less, or no green accents at all, glossier or less glossy glazes, and so on. With more research we could possibly determine whether such variations reflect the hand of different potters, or if the variation is internal to the shop in a diachronic sense, for instance, but at present we must live within the limitations of the available data.

The second type is found on drape molded plates with coggled edges (Dickinson 1985). The decoration on this type is difficult to describe, so we will refer here to figure 4, and state that the decoration was formed by laying down rather thick parallel lines of white slip which were then distorted with a comb into their present configuration. Green splashes are found on these vessels as well. Variations on this theme are common in the Franklin Court collection. Some decorations seem to simply be marbelized, while others are formally combed like imported combed slipwares. Others feature a combination of simple slip trailing and combing. There is, in fact, a surprising amount of variation; enough, in fact, to make the author take a second look at many of the combed wares that would previously have been attributed to English potters. Again, it is only through a formal analysis of these products that all of the variations can be isolated.

FIGURE 4

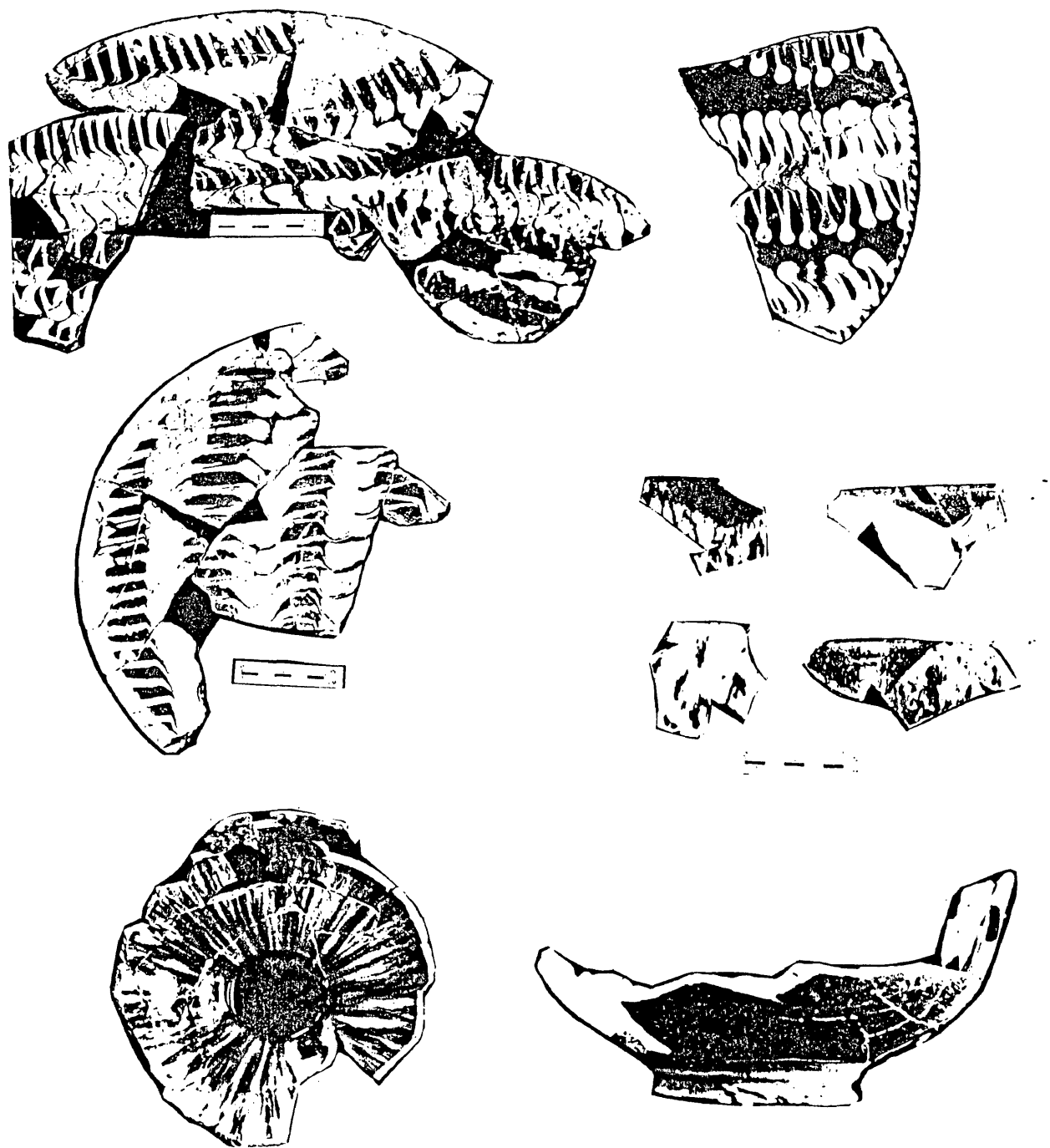


Figure 4: Combed and clouded wares from Edenton. Note the size variation in the combed vessels.

The third type is found primarily in the form of small bowls with pedestal bases. These vessels are glazed inside and out, but they are decorated on the interior only. The decoration on these vessels is effected by coating the interior with white slip. The intent here is to coat the interior up to the rim, but occasionally the slip sloshed over the rim, while at other times it did not quite reach the rim. Varying amounts of powdered manganese were then splashed onto the slip, perhaps after the vessel was dipped in the glaze mixture, since the specks tend to run. After firing the decoration appears as large and small brown specks, either isolated--giving a "powdered" effect--or joined to cloud large areas of the surface. This use of manganese is similar to the use of copper on the other two types, but differs in that the clouding usually covers a larger percentage of the vessel surface, and the underlying slip is in this case a palette for the decoration, rather than a decoration in itself. In at least one case in the Franklin Court collection, however, the slip was seen to form the petals of a flower.

A fourth type found in the Edenton collection that is very likely to have come from the same source is a red earthenware with a black or dark brown glaze. This ware is seen in mug, porringer, and chamber pot forms. Similar sherds are also found in large numbers at Franklin Court. Red earthenwares with black glazes are common on colonial and

FIGURE 5

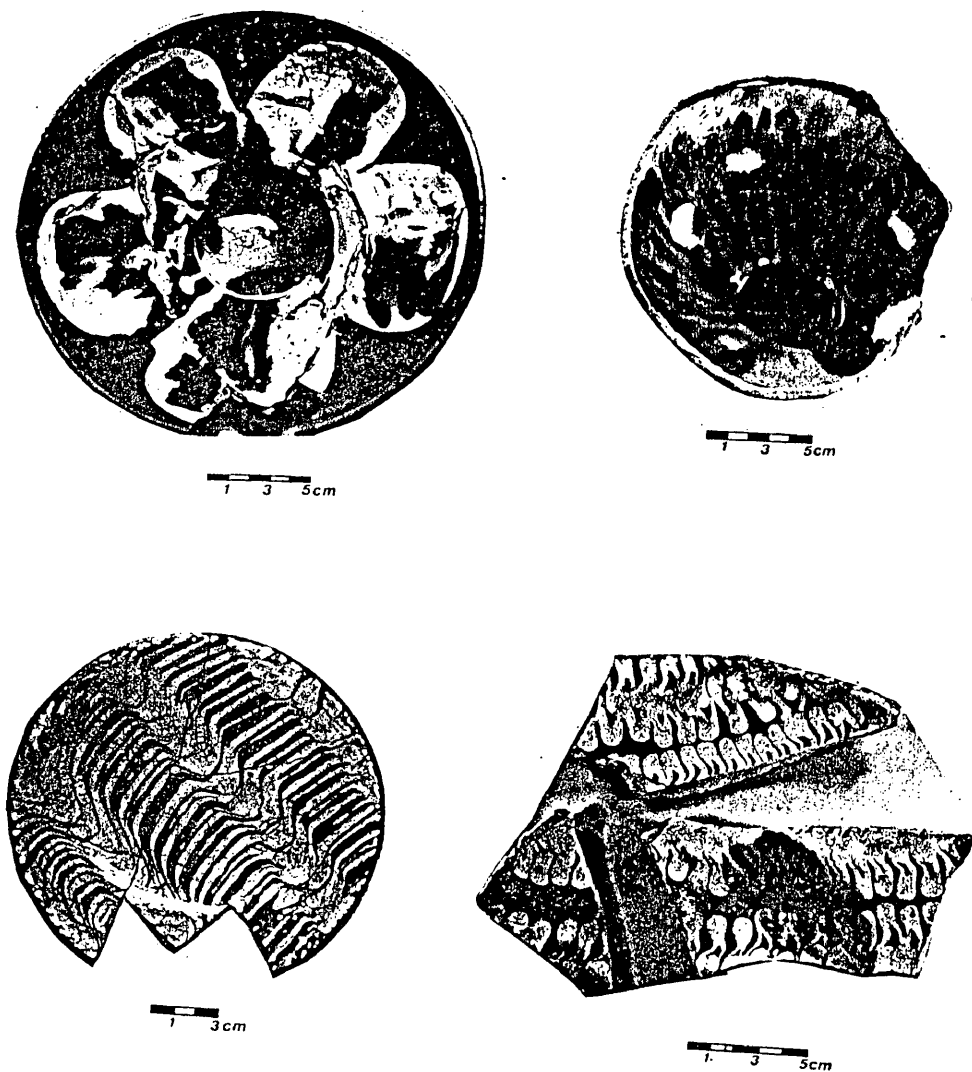


Figure 5: Combed and clouded wares from Franklin Court. Again, variation is emphasized here.

early federal period sites, and these ceramics cannot be used as evidence of intercolonial trade based in Philadelphia at this point because of the similar wares produced both in England and other Northern colonies (see Watkins 1950), and the difficulties inherent in separating the various wares. It is clear that with further study distinctive characteristics could be isolated, but such research has not yet been done. One such characteristic, for instance, may be the presence of raised lines on the body of the mug forms as seen in figure 6 (see Bower 1985). Analysis of body shapes and characteristics, as well as clay analysis could be used to make such statements with a bit more reliability, but as this point to call a particular sherd of black glazed earthenware a "Philadelphia Earthenware" is as much of a misnomer as to refer to all such sherds as "Jackfield" ware.

The Edenton Collection: Discovery and Dating

For these artifacts to take on the meaning that it is contended they have, they must fit into a particular temporal context. This section will be concerned with the dating of the collection. The author was first alerted to the existence of these wares when confronted with several boxes of large sherds of apparently unused lead glazed red bodied earthenwares in the collections of the Historic Sites Section of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources. They had been revealed when a telephone line trench was being cut

FIGURE 6



Figure 6: Miscellaneous local earthenwares excavated at Franklin Court. Top left is a rectangular pan. Top right is a black glazed mug--ribs are thought to be distinctive. Lower left is marbled, with green accenting. Lower right is one of many slip trailed variants in the Franklin Court collection.

in Edenton, North Carolina. When informed of the discovery, archaeologists from the Historic Sites office went to the site, and on a voluntary basis salvaged as much data as they could. Unfortunately these materials were collected at a time when no one in that office could spare the time to carry the project through to any conclusion, so after some preliminary processing was done, the artifacts were put in storage awaiting further research.

A title search for the property was conducted by Elizabeth Moore, an Edenton historian. The results of her research are summarized here. The area excavated was located on lot 24 of the old town plan. Lot 24 was first sold to one John Lovick in 1722, some eight years after Edenton's incorporation. Lovick built a house, which he rented to Sir Richard Everard, North Carolina's last Proprietary Governor, and first Royal Governor (Lefler and Newsome 1963:665,666). Lovick obtained lots 22, and 23 at the same time.

In 1729 the lots were sold to Charles Westbeer and William Rowden for L700. The lots passed through the hands of Rowden's descendants until they were purchased in 1756 by Francis Clark for L70. While this may indicate a considerable decay in the value of the property, it should also be noted that factors such as inflation--the colonial economy was much more volatile than today's--and whether the pounds mentioned were sterling or North Carolina pounds confuse the issue somewhat. Clark sold a half interest in the lots, which

still contained "Houses, outhouses, and edifices" to James Whitlock, a carpenter. Somehow Nicholas Collins, a tavern keeper, obtained a half interest in the lots as well, because Whitlock and Collins sold lot 22 to James Hurst in 1758.

In 1759 Whitlock died and lot 24 was sold to John Beasley at a sheriff's sale. A year later Beasley sold the lot to James Hurst, "Merchant and Mariner", for L70. Hurst apparently made improvements to the property, because he mortgaged it for some L375 in 1770. Lot 23 was mortgaged to Joseph Messenger by Nicholas Collins, who subsequently defaulted and lost the property in 1766. Messenger was the Captain of James Hurst's sloop Elizabeth. He retired to Liverpool in 1772--the year of James Hurst's death--and sold lot 23 to Nicholas Collins' widow and her new husband, George Russell who is described as a sea-captain turned tavern keeper. This continuity suggests that that a tavern may have been located on lot 23, although there is no direct evidence of this. Lot 24 stayed in the hands of Hurst's descendants until the mid nineteenth century, when the Wessington House was built on lot 22, 23, and 24.

The documentary evidence regarding this site and its inhabitants is scant, but nonetheless opens up some interesting avenues of inquiry that help in the interpretation of the archaeological evidence. A thorough analysis of the ceramics from the site was conducted by the author in 1985, and will be summarized briefly here. This

thesis is not meant to be a site report for the Wessington House site however, so it will remain brief. The assemblage under discussion was recovered from within a brick foundation laid in English bond. The stratigraphy of the deposit in the foundation of this structure is fairly straightforward. A zone of topsoil seals a deposit of domestic earthenwares--which the excavators referred to as the trash lens--and other artifacts, which overlays and is mixed thoroughly with a zone of demolition rubble. There is a soil zone at the base of the demolition rubble that may be a primary deposit, although analysis of ceramic crossmends indicates some disturbance and mixing here as well. This may be the result of the excavation methods--a backhoe was used at least some of the time--as well as of natural forces such as root disturbance and rodent burrowing. Based on the artifacts found in the trash lens and demolition rubble it appears that the structure in question was razed around 1760 (further discussion of dating tools below). No structure is indicated on the lot in the 1766 town plan of Edenton drafted by James Sauthier, which, combined with the lack of refined industrial earthenwares in the deposits below the topsoil, strenghtens this interpretation.

The documentary evidence revealed that the lot had been sold in 1758 (Chowan County Deed Book K-1:172), and that the buyer had subsequently built a new house on the property

before 1768 (Chowan County Deed Book O-1:264), since he mortgaged the property at that time for over seven times as much as he paid for it. It was deduced that the person that was most likely responsible for the ceramics was probably the buyer of the property, one James Hurst, "Merchant and Mariner". It is entirely reasonable to expect that a person buying a piece of property with a delapidated house and who planned to build a new house on the property, would raze the structure and landscape the yard.

Since the majority of the ceramics found below the topsoil date to as late as the 1750's and 1760's, with less than one percent of the ceramics dating past the introduction of creamware, it is believed that the ceramics were deposited between 1758 and 1770, and that any later wares in the deposit are the result of natural and cultural disturbances. The mean ceramic date (South 1977) of the deposit was 1753, but the presence of ceramics such as Bianco sopra Bianco delftware (Garner and Archer 1972:34; plates 88-91), a delftware bowl with the remains, possibly, of the slogan "Success to the Kings Arms" (see Noel Hume 1970: 116), delft painted in blue and purple (Garner and Archer 1972:24), and porcelain with a brown wash exterior (Noel Hume 1970:258), suggest a deposition date closer to about 1760 (see appendix A and B). For the full artifact assemblage only the ceramics were analyzed, which allows the possibility of error to enter the picture, but a special effort was made to look for

anomalous items while the ceramics were being separated from the other artifacts. The nails, glassware, and other artifacts all seem to fit comfortably within this time frame. No anomalous artifacts were found in the domestic ceramic deposit, which received a more complete analysis, and the bottle glass, and other artifacts fit comfortably in the projected temporal context.

Since from the age of the associated ceramics it was clear that the wares were not Metropolitan slipware, which was the first guess, and a perusal of the starting point for any colonial period ceramic research--Noel Hume's Artifacts of Colonial America--revealed no similar wares, another source had to be found. Since it was thought that the wares may have been produced domestically the author turned to that body of literature--specifically, Watkins 1950; Spargo 1926; Bivins 1972; among others. No examples of this ware were illustrated. Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh was kind enough to give the author galley proofs of her book Domestic Pottery of the Northeastern United States. An example of the striped ware is shown in a paper on the pottery manufacturers of Colonial Philadelphia written by archaeologist Beth Bower (in Turnbaugh 1985:265-284). The ceramics illustrated therein were excavated at Franklin Court, site of Benjamin Franklin's mansion in Philadelphia, which is now known as Independence National Historical Park, in Philadelphia. The collection there, which dates from 1740 to 1765 (Bower 1985:268; Cosans

1974, Vol. III:41) contained many kiln wasters, kiln furniture, and other evidence leading to the conclusion that they had been produced locally. Photographs of the Edenton ceramics were shown to Bower and Bob Gianinni, Curator at Independence National Historical Park, and both confirmed the identification. The author has subsequently examined the Franklin Court materials first hand, and further confirmed the identification.

The Pottery Industry in Colonial Philadelphia

Beth Bower has studied the potters of Colonial Philadelphia in some depth, and we have her to thank for assembling most of what is known of this preterite industry. Susan Myers (1980) has picked up the thread for the nineteenth century, demonstrating the development of a pottery industry in the modern sense of the word. This development involves the change from hand work to mechanization; from wood firing to coal; from earthenware to stoneware; from local and only tentatively wider distribution, to production for a national market. The ending of Bower's thesis at the close of the colonial period, and the beginning of Myers with the effects of the trade embargo of 1807, and the War of 1812, might give one the feeling that there was indeed a gap there: that the second might be somehow unrelated to the first. Bower and Myers do not overtly say this, and it clearly is not the case. It is perhaps in the unspoken emphasis on the oppositions of

handcraft and industry, as listed above, that gives one the impression that the earthenwares of the eighteenth century, and probably later redwares as well (for which a case could indeed be made), were "folk" pottery, made to serve local markets with household ceramics and only incidentally entering the export trade. The author hopes to show a smooth path of development from a handmade pottery industry that changed along with the culture that contained it to a new order of production and national relationships, affected not just by particular events such as the "Intolerable Acts", the non-importation movements of the 1760's and 1770's, early nineteenth century depression, or the War of 1812, but by larger forces that were inevitable in their effects. Carl Bridenbaugh has contended that the American Revolution was the culmination not of ten years of strife, but of a hundred and fifty years of colonial development (Bridenbaugh 1976:159). In a similar vein the author would say that the industrial manufacture of pottery in nineteenth century Philadelphia clearly had its roots in the hand made potteries of the eighteenth century.

In her study Bower shows that potters were working in Philadelphia from its earliest days. She breaks the period into three parts: early (1683-1720), middle (1720-1750), and late (1750-1776). Over the years a general trend of expansion is shown. In the early period there were seven potters, in the middle period, ten, and in the late period,

twenty-four. Given that the better quality of later documents might affect the totals somewhat we can nevertheless see a growing industry--or rather an amalgamation of crafts shops in the process of becoming an industry. As will be discussed below, this was a general tendency among the manufacturers of Colonial Philadelphia, and of the colony in general as they followed in the wake of English industrialization.

The immediate goal of this chapter is to identify and discuss the potters most likely to have been the source of the earthenwares traded along the coast during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and thus to establish the relevance of the pottery to its historical context and vice-versa. Bower's breakdown of periods is an organizational device, not something based on major technological changes, an influx of new potters, or anything of the like. It is also true that some potters worked in both the middle and late periods, as well as during and after the Revolution. One, William Standley, took over his father's (or uncle, or cousin--the relationship is not entirely clear) pottery shop in 1747, and operated it until 1802. The fact that 25 per cent of the late period potters are only found on the 1756 tax list, and are never again identified as potters underscores the futility of trying to discuss this industry in precise statistical terms. In this case it is the trend, the long term cultural process that is of more interest than the particularities of the industry. Nevertheless, when we

FIGURE 7

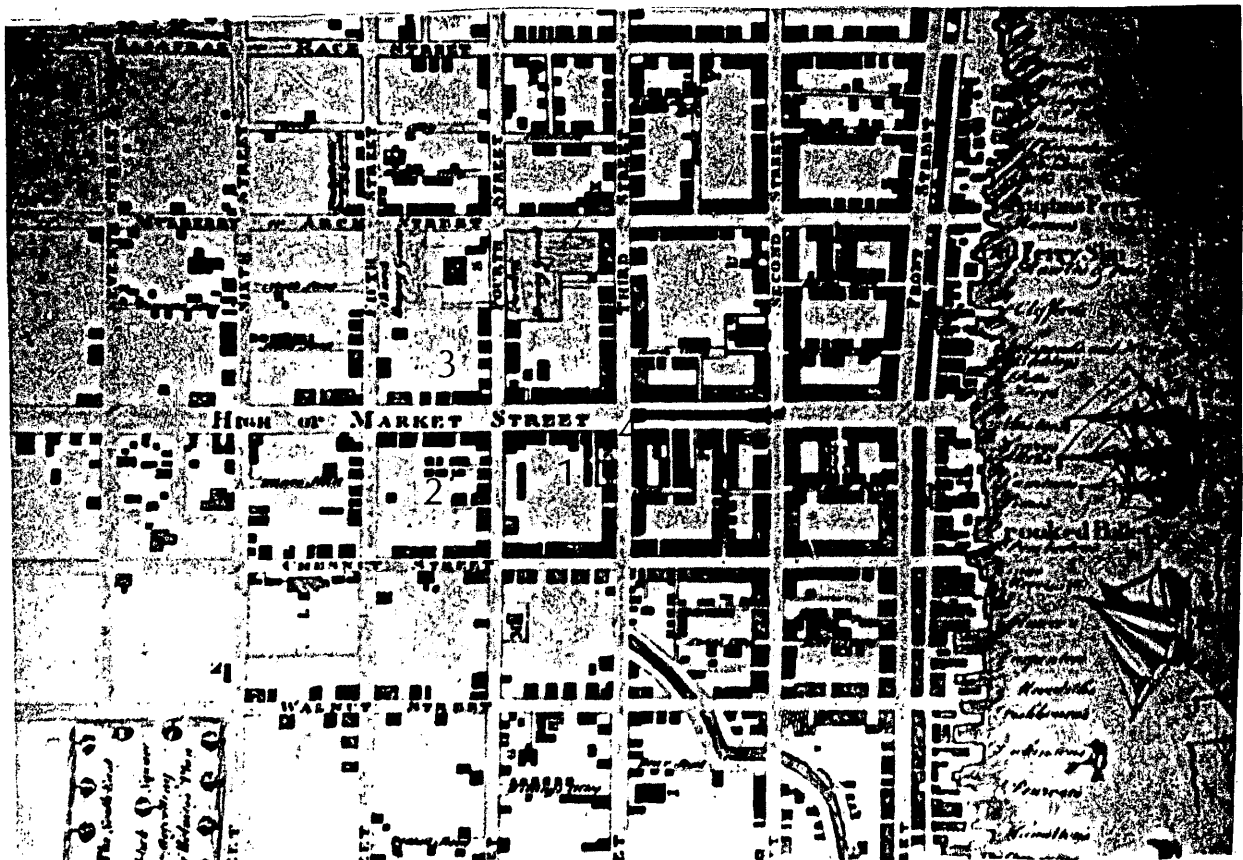


Figure 7: Street map of Philadelphia at about 1760 with detail of the Market Street area. Nicolas Scull (1762). 1=Franklin Court, 2=V. Standley, Duche, Durrell?, 3=R. and W. Stanley, 4=A. Bartram

look at the evidence overall we can see both long term processes and particular events that may have affected the industry.

Bower notes the shops of four potters in the two blocks adjacent to the Franklin Court site during the third quarter of the eighteenth century (see figure 7), and Gillingham (1930) gives us a fifth. These shops were owned by Alexander Bartram (Gillingham 1930:112), Anthony Duche Sr. and members of his family, one by Valentine Standley, one by William and Richard Standley, and one by Jonathan Durrell (Bower 1985).

Alexander Bartram

There seems to be some confusion regarding the location of Alexander Bartram's pottery kiln. Gillingham and Bower agree that he had a shop on Market street adjacent to Franklin Court. Gillingham feels that "His house 'next door to the sign of the Indian King' assured us to the location of this establishment. The Indian King Tavern was at the southwest corner of Market Street and Biddles Alley, now known as 240 Market Street." (Gillingham 1930:112). In her thesis Bower gives this as his address (Bower 1974:Map 1), but in her 1985 article states that his pottery was located on Second street, next door to Anthony Duche Jr. (Bower 1985:271). This change comes from a deed for land on Second Street formerly owned (in 1780) by Bartram that was bordered by land owned by Anthony Duche Jr. From the evidence that she

has presented in her thesis and 1985 article it does not necessarily follow that Bartram potted at the Second Street property, nor, really, does it necessarily follow that he potted at the Market Street site. This is a question that might be addressed through archaeological excavations, but it is not one that can be laid to rest at this time.

Bartram arrived in Philadelphia at some point prior to his admission to the Masonic Lodge in 1765. In April of 1767 he advertised that on the twenty third of that month he would "begin the first sale of his Pennsylvania Pencilled tea pots, bowls and sugar dishes, which for beauty of colours, and elegance of figure, etc. is allowed, by the nicest judges to exceed any imported from England" (Pennsylvania Gazette--hereafter, PG--:April 2 1767, cited in Bower 1974). This advertisement contains several interesting pieces of information beyond simply affirming his role as a potter. His discussion of the elegance of the figures, and the beauty of his colors suggests a pride in the aesthetics of his work that goes beyond the simply utilitarian considerations generally attributed to the folk potter. This is a common thread among the advertisements of various potters which may point to assumptions on the part of students of "folk" pottery and art that are largely etic in nature: that is that the folk potter's work was purely utilitarian, and that there was little attention given to aesthetics (Burrison 1983, and Greer 1981, are good

examples). In so doing they are perhaps unconsciously romanticizing the folk artist and denying the role of the folk capitalist working in a competitive environment in which elegance and beauty might also have played a role. Despite the fact that Bartram also sold "plain and enamelled Queen's ware; white, blue and white, and white stoneware; likewise delph and glass ware, of all sorts" (PG: Nov. 7, 1771) Gillingham feels that Bartram "did all in his power to promote home industries...he continually brought to the attention of the public, the products of the Pennsylvania factories" (Gillingham 1930:112).

In the best of all possible worlds this could serve as a perfect illustration of one of the central points of this thesis: that the pottery industry, along with other industries, led to a growth of an American identity, the American Revolution, and the establishment of the American nation. Bartram, unfortunately, was a loyalist and left the colony for England, probably in 1778 when the British and Loyalists, who under Sir Henry Clinton had been in control of the city for almost a year, were forced to evacuate the city (see Pearson 1972:250-325, for an account of this period from the British and Loyalist perspective). At any rate, it is clear that he had left Philadelphia by 1779, forfeiting his property and leaving his wife (Bower 1974:50).

This underscores the tragedy of the Revolution from the Loyalist's perspective. Alexander Bartram was a successful

businessman, with an American born wife, a trade, property, and an American life. There is little doubt that he, as many Loyalists did, took great pride in his country, and had great love for it. That he could last out four years of Revolution and the persecution that he must at times, have suffered for his loyalty to the King is testimony to this. That he seems to have done everything in his power, as Gillingham says, to bring about the conditions that made the causes of his downfall possible is ironic indeed, but we must remember that it was the consensus of the colonists as a group to strive to succeed and compete that made the colonies viable, and made separation possible.

Colonists who would later sort themselves out as Rebels and Loyalists were participating fully in the process and adding their weight to the forces of change. It is equally ironic that Jeremiah Savage, also a Loyalist who lost his property and citizenship, purchased some of the wares for use on his plantation near Charleston (Carillo 1980:7-22, 50; Steen 1986) at about the same time that John McKenzie, a leader of Charleston's Non-importation Movement, bought some of the wares for use at his home in the city (Bastian 1987). In short, their culture was changing around them, and they were all participating, without, perhaps, understanding where their actions were leading.

Bartram was apparently an astute businessman and promoter of his country's wares and it is likely that at

least some of the Philadelphia earthenwares that entered the archaeological record may have originated with him. The case of their occurrence in Nova Scotia seems especially compelling, since he co-owned a store there for a short while--1768-1769--(PMHB 13:254) but this is still an equivocal point because no direct evidence exists that says that he was making the wares that were found at Franklin Court, or at Fortress Louisbourg (Barton 1981).

To come at this from another direction let us consider the following: Joseph Jackson, (1914:43) tells us that John Bartram Jr., son of John Bartram the famed naturalist, had his drug store at 245 Market Street, which is more-or-less right across the street from Alexander Bartram, the potter. Alexander Bartram is known to have emigrated from Scotland, probably in the 1760's. John Bartram Sr. was in America as early as the 1730's, thus Alexander, if related at all, would most likely be a nephew or cousin to the Philadelphia Bartrams. William Bartram, son of John Sr. and brother to John Jr., was also a naturalist, known in America and Europe for the account of his travels through the Southeast (Van Doren 1928). The Charleston merchant Henry Laurens served as William and John's host in Charleston, and served further as a protector and go-between for William and his father when William attempted (Laurens Papers V:151--9 Aug 1766) with, apparently, little success to forge a plantation on the St. Johns River in the newly opened East Florida colony. Laurens

said to John:

Possibly Sir, your son tho a worthy ingenious man may not have resolution enough, or not that sort of resolution that is necessary to encounter the difficulties incident to and unavoidable in his present state of life. You and I probably could surmount all those hardships without much chagrin...according to my eyes no colouring can do justice to the forlorn state of poor Billy Bartram. A gentle mild young man, no wife, no friend, no companion, no neighbor ... Seated upon a beggarly spot of land...totally void of all the comforts of life...Six negroes rather plagues than aids to him, of whom one so insolent as to threaten his life, one a useless expense, one a helpless child in arms, one a pregnant woman without prospect of female help...(Laurens Papers V:153-154)

Laurens sums up by saying "These I say are discouragements enough to break the spirits of any modest young man" (Laurens Papers, V:154). William was apparently in "exile" as Laurens put it, and wanted to go home. To William, Laurens wrote; "According to my promise I wrote to your father and sent your letter inclosed which has produced an answer to me and the inclosed letter to yourself. I represented your state as very wretched and forlorn..." (17 Sept. 1766 Laurens Papers, V:192). He then states "Your father writes that he thinks it "better for you to come home it being as he says intolerable to support you and the negroes without hopes of better times." (Laurens Papers, V:193). William Bartram apparently got out while the getting was good because neither he nor his father are mentioned

again in Laurens' papers after October of 1766.

This is not a direct documentary link. There is nothing that says that Alexander Bartram was actually related to John and William Bartram. This exchange is cited, rather, as an example of the personal nature of the ties between Philadelphia and Charleston merchants, and thus of how such a connection could be made. Henry Laurens could have written to John Bartram asking where he could find some good cheap earthenware. Henry Laurens could have gone to visit John Bartram Jr. and walked into Alexander's store by mistake. In fact, any merchant or ships captain from the south would have been almost forced to walk by the shops of Bartram, the Duche's, and the Standley's, because they were located in the heart of the business district, in amongst the best and worst of the city's taverns and inns on "The Most Historic Highway in America" (Jackson 1914). Since it is this very same business district that served as the crucible for revolutionary thought, in a similar sense ideas regarding revolution and an American social identity could be picked up as easily as manufactured goods.

Anthony Duche and sons

Anthony Duche was one of the earliest of the Philadelphia potters, coming to Pennsylvania around 1701, and setting up a pottery business in the 1720's which he operated until his death in 1762 (Bower 1974:9; Giannini

1981). Anthony Duche and his sons, Anthony Jr., James, and Andrew were known to have been stoneware potters through marked examples of both wasters and sold goods, as well as through documentary evidence, but they were known as stoneware potters, and are not thought to have made earthenwares by those most familiar with their work (Gianinni 1981; and 1985:personal communication). However, one extant example of a marked Duche piece (marked with a distinctive "AD"), is in fact, an earthenware (see Burrison 1983) although its provenance is somewhat questionable since it was found in Georgia. Whether this might indicate further coastwise trade from Philadelphia or not is clouded by the fact that Andrew Duche was a bit of a wanderer. He worked as a potter in South Carolina and Georgia in the 1730's and 1740's. Then, after spending some time in London he settled in Norfolk, Virginia until 1769, at which time he returned to Philadelphia, and died soon thereafter (Giannini 1981). It is not clear that he worked as a potter after leaving Georgia, and when he returned to Philadelphia he was known as a merchant, not a potter.

Anthony Duche Jr. apparently worked as a potter in his father's shop for only a short while before leaving the business to become a school teacher, and later a smith and cutler (Giannini 1981). Bower states that he was also listed as a potter until his death in 1787, but that his shop was located some distance away on Second Street in the Southwark

district (Bower 1985).

In spite of there being no documentary evidence for their having done so, it seems that Anthony Duche Sr.'s shop probably did produce earthenwares, if not "Philadelphia Earthenware". The questionable extant piece mentioned above notwithstanding, the presence of both redware and stoneware kiln furniture and wasters in the same contexts at Franklin Court is a tantalizing bit of evidence. Since these contexts consist of intentionally collected fill a good deal of mixing is possible. Thus it cannot be said without doubt that the wasters and kiln furniture were associated before they were used as fill.

Even if we deny any interaction between Duche and his fellow Philadelphia potters there is still a possibility that James Duche learned to manufacture earthenwares when he was apprenticed or hired out to Isaac Parker, an earthenware potter in Charlestowne, Massachusetts between 1742 and 1746 (Watkins 1950:35; Giannini 1981; Bower 1974:10). Parker took Duche on so that he could learn to make stoneware, but there is no reason to think that the learning was not reciprocal. James Duche returned to Philadelphia in 1746, and worked at his father's shop until he died in 1749 (Bower 1985). Thus we have three tenuous lines of evidence that make it seem distinctly possible that the Duche's could have been making earthenwares as well as stoneware. Furthermore, he had the wherewithal and business sense to export them.

Anthony Duche Sr. started his career as a glover, and later was a shopkeeper as well as a potter. From his shop he sold, various drygoods: different types of cloth, silk and linen, guns, hats, clocks, (Giannini 1981) as well as offering to print counterpains, carpets and linens, to scour, dye, or press cloth, and to scour leather jackets, coats, and breeches. In addition he made "bandages or trusses for men or children, and is a very good artist at putting up of ruptures" (PG: Aug. 18, 1743, in Giannini 1981). The mention of his selling "Rice by the Barrel" from his shop on Front Street (PG: June 21 1739) is quite interesting. This was doubtlessly obtained from South Carolina in a transaction that could have been arranged by Andrew Duche. At the very least some manner of trade link between South Carolina and a Philadelphia potter is established at a very early date. Taken in addition to the presence of "AD" marked pottery in the south, and his diverse business interests it seems likely that Duche was indeed trying to maximize his market.

Anthony Duche Sr. died in 1762 at the age of 82, and interestingly, left the pottery shop to his daughter Ann, who, it was said, had been helping him to manage the shop before his death (Giannini 1981). She tried to sell the pottery business in February of 1763, although the pot-house itself had burned down a month earlier (Giannini 1981, Jan.

13, Feb. 3, 1763, Pennsylvania Gazette). Thus Duche's shop could have been the source of the Edenton material, but not of later deposits, which would be more politically meaningful. They were in other words, a foundation, but not a statement. The pottery manufactured by his son, Anthony jr., on the other hand, may have been.

Jonathan Durrell

Jonathan Durrell was at work in a shop in Preston's Alley from 1745 to 1752 at which time he moved his operation to "a pott-house back of the Conestoga Wagon, in Market Street Where all person's may be supplied with earthenware, wholesale and retail" (PG, Aug. 6 1752). In the 1756 city tax rolls he is listed as a potter in the Mulberry Ward, which is several blocks north of Market Street. In 1769 he was assessed for a "dram shop" back in the Middle Ward but did not to have to pay any tax on it. Bower suggests a possible relationship between Durrell and Valentine Standley between 1752 and 1772, with Durrell perhaps serving as Standley's tenant. The tax lists would seem to negate this, but it cannot be said that they do so conclusively, since it is possible that Durell could have been a tenant for a short time, or at different times. Durell left Philadelphia for New York in 1773, where he advertised:

Philadelphia Earthenware,
Now Manufacturing, and to be sold in that well known
house called Katchemer's mead house, about mid way
between the New City Hall and the Tea water pump,

on the left hand side of the road as you go out of the city; where city and country store keepers may be supplied with any quantity of sid ware, at reasonable rates. The ware is far superior to the generality, and the equal to the best of any imported from Philadelphia or elsewhere, and consists of butter, water, pickle and oyster pots, porringers, milk pans of several sizes, jugs of several sizes, chamber pots, quart and pint mugs, quart pint and half-pint bowls, of various colors, small cups of different shapes, striped and coloured dishes of divers colours, pudding pans and wash basins, sauce pans, and a variety of other sorts of wares too tedious to particularize, by the manufacturer late from Philadelphia. Jonathan Durell." (New York Gazette and the weekly Mercury, March 15, 1773 in Gottesman 1938:84, 85)

Better than any other single document this gives us an idea of the range of wares made by Philadelphia potters, listing several vessel forms either not recovered at Franklin Court (Bower 1985:278) or not recognized. Of particular interest are the evidence of an assumption on Durell's part of an emic understanding of what constituted "Philadelphia Earthenware", and matter of fact mention of its export. Bower notes other occurrences of the same phenomenon as early as 1756 in newspapers ads in Rhode Island, New York, and Maryland (Bower 1985:276). Potters in other colonies identified their wares in this way too; a potter in Providence, Rhode Island said that he had "Earthenware at a cheap rate made in the best manner and glazed in the same way as practised in Philadelphia" (Bower 1985:276, quoting from Watkins 1950:245). Furthermore, if the wares were advertised in Pennsylvania Gazette readers in virtually all colonial cities trading with Philadelphia would have access to the

advertisements, since newspapers were read with interest throughout the colonies. Philadelphia residents, particularly merchants, read Charleston newspapers, and Charleston residents read Philadelphia and New York papers, while both read London papers, and so on. This being so it is easy enough to make a case for the colony wide recognition of what constituted Philadelphia Earthenware. While such knowledge does not mean that other colonists took pride in this domestic product, it surely is a piece of information that would be retained and referred to when considering the arguments for and against an agreement to boycott English goods--including ceramics.

Non-Importation agreements were made three times between 1765 and 1775, with the most successful one coming in 1768-1770. If colonists had been unable to supply themselves with the essentials: food, clothing, household goods, etc., they would have been unable to undertake such a boycott. Merchants, facing a loss of their supply of goods to sell in their stores can also be assumed to have stored such information away. One would further expect them to have acted upon it, but such cannot clearly be demonstrated to be the case either from archaeological or documentary evidence at this point. With a newfound understanding of the role of domestic earthenwares, and how to identify them perhaps we will see archaeologists identifying contexts that can be tied to this process instead of misidentifying, as Carillo (1980)

does or disregarding the meaning of the wares as Bastian (1987) does. This is especially unfortunate in both cases, since the owner of Carillo's site was a prominent Loyalist, while the owner of Bastian's site was a leader of the Non-Importation movement in Charleston.

The Standley Family

The other two shops were operated by Richard, Valentine, and William Stanley or Standley. The Standleys are considered most likely to have been the exporters of this ware for several reasons: first, the documentary evidence reveals that they were successful potters from the 1730's through 1800 (Bower 1985:269), suggesting a substantial output. Next: Richard Stanley and later, his son William are said to have sold their wares to "local customers, the colonial government, shopkeepers, and Ship's Captains" (Bower 1985:270; Guillard 1930:107-112). Also, both Richard and Valentine owned shares in ships (Bower 1985:269-271; PMHB Volume 24:355; Volume 26:128,129,), giving them the means to transport the goods at a reasonable rate and access to knowledge of potential markets and merchants, an important determinant of colonial trade. Finally, although the Edenton port records that have been examined do not show an entry to reflect Valentine Standley's 12-ton sloop Speedwell, purchased in 1760 (PMHB Volume 28:126) visiting that port, a small vessel like Speedwell would be ideal for transporting

ceramics to coastal markets, especially North Carolina's "Bank Bound" inland ports. The discussion of the limitations of colonial port records that follows in Chapter III illustrates clearly that the fact that a particular ship is not mentioned, does not mean that it was never there!

Valentine Standley and his brothers-in-law, Peter and John Chevalier were also, from 1758 through at least 1765 (Chevalier Day Book and Journals, HSP in Bower 1974:103), part owners of the 60-ton brigantine Jamaica Packet, with merchant John Baynton. John Baynton is of particular interest because he had a long standing relationship with Henry Laurens, a leading Charleston merchant. His father, Peter Baynton was a coastal trader who had married a Charleston woman in the 1720's, and had lived there until the death of his wife. He conducted a fair amount of business with Charleston Merchants as late as 1742 (Robert Pringle Letterbook, edited by Edgar 1972:504, 514). After Peter Baynton's wife died he was married to a woman from Philadelphia: John's mother. A personal as well as business relationship was maintained, however, because Laurens apparently visited Peter Baynton prior to his death in 1744 as evidenced by Lauren's letter to John in 1770 which says "I shall always be glad of Opportunity to render you both [referring to Baynton's partner, George Morgan] my best Services here, in acknowledgement of many Civilities received from your Dear Father, when I was a Young Man, and a Stranger

in Pennsylvania" (Laurens Papers, edited by Rogers et al. 1979:331,332). Neither Baynton nor his firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, nor for that matter Standley or Chevalier are mentioned in the Henry Laurens papers as business connections, but since Baynton was a Quaker it may be that his dealings were with Charleston Quakers. Bridenbaugh (1955:70) and others point to ties involving religion, marriage, and national origin (citing specifically Quakers, Scots and Jews as examples) as important determinants of trading partners for Colonial merchants. Regardless of whether direct evidence of Baynton and Standley trading with Laurens is present or not is largely irrelevant. Evidence of personal connections are demonstrated, which, again, illustrates the means by which a business connection could be made.

William Standley continued his pottery business through the Revolution, and afterwards. William Standley may well be one of the sources of the 53 casks of earthenwares exported from Philadelphia to Edenton in 1783 (Customs House Papers, in Gilruth 1964:101), since Valentine Standley died in 1781. In 1800 he sold his pottery to Samuel Sullivan and company, who advertised:

The earthenware Manufactory, for many years carried on by Mr. William Standley at his yard and pot-house in Market Street between 4th and 5th streets, is now in the hands of the subscribers, where a very large and general assortment of good ware may be had on the shortest notice" (Gillingham 1930:111)

Sullivan and company apparently stayed in business there

until 1804 (Myers 1980:49), demonstrating uninterrupted earthenware manufacture at the site from the 1730's through the early nineteenth century, accounting for the materials discussed by Herman (1984) in deposits dating past the 1760's. Bower (1985:272) mentions numerous other potters active in Philadelphia during this same period as well, some of whom also doubtlessly continued in the now traditional ways of making pottery.

A Note on Pottery Manufacturing in Colonial South Carolina

The domestic manufacture of glazed, European style pottery was not widespread in colonial South Carolina. As stated above, Andrew Duche made pottery along the Savannah River and at other locations in the 1730's and 1740's. It is also known that potters emigrated from England and attempted to set up shop in Charleston, and at Camden on the frontier (Lewis 1976). These operations were apparently unable to compete with pottery from England, and other domestic sources, however, and a visible European style pottery industry did not arise in South Carolina until the early nineteenth century, when potters in the Edgefield District began to manufacture alkaline glazed stonewares (Castille et al. 1988). Moravian potters in Bethabara, North Carolina may have supplied much of the South Carolina back country with utilitarian earthenwares (Bivens 1973), but locally made glazed pottery was not nearly as common as

elsewhere in the colonies.

Interestingly, in the South Carolina Lowcountry a domestic pottery type constitutes the majority of the ceramics found at plantation sites (Lees 1978; Singleton 1985), and is found in sizable quantities even on urban sites (Zierden et al. 1988 and elsewhere). This pottery is an unglazed low-fired earthenware known as Colono-ware (Ferguson 1978) or Colono-Indian ware (Noel Hume 1962). Colono-ware is another important domestic manufacture that had slipped through the cracks of scholarly interest, for the most part, until archaeological investigations of plantation sites began in the 1970's. In the Northeast the average person used domestically produced lead glazed earthenware that was made in a way that was familiar and harmonious for the user (Turnbaugh 1985). The same can be said of colono-ware, whether one believes that it was made by African-American slaves, as Ferguson does, or by Indians, as Noel Hume (1962) and Steve Baker (1972) do. Regardless of who made it, it was used by slaves, as well as whites on plantations. It may well have been used almost exclusively by poor whites in the Lowcountry as well, but since no sites known to have been occupied by poor whites has been excavated to date, this remains speculative.

The use of colono-ware, combined with a low Euro-American population in the Lowcountry probably served to inhibit the growth of a domestic glazed pottery industry.

While colono-ware undoubtedly helped to bolster the colonist's belief that they could provide themselves with the necessities of survival, its larger meaning in this regard is not entirely clear. Most studies of colono-ware to date have dealt with identifying types, and origins of the ware (Baker 1972; Zierden et al. 1984, for instance). Its meaning for the slaves themselves as a means of resisting white domination has received necessarily speculative attention in papers presented by Ferguson (1984, for instance), but its role overall has not been addressed at length in print.

The role of colono-ware is a fascinating subject, but one worthy of lengthy discussion in its own right. Such a discussion is not of central importance in this thesis, however, so we will only raise a single issue here to illustrate a direction that such studies could take. If one believes that slaves made colono-ware for their own use then this opens up a window into an internal network of social interaction that can never be explored through documentary research. Consider that it is not likely that that all slaves were potters: that the division of labor was similar to that in Africa. All or almost all, slaves did, however, apparently use colono-ware. It is obvious that they had to get it somewhere, somehow, and this suggests an informal exchange system. Slave hunters, perhaps, traded game for pots. Slave potters may have traded pots for the services of herbal healers. Slaves who were hired out for wages perhaps bought

pots. Following this line of thinking one can speculate that the African-Americans in the South Carolina Lowcountry may well have possessed more of a shared sense of community than they have traditionally been given credit for. With a carefully conceived research design archaeological evidence could be assessed for evidence of such interaction and concomitant social institutions. Thus while studies of, and debates over pottery morphology and so on are a necessary first step, they have yet to address the deeper "Meaning" of the pottery.

CHAPTER III

The Coastwise Trade and the Economic Development of the British North American Colonies

The trade between Philadelphia and the Southern ports of Edenton, North Carolina, and Charleston, South Carolina, are emphasized in this thesis for a number of reasons. The foremost reason is that the ceramics excavated at Edenton indicated the Edenton-Philadelphia connection. Further research into archaeological collections and literature revealed connections with ports from Nova Scotia to Charleston, yet the documentary record was apparently mute on the subject. As an archaeologist working in the Southeast to whom domestically produced glazed earthenwares are a rarity, the author immediately came to what Stanley South has called "the Why threshold" (South 1977:41,42). This is a fundamental beginning point for making meaningful statements about the archaeological record, and indeed is probably the single most important question in archaeology.

South recognized that the cultural behavior manifested on historic sites occurs in regular patterns: that for instance, not only were the relative percentages of artifact types found on eighteenth century sites comparable, but the pattern of their distribution on the sites, site layouts and so forth were remarkably similar throughout British North

America. This indicated that the some of the same methods and theoretical considerations being applied to prehistoric sites could be applied to historic sites as well, a goal that was not being widely pursued in historical archaeology at that time. Thus, in South's view historical archaeologists need not place themselves solely in the role of historical problem solvers, documenting house foundations, and confirming historical details.

What South discovered was that a British Colonial system could be scientifically and objectively observed and studied through patterned regularities in the archaeological record. If a pattern is observed, South insists that we must ask why, and establish arguments of relevance that explain the pattern that we have observed and link it to the broader patterns of cultural processes. Simply stating that the pattern exists is not acceptable, nor is leaping from pattern recognition to explanation and theory building without linkages at every step (South 1988:34).

South's detractors point out an obvious problem in his approach, however, when they stress his ahistoricism. In reaction to earlier historical-problem oriented archaeologists South moved to the other extreme: to a consideration of the archaeological record that stressed archaeology to the point of ignoring the historical record. Taken to its worst extreme such an approach is as wrong-headed as its antithesis. This is a point that is becoming

increasingly clear, even to South (1988:personal communication). Arguments of relevance can best be made when one considers as many approaches to a question as possible. Our--historians and archaeologists--interpretations of the past are built upon flimsy evidence, and are subject to the caprices of what our society refers to as higher education so we cannot afford to ignore a valid field of inquiry, or an alternative approach to a subject.

This is not a call for a return to an historical archaeology that is concerned with solving historical problems though. Rather it is hoped that through both archaeological and historical research we can begin to answer such questions as: Why are these ceramics here and how did they get here? Why are they rare in the South, instead of plentiful? Why did southern people not make similar ceramics? Ultimately one is led to ask; What does it all mean? What does the presence of this pottery tell us about culture and society in North America in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and how does it fit into the even larger sphere of British colonial culture?

Anthropologically informed historical research is fundamental to answering such questions, although they will certainly not all be finally laid to rest here. To properly understand and explain this phenomenon it is necessary to gather as much information as possible on the context in which these ceramics were made, traded, used, and discarded.

Not, in other words, to limit the study to the particularities of the archaeological evidence, or to the interpretations of economic historians, or political historians, but rather to use the holistic framework of anthropology to relate the subsystems of culture. By breaking down the artificially imposed barriers between the disciplines, and indeed even between schools within disciplines a more realistic conception of past cultural processes can be achieved. We must realize that economics is not the one causal factor for human behavior, any more than religion, politics, the ecology, or any other one thing. Rather, everything fits together in a functional equilibrium that is constantly shifting and changing, so that at one point economic issues may assume primacy, while at another it may be religion, or some other factor. Thus it is important to critically evaluate the approaches used in the study of the context to understand the conclusions derived from earlier studies. With this done we can begin to make statements regarding their meaning: whether we confirm or dispute their findings is irrelevant, what is important is the constant re-evaluation of their and our own assumptions.

In Chapter II the pottery, and the potters were introduced. To help us to understand the context within which this pottery functioned this chapter will include discussions of the coastwise trade, and the economic development of the colonies in general, followed by more narrowly focused

discussions of the commercial environment of the colonies during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and of the shipping activities of Philadelphia, Edenton, and Charleston. In the last section of this chapter we will step back once again and attempt to tie the social processes at work during the period in question to the archaeological evidence, showing the role of the artisan--the potter--and common person in the growth of a shared American cultural identity. Using the archaeological evidence we can chart the growth of American manufacturing and transportation capabilities, and intercolonial trade and communications. Integrating this with the documentary evidence we can begin to make sense of the archaeological evidence as a material manifestation of but a small part of a much larger trajectory of culture change that involves not just Colonial America, but within a century, all of "Western Civilization" and indeed, within another century, most of the world.

Why Study the Coastwise Trade?

First, this paper is focused on the intercolonial trade of domestic pottery rather than on imported wares. Within that context we are studying coastwise trading to illustrate the mechanism by which ceramics that can be identified as having been made in Philadelphia in the 1750's and 60's came to enter the archaeological record in port cities or towns ranging over some 1300 miles of coastline. This is not to

trivialize the importance of trade between colonies that was conducted over land. However, because of the uncertainties of transporting bulky, fragile, and relatively unrenumerative ceramics by road and wagon, it is likely that the colonies involved in such trading were usually adjacent or at least relatively close to one another, and the quantities transported per carrier were necessarily small. Thus it would be logical to assume, even if there was no documentation whatsoever, that coastwise shipping is the most likely transport for this pottery.

The primary documentary sources researched for this paper include the papers of Charleston merchant Henry Laurens (edited by George Rogers et al.) for the 1746-1775 period, and merchants' advertisements in the Charleston Gazette between 1755 and 1770 (summarized by Calhoun et al. 1982). These sources failed to refer to the intercolonial trading of domestically produced pottery. Nor, in fact were there more than a few mentions of the trade of any kind of domestic manufactured goods. The Charleston Gazette of April 2-9, 1763, for example, mentions "Manufactured goods"; and on June 1-8, 1765 "Shoes, Chairs". In the Laurens Papers (Rogers et al. 1970:220-221) mention is made on June 15 1756, of "tiles", then on July 13, 1757 he imported "cannons and shot" from Philadelphia (Rogers et al. 1970:535,536). A survey of other documentary sources such as the Robert Pringle Letterbook (Edgar 1972), the James Iredell papers,

and various documents on file at the South Carolina Historical Society, the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina, the Southern Historical Collection, at the University of North Carolina, and the collections of North and South Carolina's state archives, although not exhaustive, points to the same general pattern. It is not until after the revolution that a specific reference to the trade of Philadelphia earthenwares by sea to the south is found (Gilruth 1964:101).

The secondary literature (Clark 1929; Johnson et al. 1915; Tryon 1917; Jensen 1963; Shepard and Williamson 1972; Sheridan 1984; and others) tells a similar story. Thus, one might ask, why should we study the intercolonial trade of pottery at all, when it was so obviously insignificant? The trade of foodstuffs and bulk materials is anonymous and business oriented. The person in South Carolina that ate a piece of bread could not tell where the flour that the bread was made from had originated, nor could the carpenter that built a house tell a nail made from Philadelphia iron from a nail made of English iron, just as the archaeologist of today cannot provenance such materials, if they happen to have survived.

Pottery, glassware, fancy wrought iron work, Franklin stoves, Philadelphia claw foot chairs and furniture, were all items that served quotidian, yet visible and symbolic functions. In a similar, but more immediate sense, so were

books, letters, magazines, newspapers, and works of art. All of these items served to impart ideas and ideology. The transmission of ideas through commercial and social relations served to unify the colonists. These shared ideas, complaints, values, and experiences, as well as other aspects of intercolonial relations such as intermarriage, common religion, and migration, all contributed to a nascent shared national and cultural identity, which in time placed the colonists at odds with England. Without the confidence that domestic manufactured goods gave; the confidence of being able to stand alone, if necessary, it is very unlikely that the American Revolution could have occurred. (See Jensen 1963:170-195; Wallace 1951:240-242; Green and Pole 1985; McCusker and Menard 1984).

The Economic Development of the North American Colonies

The economic development of Colonial America is currently viewed in two complementary, but divergent, ways (McCusker and Menard 1985; Sheridan 1984). The traditional view is that the economic development of the colonies was shaped primarily by the export of staple crops. We will refer to this view as staple theory. A second school holds that demographics shaped the development of the colonies: that the rapid population growth during the period prior to 1775 shaped the economic development of the colonies, rather than the other way around (McCusker and Menard 1985:9). This is

referred to as the Malthusian school (McCusker and Menard 1985:27). In the pages to follow these theoretical approaches will be outlined, and comments will be introduced from a third approach, one that may diverge somewhat from the mainstream of historical research in that concepts and goals from archaeology, anthropology, sociology, and folklore are incorporated in shaping the ideas. If it is true that such an approach is appropriate in historical research, it is also true in other fields dealing with culture. Interdisciplinary studies are a positive force in expanding the boundaries of all of the approaches to studying the past. As Braudel sums it up:

Economists... and historians... have stopped thinking of economics as a self-contained discipline and of economic history as a neatly defined territory which one could study in isolation from the outside world...For Jose Gentil da Silva, 'in history, everything is connected'...economic activity...cannot be isolated from the politics and values which surround it (Braudel 1979C:19).

While it is important for historians to widen their horizons to understand the meaning of material culture data, it is equally important for archaeologists and others studying the past through non-documentary data to gain a more complete understanding of the context within which their sites functioned. No longer can archaeologists allow the material data to speak for itself. Artifacts, being essentially mute documents are given life only through our interpretations. If our interpretations are poorly informed

and do not make use of all of the data that is available, then they cannot be truly valid or meaningful in an interdisciplinary sense. Archaeology will continue to be a discipline that contributes little, if anything, that is not already known to other disciplines; a discipline, in other words, whose data is only internally meaningful. It would behoove us as a discipline to redefine our role: to think of ourselves as historical anthropologists. As well, we should redefine our data base too: to think of material culture as everything left from the past, at hand or obscure.

It is as important to understand the environment in which the study of the past has taken place as it is to understand the diachronic "facts" of history. To understand the true meaning of an interpretation one must also understand the theoretical framework under which the interpretation has been formed, and the biases and assumptions of the researchers. It is necessary to be critical, but perhaps not "Critical" as defined by Leone et al. (1987) or Whitten (1989) when so doing.

The mainstream of thought on the economic development of the colonies follows what is known as the staple approach (McCusker and Menard 1985; Sheridan 1984). Staple theory holds that external trade relations and staple exports are the leading sector of the economy "setting the pace for economic growth and shaping the process of colonial development" (Sheridan 1984:43). Essentially staple theorists

see colonial development as follows: the colonies are settled to fill a demand in a mother country or "Metropolis" for raw materials of some type (it does not matter what-agricultural products can be included as well as gold for instance) that either are or are thought to be available in the area to be colonized. Staple theory recognizes that other factors, such as lower transportation costs and lowered risk factors may also come into play (McCusker and Menard 1985:21).

Once the colony is settled a staple export is found and the colony begins to grow and develop economically. After the initial demand for the staple is satiated profits in the colonies begin to stabilize as investors recoup, and trade with the metropolis increases. This trade usually features prices that are tremendously inflated and is conducted under conditions favorable to the mother country increases. Thus the colonists must learn to be more efficient; economizing and innovating to lower costs. Producers of the same staple, if it is available in the metropolis are then forced out of the market into other work or to emigrate to the colonies to carry on their livelihood. This can create a jump in the demand for the staple that starts a new cycle of development in the colony that builds on the profits of the last, creating both capital and labor, thus causing the colonial economy to grow and diversify (McCusker and Menard 1985:21).

In colonies production of a staple export product is all important to the health of the economy, and there are

numerous examples of colonies that failed because of a lack of a healthy economy. Staple theorists also hold that for this reason industry develops slowly: i.e., the capital is tied up in staple production and trading. Industrial development is discouraged to insure that the metropolis holds on to the profits. Some services, revolving around the essentials of survival-food production and provision of shelter, and defense begin immediately with colonization. Once a colony is relatively safe and self-sufficient a second level of services begins to emerge that hinges on the local production of other essential goods and services. These can include such things as cloth, clothing, shoes, pottery, and woodenware for example. In addition "some manufacturing may cluster around the export sector...as the staple trade creates opportunities to supply tools to producers and to process and transport commodities" (McCusker and Menard 1985:23).

In this vein it is also believed that "some entrepreneurs will take advantage of the unique resource endowment of the colony, using the edge provided by cheap primary products to overcome the constraints imposed by small local markets and short supplies of labor and capital" (McCusker and Menard 1985:23). Iron farm implements are a good example of this. As the economy and the colony grow and labor and capital become available, imported goods begin to be replaced by domestically produced goods, and the colony begins to diverge

from its role as a dependency. Eventually, as in the case of Britain and its North American colonies, the colony may turn the tables on the homeland and become the cultural core of its own frontier (Paynter 1985:204; Braudel 1979C:405-413).

Looking at the history of the colonies of North America through the lens of pottery, much of what the staple theorists say can be supported. As with any approach however, not quite everything fits neatly. Summarizing Turnbaugh (1985), and Watkins (1950), we can say that in the Northern colonies (and Virginia, we might add) domestic pottery production was established in almost every colony within the first twenty years of its settlement. Most of these early potters farmed during the summer, and made pottery as a sideline during the winter. These potters supplied a small local market with inexpensive and familiar goods made mostly with materials available locally at little or no cost. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century many potters were supporting themselves and their families, and indeed prospered, through full time pottery making. This is especially true among the potters in the rapidly growing coastal cities. At the same time the traditional farmer/potter was still in action, with handicraft and nascent industry juxtaposed briefly. It is the pottery of one or more of these early industrialists that got swept up in the coastwise trade and found its way into the archaeological record in Nova Scotia, Massachusetts, Virginia, North and

South Carolina and Bermuda. Considering the substantial trade of the merchants of Philadelphia and the Northern colonies with the West Indies, and since one of the potters thought to have produced these wares owned a ship known as the Jamaica Packet these wares can doubtlessly be found in the islands of the Carribbean as well.

Unfortunately, when American potters were about to become able to supply the domestic market, at least with utilitarian wares, the British potters made a tremendous leap forward in technology and organization that set the American potters back literally fifty or more years. This leap came in the latter half of the 1760's with the introduction of industrially produced refined earthenwares, specifically creamware (Noel Hume 1970:126), or Queensware. In one fell swoop the market for domestically produced slipware plates, cups, bowls, mugs, and almost every other type of tableware was taken. Not only was creamware fashionable, but it was also sturdier, more hygienic, accepted a larger number of types of decorations, had less lead in its glaze, and because it was mass produced it was very inexpensive as well.

The refined industrial earthenwares are truly a metaphor for the advantages of industrialization in material form. They were such a succesful innovation that they even took the place of the colono-wares used by the slaves of the South Carolina Lowcountry within about 50 years of their introduction--no mean feat when one considers that this

market is one that supposedly had no means of purchasing goods and no legal right to do so. Domestic potters continued to produce traditional earthenwares, including colonoware, in ever decreasing amounts until around the middle of the nineteenth century. Some adapted by changing to stoneware production, limiting their production to local markets and utilitarian vessels, but even this practice had almost completely died out by the end of the nineteenth century. In time some industrialized their operations or closed up shop. Full scale factory production of pottery became the rule in the nineteenth century, but not before the economic and social conditions in America were analagous to the conditions of England in the 1750's and 1760's, which would tend to support the view of the Malthusians.

Staple theory has its flaws as well as its strengths. It is data driven; export figures are emphasized because it is the only data that exists in accessible form. Thus the conclusions are shaped by the data base. See for example the quote from Converse Clowse, and discussion below. Staple theory also ignores the internal economy because of a lack of easily approached documentary data on the subject.

Another criticism, and an important one because of the way that it so clearly underlines a major problem of this, and indeed almost all fields of scholarly inquiry, stems from the difficulties inherent in separating "the impact of a given staple from that of the organization of labor"

(McCusker and Menard 1985:27). That is, what is more important, the product or the process? Plantation colonies are used as an example, because many of the negative consequences attributed to the staple crops of the plantation can also be blamed on the use of slave labor. These consequences include an economy that becomes larger, but does not truly develop, as the post civil war collapse of the Southern economy proved. In addition, there was a small domestic market for manufactured goods due to the lack of money in the hands of the workers, that is the majority of the population. The workers were poorly educated, poorly motivated, and "unskilled", since, Littlefield's (1981) argument notwithstanding, few skills are necessary for agricultural work and education is counterproductive in a slave workforce. The lack of a domestic market can be seen to blunt the entrepreneurial spirit; people who might otherwise risk manufacturing quotidian goods would probably not do so if there was no market for their products. The last consequence discussed by McCusker and Menard is the absence of towns--towns in the classic sense, that is, because every plantation was already a town of a sort (McCusker and Menard 1985:27).

Malthusians claim that staple theory can be questioned for its emphasis on development; they state that "what demands explanation is the absence of development, the pattern of extensive growth achieved without major changes in economic

organization or social structure" (McCusker and Menard 1985:32). They further charge that the staple theorists stress economic development but fail to address questions concerning the apparent lack of fundamental structural changes in the economic and social organization of the colonies (McCusker and Menard 1985:32). Malthusians hold that "the central dynamic of early American history is internal demographic processes that account for the principal characteristics of the colonial economy: rapid, extensive growth of population, of settled area, and of aggregate output combined with an absence of major structural change" (McCusker and Menard 1985:33). They charge that although the population grew at a tremendous rate, almost doubling every 25 years in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century (Ratner et al 1979:61), and the actual area settled grew almost in kind, that in the aggregate, the rich got richer, and the poor stayed about the same; that, in other words, no unusual redistribution of wealth occurred (McCusker and Menard 1985:9,33).

Nevertheless, it is true that at the time of the American Revolution citizens of the colonies had longer lives, and a higher birth rate than their contemporaries in England (Ratner et al. 1979:62) suggesting that they may well have been better off, relatively, than their cousins in the home country. It is also true that on colonial North American archaeological sites the number of material goods discarded

increases steadily through the eighteenth century (Deetz 1972), suggesting that it was not just the rich who got richer, but perhaps everyone--if wealth can be measured in terms of material remains. As T.H. Breen puts it: "easy access to manufactured goods confused social boundaries, and the very wealthy found that they had to spend ever greater amounts of income just to distinguish themselves from middling consumers" (Breen 1986:478).

This leads us back into a paradoxical landscape, however, reminding us that the situation is not so simple that it can be explained by any one approach: Did demand beget supply or vice versa? Did money in the hands of common people cause manufacturing to increase, or did money in the hands of workers come as a result of the increase in manufacturing? Are the relatively quick time developments in this phenomenon more important, or are other long term cultural processes, of which particular effects are a small part, outweigh them?

Looking at this argument from the outside it is not difficult to see that the Malthusian approach, and the Staples approach are not incompatible. For example, a focus on exports has great explanatory value in understanding the nature of the plantation economy, but a study of demographic pressures would make a compelling contribution toward understanding the forces at work in the Northeast. Furthermore, Malthusian explanations fit well with the pattern of development occurring in the back country from

Pennsylvania to the Carolinas before the introduction of upland cotton, but afterwards the influence of staple exports becomes more important. In other words, neither approach is completely right or wrong, and it is clear that no economic history of colonial North America can afford to study one area to the exclusion of the other. Furthermore, as T.H. Breen (1986:477) points out, American economic historians have emphasized production and supply, rather than demand and consumption, and have narrowed their vision to an emphasis on the economy of the colonies while ignoring the complex interaction between the manufacturers in the home country and the colonial customer. In this Breen ultimately echoes what has long been a fundamental assumption for historical archaeologists: that the colonies are part of an interactive British World System, as Wallerstein would put it. This often goes unsaid in documentary history--especially local history--sometimes to the point where one wonders whether the writer is simply not stating the obvious, or whether the writer has lost sight of the obvious, or simply has no idea that we are part of a culture that is much larger than our county, state, and nation.

If our goal is to create an authentic history of the people of colonial America then we must include in our history the best of the ideas of the staple theorists, and the Malthusians, and go far beyond both. Economic history is stuck in a mode in which the manipulation of statistical data

is emphasized. Given the nature of their data base this is understandable. When one is concerned with a money economy, then one understandably tends to deal with money, and those that possess and use money. It is clear to an outsider, however, that studies of colonial development would be helped by considering aspects of the internal economy that can be illuminated by archaeology, historical geography, ethnobotany, zooarchaeology, and other related fields. For example, if all of the necessities of life are available locally and a group of people chooses to interact only marginally with the economy of the staple theorists, as is the case with the back country Scotch-Irish of the eighteenth century, then are they considered relatively better or worse off? What is the monetary value of subsistence? How much is a wild rabbit and vegetables from a garden plot worth if they provide a family with year-round food? How do we measure the worth of trading deer skins for a bushel of corn, or a block of home made cheese? Looking at the past in this way is as unconsciously ethnocentric as the common tendency to discuss hunter-gatherers or pastoralists in the developing countries of today in terms of their monetary poverty. This is the kind of bias that we must be most careful about. Why should history be considered valid when it deals only with widgets that are being counted simply because they can be counted, without regard to the overall meaning of a given scrap of information that happened to survive when a thousand

other scraps did not? In dealing with only the recorded financial aspects of the economy, levels of economic relationships are dismissed because they cannot be measured through documentary evidence. Thus both staple theory and Malthusian theory are inherently flawed by the limitations of their chosen data bases.

The Commercial Environment During The Third Quarter of the Eighteenth Century

Practically all the markets for colonial manufactures outside the province were reached by sea. Products from one colony to another were technically exports, and the political and commercial relations of those colonies were no closer in theory than the relations of any one of them with Jamaica, or the Barbados, or with the mother country itself... The foreign market took principally products of extractive and primary rather than of reproductive manufactures, especially lumber and naval stores, flour and salted meats. But this stream of trade carried with it bread, rum, and some articles of handicraft (Clark 1929:93).

Now that we understand a little better the theoretical frameworks that have guided the study of the commercial and economic development of the colonies, and can thus identify some of the possible pitfalls inherent in a discussion of trade and commerce, we can proceed with a more down to earth description of the commercial atmosphere of the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Such a description must

necessarily emphasize the export sector, because all protests aside, shipping and merchant capitalism were an all important part of the colonial economy and social life. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century the die was cast for the American colonies future development. As one pre-revolutionary war observer put it "If some natural calamity had isolated permanently the colonies from Europe in 1765, civilization would have survived, and few industrial arts would have been entirely lost." (Clark 1929:213). The pottery traded by Philadelphia potters is a tangible reminder of the truth of this statement. We know also, that other areas of manufacture, and indeed even other potters are represented in this undercurrent of trade. We are lucky enough to have well documented archaeological evidence of both the production, and consumption of these Philadelphia earthenwares that will allow us to use their presence as an analogy for many other virtually undocumented commercial activities.

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century the colonies--even the insignificant town of Edenton--were conducting a vigorous trade with Great Britain; the islands of the Caribbean and Bermuda; with each other; and, subject to varying legal sanctions (thus to a lesser degree) with mainland Europe, Africa, Asia, and South America (see table III; Braudel 1979C:410; Johnson 1915; Shepard and Walton 1972). A worldwide linkage of trade and commerce is visible

both in the documentary and the archaeological record. The products being traded include, at the risk of sounding facetious, almost anything found, dug up, made, or grown in the colonies, and many imported items as well. An important point to note is that all of the items produced involved capital and labor at some point, no matter how simple and basic each item may sound. Thus while the idea of a barrel of flour may seem banal, it takes the work of several people to produce the flour, the barrel, the transportation, the commercial services, and the consumption. Each step of the process is important; the trade in flour, for instance, could not go on without any one of the above, and even this is simplifying things somewhat.

The literature of colonial commerce (Johnson 1915; Clark 1929; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1965; Crittenden 1936; Jensen 1963; Shepard and Walton 1972, 1976; Shepard and Williamson 1972; Klingaman 1975; Clowse 1971, 1981) tells us that the most important items being exported from the colonies to the metropolis were from the Northeast: rum and sugar products, ships and shipping services; from the middle colonies much the same with the addition of large amounts of flour and bread, as well as iron products; from the upper south: tobacco and to a lesser extent grain products; and from the lower south rice and naval stores. Table 1 enumerates further the kinds of items being exported by the colonies.

Table 1

Some Items Being Exported From
the North American Colonies

Items being exported to:

Great Britain and Europe	West Indies colonies**	N. American colonies**
Lumber and Wood Products***	Hats	Hollow-ware-
Naval Stores	Bricks	iron pots and
Food and Provisions	Pottery	kettles
Flour and Bread	House Frames	Agricultural
Wheat	Lard	Implements--
Other Grains	Pickled Oysters	scythes, hoes
Salted Meat and Fish	Cloth and Textiles	plows
Whale Oil	Furniture	Chocolate
Soap	Cider and Beer	Paper and
Candles	Shoes	Printing
Butter and Cheese	Leather	Saddles
Sugar products--rum, sugar and molasses	Vehicles--carriages, chaises, wagons, and chairs	Nails
Iron--bar, rod, wrought, and pig.		
Potash and Pearlash		
Coal		
Ships		

Notes:

* Abstracted from Clark (1929). This is by no means an exhaustive list of all items exported from the colonies.

** Items in these columns are in addition to items already listed in column 1. Thus everything mentioned in column 1 was also exported to colonial markets.

*** This includes masts, spars, logs, lumber, etc.

This emphasis on the most important (i e., most valuable and largest volume) items is essentially what the staple theorists have been doing all along. Such an emphasis, while perfectly valid for making the points that they want to make, is fundamentally flawed. If we want to go beyond economic relations and learn something about how the people lived, what they valued, how their society was organized, of the relationship between the haves and the have nots, then a money orientation will fail us. Such an approach fails to account for the vast undercurrent of human activities beneath the trade and loses sight of the people involved, reducing them to cyphers, and thus closing itself off to a range of activities that do not fit neatly to within its data set. Economic historians have traditionally seen this as the province of social history, but an authentic history cannot fail to deal with society as a whole as the context for an activity that is being studied.

By the 1770's the Northern colonies were becoming densely populated along the coast, and substantial towns were springing up in the interior. The obvious environmental constraints and a lack of land suited to commercial agriculture would not allow New Englanders to find a staple crop to export, so most farms were dedicated to subsistence pursuits and local marketing rather than to production for the export trade. As a result, New Englanders were poorer overall than other colonists. The average wealth of New

Englanders in 1774 was L36, in the middle colonies it was L40, and in the South, about L60 (Jones 1980:54-59). Coastal New England was dedicated to maritime commerce. The shipping trade is estimated by some to have been New England's largest single export (Shepard and Walton 1972). To be sure, commercial ties between New England merchants, manufacturers, and shippers and other colonial ports were well established in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and the enthusiasm with which they pursued their trading earned them the title "the Dutchmen of America" (Braudel 1979C:410). As Clark put it:

The Yankee settlers...[were]...ready almost prematurely to venture their homespun products in distant quarters and thus to supplant the poverty of their resources with the activity of their industries (Clark 1929:101).

With their ever growing population and geographic limitations, building on the profits from merchant and shipping activities New England and the other predominately white northern European colonies embarked on a path of adaptation and diversification, that led to the growth of manufacturing and industrial pursuits, of technology and innovation, and of commerce and trade. Speaking diachronically of the development of colonial manufactures for the domestic market Clark says:

As the ratio of the home to the foreign market continued to grow, manufactures for home consumption began slowly, but appreciably to supplant manufactures of cruder commodities for export and

the predominant production of raw materials (Clark 1929:101).

The Southern colonies, inhabited by ever increasing numbers of African slaves, took a divergent path which led to an almost total reliance on agricultural production. While the Southern colonies may have been richer overall, it is truly the case that their economies were growing, but not developing, a tendency that is in the long run destabilizing, as the numerous booms and busts of the Southern economy, not just in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well, have shown.

The Maritime Trade of Philadelphia, Edenton, and Charleston

The theoretical approaches traditionally used by historians studying the economy of the British-American colonies have been discussed previously, and will not be reiterated in full here. We will turn to a discussion of the maritime trade of the ports in question now, recognizing that this consideration falls into the realm of the staple theorists. We will not limit our thinking to the one approach, however, but will instead attempt to integrate different ways of looking at the data.

Philadelphia was the most populous colonial city in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and it was one of the busiest of Colonial North America's ports. It served both as an entrepot for a substantial amount of trade with the

interior, and as a center for the redistribution of imported goods along the coast (Jensen 1963; Charleston Gazette: April 2-9, 1763; Jan 7, 1765). Philadelphia merchants served as factors and shippers, as well as retailers, and carried on an active trade with ports on both sides of the Atlantic and all points in between carrying all manner of goods. The commercial and shipping activities of the city of Philadelphia are discussed in detail in Jensen (1963), Weigley (1982), Shepard and Walton (1972, 1976), Shepard and Williamson (1972), among others, so we will not go into great detail here.

The commercial activities of Charleston during the third quarter of the eighteenth century have been discussed in detail by a number of authors including Weir (1983), Rogers (1969), Wallace (1951), Jones (1971), Clowse (1971, 1981), and others. From the secondary and primary evidence it seems fairly clear that when T.W. Van Metre (in Johnson 1915) said of the Southern colonies as a whole:

The southern colonies traded directly and mainly with Europe, the only exceptions being that a minor share of their exports and imports was handled by New England merchants via the ports of the Northeast, and that a part of the plantation supplies was furnished by the farmers and merchants of the middle and northern colonies (Johnson 1915:88).

that, at least the first part of his statement is probably more true of Charleston and Virginia, than of the smaller ports in North Carolina and Georgia. Therefore the inherent

differences between the commerce of Charleston and both Edenton and Philadelphia will be emphasized, hopefully showing the fallacies inherent in such sweeping generalizations.

There probably isn't a port in the world that a Philadelphia ship cleared that was not also cleared by a ship from Charleston. In terms of tonnage of shipping, and raw numbers of clearances Philadelphia has the advantage, but in terms of value of exports Charleston has the advantage (Shepard and Williamson 1972). This underscores a fundamental difference in the way that the colonists adapted to the New World. In the third quarter of the eighteenth century the South Carolina Lowcountry was dedicated largely to the production of two valuable staple crops: rice and indigo, with naval stores, agricultural products, and forest products completing the picture (Clowse 1981:49-87, tables and text). Charleston exported few, if any manufactured goods, and produced only a minor part of the goods used internally. In this respect the South Carolina economy, despite its large income and a favorable balance of trade was at a disadvantage. Furthermore, since the ownership of large holdings allowed profits to fall more into the hands of the wealthy, instead of allowing it to be distributed among all of the people, this emphasis favored, if it did not indeed force, the rise and continuation of dependence on monoculture, not diversification. In the long run this

weakened the economy, making it more susceptible to cycles of prosperity and depression. One could also make a good argument for its having weakened the society as a whole by blunting, if not thwarting, the aspirations of a large segment of the population while forcing the remainder into a spiral of competitive consumption which resulted in an involitional pattern (see Geertz 1963). Thus the plantation owners of the South were forced to work ever harder to maintain their social position, essentially wasting the capital that should have been put into other more productive and diverse avenues. Money that could have been put into the development of industries was put into slave labor, which effectively arrested the cycle of supply and demand that fuels the capitalist economy.

Philadelphia not only had a good agricultural staple to export, but also had a large internal market for manufactured goods, both imported and locally made. South Carolina, relying largely on unpaid slave labor, lacked such a market. Lowcountry planters bought British luxury goods for themselves, and cheap goods for their slaves, thus again we see a large but homogenous market, lacking the diversity that breeds economic well being. This is not to say that there was no internal trade: there is little doubt that trading and bartering of all manner of goods and services went on among the slaves. Archaeological evidence demonstrates this clearly through the presence of personal possessions, including

porcelain and other "high" status ceramics, and items of personal adornment.

There was also an ever growing population of whites in the back country after the 1730's, but measuring the size and assessing the true significance of this almost invisible internal market is nearly beyond the scope of documentary history. The back country people of South Carolina traded with the Indians, produced grains and cattle which were traded to Charleston, but most of their production was consumed internally, all but untracably. Based upon the archaeological evidence (see Lewis 1976, for example) it is quite clear that material goods were traded into the back country in amounts sufficient to supply most back country people with necessary manufactured goods, but the true size and configuration of this market is obscured by a lack of accessible evidence.

The merchants of Philadelphia, and the North as a whole had the advantage of capital and labor that could be put to work in factories and stores or on the shipping trade. A larger market means more merchants and more competition, thus the merchants of the north were stimulated to trade more widely and their businesses became more diverse. While a Charleston merchant might handle only locally grown rice and naval stores a Philadelphia merchant might trade Charleston rice, North Carolina tar, Philadelphia flour, and Newfoundland Cod for West Indies rum and English manufactured

TABLE 2

Raw Number of Entries and Clearances From Charleston,
and the Cumulative Raw Tonnage Carried

Time period:1758-1760

Source/destination	#Entries	%Tonnage	#Clearances	%Tonnage
Gt. Britain	51	34	68	49
No. Colonies	69	24	40	8
So. Colonies	13	1	25	6
W. Indies	86	24	74	20
Other ports	29	17	28	17

Time period:1762-1763

Gt. Britain	45	23	90	49
No. Colonies	91	21	72	12
So. Colonies	14	2	16	2
W. Indies	178	38	143	26
Other ports	36	16	20	11

Time period:1766

Gt. Britain	83	39	95	43
No. Colonies	71	14	62	11
So. Colonies	26	4	33	5
W. Indies	154	27	150	23
Other ports	36	16	45	18

Time period:1768-1772

Gt. Britain	101	44	109	47
No. Colonies	67	11	57	8
So. Colonies	79	6	83	8
W. Indies	178	28	168	22
Other ports	30	11	40	15

Notes on the table:

Time periods are periods for which data was available; # entries = raw # of ships entering port; % tonnage = the percentage of the total tonnage entering or leaving the port; # clearances = raw # of ships leaving the port. Regarding the southern colonies; these include North and South Carolina ports other than Charleston, as well as ports in Florida and Georgia. Note that Clowse cautions: "It is apparent that only a fraction of all vessels from and to these points were recorded by Naval officers" (Clowse 1981:105). "Other ports" include ports in the Wine islands, Portugal, Spain, and Africa. (From Clowse 1981:97-106; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1965:1179).

goods which he or she would then redistribute, making a profit on every transaction. This helped to allow the economy of the North to grow and develop, while the economy of the South only got larger--like a bubble.

Tables 1 and 2, abstracted from Clowse (1981) and from Charleston's colonial port records illustrate the nature of Charleston's shipping. Before we go to a discussion of the implications of the tables let us remember that the use of statistical data on colonial shipping and trade is of questionable value, and should be viewed with a skeptical eye because of several factors. First and foremost, the records that have survived contain scant, sketchy, and vague information, and few of these have survived. Thus the incompleteness of the information found in the documents is compounded by the incompleteness of the collections. Next, the records were not originally intended to be a source of statistics on trade. Rather they were intended to assure that customs laws were observed, and thus they may never have accurately reflected the true nature of the trade. We must also consider the strong possibility of errors entering the record through smuggling, bribery, collusion, and faulty transcription: the position of Customs Officer was considered a highly lucrative and desirable post (Clowse 1981:11; see also Jensen 1963; Clark 1929; Shepard and Walton 1972, 1976). Clowse defends the use of these statistics, however, and concludes:

Objections to using the naval lists can be countered by contrary evidence or logic....**Making do with what he can find is a situation that any historian of Colonial America must often face.** After spending years working in this source, I conclude that the Naval lists are more trustworthy than many past historians have thought. At the same time, they are more incomplete and less reliable than anyone could wish (Clowse 1981:12, emphasis added).

Well, how can we argue with that? One must indeed try to make do with what one has. The author views these records with a much more skeptical eye than Clowse, and would question the validity of attempting to split statistical hairs with this data. With this being the case, and historians such as Clowse recognizing the incompleteness and unreliability of the data base, it seems that they should be looking far and wide for other data to incorporate into their interpretations, and to test their hypotheses.

On a certain, general level the official records are useful: they do illustrate, if in broad brush strokes, the external commerce of the colonies. What do they tell us of the internal economy though? What do they tell us of how slaves lived, or women or poor whites? This is a point at which the author began to agree with both the Malthusians and Glassie: the study of staple exports does not tell the whole story. Nevertheless, the table above demonstrates that the trade of Charleston was focused mainly on Great Britain, but that Great Britain was by no means her only trading partner. In terms of raw tonnage both entering and leaving the port, Great Britain is consistently the largest single

trading partner, but at no point does the majority of the trade go to Great Britain. If the numbers can be believed this is a tendency that increases over time. South Carolina traders were not mindlessly extracting resources to return to the mother country. It is obvious that they were instead interacting with a network of colonial and European markets.

In contrast Philadelphia consistently sent more goods to its fellow colonies than to Great Britain and the West Indies (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1965:758-761), interacting in the same system but in a different role: that of a trader more than a producer of agricultural products. The Northern colonies were, in a sense, a nascent metropolis, extracting raw materials from the colonies to the south. If this is only slightly evident in Charleston, it is very clear in Edenton, illustrating a trajectory of development that resulted in the American nation as we know it.

Edenton was never a port of the same magnitude as Philadelphia or Charleston; not during the eighteenth century, and certainly not afterwards. This is the case for all of the North Carolina ports though, because North Carolina had only a single deep water port in Wilmington. Since Wilmington was in fact further by river or by land than Charleston or Norfolk from some of the back country settlements, much of North Carolina's produce was shipped through Virginia and South Carolina ports, and thus slipped through the statistical cracks. Transportation of a staple

to the market over land was a tenuous undertaking, which, among other things, no doubt hindered the resolve of the inhabitants to produce staples such as wheat and other cereal grains on a large scale for export. This is true of the back country of South Carolina as well, which did not bloom economically until the invention of the cotton gin in the 1790's. Thus the colonial economy of North Carolina is characterized mostly by the export of what they had in abundance: naval stores. Tobacco was grown and exported as well, but most of their produce in that area went out through Virginia because of the lack of adequate inspectors and inspection facilities (Crittenden 1936). A lack of quality control had given the North Carolina leaf a bad name among London merchants--a rumor that Virginia planters and merchants were, of course, happy enough to agree with.

Shipping records for Port Roanoke district, of which Edenton was the entry port, have been abstracted, and are found in manuscript form in the North Carolina Archives. These records fall into three general categories: records that list only the names of ships and their owners, records containing the names of ships, owners, and destinations, and records that, in addition, give some idea of the cargoes of the ships. These are filed as general shipping records, and as Treasurers and Comptrollers papers. The same records are found in the British Public Records Office's Naval and Port lists, and Custom's lists. Using these records and published

sources an attempt will be made to draw a general picture of the shipping trade of Edenton during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, using the beginning of the American Revolution as a cut-off. It is hoped that a critical look at these records will illustrate the nature of colonial shipping records in general: their value and limitations-- showing us, in other words, what meaning we can actually hope to derive from them.

Eight "sets" of records have been summarized in Table 3. These illustrate the network of shipping and trade that Edenton was a part of, and give us an idea of the relative percentages of these vessel bound for each port. Four sets of these records (#5-8) contain limited data on the cargoes of both in and outbound vessels, which will be summarized in the text. Each set consists of a group of documents with a separate title, reflecting the organization of North Carolina Archives more than anything else, since these are the same documents that make up the British Public Records Offices Naval Lists. For simplicity's sake these sets of records have simply been numbered one through eight. Each set will be discussed below. Hopefully this discussion will make the general nature of the port's shipping, and the limitations of the records clear. The first four sets can be used to estimate, roughly, the number of vessels in and out-bound from Edenton, while the second four can give us an idea of the nature of the trade. No attempt has been made to put these

records into a form that can be manipulated statistically. Although economic historians (Shepard and Walton 1972, 1976, for instance) have applied statistics to similar records, a careful look at the data will show the futility of their efforts.

- 1) "Chowan County. Shipping Records, 1736-1818. Accounts, Freight Charges-CR.024.928.25"

These records list date of clearance, vessel name, owners name, captains name, and the destination of the vessel. Entries on this list date between 1755-1774, and then between 1785 and 1790. The later records were not tabulated. Seventy-eight entries dating between 1755 and 1761 showed destinations, and were tabulated, while only 10 of the 61 entries dating between 1772 and 1774 showed destinations. Since it was evident that entries on the sets of records might overlap, they were cross referenced so that entries would not be repeated.

- 2) "Treasurers and Comptrollers Papers. Ports. Port Roanoke. Customs House Papers, 1682-1760. Vol. I"

These records contain the same information as set #1. The records date between 1756 and 1760, and contain 50 entries.

- 3) Volume II of same.

These records contain 45 entries dating between 1760 and 1762, and then eight records dating between 1774 and 1775.

- 4) "Treasurers and Comptrollers Papers. Ports. Port Roanoke. 1764-1776. Box 17. "Imports and Duties--Molasses, Rum, Wine and Spirits. 1767-1768"

This is a very interesting set of records, the exception, perhaps, that proves the rule. Entries include the date, vessel name, Captain's name, "From Whence" the vessel came, and to whom the cargo was consigned. Seventy-one entries were tabulated that date between July of 1767 and February of 1768; an eight month period. It is assumed that these are records of ships paying import duties on molasses, rum, wine, and spirits presumably as a result of the crackdown on Customs inspections that occurred in 1767 as a response to the colonist's resistance to the Stamp Act and the other "intolerable acts" (McCusker and Menard 1985:164; Crittenden 1936:44; Weir 1983:299). The short time span covered by these records reflects the degree of discontentment that this crackdown engendered. The Non-Importation agreement of 1768 followed this crackdown closely.

These records are very revealing if we accept their reliability as an indicator of the true number of vessels entering Port Roanoke during the entire period under study. For example, all together we have some 430 records for the 1754-1775 period, including this set, and including possible duplicated records in sets 5-8. Putting the best possible face on things this averages out to about two ships a month

entering or leaving the port. There is no reason to believe that the period covered by these records was exceptionally busy: in fact at this same time the merchants of Philadelphia were complaining bitterly about how bad business was, and one of the largest mercantile firms of the city, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, went bankrupt (Jensen 1963:122). This economic downturn was followed by a Non-Importation agreement that lasted well over a year, allowing the pressure of foreign debt to subside a bit (Sheridan 1984).

Because they were collected at a time of strict Custom's enforcement, the records of this period may be as complete as we can hope to find. They show that in most months seven to ten vessels paying duties on these enumerated goods entered the port. In October, during the hurricane season, only one ship came in, while in January there were 20. This compares very poorly with the aggregate figure, suggesting that less than a fifth of the vessels entering the port are represented in the records examined. With the vast majority of the shipping apparently unenumerated the question of how reliable and representative the fraction that is enumerated actually is becomes even more vexing.

Of the vessels found on this list, some 72 percent came from the Northern colonies, 23 percent came from the West Indies, three percent came from other Southern colonies, and one and one half percent came from Newfoundland and England. The large percentage coming from the Northeast reflects the

importance of the Northern colonies as sugar processors as well as their role as redistributors of goods. In addition they also graphically point out the hold that the Northeastern colonies had on the Colonial shipping industry (Clark 1929:114; see also Shepard and Walton 1972:114-136 for further discussion). The small number coming from Britain further underscores the point made by Crittenden (1936) and others, that Edenton, and North Carolina had little to offer in terms of trade.

5) "Treasurers and Comptrollers Papers. Ports. Port Roanoke. Custom's House Papers, 1682-1760. Vol.I"

A typical entry reads "12 July 1754 Sloop Two Brothers under Captain Stephen Folger arrived in Boston with a cargo of Naval stores. She was of 50 tons burden and carried a crew of five." This set contains seventeen entries dating between 1754 and 1755 that were not repeated on other lists. Two entries that were repeated were used to fill out missing destination data on two entries from set two. Numerous repeats were found in the records dating after 1755, so they are not included in the table. Of the 50 entries in this set, 44 listed naval stores as all or part of their cargoes. Also listed are staves (4 entries), walnut logs (1), spars (1), skins and furs (2), tobacco (4), corn (9), peas (7), beans (1), rice (2), pork (10), and beef (4). Five vessels listed no cargoes.

6) Volume II of set five

These include 43 entries with the same data as above. Thirty-four entries cover 1759-1762, one is from 1765, and eight are from 1773-1775. Again, naval stores are found on 32 of the entries. The same products are found on the 1759-1762 entries as were listed above, with the addition of lard, hogs, shingles, and interestingly, one mention of cotton being sent, in 1760, to Philadelphia by James Hurst. The 1765 vessel was bound for "Tunice". The 1774 and 1775 entries consist almost entirely of shipments going to the West Indies, and consist of food stuffs, naval stores, boat oars, lumber, shingles, and hogshead hoops.

7) "Folder of Certificates of Arrival, n.d., and 1736-1764"

These record the same information as sets five and six, except that these are certificates of arrival in the port of destination. Many of these entries appear to be repeats of the entries in other sets, although this is not always clear. For instance one entry has a vessel leaving Edenton and then arriving in Philadelphia a month later. This may indicate that the vessel made stops along the way, or it may simply have sat in port for a while before weighing anchor. Considering that other vessels made the trip much faster, it may be that this is a separate trip entirely. The entries date between 1754 and 1764, with the majority falling between 1755 and 1760. The only new products found here are tallow, beeswax, and cowhides.

8) "Chowan County. Shipping Records, 1736-1818.
Instruction-sale; Fishing Records 1891-1894 C.R.
024.928.26"

These records, dating to 1774 (4 cases) and 1775 (54 cases) contain both incoming (51) and outgoing (8) vessels, are entered in the same fashion as sets #5-7. Of the 51 vessels entering the Port 44 carried only ballast, reflecting the fact that a Non-Importation agreement was again in effect. The seven vessels entering the port with cargo brought in: from Salem, Massachusetts, hardware, salt, and rum; from Antigua, "the Bahamas", and Jamaica, rum, sugar and salt. One of these vessels, the Defiance of "Mass. Bay" sailed in from Antigua in March, and then in April returned to Antigua with a load of shingles and staves. Other outgoing ships carried with them more of the same, plus naval stores, and skins. A vessel bound for Barbados, the Neptune, carried a cargo of corn, fish, pork, livestock, staves, and peas. Both the imports and exports listed herein reflect the findings of Crittenden (1936:70, 82).

Secondary literature (Crittenden 1936:72; Merrens 1964; Johnson 1915; US Bureau of the Census 1965; Shepard and Walton 1972; Jensen 1963) tells us that North Carolina was relatively unimportant in terms of the total value of its exports North Carolina and falls consistently in the lower ranks of the colonies. This may be affected by the tendency

TABLE 3

Entrances and Clearances for Edenton, North Carolina, by Source and Destination, for the Third Quarter of the Eighteenth Century

Record set #	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	Total
NORTHERN COLONIES								
Nova Scotia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Boston	20	11	10	15	9	16	5	86
Nantucket	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	7
Plymouth	0	0	0	9	0	0	1	10
Salem	6	3	3	2	2	5	0	24
"Rhode Island"	8	3	6	5	0	0	1	23
Newport	0	0	0	0	6	3	2	13
Piscataqua	3	2	0	7	4	3	1	21
Providence	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
"New Hampshire"	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Portsmouth	0	0	1	0	0	6	0	7
New Haven, Conn.	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
New London, Conn.	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	7
"New York"	4	1	2	4	3	0	1	21
Philadelphia	7	1	8	4	5	13	1	41
TOTAL-NORTH	55	21	32	51	29	49	11	267
SOUTHERN COLONIES								
"Maryland"	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Annapolis	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Piscataway	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
"Virginia"	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hampton	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	6
Rapahanock	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Bath, NC	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Beaufort, NC	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Port Brunswick, NC	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Charleston	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	3
TOTAL-SOUTH	3	0	3	2	5	3	5	20
TOTAL-NORTH	53	21	32	51	29	49	11	267
GRAND TOTAL for colonies	57	21	35	53	34	52	11	287
WEST INDIES COLONIES								
"West Indies"	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
Anguilla	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Antigua	2	1	5	1	2	5	0	25
"Bahamas"	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Barbadoes	2	2	0	0	1	1	3	12
Bermuda	5	1	3	3	3	4	1	20
Grenada	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Jamaica	2	0	0	4	0	0	4	10
Martinaco	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
Nevis	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
St. Christophers	0	1	3	1	0	0	3	8
St. Croix	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
St. Eustatius	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	5
St. Lucia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
St. Martin	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
St. Thomas	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Tortola	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
"Antigua and St. Eustatius"	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	14	5	14	16	7	10	3	98
GREAT BRITAIN								
"Great Britain"	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Bristol	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dublin	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Dundee	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Falmouth	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Glasgow	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Grenock	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hull	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Lancaster	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Liverpool	4	2	0	0	1	1	0	8
London	3	1	1	0	0	1	4	10
Poola	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Port Ayr	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Portsmouth	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Whitehaven	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	4
TOTAL	15	3	3	1	1	3	11	40
OTHER PORTS								
Cadiz	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Gibraltar	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Newfoundland	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Rotterdam	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
"Tynice"	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	6
Grand Total	88	29	53	71	43	65	17	432

of North Carolina goods to be shipped from Virginia and South Carolina ports, somewhat, but the extent of this activity is unclear. The exports of the colony varied a little by destination, but consisted for the most part of naval stores, and other forest products (lumber, staves, etc.), deer and other skins, tobacco, grains and vegetables, livestock and fish, and a few miscellaneous items such as tallow and beeswax (Crittenden 1936:70,71; and record sets #5-8 above.

Without relying heavily on statistical proofs we can see from the records above that there is a stronger tendency for Edenton's recorded shipping to have come from, or gone to North American ports--almost 75% went to New England, at that-- rather than to Great Britain or Europe. This is in sharp contrast to Charleston. It is also interesting to note that Charleston is only mentioned three times in these records. From the papers of Henry Laurens alone, we know that more contact than that was maintained. Furthermore, shipping to all southern ports was mentioned only a total of 20 times. Thus although shipping to the other mainland colonies would appear to be important, the shipping to other southern colonies is, apparently, relatively insignificant. This would suggest a role for colonial North Carolina as a supplier of raw materials for the Northern and West Indian colonies rather than for the mother country, again pointing out the role of the northern colonies as redistributors. Alternatively, it may also be that a percentage of Edenton's

shipping went aboard coasting vessels that stopped in on a regular interval, with Edenton being one of many stops. Thus although a ship's eventual destination may have been in New England, it could have stopped in several ports accumulating and delivering goods at each. Finally it may be the case that trade with Virginia and South Carolina was simply considered "local" and was of no interest to the Customs Inspector, thus not recorded.

With the information from our study of the character of coastwise trading in the third quarter of the eighteenth century in mind it is possible to posit several ways in which this load of broken, but apparently unused ceramics could have arrived in Edenton. These means would hold true for other ports as well. First, they could have arrived as part of a shipment of dry goods imported by James Hurst, on his own ship--a producer to merchant transaction--exacted perhaps on one of the trips that Hurst's Elizabeth made to Philadelphia in 1760 and 1761 (September 5, 1760; May 25, 1761 in set #6). With specie in short supply it is likely that Hurst would have accepted, or been forced to accept goods as payment for his cargos. This date fits very well with the archaeological data from the Edenton site, and is a logical explanation for this particular assemblage's presence.

Next, they could have arrived as part of a shipment ordered by an Edenton merchant from a Philadelphia merchant-

a merchant to merchant exchange at the wholesale level, a relationship illustrated by Jensen (1962). Thus the importer did not necessarily have to be Hurst--he could even have served as a carrier and been stuck with a cask of ceramics that were dropped on the dock. Virtually any merchant could make an agreement with a coasting captain to obtain such goods. Merchant to merchant exchanges were, of course, the most common form of trading and can thus probably be used to explain the phenomenon on a general level.

Third, they could also have been the miscellaneous stock of an itinerant trader which has rather different implications. T.W. Van Metre (in Johnson 1929 says:

During the winter, when there was little fishing carried on, the owners of small fishing sloops would load their craft with salt, rum, sugar, molasses, iron and wooden ware, hats, caps, cloth, handkerchiefs and stockings, which they carried to the Southern colonies, and peddled from place to place, returning in the early spring with a valuable lot of pitch and tar and supplies of corn and pickled pork (Johnson 1929:169).

Pottery would not seem an unreasonable item to include on their manifests (see also Sochs and Hoggenboom 1965:42,43). This, also is a plausible explanation, and according to Van Metre, such trading began in the seventeenth century. Thus at most colonial sites there is a possibility that the redwares that we see, which are usually attributed to English potters, may actually be products of these traders. This phenomenon is passed over by documentary

history, perhaps partly because the traders kept their records to themselves, and partly because diverse assemblages of goods on manifests tended to be summarized as "dry goods" and so on. Although some interpret the presence of exotic artifacts to direct trade with European ports, which did occur at various times (see table 3, and Laurens Papers, Vol. I: 198, for example) it is also possible that such items were disseminated by traders such as this, who made stops in diverse ports in North America and the West Indies. On a trip down the coast there is no reason that a vessel may not have stopped in at foreign ports like St. Augustine, and at Islands colonized by the French and Dutch such as Martinique and St. Eustatius (see set #4). While direct trade was illegal, it is unlikely that a vessel with exotic, and desirable goods such as tobacco, or silks, or wine, in small amounts would have been turned away in any case. The Navigation Acts would not permit major commerce to occur, but it is known that some trading did occur at times with a degree of official approval. The Laurens Papers editors, illustrate this in a footnote:

Beaufain [Charleston's Customs collector] in a memorandum for George Johnstone, the new collector of customs for West Florida, explained the nature of the "Spanish Trade" and how it could flourish without violating the Navigation Acts. "The Spaniards bring to us the produce of Spanish America, to be shipped for Europe; and they take British Manufactures in return." Beaufain did not consider that this was trade between the British colonies and the Spanish colonies. Charleston was merely the port in which produce and goods were exchanged. "...in the trade I have stated we are

only Factors, the trade is with Great Britain"
(Laurens Papers, Vol. I:37).

This gray market trading has not been dealt with by documentary history because, most likely, of its illegality and thus its relative invisibility. Blame for this can be laid on staple theory's emphasis on staple exports. Such small trading, thought to be insignificant, has been largely passed over. In terms of the dissemination of culture in the form both of ideas and material symbols, such activities are far from insignificant for the individuals involved.

Finally, these ceramics could have been sold by the potter from a ship of his own. Valentine Standley and his family are examples of this means, owning all or part of at least two vessels (see Chapter II), one of which ran a regular "packet" run to Jamaica. We must also consider the fact that some of these wares may have arrived in Edenton and the other ports in any or all of the four ways mentioned, or as furnishings brought in by a settler, or in some other way. Many permutations are possible, but the most plausible means would appear to be those set forth above. The archaeological evidence gives us proof that such activities did occur, but without clear historical documentation we can only offer likely explanations on a general, rather than a particular level.

In this chapter we have stepped back from the particularities of the pottery and its manufacturers, to take a look at the colonial economic scene and some of the

approaches that have been taken in its study. The economies of the North and South have been shown to differ greatly, suggesting the development of an internal economic dichotomy as early as the eighteenth century that would later allow the colonies to complement each other in a pattern that continues into the present. Tightening our focus we can see individuals like James Hurst, Henry Laurens, Valentine Standley, and others, not as numbers, but as individuals living in their society, negotiating their positions and living lives that differ just as every human's life is different. Through their actions each individual can also be seen as, by analogy, contributing to the trajectory that American history has taken. An American social identity did not develop inevitably, but as a result of the actions of a large number of people. Each person had to make the decision for his or her self, though, ultimately. Laurens and Standley chose to be Americans. Alexander Bartram and Jeremiah Savage chose, for their own reasons, to be British. Many people chose to be neither, and waited for events to affect their lives--as valid a choice as any, and one that may be the most popular. Much can be made of the decisions of the individual and their effect on cultural processes, but hopefully it is evident that the decision of any particular individual does not amount to culture process, rather it is the accumulation of such decisions that is important in determining the trajectory of a culture's development. Culture change then,

lies in consensus, not in particularities.

The colonist's identification of themselves as Americans, and thus the American Revolution did not spring forth abruptly. Rather it was the result of social processes that were gathering force over hundreds of years in England and Europe. The societies of the western world were changing from less complex state-level medieval societies to highly complex national, and indeed world encompassing cultural systems (Wallerstein 1974).

With this increase in cultural complexity came further specialization of labor and social roles. As different groups became more important to the workings of society conflicts between the lineage based hierarchies that characterized medieval society and the increasingly important merchants and artisans of the seventeenth and eighteenth century increased (Bridenbaugh 1950, 1955, 1975; Rosswurm 1987; Nash 1986). Although it cannot be said that the American Revolution resulted in a completely egalitarian society, and indeed it has been said more than once that the American's, especially Southerners, tried very hard to recreate the English system in America. Nevertheless, it can be said that after the American Revolution rule was, for the first time, in the hands of "the people", and that rule by acclamation had replaced rule by right of birth. Critical analysts might point out that the new system changed to rule by right of wealth, and that inherited wealth amounts to the same

birthright as a title, but such a view while true, might be an overly cynical reading.

The role of the craftsman or artisan in shaping a revolutionary mentality has been discussed by Nash (1986), Bridenbaugh (1950, 1955, 1975) and others. Earlier we have seen how the fruits of the Philadelphia potters' labor spread. It is the author's contention that this phenomenon symbolizes the spread a new sense of American unity. This was done both through the spread of the material culture itself, and through the establishment of the social structures that allowed the material culture to spread: the network of intercolonial trade and communications.

While it was the merchants of the coast who screamed the loudest about the Sugar, Currency, and Stamp Acts, the ever growing dichotomy between the ruling Anglican gentry and dissenters of all classes provided the dynamic tension that made the Revolutionary movement go. Without the threats of mob violence against merchants who refused initially to support the Non-Importation movement for instance, it seems very unlikely that the degree of solidarity that was achieved would have been possible, because, scream as they might, the coastal merchants were held in thrall by their debts to English merchants, as were many of the planters. Thus while it was members of the wealthy and educated elite who by virtue of their education, eloquence, and political power led

the movement toward revolution, it was the lower classes that forced the issue.

This was possible because of the increasing economic and political importance of the lower classes--much moreso in the North than the South it should be noted, but a factor there as well--if only because of their numbers and the cumulative relative value of their production. As Gary B. Nash points out, in 1772 over half of the taxable adult males of Philadelphia were artisans (Nash 1986:243). Although this was true the artisans were not necessarily happy because a general economic depression set in at the end of the French and Indian war that continued, with some fluctuations, through the 1770's, causing considerable urban indigency and forcing the city elders to establish a system of poor relief (Nash 1986:255-256). These economic hardships caused the artisan community to organize politically, forming crafts guilds to further their interests, and turning out in ever increasing numbers for political rallies which demonstrated an ever increasing internal solidarity.

By the late 1760's artisans had begun to transcend mere craft allegiances and build a political strength which Benjamin Franklin had anticipated twenty years earlier, when he said that "within their seperate crafts the mechanics 'are like seperate filaments of flax before the thread is form'd, without strength because without connection, but UNION would make us strong and even formidable'" (Nash 1986:257). Thus

it comes as no surprise that in the face of increasing economic hardships artisans turned out for the 1764 and 1765 elections in record numbers, and organized themselves to push recalcitrant merchants into supporting the Non-Importation movement of 1768 through public meetings and organized boycotts (Nash 1986:25). The artisans of Philadelphia were by no means alone in this movement toward revolution. The artisans of Charleston forced the issue there as well (Walsh 1959), and indeed, as Bridenbaugh (1955) points out, in cities all along the coast.

The upshot of the Non-Importation movement of 1768 was, however, that it was a step in a process that resulted in a change in the balance of power. No longer was it thought that the artisans and lower classes should quietly and deferentially follow the political lead of the upper classes. In Philadelphia an artisan was elected sheriff in 1770. Artisans and middle class men became street commissioners, tax assessors and collectors, and came increasingly to hold other important governmental positions (Nash 1986:258). Emboldened by their newfound power, artisans stood for in the state assembly in Pennsylvania (Nash 1986: 258-259) and South Carolina (Walsh 1959:31). The victories won in the urban centers pointed the way to a new social mobility among the people of North America that was the culmination of a process of change from their self identity as British subjects to an identity as Americans first.

A larger social process is visible beneath the surface here. As stated earlier in this paper the economy of the colonies was growing, and in the North, diversifying. This was not occurring in isolation; rather, it was part of a process that was occurring in England as well, and in the cities of Europe. The economic base was changing from one rooted in the trade of locally produced foodstuffs and essential manufactured goods in kind, to one in which monetary relationships were of primary importance. and status could, increasingly, be purchased. Urbanization was on the increase, and with it the reliance of more people on the vagaries of the economic system. No longer could a lower class person squeak through a hard year by gathering wild foods or eking out just a little bit more from the household garden. Instead a bad year meant starvation for one who was poor and exploited to begin with.

The potters of Philadelphia are not known to have been on the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, nor were they even especially active in politics--at least in a documented sense. They may well have taken part in discussions that were influential in shaping attitudes that became common--the sites were after all, in Benjamin Franklin's neighborhood, and he is known to have traded his newspapers for Valentine Standley's pottery (Robert Giannini 1988:personal communication). The executor of Standley's will was Dr. William Shippen (Bower 1974:106), who served in the

Continental Congress from 1778-1780 (Jackson 1914:97) Furthermore, Standley owned a brew-house and store, both of which could have served as places in which revolutionary ideas were discussed and transmitted. Whether they were discussed favorably, or unfavorably is not as important as the fact of the idea's transmission. Any customer or idler who entered such a store, from a wealthy merchant like Henry Laurens, to a lowly sailor, could become privy to such discussions and carry the ideas home, and spread them among a new group. This is the connection that Philadelphia Earthenwares in the archaeological record illustrates.

The trade between Philadelphia, Edenton, and Charleston has been emphasized for admittedly data driven reasons. First, the archaeological data that spurred this study was recovered from these three cities, suggesting a relationship: a pattern, in other words. Once a pattern is recognized, we must ask ourselves, and the data base, why this is so. To give the data meaning it must be put into its historical, and cultural context. Pottery, ultimately, is pottery. A lead glazed earthenware bowl from Philadelphia would serve the same purpose, in a functional if not a cognitive sense, as a bowl of the same size, shape and so on, made in England. We have no data that suggests directly that domestic pottery had any cognitive value: there is no indication that the use of Philadelphia earthenwares was a point of national pride, or symbolized national unity, stirring the souls of the

observers as a flag might do. In fact, one gets the feeling that just the opposite was true, the Non-Importation movement notwithstanding. Thus we cannot conclude that the pottery in question evoked such feelings to its users. The Meaning derived here is a present day phenomenon: anything that material culture evokes to us, it evokes from our own experiences. If we take these ceramics as a single preterite piece of a larger puzzle, however, we can, from our perspective, credibly attribute such a significance to this pottery.

Cultures change constantly, evolving in mosaic fashion at different rates both spatially, in a synchronic sense and diachronically, with the accumulation of individual actions and events. The changes that occurred in Euro-American cultures in the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries are every bit as profound as the change from hunting and gathering to food production. Thus while the use of domestic pottery does not in itself on the level of the individual necessarily symbolize revolutionary feelings, taken in its proper context as one of the ever growing number of domestically manufactured goods being traded up and down the coast by sea-faring merchants it can be seen, etically, as a physical manifestation of just such a cultural process. Industrialization and the growth of capitalism, the use of domestic pottery and the growth of intercolonial trade, and the spirit of independence that symbolized the American

self-identity are intimately related in economic and social terms. The pottery sherds found in Edenton, North Carolina and elsewhere are the tip of a pyramid of connections.

Appendix A

WESSINGTON HOUSE MEAN CERAMIC DATE

South Type#	Name	N	MCD	Product
39	Underglaze Porcelain	106	1730	183380
26	Overglaze Porcelain	39	1730	67470
49	Decorated Delft	151	1750	264250
76	Delft Chamberware	106	1730	183380
47	Buckleyware	13	1748	22724
29	Jackfield ware	13	1760	22880
56	Combed/dotted slipware	195	1733	337935
36	Clouded wares	9	1755	15795
22	Creamware-plain	57	1791	102087
20	Pearlware-plain	53	1805	95665
17	-Hand painted	6	1800	10800
19	-Edge decorated	9	1805	16245
11	-Transfer prt.	21	1818	38178
12	-Polychrome HP	9	1805	16245
13	-Annular	5	1805	9025
2	Whiteware/Ironstone-all	19	1860	35340
46	Nottingham	4	1755	7020
54	Brit. brn. SGSW	21	1733	36393
44	Westerwald SGSW	83	1738	144254
34	Scratch Blue SGSW	52	1760	91520
16	Moulded White SGSW	2	1753	3506
30	Transfer Pt. white sgsw	2	1760	3520
40	White SGSW	219	1763	386097
43	White SGSW plates	60	1758	105480
48	Slip Dipped White SGSW	12	1745	20940
Total		1266		2,220,129

Mean Ceramic Date=1753.7

Appendix B

**Wessington House Assemblage
Sherd Counts and Minimum Number of Vessels**

Domestic Slip Decorated Lead Glazed Earthenwares

Trailed/striped ware	694 sherds,	7 basins/milk pans
"Combed" ware	1234 sherds,	11 plates
Clouded ware	676 sherds,	7 bowls
Other traileed wares	8 sherd,	1 plate

Black Glazed Wares

Domestic everted rim
chamber-ware or

drinking pots*	257 sherds,	7 vessels
Domestic cyl. mugs	490 sherds,	8 vessels
Domestic misc.	428 sherds,	1 bowl, 1 milk pan
White specked body	47 sherds,	2 chamber pots
Buckley ware	13 sherds,	1 milk pan
Jackfield ware	13 sherds,	1 hollow vessel w/ nested lid

Buff bodied ware 127 sherds, 1 bowl

* Both vessel forms were present, but too few vessels were reconstructed to accurately distinguish between them.

Lead Glazed Slipwares--imported or indeterminate

Combed/dotted holloware	113 sherds,	10 drinking pots/cups
Combed flatware	52 sherds,	7 plates
Trailed-white on black	13 sherds,	2 plates
Trailed-Black on white	17 sherds,	4 plates
Trailed-white on red*	24 sherds,	1 bottle, 1 milk pan? 1 chamber pot
Misc./indet.	17 sherds,	no identifiable forms

* White specks in body similar to black glazed ware above

Lead Glazed Undecorated Wares

Miscellaneous	24 sherds,	1 pudding pan, 1 indet. pan, 1 indet. hollow
Green Glazed ware	14 sherds,	1 porringer, 2 indet. holloware
Iron Oxide Specked	24 sherds,	1 mug, 1 plate, 2 milk pans, 1 pudding pan, 1 indet. pan
Buff Body	4 sherds,	1 indet. hollow form

Residual Lead Glazed Sherds

decorated	53 sherds
undecorated	58 sherds

Refined Industrial Earthenwares**

Whieldon ware	5 sherds,	1 plate
Whieldon variant*	4 sherds,	1 plate
Creamware--plain	57 sherds,	7 plates, 1 cup, 2 mugs, 3 indet. holloware
Pearlware--plain	49 sherds,	not tabulated
Pearlware--decorated	53 sherds,	1 saucer, 10 plates, 1 cup, 4 mugs, 10 indet. holloware
Whiteware/ironstone	16 sherds,	1 bowl, 1 chamber pot, 1 indet. holloware, 1 plate
Whiteware/ironstone-dec.	3 sherds,	3 plates(!)
Yellowware	2 sherds,	1 indet. holloware
Burnt/unidentified	4 sherds,	not tabulated

* This is a very interesting piece which may be a domestic copy of Whieldon ware. Schwartz (1969:56) illustrates a similar piece which he attributes to a Massachusetts potter.

** Some 42 sherds of Refined Industrial Earthenwares were recovered from below the topsoil zone. Analysis of crossmends showed a strong tendency for these to match or mend sherds from the topsoil. Thus their presence is explained through: 1) bioturbation; 2) intrusions caused by humans not seen by the excavators; 3) the fact that at least some of the excavation was done with a backhoe, and the rest with shovels, accounting for a good percentage of the contamination.

Delftware

Undecorated	106 sherds,	1 mug, 3 chamber pots, 2 Galley pots (Apothecary ware)
Blue Painted	91 sherds,	1 cup, 1 mug, 5 bowls, 6 plates
Blue and Purple painted*	30 sherds,	1 bowl
Bianco sopra Bianco*	8 sherds,	1 bowl
Powdered and Painted	22 sherds,	1 bowl, 1 gravy boat
Yellow exterior**	1 sherd,	1 galley pot
residual	7 sherds,	not tabulated

* Particular decorations in these types are common in the later 1750's and 1760's, allow deposition date to be placed later than the Mean Ceramic Date.

** Faience?

Porcelain

Underglaze--blue	106 sherds,	13 cups, 1 cyl. mug 4 bowls, 2 plates 3 saucers
Blue underglaze w/ red overglaze	9 sherds,	4 cups, 1 cyl. mug, 2 saucers
Overglaze enamelled	30 sherds,	2 cups, 1 saucer
Brown exterior wash*	3 sherds,	1 cup, 2 indet. holloware
Undecorated sherds	25 sherds,	not tabulated

* This particular decorative type is more common in the later 1750's and 1760's, allow deposition date to be placed later than the Mean Ceramic Date.

White Salt Glazed Stoneware

Undecorated holloware	219 sherds,	3 cups, 6 mugs, 6 bowls, 1 saucer 1 condiment dish
Slip Dipped Mugs	12 sherds,	2 mugs
Flatware	60 sherds,	8 plates
Moulded holloware	2 sherds,	1 indet. holloware
Polychrome decorated	2 sherds,	1 bowl

Other Stonewares

Nottingham	4 sherds,	1	small indet. holloware
Staffordshire/Derbyshire*	6 sherds,	3	small indet. holloware
Westerwald	83 sherds,	6	mugs, 1 storage vessel, 4 chamber pots, 1 small indet. holloware
Brown Salt Glazed	21 sherds,	1	large storage vessel, 2 Indet. large vessels
Scratch Blue	52 sherds,	8	tea bowls/cups, 1 indet. small holloware vessel
Miscellaneous Stonewares	15 sherds,	2	mugs, 1 indet small, 1 indet. large vessel
Alkaline Glazed Stoneware*	2 Sherds,	1	plate, 1 indet. small vessel

* These are intriguing pieces. They appear very definitely to be alkaline glazed--a thick, vitreous, green glaze--but are also very clearly in context with 1750's and 60's ceramics, thus predating the introduction of domestically produced alkaline glazed stonewares by fifty years. It is thought that they might be the products of William Cookworthy, who is known to have experimented with various forms of alkaline glazes while trying to perfect his porcelain manufacturing technique.

General Notes:

Ceramic type names and definitions follow Noel Hume (1970) and South (1977) where possible.

Vessel types follow Beaudry et al's (1983) definitions.

Sherd and vessel counts are for all contexts combined.

A very conservative approach was taken in determining the minimum number of vessels, thus counts may be absurdly low.

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