AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY OF SOCIOECONOMICS AT HISTORIC BATH, NC

By

Chloe Scattergood

May, 2023

Director of Thesis: Dr. Charles Ewen

Major Department: Anthropology

ABSTRACT

Studying the consumer choices of colonial North Carolinians can indicate much about their lives and status. Archaeological excavations of two eighteenth-century warehouses in Historic Bath can tell us about merchants and their clientele. The material from these warehouses suggests notable wealth disparity, not unlike today, in North Carolina's first established town.

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY OF SOCIOECONOMICS IN HISTORIC BATH, NC

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in Anthropology

By

Chloe S. Scattergood

May, 2023

Director of Thesis: Charles Ewen, PhD

Thesis Committee Members:

Charles Ewen, PhD

I. Randolph Daniel Jr., PhD

Benjamin Saidel, PhD

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to Haley Dixon, Ashley Gorman, Madison Hardy, Cameron Hill, Laura Howard, Caroline Johnson, Shelby Moore, Rowan Morgan, Patrick Parker, Jack Potter, Katelyn Steadley, Spencer Story, Tori Weiss, and Betsy Williams for their persistent hard work and enthusiasm during the 2022 field school in Bath. Thanks to site manager Laura Rogers, Wade Rogers, Wayne Randall, and the rest of the Historic Bath team (Robin Suggs, A.J. Drake, and Hope Steffens) for their support and assistance throughout this year's excavation.

Innumerable thanks to my classmates of the graduating classes 2022 through 2024; you are all brilliant colleagues, and I am truly privileged and proud to call you my friends.

Special thanks to my thesis advisor, Dr. Ewen, for your constant support these past two years. I could not have completed this thesis or thrived as a graduate student without your guidance, insight, and sarcasm. Thank my other committee members – Dr. Saidel and Dr. Daniel – for your time and suggestions which have greatly improved this research.

Finally, special thanks to my family. This thesis and my future career are the result of your unwavering belief in my goals and passions from day one. I love you all more than words.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

When asked why they feel it's important to care about archaeology, the average anthropology undergraduate will probably respond along the lines of, "Well, archaeology tells us about the past – and the past [here the rest of the class may join in a dutiful chorus] informs the present". This reply, while certainly a tried-and-true aphorism of archaeology, fails on its own to supply any substantial evidence of what it claims to answer. While some will admit to finding archaeology interesting for the sole reason that the past itself is interesting, people tend to care about history that tells us something about ourselves and relates to our personal experience in the world.

Historical archaeology is positioned nicely to satisfy these conditions. People of the not-so-distant past, after all, helped shape the world quite recently into what we recognize today. Perhaps the most visible thread which links the lives of modern individuals to those of our historical forebearers are the conditions of capitalism and industrialization. This is a world we are all familiar with – a capitalist environment rewards competition and accumulation, and how well we compete and accumulate is apparent in our material conditions. By the time the first towns and ports were being incorporated throughout the English colonies, the merchant class was participating actively in this system. Where business conglomerates and "big government" wielded enormous economic power in the twentieth century, planters and wealthy merchants were incredibly influential to the economy of the Colonial Era (Perkins 1988:x). Using archaeological methods to reveal the material conditions of early communities allows us to trace the effects of consumerism and capitalist thought from its small-scale origins to how we live today.

The town of Bath was from its outset an early colonial port whose origins begin in the early eighteenth century. Bath was home to several prominent residents such as John Lawson, author of *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Thomas Cary, the fourth and last deputy governor of North Carolina, and, of course, Blackbeard the pirate (Paschal 1955:9). While we can glean many details about Bath's conception and early history from historical sources, we know little about its early commercial ventures. The socioeconomic climate of Bath has received little attention in scholarly literature – this is likely a result of scarce personal accounts and mercantile records. Archaeological investigation may redress this problem through recovery of ceramics and other such trade goods which have implications for the wealth of the general population of North Carolina's first incorporated town in the eighteenth century.

This thesis is a comparative study of two structures in Bath – one a shared mercantile structure between several common merchants, and another constructed by a single wealthy merchant for an unknown purpose. The first hypothesizes states:

> Both structures represent warehouse contexts employed for commercial use. This hypothesis will be tested through architectural comparison as well as general characterization of both artifact assemblages to determine likely function of the space. Similarities in architectural construction and proportions of artifact types between sites will support this hypothesis. Expected architectural similarities include a shallow-dug structure (4-5 feet) with interior lining of brick or stone and a brick staircase. Commercial assemblages will likely be dominated by reconstructable ceramic and glass remains, which represent vessels used to carry perishables as well as being trade goods themselves. The presence of these reconstructable vessels and an absence of food (faunal) refuse in the artifact assemblages will generally indicate a non-domestic storage space.

The secondary hypothesis claims:

> There will be quantifiable differences in the artifact assemblages between contexts which will signal status differences between patrons of each cellar. Status will be determined on the basis of ceramic decoration using G.L. Miller's 1980 ceramic classification and

> scaling technique. The Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure will exhibit a significantly higher percentage of high-value ceramics remains as a reflection of the elevated status of its patron, the wealthy merchant Michael Coutanche. Significance will be determined by employing a two-proportion t-test. The trade objects of both contexts will be analyzed to identify: (i) patterns and proportions of artifact deposition between both contexts, (ii) differences in such patterns which may carry socioeconomic implications, and (iii), how these patterns and implications relate back to and improve upon knowledge of the broader eighteenth-century economy.

This thesis is structured in the following manner. Chapter Two will encompass background information for placing the archaeological investigation in its necessary temporal and spatial context. This includes a review of the economic environment of Colonial eastern North Carolina as well as the general lifestyle of colonists at the turn of the eighteenth century. A general history of Bath as well as both sites of interest – The Palmer-Marsh House and the Intern House – will be provided. The theoretical framework for this thesis will be laid out subsequently. Chapter Three details research design, including previous archaeology at both sites, laboratory and field methods, analytical methodology, and anticipated results. Chapter Four provides the excavation results of ECU's 2022 field school at the Palmer-Marsh House, an introduction to the functional analysis used to interpret data from both contexts, and findings from both sites. Finally, Chapter Five will compare and expound upon the results laid out in the previous section to determine use of the unidentified structure and attributable status based on ceramic classification. Function of the subterranean structure in the Palmer-Marsh House north yard will be inferred by identifying similarities or dissimilarities of architectural features and artifacts between sites and informed by historical and modern sources of information on eighteenth-century outbuildings in the southern British colonies. Results of ceramic analysis using Miller's ceramic classification and scaling technique will be discussed as well as their implications for

social stratification and affluence in Bath. A "warehouse pattern" of deposition will be suggested based on these comparisons, which will aid site identification throughout the east coast.

Through an archaeology of socioeconomics at Bath, a more complete understanding of both eighteenth-century warehouse contexts will help ascertain commercial aspects of Bath not historically recorded. While the applicability of this research is restrained by unique site formation processes from place to place, these findings at Bath are generally pertinent to other early port towns along the east coast, aiding future research involving warehouse contexts and the archaeology of trade. Conclusions regarding the socioeconomic status of Bath's residents provides a more detailed picture of the average citizen's material life in an early Colonial port town.

Anticipated results

The first hypothesis states that similar patterns of artifact distribution and similar proportions of artifact types should appear while comparing data from both eighteenth-century cellars as reflections of their similar use, at similar times, in a similar location. Based on preliminary research, ceramic and glass remains make up the majority of finds from South's 1960 excavation at the Palmer-Marsh House. Comparable proportions of such artifacts will be expected from the Intern House cellar. Differences in form, function, and design of artifacts are expected, particularly among ceramic remains, as reflections of the socioeconomic status of both the merchant acquiring them as well as his patrons.

In general, economic inequality likely increased through time in the colonies (Lindert and Williamson 2014:28). Ceramic analysis relates directly to questions of socioeconomic status: "Within a given ceramic form, decorative types, through price and fashion distinctions, convey

information about social stratification. Some decorative types could only be afforded by the very wealthy, while more moderately priced ceramics could be acquired by all but the poorest in the working class and the unemployed" (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1984:33). The price of different ceramic types related directly to how they were decorated (Miller 1980:3). The major material difference between middle- and upper-class consumers was not so much gaps in the *quality* of objects purchased, but rather their ability to purchase smaller or larger *quantities* of those desirable goods (Baugher and Venables 1987:38). The secondary hypothesis argues that because Michael Coutanche was a high-status individual who assumedly ran his warehouse privately, artifacts of more elaborate, time-consuming, or costly manufacture and decoration are expected to appear in larger quantities from this context rather than the Intern House cellar. Artifacts classified in Miller's Level III and Level IV, therefore, are expected to appear in larger proportion to the overall ceramic assemblage within Coutanche's cellar than that of the Intern House.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

Economy of eastern North Carolina

Introduction

North Carolina's coastal towns were indispensable to its economic development during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The election of Philip Ludwell to the office of Lord Proprietor in 1689 signified the beginning of North Carolina's history as a distinct political unit (Butler and Watson 1984:68). It was initially projected by settlers that production in the colonies would be concentrated in New England; however, the South's more temperate climate and extended growing season quickly proved its value to early agriculturalists (Lee 1952:230). The Cape Fear region's dense pine forests and navigable waters made the area particularly conducive to the naval stores industry – consisting of tar, pitch, and turpentine – which has been recognized as the region's economic foundation by North Carolina historians (Lee 1952:231).

Production and trade drove the colony's economy by the early eighteenth century. Between 1704 to 1729, North Carolina saw a huge volume of maritime traffic (Butler 2018:140). The number of annual entries and clearings from 1716-1729 doubled that from 1704 to 1715, emphasizing the importance of maritime trade to the North Carolina economy at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Butler 2018:140). This mercantilist system put in place by Britain resulted in North Carolina's active participation in the Atlantic world, a trade network between Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Merchants, like Bath's Michael Coutanche, profited greatly from the early capitalist scheme of colonial America.

Key exports of eastern North Carolina

Englishmen and enslaved people began arriving in the mid-seventeenth century to establish settlements farther south of Virginia (Fenn 2003:36). Both attempts between 1662 and 1668 to establish towns in the Cape Fear region of North Carolina were unsuccessful due to unfavorable relations with indigenous peoples and poor settlement decisions by the Proprietors – it wasn't until land became scarce in the Albemarle region that European settlement in the North moved southward to the Pamlico. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, wealthy English aristocrats interested in expanding their mercantilist network began efforts to establish plantations in North Carolina. Captain William Hilton, upon arriving at the Cape Fear River in 1663, reported that the land was "as good land and as well timbered as any we have seen in any other part of the world, sufficient to accommodate thousands of our English nation, and lying commodiously by the said river's side" (Fenn 2003:37). Bath represents one of the first commercial and political centers established in the Pamlico as settlers from Virginia migrated south. Notable explorer and naturalist John Lawson helped lay out Bath town before its incorporation in 1705, and may have chosen the site itself (Fenn 2003:41).

Throughout the eighteenth century, while the colonists continued to produce goods mostly for their own consumption, a significant proportion was intended for commercial exchange (Walton 2018:44-58). Specializations developed from unique regional environments, and these geographically restricted products were traded along the east coast. Southern colonies largely cultivated tobacco, rice, and indigo, along with deerskins, naval stores, and raised livestock from the Carolinas. While rice is often considered a major export of North Carolina, it was not produced at a scale nearly competitive with the colony's tar, pitch, and turpentine industry (Lee 1952:235). The Tuscarora War not only resulted in a devastating loss of life on

both sides, it also presented severe economic challenges to all the colony's first towns (Butler 2018:130). Bath County's economy had been ignited by the Indian fur trade; with the destruction of that relationship between the Tuscarora and the colonists Bath and New Bern suffered mightily (Butler 2018:132). Thus, by the time Governor Eden entered office in 1714, North Carolina was in economic turmoil. Though recovery and growth happened slowly, agricultural products and naval stores helped rejuvenate the colony's coastal towns (Butler 2018:138).

Large-scale plantation economies in the South depended on African slave labor throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. Massive amounts of wealth were generated for plantation owners through exploitation of enslaved Africans, whose identities and particular cultures were shaped deeply by enslavement and whose contributions cannot be ignored when discussing colonial economic output. While the process of growing tobacco and rice in the south was highly labor-intensive, such production scale was not favorable in the North due to relatively harsh climate and geography of the region (Greene 2017:100-124). Slave labor was thus more diversified in the northern colonies than those of the south, where slave occupations and contribution to the economy of early colonial America reflected a variety of skills and businesses. Husbandry practices, production of forage crops for livestock, housekeeping, and processing of dairy were occupations of note taken on by African Americans in the southern region (Greene 2017:100-124).

Black laborers were the backbone of the Cape Fear naval stores industry (Fenn 2003:64). Not only did this industry provide North Carolina with a means to exploit its abundant pine forests, but the product was highly desirable to British merchants as well. Craftspeople drew turpentine from the Pitch-Pine Tree, distilled it to make rosin, and constructed and tended to the complex kilns needed for tar production. Tar was produced by burning the fallen remains of

pines who have been spent of their turpentine, known as “lightwood”. This tar could be further processed by burning it in large cauldrons, yielding pitch (Fenn 2003:65). Thirty-two-gallon barrels stored pitch for shipping, and because of the large amount of naval stores produced in North Carolina many coopers were needed to fabricate such barrels. A “cooperage”, therefore, was necessary to any plantation involved in the production of tar, pitch, and turpentine during the eighteenth century.

The economy of North Carolina underwent a significant transformation the year of Bath’s incorporation (Fenn 2003:42). Between the failure of the Charles Town settlement and the next European attempt in 1725 to settle at the Cape Fear River, Philip Ludwell was appointed governor of “all Carolina north and east of the Cape Feare”. This decision divided the region into what is still recognized today as the separate political bodies of North and South Carolina (Fenn 2003:38-39). Religious tensions caused by the Vestry Act of 1701 only intensified nerves surrounding the economic growth of Bath County settlements; these "bold new men of Bath" were unafraid to trade with Native peoples and amassed great fortunes expeditiously (Butler and Watson 1984:68). The Naval Stores Act was passed by Parliament in 1705 to shift Britain’s dependence on naval stores from the Baltic to the American colonies. It was hoped that by passing this act and paying premiums on products such as tar, pitch, turpentine, and hemp, that these southern colonies rich in timber would contribute invaluably to the British shipbuilding industry. Subsidies of £4 per ton on tar and pitch and £6 per ton on hemp were enacted subsequently. The Naval Stores Act of 1705, as a result, signaled an opportunity for financial gain (Fenn 2003:43). Merchants of all North Carolina’s ports, including Bath, were able to enjoy sizeable profits in the mid-eighteenth century. Michael Coutanche and his ship the *New Bern*

were an emblematic example of this fortune, carrying tons of tar from North Carolina to Liverpool and returning with retail merchandise (Fenn 2003:43-45).

Not many North Carolinians participated in the state's early market-based economy (Butler and Watson 1984:175). A small but politically and economically powerful group of merchants, lawyers, and professionals enjoyed greater wealth, education, and connections outside of the colonies than the rest of North Carolina. Merchants such as James Murray, who resided in Wilmington, profited hugely off North Carolina's naval stores industry (Fenn 2003:66). In the 1730s, he had a house constructed with an adjoining storefront attached: "The other [half of my house], placed on the east end, is the Store: Cellar below, the Store and Counting House on the first floor…" (Fenn 2003:66). Many other merchants, like Bath's Michael Coutanche, enjoyed the spoils of the industry, a fact reflected in their homes and material goods.

European trade

The 1730s saw North Carolina undergo an economic boom as a result of its rapidly growing naval stores industry (Butler and Watson 1984:68). The Naval Stores Bounty Act set the stage for North Carolina to produce 60% of all naval stores exported from the colonies by the 1760s. At the same time, the English royal government aimed to monopolize on overseas trade benefits with the New World by investing heavily in colonial politics. The theory of mercantilism tied these two threads together: where colonial settlers provided raw materials, Britain offered a market and finished goods to exchange (Butler and Watson 1984: 68-69).

In 1749, Governor John Glen of South Carolina claimed that the quantity of manufactures imported annually into his province was "too great, and the sorts of Goods brought from thence

too fine, and ill calculated for the Circumstances of an infant Colony, by which means we seldom follow the golden rule of Commerce, Let your Exports ex-ceed, or at least balance your imports" (Smith 1998:677). Recent historical studies have challenged the established narrative of colonial consumption, which portrays early American households as self-sufficient units who eat and wear only what they produce. Inventories of the eighteenth century reflect an increase both in the amount and the variety of purchased consumer goods, pointing toward a general trend of increasing consumerism. This trend benefitted both the colonists, who purchased these goods for cheaper than they themselves could produce, and the English, who secured their advantage in a trade market not possible on their own continent (Davis 1962:290). The North Carolina colony specifically was bolstered by a vigorous maritime culture, trading its plentiful raw materials for exotics and finished goods from Bermuda, the Caribbean, and Europe (Butler 2018:126). As a result of cheap plantation production, tobacco and sugar from the colonies became accessible to most of Europe (Davis 1962:294). Probate records and weavers' accounts reveal a lack of textile-production equipment and fiber supplies in the American colonies – North Carolina included – suggesting necessary participation in market trade with England for those necessary materials and finished products. Light metalware was also in demand from Britain, as well as hardware such as tools and implements during the 1720s (Smith 1998:676-678).

Initially, colonists were dependent on Britain for livestock and tools – wares which can be defined as "capital goods" (Smith 1998:678). These are goods which themselves are necessary for construction and production. By the eighteenth century, customs accounts and mercantile correspondence records reflect a decline in the import of capital goods such as mill equipment, wagon parts, and grindstones, but excluding items such as iron nails, which continued to be shipped in steady quantities from Britain into the colonies. Firearms, clocks, silks, leather, books,

buttons, and “a thousand other things” moved across the Atlantic during the eighteenth century to supply the colonists with merchandise of both necessity and want (Davis 1962:290). Specific trends in merchandise are identified by S.D. Smith; he states that window glass should be considered a consumer good (rather than capital), on the basis that extra windows were "costly to install and signified luxury spending". Indeed, since most colonial homes were made of timber, brick may also be regarded as a more luxurious trade item (Smith 1998:683).

Food and drink accounted for most English imports to the American colonies between 1660 and 1775 (Price 1989:271). Luxury imports such as sugar, tea, tobacco, and coffee were in increasingly high demand and carried similarly high taxes. Semi-manufactured or semi-processed commodities – referred to sometimes as “raw materials” – made up about a third of imports; these goods included iron bars, and textiles of linen, silk, and wool (Table 1) (Price 1989:271).

Table 1. *Importation of selected commodities into the 13 colonies during years of war and peace, 1699-1774*

(A) Consumer goods

	Woollen textiles (£)	*Apparel* (£)	*Beaver hats* (doz.)	*Felt halts* (doz.)	*Silk* (£)	*Haberdashery* (£)	*Upholstery* (£)
1699-1701	71,431	9,631	1,350	3,108	16,355	4,060	8,292
1702-13	67,640	2,400	2,011	3,011	15,621	1,515	748
1714-7	91,622	2,858	3,547	5,706	18,179	2,106	428
1718-21	110,467	2,557	2,204	4,077	18,790	1,885	413
1722-38	137,906	1,266	2,558	6,276	20,724	3,213	684
1739-48	192,885	1,370	3,268	7,879	25,806	5,206	971
1749-55	290,544	1,200	5,348	12,376	44,778	10,753	1,361
1756-63	504,657	1,153	6,990	16,682	117,254	16,490	3,167
1764-74	592,456	697	7,036	20,192	92,182	22,721	6,112

	Leather gloves (doz. pair)	*Wrought leather* (lb.)	*Earthenware* (pieces)	*Pewter* (cwt.)	*Window glass* (cwt.)	*Books* (cwt.)
1699-1701	2,783	119,616	168,046	987	195	229
1702-13	3,018	84,591	175,256	392	284	117
1714-7	4,196	86,890	485,369	983	546	203
1718-21	6,448	107,562	357,326	923	504	177
1722-38	5,378	74,320	488,460	1,208	774	294
1739-48	9,598	76,460	702,862	2,275	863	345
1749-55	15,545	79,540	1,057,055	4,828	1,310	860
1756-63	20,565	176,673	928,711	6,460	3,534	909
1764-74	14,709	120,000	1,543,847	6,079	5,639	1,137

continues overleaf

Table 1. *Continued*

(B) Producer goods

	Alum (cwt.)	*Wool cards* (doz. pair)	*Bellows* (doz. pair)	*Grindstones* (chaldron)	*Cordage* (cwt.)	*Bricks* ('000)	*Iron nails* (cwt.)
1699-1701	84	410	76	139	2,492	33	5,212
1702-13	120	874	96	110	4,579	32	3,863
1714-7	141	914	115	276	8,927	115	7,178
1718-21	72	872	73	90	5,711	73	5,582
1722-38	250	1,265	100	294	11,941	100	11,182
1739-48	274	1,631	133	319	12,733	81	13,717
1749-55	377	1,944	227	881	15,017	270	18,443
1756-63	375	2,078	176	828	14,178	88	14,225
1764-74	604	3,679	33	928	14,530	117	15,356

(C) Unclassified goods

	'Goods, several sorts' (£)	*Wrought iron* (cwt.)	*Gunpowder* (cwt.)
1699-1701	2,340	5,212	585
1702-13	5,671	5,193	391
1714-7	12,409	8,678	614
1718-21	11,841	7,549	656
1722-38	24,387	11,416	1,185
1739-48	54,234	16,799	2,008
1749-55	133,439	29,272	2,990
1756-63	221,948	43,716	2,703
1764-74	291,348	58,670	3,158

Notes and sources: Inspector generals' ledgers of imports and exports, PRO, Cust. 3/1-74. 1702-13, War of the Spanish Succession; 1718-20, War of the Quadruple Alliance; 1739-48, War of the Austrian Succession (Jenkins' Ear); 1756-63, Seven Years' War. Woollen textiles, apparel, silk, upholstery, haberdashery, and millinery combine several series using the official values. To convert quantities to official values multiply beaver hats by £3.5, felt hats by £2.0, leather gloves by £0.3, glass and earthenware by £0.25 per 100 (a very low rating), window glass by £1.0, wrought leather by £0.11, pewter by £3.5, books by £4.0, bricks by £0.5, bellows by £0.75, cordage by £1.15, wool cards by £0.475, alum by £1.05, grindstones by £1.5, gunpowder by £3.38, wrought iron by £2.75, and iron nails by £1.75.

Table 1: Inspector generals' ledgers with names and counts of non-perishable colonial imports from 1699 to 1774 by year (Smith 1998:681-682).

Early capitalism in the United States

Seemingly endless material opportunities presented by the New World appealed to deprived Europeans in the first days of the English colonies (McCraw 1999). High demand met abundant supply, prompting many to move westward seeking fortune. Tracts of land were sold by the government at incredibly low prices in the colonial period, making privatized land not only highly desirable, but attainable as well. Modern debate on the origins of capitalist thought and behavior in America have produced differing ideas on the degree to which early European settlers acted on individualist interests (Woodruff 1992:168). Early life as a farmer in the New World depended on cooperation – either as a family unit or a community to ensure personal security. This "mentalité" of obligation and reciprocity within one's community characterizes the zeitgeist of colonial America, even as enterprising individuals sought their own fortune (Woodruff 1992:168).

Merchants and artisans, while present throughout the country, were concentrated in more urban areas such as ports, towns, and cities (Perkins 1988:81). These individuals seldom kept diaries, and thus there is little direct evidence of the experience of retailers in early America (Cole 1959:290). Ten to twelve percent of working Anglo-Americans were employed as either a merchant or artisan (Perkins 1988:81). Both wealthy traders and everyday storekeepers, operating as the businessmen of the colonial era, shared the title of “merchant”. Those traders operating on a much larger scale than community retail shops dealt in wholesale; goods ranged from fineries like lace to more mundane imports such as rum. The leading merchants in port cities participated in foreign commerce for “food, spices, alcohol, textiles, hardware, and general household goods” (Perkins 1988:88). A successful merchant was not a specialized trader – he dealt with a diverse selection of goods and would sometimes engage in barter trade with a client

if they were short in coin or paper money. Among any group of colonial aristocrats, there was likely a merchant among them who obtained the finer goods sought out by those of the middle and upper classes (Baugher and Venables 1987:31-32). A merchant might work alongside one or more other businessmen in a joint venture or, as was more common, act alone in a single proprietorship. A typical mercantile establishment would operationally resemble a warehouse (Cole 1959:279). Goods would be stored in a cellar or dedicated warehouse until they could be sold.

Patterns of daily life formed in the seventeenth century generally persisted until the latter half of the eighteenth century (Perkins 1988:x). After 1650, standards of living "rose slowly but steadily at the rate of 4 to 6 percent per decade" (Perkins 1988:x). Society did not undergo notable industrialization during the colonial period; the role of merchants and the character of their occupation stayed relatively stagnant until the nineteenth century. Personal inventories from both wealthy and poor households reflect significant diversity “in both the character and the extent of these English and foreign manufacturers” who produced finished goods for sale to the colonies (Tryon 1966:71). Both quotidian and luxury goods were imported throughout the New World to satisfy both need and want. The southern region participated in household manufacturing only when circumstances necessitated it (Tryon 1966:75). It is important to note, however, that during the second quarter of the eighteenth century the southern back-country underwent a significant diversification with the immigration of German and Scotch-Irish settlers (Tryon 1966:93). These populations were no strangers to household manufacturing and lived for many years without tie to the economic happenings around them. Apart from these peoples, the South depended heavily on Atlantic trade and suffered markedly when such supply was cut off (Tryon 1966:95).

McCusker and Menard (1985:263-264) identify four major pitfalls when determining colonial wealth and welfare through probate records alone. These issues include: an incomplete recording of assets, not all wealth holders having entered probate, a failure to weigh inventories by age to correct for an age/affluence correlation, and local currencies having to be converted into standard values to allow for comparison. Any attempt to generalize about economic growth in British America, therefore, should be approached with caution – output is not the sole variable which allows for accurate quantification of production and efficiency (McCusker and Menard 1985:267). Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that wealth and income are not one in the same (Gallman 1979:312). It is possible for wealth to increase independent of income, through investment in household goods or clearing land. These complications of using historical sources to determine wealth on a broad scale emphasize the value that community-based archaeological case studies offer to the archaeology of trade.

Historic Bath

The town of Bath, founded in 1705 as North Carolina's first town and port of entry, lies between Bath Creek and Back Creek facing out onto the Pamlico River (Figure 1) (Paschal 1955:1). At its inception, Bath was seen as a strategic location along the Pamlico for ships arriving from within and outside the colonies. By the 1690s, the Roanoke and Currituck inlets had become choked with drifting sand; Ocracoke inlet, therefore, became all the more significant as an entry point into the Carolinas (Figure 2). Because of this geographic advantage, from its beginning Bath was intended to be a merchant's town. Investors envisioned a community primed to blossom into a lucrative commercial center, and indeed many early citizens of Bath were merchants themselves. Bath imported goods from England and its colonies, and exported naval stores: lumber, tar, pitch, and turpentine (Paschal 1955:10). By the early 18th century, Bath was

made up of 71 lots sold to various merchants, government administrators, and lay people. Between 1768 and 1772, Bath was responsible for five to eighteen percent of all naval stores exports of North Carolina (Historic Bath State Historic Site 2020:3). Because Bath's harbor was relatively shallow, however, the size and cargo capacity of incoming ships was limited; therefore, Bath's importance to North Carolina trade began to decrease as larger Southern ports accumulated business and popularity.

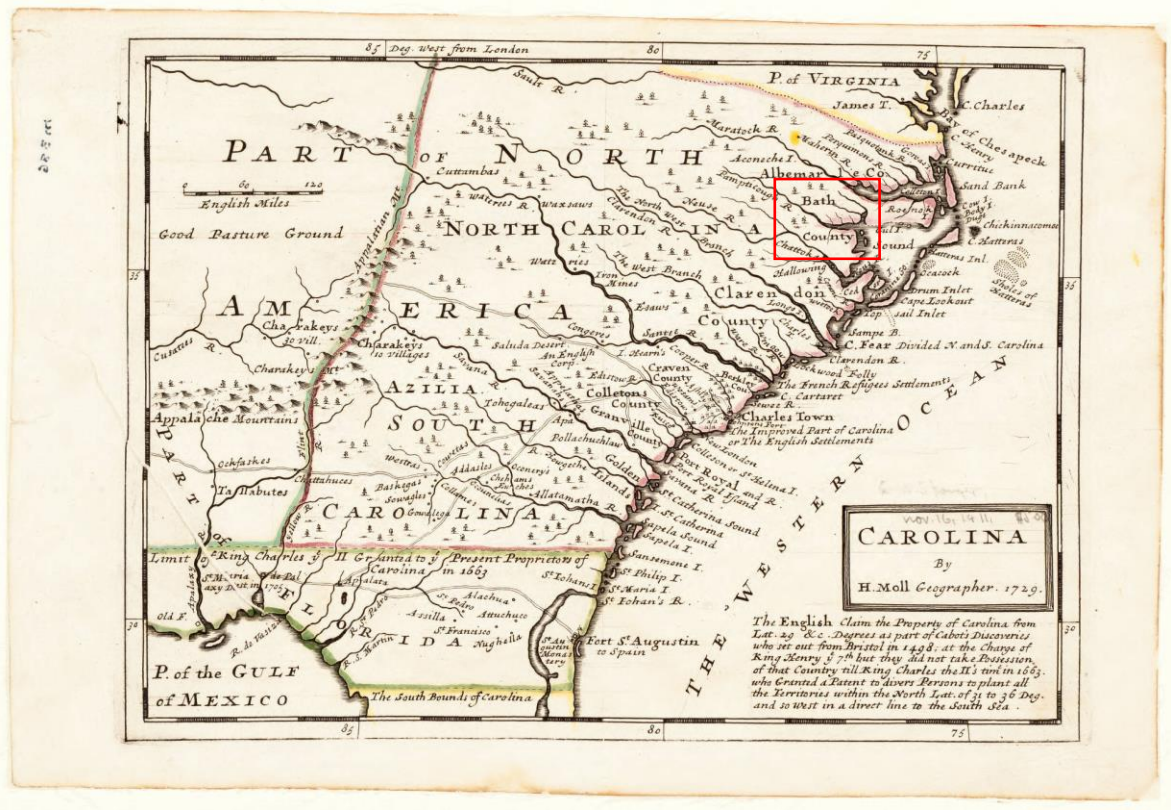

Figure 1: Bath County highlighted in red on "Carolina", map by Herman Moll, 1729.

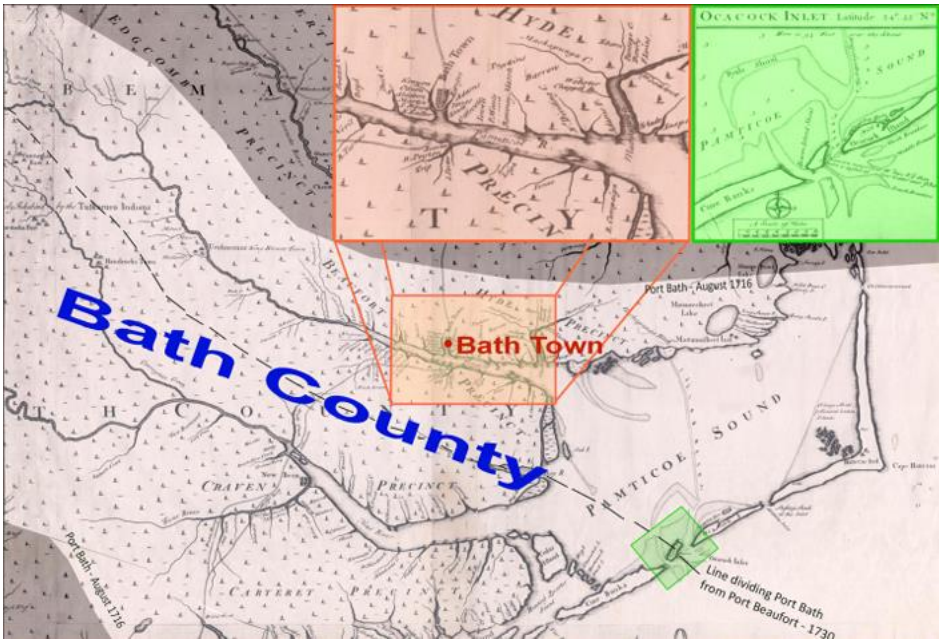

Figure 2: Boundaries for Port Bath displayed on Edward Moseley's 1733 map of North Carolina (annotated by G. Hookway-Jones and Baylus C. Brooks).

Bath was not North Carolina's first permanent settlement; in reality, communities were being established in the Albemarle Sound area in what is today Bertie County by the late 1650s (Paschal 1955:1). Thus, Carolina was not uncharted territory by the time Charles II granted the charter of 1663, allowing eight Lords Proprietors ownership over all the land from 36 degrees to 29 degrees latitude from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Albemarle county was created in 1664, including the territory bordering the Albemarle Sound north up to Virginia. Among those who took early interest in the Albemarle area were explorers, fur traders, and land speculators, all of whom hoped to exploit the region's plentiful resources. Seth Sothel, governor of Albemarle, issued a patent to himself for 12,000 acres of land in 1681; within this acreage lay Bath, along present-day Bath Creek. Before 1696, the Governor and Palatines Court named the region Bath County in honor of John, Earl of Bath. Following the turn of the century, many men settled on the Pamlico and along its tributaries to establish plantations.

The Palmer-Marsh House

Michael Coutanche, a Frenchman, arrived in Bath from Boston in 1739 (Cross 1976:1). He established himself as a merchant in the small port town, and after a few years was elected to the colonial assembly as a borough representative of Bath. Coutanche collected several town lots over the course of his career in Bath, as well as about 600 acres of land along the Pamlico River and Pantego Creek. His home in Bath, to be known later as the Palmer-Marsh House, reflected his prominence as a citizen and wealth accumulated over his years as a political representative and merchant; by the time of Coutanche's death, he was certainly one of Bath's wealthiest citizens, and perhaps one of the wealthiest in Beaufort County (Figure 3) (Cross 1976:2).

Figure 3: Modern satellite image marking the locations of the Palmer-Marsh House (red) and the Intern House (yellow) within the town of Bath.

Construction of the Palmer-Marsh house took place in 1751 (historicsites.nc.gov). According to local tradition, Coutanche utilized one of his downstairs rooms as a staging area for his merchandise, and indeed the room includes a public door through which customers could have entered (Cross 1976:1). Business records reveal Coutanche was largely involved in the trade of naval stores, or products such as tar, turpentine, pitch, and resin used for manufacturing. Coutanche sold these stores either in his home or a nearby store in exchange for smaller commodities brought from England. The prolific businessman owned a ship, known as the New Bern, which ran from Bath to Liverpool carrying barrels of tar; this tar was sold "for items of interest to residents of the colonies" (Cross 1976:2). Eventually, Coutanche's success as a merchant led him to expand his stores to include Lots 23-26. Within two years of his death in 1761, Coutanche's daughter Susannah acquired nearly his whole estate. She and her husband sold Lots 24 and 25, which included her father's storehouses and warehouses, to Lillington and James Lockhart. Only a year later, Robert Palmer then purchased these lots from the Lockharts (Cross 1976:3).

Robert Palmer, originally born in Scotland in 1725, came to Bath in 1753 as appointed surveyor-general of North Carolina and collector of the Port of Bath (Cross 1976:3). In 1762, Palmer was approved for a position on the Governor's council, moving into Michael Coutanche's former residence with his family shortly thereafter. His hospitality and social presence in Bath were noted by other citizens, and it was only after his promotion to secretary and clerk of the crown in 1770 that his duties persuaded him to relocate to New Bern, the colonial capital of the colony. Robert Palmer left his lands in Bath to his son William on April 11, 1771, and, once Robert's health declined over the course of the years leading up to the

Revolutionary War, William took over his father's seats as port collector and councilman as well (Cross 1976:3-6).

Margaret, William's wife, sold the property to Jonathan and Daniel Marsh in 1796 following her husband's death the decade prior. Daniel later relinquished his part of the estate to Johnathan, making Johnathan the sole owner of the consolidated Coutanche-Palmer estate (Cross 1976:8). Jonathan and his brother Daniel were both merchants who owned at least one ship that ran from Washington and Bath to the West Indies (Cross 1976:8). While they were independent businessmen, the brothers had a partnership where they shared the costs of transport and maintaining the vessel. Both Johnathan and Daniel sold "general merchandise that catered to rural communities" (Cross 1976:8). Jonathan may have used the downstairs room of the Coutanche house to sell merchandise, but he may have also run a separate store in Bath, according to family accounts. The Palmer-Marsh House continued to be passed through the Marsh line, and when the last family member to own the house, Rosa Marsh Price, sold lots 24, 25, 26, 40, 41, 42, 43, and 44 in 1915, the 120-year long line of Marsh ownership finally came to a close (Cross 1976:13).

The Palmer-Marsh House was refurbished after it was purchased by the state in 1962 (Figure 4). A fire in 1989 prompted further restoration, at which time the true color of the house was discovered. The Palmer-Marsh was then re-painted a reddish-brown in efforts to maintain the site's historical accuracy (historicsites.nc.gov).

Figure 4: The Palmer-Marsh house pre-1989 (Historic American Buildings Survey).

The Intern House

The current structure known as the Intern House, while of questionable origin, is thought to have been a modern addition to the Bonner House, with no relation to the storage cellar beneath (see Figure 3). Historic Lot Six of the Intern House was "intermittently owned by a member of the Lawson family, John or his daughter Isabella, during the years of 1705/6 to 1729" (Mullens 2010:65). The commercial occupation of Lots Five and Six began in 1730, when the property was purchased and the store house added by the merchants Blackbourne and Crofton, and continued until Joseph Bonner assumed ownership of the lots in 1830 (Mullens 2010:80). It is likely that this property was always employed for commercial use rather than domestic; this is evidenced both by the addition of a store house to the property by the merchants Blackbourne and Crofton and the continual selling of the store house to fellow merchants along with a ten-foot wide parcel of land leading to Front Street (Mullens 2010:81).

On Lots Five and Six by 1740 were "one Mansion House, with a brick chimney, one kitchen brick chimneys, one brick store house and cellars" (BCRD 1740:2.345-346). Purchased by Edward Howcott on September 2, 1740, it may be appropriately assumed that the cellar continued to function as a mercantile warehouse, whose goods were likely sold out of the adjoining brick store house (Mullens 2010:18). After about six and a half years, Howcott sold Lots Five and Six to James Calef, who again sold the property – minus the store house – back to Howcott almost two years later (Mullens 2010:20).

James Calef sold the store house property to fellow merchants John Watson and Alexander Cairnes in 1754 for nearly double its original value (Mullens 2010:21). Ownership over the commercial space quickly passed in subsequent years through several merchants' hands: Mace, Parkinson, Hill and Barrow, Rourke, Hanrahan, and Carrington (Mullens 2010:81). The cellar of Lot Six was thus occupied by several common merchants for about twenty years before the removal of the county court from Bath in 1755, which was the proverbial nail in the coffin for dreams of Bath as a bustling center for commerce and culture.

Theory

Archaeological theory of commerce

Archaeology in the 21st century is an increasingly humanistic science. This analysis of historic Bath's economic character follows the established trajectory of historical archaeology in its goal to reconcile material data with cultural meaning. Beginning with the culture-history paradigm of the early to mid 20th century, archaeological theory has progressed through the decades from a descriptive, typology-focused practice to the complex social science we recognize today. The "processual plus" paradigm most archaeologists adhere to today aims to

marry positivist, data-driven methodology with a humanistic mindset in order to achieve an epistemological balance when interpreting sites. James Deetz, who calls for comparison of historic materials with archaeology in order to corroborate history with actuality, emphasizes the importance of relating artifacts back to people so as to understand the past armed with multiple lines of evidence and understanding (Deetz 1983:27).

The overall theoretical design of this thesis follows a materialist perspective that aims to illuminate details of early capitalist society in the colonies. By examining material culture, we gain a better understanding of how access to certain goods shaped people's lives and economically stratified communities. In a capitalist system, the household member is a consumer. They exist not in a familial microcosm of self-sufficiency and production, but as an agent influenced by their prescribed societal role, within a complex cultural system, within a vast but limited economic environment. Through the lens of consumer behavior studies, artifacts represent goods available for purchase by a household member in accordance with their needs and desires (Gibbs 1996:16). Conversations surrounding the development and trajectory of capitalist systems may be improved by studies of the communities who first engaged in it. Understanding how people's lives have been shaped by capitalist practices in the beginning will provide more perspective with which to talk about how that same economic system affects people today.

Mark Leone, in his 1995 American Anthropologist article, advocates for "involvement with the factors that have defined wealth and social control in the past and continue to do so now" (Leone 1995:251). Bath in the early 18th century represents a town involved in early capitalist trade, engaged by this time in efforts of commoditization. This socioeconomic analysis of Bath, along Leone's philosophy, bears in mind that everyday people and the materials they

leave behind are not apolitical – the forces which act upon wealth affect how wealth is spent. Thus, the archaeology of Bath's economic activity reflects the product of these political and social forces acting upon local consumers. This idea may be more succinctly stated by Michael Nassaney: "Capitalism is first and foremost a material process whereby people use the market to obtain the means to distinguish themselves from family and peers" (Matthews 2012:ix-x).

With Leone and the archaeology of capitalism at the forefront of theoretical consideration for this thesis, Cynthia Robins and what she refers to as "everyday archaeology" helps to describe the overall goal of these interpretations. She states: "Archaeology of everyday life is the study of the daily or near-daily practices of all past people and the far-reaching implications that seemingly mundane acts have for human societies" (Robins 2020:374). It is this interest – studying the daily or near-daily practices of people which illuminate greater aspects of society – that drives this investigation at Bath. History, as is so often the case, is written by those in positions of power or influence. Archaeology offers up an alternative – knowledge of the lives of the masses, whose quotidian existence may reveal even more about a village, a town, or a country, than the written manuscript. While examination of refuse piles, domestic debris, and other such archaeological contexts would be a more complete indicator of the material holdings of the everyday person, the data at hand provide information on how the merchant class affects and influences what items the everyday person has access to. These theoretical considerations will work hand-in-hand to provide a framework for interpretation of the material remains from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure and the Intern House cellar.

This background information serves to provide context for the economic, social, and physical environment in which the archaeological investigations of interest take place. It is that context which is vital for linking the archaeological data gathered through field and lab methods

with inferences about past behavior. These excavations in Bath are informed by an interest in the archaeology of consumerism and trade in the colonial period. While to a certain degree, all Anglo-American colonies would have participated similarly in the eighteenth-century Atlantic trade and production scheme, the material manifestations of each region and community's participation differed based on unique geography, distribution of capital, and culture of consumerism. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the archaeology of wealth on a local scale to infer broader economic trends. The methodology employed by this thesis serves as a guide to future comparative studies of colonial sites associated with merchandizing and trade in the south.

CHAPTER THREE: PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGY

Previous archaeology at the Palmer-Marsh House

1960

The eighteenth-century ballast stone-lined structure beneath the north yard of the Palmer-Marsh residence (Figure 5) was first excavated by Stanley South and two assistants in 1960, producing four sequential reports detailing each weekend's progress and South's ongoing interpretation of the site (South 1960a, 1960b, 1960c, 1960d). That same structure represented by excavation unit 1 (Figure 6) of South's investigation does not appear on C.J. Sauthier's map of Bath; therefore, South concluded that it and whatever above-ground building may have been attached to it were gone by 1769. Based on temporally diagnostic ceramic fragments, South believed unit 1 to predate the Palmer-Marsh House, built in 1761. South noted that a large amount of refuse on and among the rubble excavated from unit 1 suggested the razed ruins of the former structure were later used as a dump while the Palmer-Marsh House stood. The discovery of two staircases into the structure led South to conjecture that the southern entrance had been closed off. The western staircase may have been prompted by a desire to relocate the entrance as the southern wall of the structure nearly abuts that of the northern wall of the Palmer-Marsh House, assuming there was overlap in their occupations. South concluded that the unit 1 structure was part of a house built around 1730 and demolished sometime in the 1760s. He states in his final report that the wooden staircase represented the original entrance and was probably sealed at the time of the erection of the Palmer House, and that the subterranean structure's likely owner was one of Bath's wealthier residents, the merchant Michael Coutanche (South 1960d:2).

Figure 5: 1960 Photograph of South's excavation unit 1 (Falls 2013:12).

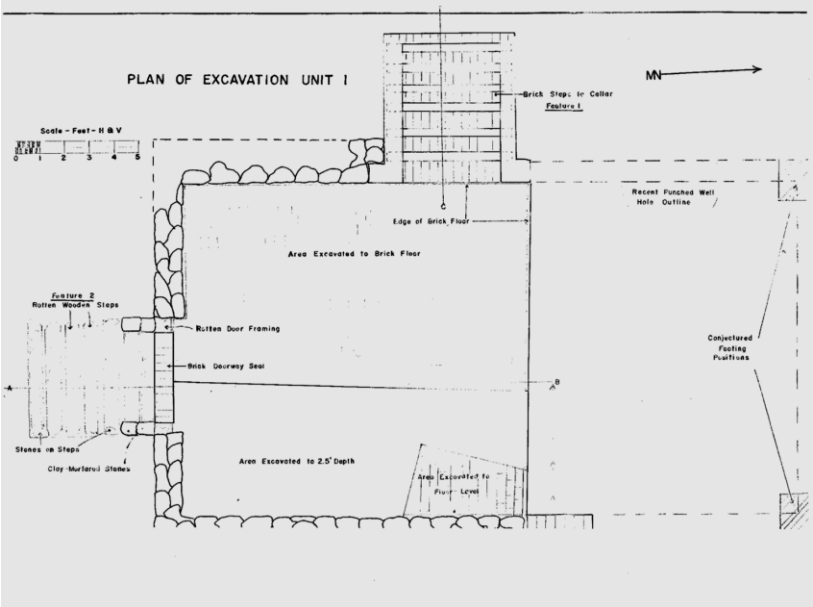

Figure 6: 1960 site drawing of South's excavation unit 1 (Falls 2013:13).

Notable features from South's reports include the presence of large, chalky lumps, which he refers to as "unslaked lime" (South1960a:2). He writes that these were encountered in a small area excavated to a depth of three feet between the square profile and (eastern) foundation wall. Underneath these rock lime lumps, writes South, lay a foot thick layer of brick bats, ash and charcoal wood, and various historic artifacts including oriental porcelain and rum bottle fragments. He notes in his first report that the north-south line of the structure lies at a 103.5° angle from the east-west line of the Palmer-Marsh House (Figure 7). It was because of this architectural discrepancy, as well as the lack of any sort of building north of the Palmer-Marsh in C.J. Sauthier's 1769 map, that South concluded both structures were not standing contemporaneously.

South's second report highlights the discovery of brick bats with thick soot on one side, suggestive of a chimney on the eastern side of the structure. A brick staircase on the western wall was uncovered at this time, as well as seven sherds of what he referred to as burnished Indian pottery (since reclassified as *colonoware*). Other objects of interest listed by South include strap hinge fragments, cast iron pot fragments, a two-tined fork, scissors, a shutter pintle, a horse bit, a copper pin case with pins inside, a large lump of tar, and an iron cannonball (South 1960b:5). The varied nature of these artifacts suggested to South that the site was once used as a dump.

The third report confirmed South's conjectured structure was razed rather than burned since rotted, not burned, wood was pressed into the clay steps of Feature 2 (the southern staircase) and the lack of a charcoal ash layer on the floor of unit 1. South writes that the brick floor extends to the north end of the structure, but that there is no north wall itself. The northern end was also characterized by "a large quantity of unslaked lime lumps…piled on top of the brick floor against the exposed face of the subsoil cellar excavation" (South 1960c:2). South

suggested the lack of a wall on the northern end may have been due to the presence of a chimney, or else supporting by footings of brick, stone, or wood. The structure's measurements – 15 x 17 feet – were confirmed in this third report. Etched window glass fragments recovered revealed the name "Michael Cout…", which South suggests represents a broken window of the Palmer-Marsh House tossed into Unit 1 during its use as a dump area.

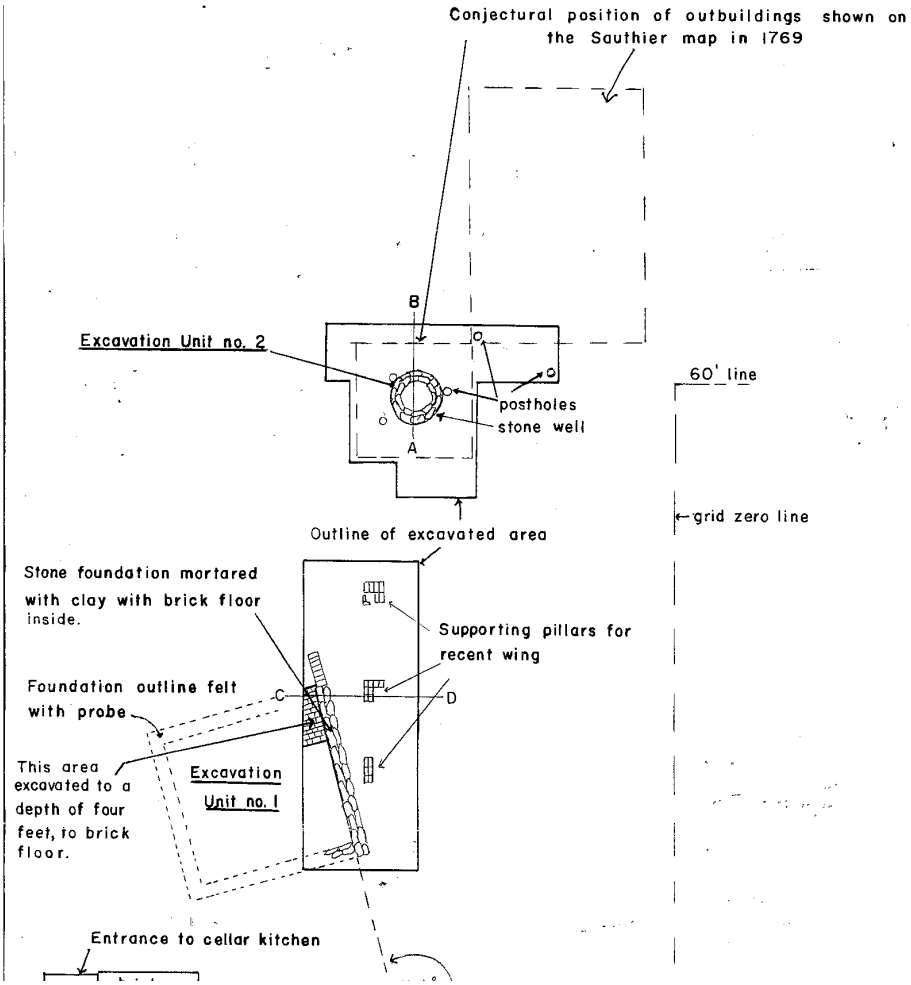

Figure 7: 1960 site drawing depicting the angle of South's unit 1 against the Palmer-Marsh house (Falls 2013:11).

1993

Excavation of a 10 x 47 square foot area was undertaken on the south side of the Palmer-Marsh House in response to waterline construction in 1993 (Boyd 1993). The purpose of this investigation was to locate evidence of porches previously attached to the house's southern façade. Large amounts of domestic artifacts dating from the eighteen to twentieth centuries were uncovered, along with foundations from at least three porch constructions and three post molds aligned with the cellar located in South's excavation unit 1 in the north yard.

2012

The 2012 Summer Ventures in Science and Math Program students returned to Bath in 2012 under ECU's Dr. Charles Ewen. These exploratory excavations aimed to re-establish the northern extent of the structure and re-examine questions left by South after his initial work in 1960 (Falls 2013). Six 5 x 5 foot units were opened in the north yard of the Palmer-Marsh House (McLaughlin 2012). The site report from the 2012 Summer Ventures program records a brick pier found in excavation unit 3, possibly the same pier South noted in his unit 1 north of the structure. It was conjectured from this investigation that there may have been a building extending north of the unit 1 cellar, as evidenced by brick, mortar, glass, and metal fragments found in the area. It was interpreted from the high concentration of architectural materials that multiple establishments may have been located in the north yard. The 2012 investigation concluded with a recommendation for more excavation to determine the precise locations and number of possible outbuildings in the Palmer-Marsh north yard. Re-opening South's excavation unit 1 containing the eighteenth-century structure was also recommended, so that both sets of information could be compared and expanded upon in relation to the cellar.

2013

Over fifty years after South's investigation, under the direction of Dr. Ewen, ECU's summer field school session of 2013 re-opened the upper level of South's excavation unit 1 with the goal of confirming if the building above Coutanche's cellar was once his residence or an attached warehouse (Figure 8) (Falls 2013). The northern, western, and eastern extents of the structure were identified, along with the top of the western brick staircase. The brick footing uncovered by the 2012 Summer Ventures program north of the structure was located once again in 2013; it was determined that this footing is indeed the same one South reported in 1960. No other brick footings related to the one in unit N120 E100 were discovered. The conclusion regarding this feature was that, rather than representing the remains of a residence, it could be associated with a former outbuilding or extension of the Palmer-Marsh House.

Figure 8: Open excavation units from 2013 (Falls 2013:17)

The field school successfully located a modern well mentioned by South north of the structure's western staircase. The extent of modern disturbance at the site was evidenced both by a metal pipe which ran through the eastern portion of the excavation and the artifact assemblage

itself, which represented a broad range of datable materials from the eighteenth-century to modern day. Colonial artifacts such as pipe stems, glass, and various ceramic ware types were uncovered alongside plastic, machine-made glass, and wire nails below the top layers of soil.

The investigation was completed over the course of the field school session, but did not produce definitive architectural evidence of a related home. It was concluded instead:

"…the cellar may have been part of a smaller storage building instead of a larger residence or architectural remnants of the structure have been destroyed by modern disturbances" (Falls 2013:4).

Previous archaeology at the Intern House

Since its relocation in the twentieth century, the structure known as the Intern House shares a property lot with Joseph Bonner's former residence, the Bonner House. An archaeological excavation was conducted at the Intern House in 1986 with the installation of new sewer lines; however, there is no report detailing this investigation (Flood 2012:51). What details are available can be found through the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology (NC OSA), which offers field notes and an artifact inventory from the project written by Linda Carnes (Carnes refers to the Intern House as the Rental House). Through these notes, it is known a 10' x 10' excavation unit was opened, revealing part of an 18th century brick foundation. Carnes writes that this foundation was encountered at 2.6 ft below the surface and extends another 2 ft below that. A probe revealed the foundation to be about 15.5 ft in length, running north to south (Flood 2012:51).

ECU's summer field school session of 2009 excavated the Intern House lot to investigate the brick foundation discovered by Carnes and her team (Figure 9). They aimed to confirm the

existence of a common mercantile cellar recorded on the property in historic documents. The 15' x 15' cellar was located, along with several artifacts – such as a cask hoop – which support the site's identification as a mercantile warehouse (McMillan 2009). The accessible portion of the cellar (that which was not hidden beneath the Intern House) was fully excavated by the end of the 2009 field school session. While most records of this excavation are in possession of a previous student who could not be located, Lauren McMillan's personal blog detailing the investigation and the field notes from that season provide sufficient information about the Intern House cellar for the purposes of this research.

Figure 9: ECU's 2009 field school at the Intern House (McMillan 2009).

Methods

Field Methods

ECU's 2022 field school summer session returned to Bath from May 16th to June 20th to re-open South's excavation unit 1 and to locate possible outbuildings associated with the Palmer-Marsh House including a detached kitchen, smokehouse, stillhouse, tobacco house, and/or slave quarters (Wells 1993:13). The impetus for re-excavating unit 1 was to better define the

architecture of the northern end of the structure so that a more complete interpretation of the site may be achieved. The 2022 field school also aimed to examine definitively the presence or absence of foundation or pier remains from the structure atop Coutanche's cellar.

The datum was re-established using a total station at N100 E100 along the same grid used for the 2013 archaeology field school. One 2x5 and nineteen 5x5 foot excavation units were opened and dug in 0.25 foot levels. Two of these nineteen 5x5 units began as 3x5 foot units, but were later expanded. All units within feature 6, or the interior of the structure, were excavated through level 16 (Figure 10). Units were labeled according to the SE corner. Due to the expansion of the excavation area, a new datum was established part way into the excavation at N145 E100, approximately 45 feet north of the previous datum and 20 feet west of the reconstructed well. Artifacts were recorded in a field specimen (FS) catalog and packaged appropriately according to ECU's standard archaeological excavation procedures. Level sheets and a photo log were filled out to record provenience data and excavation data as students proceeded through the units (Appendix:83).

A Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey over a small area between the reconstructed well and modern storage shed was conducted; however, these results were inconclusive. Due to time constraints, this surveyed area was not explored any further for evidence of outbuildings on the property.

Figure 10: Open excavation units revealing the top of the cellar walls, taken facing west.

Lab Methods

Standard lab processing procedures were performed, with bone, botanicals, and metal separated from glass and appropriate ceramic artifacts for cleaning. Bone and metal were dry brushed, while glass and appropriate ceramics were cleaned with water and dried. Two samples of brick – two modern types and another colonial type – were collected for comparison (Figure 11). All specimens with a common FS number were rough sorted before being bagged into like categories and labelled for permanent curation at ECU. The database structure for digital curation at ECU is provided (Appendix:83).

Figure 11: A side-by-side comparison of two machine-made modern bricks, above, and another handmade colonial type, below.

Analytical methodology

Ceramic and glass remains are the most significant artifact types to this study, as they are both temporally diagnostic and prevalent in historic contexts. In addition, makers marks on pottery or glassware aid in identifying a particular manufacturer or place of origin economically tied to Bath in the early eighteenth century. Regardless of makers marks, distinguishing ware type is feasible in these contexts, as "regional British and European ware types have been generally well defined through distinctive decoration, shape or other attributes" (Bloch 2011:12).

The form, function, and design of these artifacts allows for interpretation of their use, character of the domestic setting of which they would have been a part, and uniqueness or likely expense of the piece.

Exceptionally strong and highly valued ceramic items may be interpretable as prestige goods (Rice 2005:200). Prestige goods, ceramics or otherwise, are likely to have travelled far from their original source because of their socially restricted nature; thus, if items representing nonlocal trade are identified in the cellars at Bath, their geographic source may be an important factor to consider when determining their worth and the relative status of individual consumers.

Sorting of ceramic artifacts into categories representative of value is done following G.L. Miller's established classification and scaling technique (Miller 1980). Miller derives his four groups from a series of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century price fixing agreements created by Staffordshire potters that determine standard pricing of vessels according to how they are decorated. He states that the lack of research on ceramic pricing (as of 1980) is a result of a lack of historical documentation, the complexity of the subject itself, and the difficulty that comes with attempting to analyze a product that made a relatively small contribution to the overall colonial economy (Miller 1980:5). Sources of information that are available to help tease out ceramic pricing include: price fixing agreements, probate inventories, and (with less general accuracy than the former documents) accounts of estate sales. Ceramic prices are also influenced by multiple factors including transportation costs, tariffs, technological innovations, inflation or deflation, and currency fluctuations (Miller 1980:5). Because of the wide range of factors influencing the topic and what limited historical resources are available, Miller determines that the best approach to studying ceramic prices is by working with potters' wholesale prices, which are reflected in price fixing agreements (Miller 1980:5-6).

Level I will be compromised of all undecorated ceramics. Level II includes "the cheapest ceramics available with decoration", with shell edge, sponge decorated, banded, mocha, and common cable among this type (Miller 1980:3-4). Miller notes that within this group there is a "wide range in the decoration on one vessel compared to another of the same size and form", meaning that two vessels of the same type (e.g. two mocha bowls) will never appear exactly alike (Miller 1980:4). Level III contains "painted wares with motifs such as flowers, leaves, stylized Chinese landscapes or geometric patterns" – these are ceramics whose decoration required enough skill to produce matching sets (Miller 1980:4). The final Level IV consists of transfer print wares and porcelain, although Miller does not include specific price breakdowns of the latter. Results are presented in the form of tables displaying quantitative differences in Chapter Five.

The data used for this analysis will include the artifacts from South's 1960 and ECU's 2022 excavations in the Palmer-Marsh House north yard. Because both projects fully excavated the structure and produced a sufficient sample of material data (and in consideration of time constraints), the materials excavated from ECU's 2013 field school will not be included in this analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Excavation summary of the 2022 field school

The field school fully re-excavated the structure within Stanley South's excavation unit 1 (Figure 12). The western staircase (feature 1) and brick floor (feature 6) were entirely exposed, revealing the south (feature 5), west (feature 4), and east (feature 3) walls, constructed from dry-laid ballast stone. South notes in his first report that the north-south line of the structure lies at a 103.5° angle from the east-west line of the Palmer-Marsh House (Figure 13) (South 1960a). To South, this seemed to signify that the original lot lines of Bath were re-oriented between construction of the unit 1 structure and the Palmer-Marsh House itself. It was revealed upon re-excavation, however, that while the angle of the structure's north-south line according to the east wall is relatively dramatic, the west and south walls do not reflect as stark a difference. The west wall sits at about a 92° angle, while the south wall is only about 3 degrees off from being parallel with the Palmer-Marsh House (Figure 14). The structure was, therefore, not constructed at all right angles, giving the illusion that it lies less in line with the Palmer-Marsh House than it actually does. The northern end of the structure was marked by the end of the brick floor, although there was no evidence of a wall, just undisturbed soil. Several holes were identified in the brick floor, two of which designated features 7 and 8 (Figure 15). The largest hole measures about one foot in diameter and 0.2 feet deep before encountering undisturbed clay. The northeast corner of feature 6 revealed a significant pile of large chalky debris, referred to by South in his reports as "unslaked lime lumps" (South 1960c:2).

Figure 12: The fully excavated structure, taken facing NW.

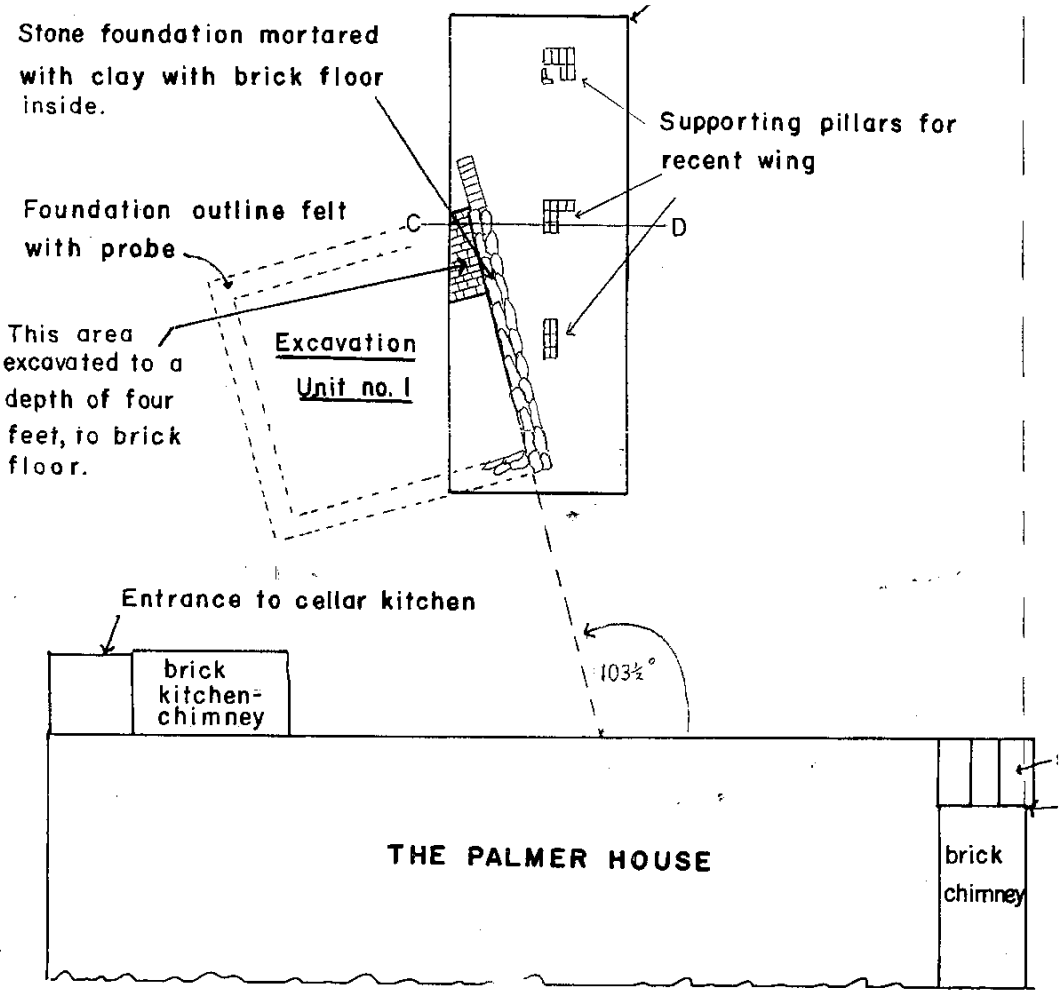

Figure 13: 1960 site drawing depicting the angle of South's unit 1 against the Palmer-Marsh house (original image cropped for better resolution) (Falls 2013:11).

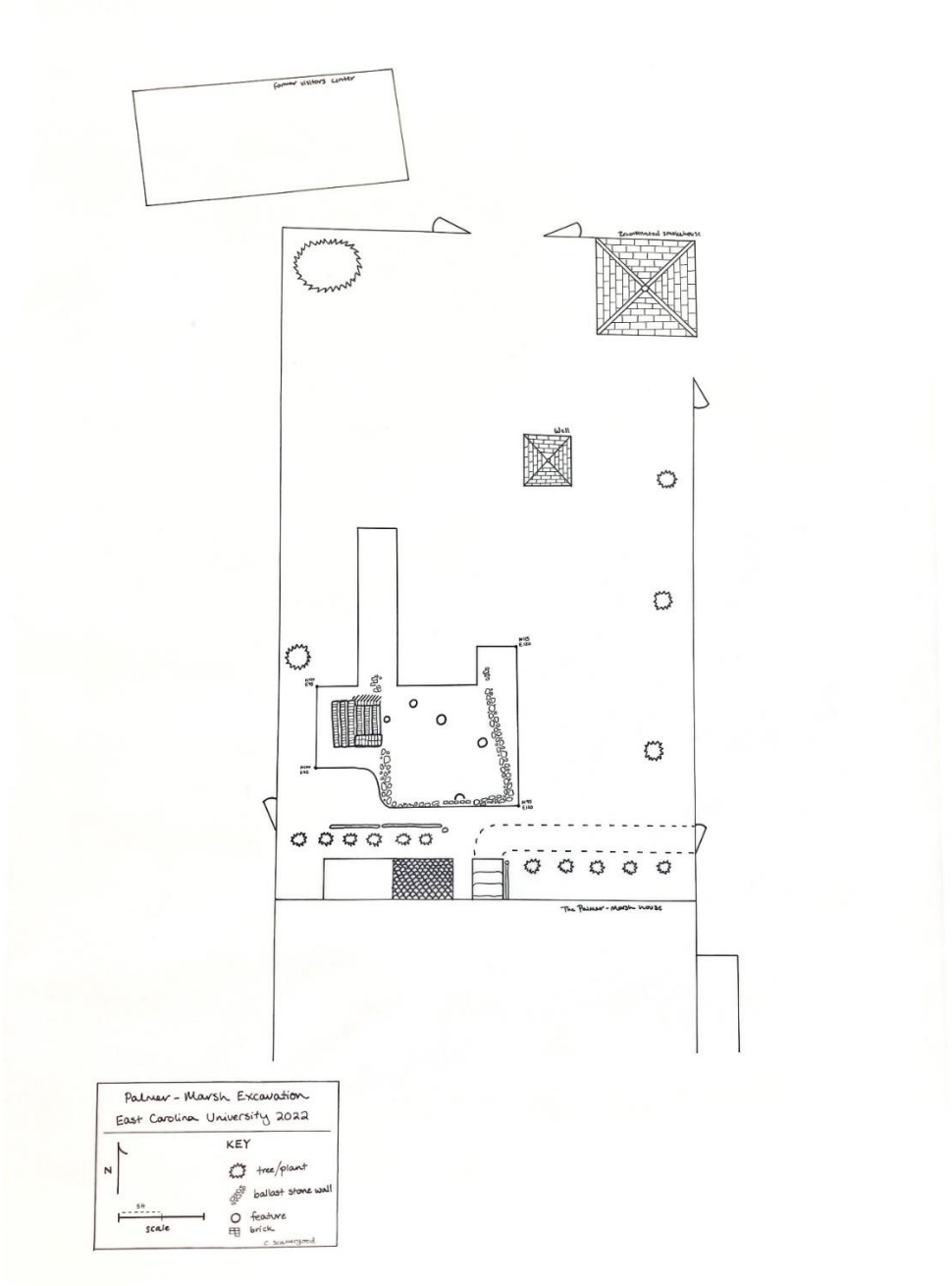

Figure 14: A site map sketch depicting the true angle of the excavated cellar in relation to the Palmer-Marsh House.

Units were sifted with quarter-inch mesh, unearthing numerous artifacts dating from the Colonial era to present. Given the fill inside the structure consisted of highly disturbed backfill, 0.25-foot artificial levels were employed throughout excavation. Though previously excavated,

the backfill still contained a wealth of artifacts; suggesting that South and his team did not sift the dirt from their 1960 excavation. The Colonial-era artifacts recovered included various eighteenth-century ceramic ware types, wrought nails, pipe stems and bowls, and bottle and window glass. Modern materials include: wire nails, glass marbles, machine-made glass, and plastic fragments.

A coin half (Figure 16) was examined by conservation staff at the Queen Anne's Revenge (QAR) Lab in Greenville, NC, for cleaning and identification. This investigation determined that the fragment resembles a *thaler*, a common currency of northern German states that also circulated between Austria, Denmark, and the Netherlands (Einaudi 2014). The United States adopted the related term "dollar" for its own currency in the late eighteenth century. While coin money was scarce in the colonies, the overwhelming majority of circulated coinage was either unauthorized private issues or old worn coppers of English or Irish origin (Stern et al 2019). Proclamation money, the English pound sterling, public bills of credit, and Virginia money were all employed around the mid-eighteenth century in land deals and other transactions where barter was not appropriate (such as taxes) (Tilley 1936:287). Inadequate supply of metals like gold, silver, and copper in the colonies meant that copper could be considered a valuable metal during this period; therefore, the cut coin fragment unearthed from the Palmer-Marsh north yard this summer represents how coins were valued by weight rather than denomination. It was an uncommon currency in a burgeoning colonial port town (Stern et al 2019).

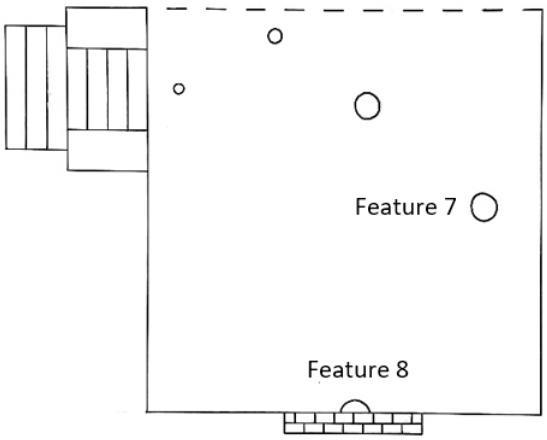

Figure 15: Features 7 and 8 positioned on the brick floor of the structure.

Figure 16: Coin half excavated from the interior of the cellar.

Functional analysis

The standard database structure for archaeological curation at ECU records an artifact's field specimen (FS) number, count, group, class, material, type, variety, color, element, decoration, weight, dimensions, and any additional information. This structure allows for streamlined analysis of materials from the Palmer-Marsh House and the Intern House. While some of these categorical labels are self-explanatory, others are less intuitive and will be defined here. The FS catalog system assigns each discrete level of an excavation unit a unique number, under which all artifacts from that unit and level are classified. This provenience information is invaluable and serves to record each artifact's horizontal and vertical context on the site. *Type* is a classification system used for ceramic artifacts and refers to a group of pottery defined by a set of *attributes*, or discrete observable criteria (South 2002:201). An artifact's *variety* reflects specific clusters of attributes which define a commonly identified subtype of artifact; these attributes can reflect a combination of decorative traits (e.g. Staffordshire for Slipware). Attributes of a type may include its color, shape, paste, or glaze.

The artifact group labels used here follow Stanley South's functional artifact classes and groups (South 2002:96). These named groups consist of one or more artifact classes; for instance, the *kitchen* group is made up of multiple classes of artifacts such as ceramics, wine bottles, case bottles, tumblers, pharmaceutical bottles, tableware, and kitchenware (South 2002:95). While these functional group classifications do not with perfect accuracy indicate an object's true use (for instance, a metal fragment classified under the *architecture* group may have actually been associated with kitchen activities), it is a generally useful tool on historic sites to suggest an artifact's original purpose. By sorting objects based on functional group, it is revealed that the vast majority of artifacts from either site fall into one of two categories: *architecture*, and

kitchen. Other groups represented include *smoking*, *personal*, *clothing*, *arms*, and *miscellaneous*. The *kitchen* group does not include all tools required to produce food (plows, farm tools, etc.), but rather indicates artifacts involved in kitchen activity or found in midden deposits of colonial British kitchens (South 2002:99). The *architecture* group is characterized by items such as nails, spikes, bricks, and other items associated with construction (South 2002:100). These artifacts may be left behind as the result of construction, demolition, burning, or abandonment of structures on a historic site.

Sorting artifacts based on material further divides artifact groups. Where the *architecture* group includes materials such as brick, nails, window glass, and metal fragments, the *kitchen* group includes ceramics, curved glass, and faunal and floral remains. By sorting a group, such as *kitchen*, by material, a comparison of specific artifact types is possible. Notable differences in the amount of animal bone, for instance, may imply the likelihood of a space having been used for the processing or consuming of animal products. For the purposes of this thesis, which is concerned with only eighteenth-century materials, known modern artifacts such as plastic fragments, wire nails, electrical insulation, asphalt, and modern coins have been excluded from total artifact counts and analytical consideration. Both contexts are highly disturbed, therefore it is questionable if all faunal remains recovered were indeed deposited during the eighteenth century. Because these are not definite modern materials, however, faunal remains will be analyzed with the understanding that at least some specimens may not reflect eighteenth-century activity.

These various categories allow for a quantitative, functional analysis that reveals patterns between the two sites. If "the key to understanding culture process lies in pattern recognition", then frequency variability studies are a helpful tool for teasing out cultural meaning on historic

sites and allowing the archaeologist to confidently ascend another step up the ladder of inferences (South 2002:31).

Findings from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard

1960

The artifact assemblage from Stanley South's 1960 excavation mirrors the variety to the types of materials found during the 2022 field school. These materials include: largely ferrous and non-ferrous metal fragments, curved bottle glass and flat window glass, kaolin pipe fragments, animal bone, and ceramic remains. Unique small finds to this excavation include: a steel-plated fork, a mouth harp fragment, shutter hooks, a cast iron pot handle, a scissors fragment, a ceramic duck head figurine, a plastic Halloween-themed toy, a large lump of tar, a metal toy gun, a mid-20th century makeup bottle and brush, and a personal mirror fragment. Such finds attest to both the site's high degree of disturbance as well as its proximity to a domicile with a long period of use. South noted in his reports that the context appeared already highly disturbed by the time of his excavation – therefore, the presence of modern plastic artifacts alongside colonial-era nails is not surprising. As South records in his second report: "The presence of such a quantity of midden on and among the rubble indicates that the ruins [of excavation unit 1] were used as a dump after the structure was in ruins" (South 1960b:5).

Ceramic sherds account for 457 out of the 1,607 total specimens recovered from Stanley South's 1960 excavation of the Palmer-Marsh House north yard. All ceramic artifacts from South's assemblage were categorized according to Miller's ceramic classification levels I-IV, which sort sherds based on their degree of decoration. Level 1 is associated with undecorated

low-cost types, while level 4 describes the most highly decorated and valuable ceramics (Table 2).

Ceramic classification level	Count	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)
I	264	58
II	39	9
III	88	19
IV	66	14
Total	**457**	**100**

Table 2: Classification levels of South's 1960 ceramic assemblage from excavation unit 1.

2022

The goal of ECU's 2022 field school in Bath was to re-examine the architecture of the eighteenth-century structure on the property to corroborate and expand upon conclusions made by Stanley South in 1960. South reached the floor of the structure within his excavation unit 1 over the course of just three weekends, aided only by a small group of hired men (South 1960d). While South's excavation methodology was systematic and professional, he did not have the time or personnel to screen his backdirt, instead prioritizing readily visible artifacts and making the architecture of the structure observable. It was possible, therefore, for the 2022 field school to collect a large amount of artifacts not recovered in 1960. A significant amount of supplemental data was retrieved and contributes to the overall ceramic analysis of the site.

Artifacts dating from the Colonial period to the present were recovered throughout the backfill. Notable small finds included: a modern penny, insulated electrical wire and ceramic insulation material, iron piping, a toy fork, a decorative fence element, a lightbulb fragment, a glass marble, a lead stick, and a knife handle. Much like the small finds recovered from South's

1960 excavation, these artifacts suggest a high degree of disturbance and association with a domestic context (the Palmer-Marsh House). The presence of modern electrical wire and insulation reflect the modernization of the Palmer-Marsh House since its original construction.

Ceramic remains make up 472 of 3,396 total artifacts recovered from the 2022 excavation of South's unit 1. Classified into Miller's levels of decoration, the 2022 assemblage yields the following results (Table 3):

Ceramic classification level	Count	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)
I	312	66
II	42	9
III	66	14
IV	52	11
Total	**472**	**100**

Table 3: Classification levels of ECU's 2022 ceramic assemblage from South's excavation unit 1.

Total ceramic finds and classifications

By combining the data from 1960 and 2022, it is revealed that level I ceramics make up a little more than 60% of the total ceramic assemblage from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard (Table 5). While level II ceramics account for only 9% of all recovered ceramics from the site, levels III and IV make up a combined 29%.

The 1960 and 2022 excavations recovered similar ceramic types from the fill of South's unit 1. Table 4 lists the ware types represented in the assemblage from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure:

Ceramic classification level	Ware type
I	• Borderware • Buckleyware • Burslem stoneware • Indian pottery • Jackfield stoneware • Manganese mottled ware • Rockingham earthenware • Undecorated slipwares, creamwares, and stonewares
II	• Annularware • Blue Edged pearlware • Nottingham stoneware • Scratch Blue stoneware • Staffordshire slipware • Whieldonware
III	• Delftware (blue-on-white and polychrome) • Hand-painted pearlware
IV	• Porcelain (English, Chinese, and Japanese) • Transfer-print refined earthenware

Table 4: Ware types represented in the Palmer-Marsh House north yard assemblage.

Ceramic classification level	Count	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)
I	576	62
II	81	9
III	154	16
IV	118	13
Total	**929**	**100**

Table 5: The total ceramic assemblage from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard, categorized according to Miller's ceramic classification levels I-IV.

Total artifacts sorted by group

Table 6 sorts all artifacts recovered from the 1960 and 2022 excavations at the Palmer-Marsh House north yard by artifact group. The *kitchen* group is further divided by material in order to show relative amounts of ceramic, kitchen glass, and faunal remains. This division is necessary for assessing the amounts of animal bone and ceramics within each context, which will help support or refute the hypothesis that the structure in the Palmer-Marsh House north yard was used as a mercantile cellar.

A majority of artifacts recovered from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard fall into the *architecture* group. The *kitchen* group follows, making up a little less than half the total artifact assemblage. Among that group, ceramic remains account for the largest percentage of the whole.

Artifact group	Count and percentage of group (rounded to nearest whole)	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)
Kitchen	2,056	45
Ceramics	954 – 46	21
Glass (curved)	781 – 38	17
Faunal	300 – 15	7
Architecture	2,275	50
Personal	18	0
Arms	5	0
Clothing/clothing related	5	0
Smoking	120	3
Unassigned/Misc.	77	2
Total	**4,556**	**100**

Table 6: The total artifact assemblage from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard, sorted by group.

Findings from the Intern House

ECU's 2009 excavation at the Intern House site revealed several details about the mercantile cellar on the property. Feature 19, the stairs leading down into the cellar, both resembled and differed from those of the Palmer-Marsh House kitchen; while the treads of the latter are long brick with short wooden ends, the treads of feature 19 are short with long wooden ends (Figure 17). In both cases, sockets at either end of the risers indicate where wood nosings were once incorporated into the staircase, as well as which surfaces were mortared.

Figure 17: The Intern House cellar's brick stairs and wood sockets (McMillan 2009).

A significant amount of lead-glazed earthenware and glass appeared as the excavation team worked through level 11 and, at level 13, artifacts dating only to the eighteenth century indicated the fill layer had been removed. Half of a barrel hoop and several strap fragments were recovered on the floor of the brick cellar (Figure 18). By the end of the 2009 excavation, the

stratigraphy visible in the southern profiles of 70N – 45-50E revealed four layers. The field notes provide a description of these layers:

"The southern profiles of 70N 45-50E reveal 4 distinct layers. The top, Zone 1, is modern humus and disturbance from the sewer pipe. Zone 2 is a medium grey-brown sandy loam fill. This overlies a rubble layer from the initial filling episode. It overlies a thin layer of floor fill. So, it looks like there were 2 fill episodes."

Figure 18: Half of a cask hoop uncovered from the cellar floor (McMillan 2009).

Total ceramic finds and classifications

Identifiable ceramic types among the assemblage from the Intern House are listed in Table 7:

Ceramic classification level	Ware type
I	• Agateware • Albany-slipped stoneware • Astbury-type earthenware • Borderware • Bristol-glazed stoneware • Buckleyware • Jackfield stoneware • Manganese mottled ware • North Devon earthenware • Undecorated slipwares, creamwares, and stonewares
II	• Annularware • Blue Edged pearlware • Scratch Blue stoneware • Staffordshire slipware
III	• Delftware (blue-on-white and polychrome)
IV	• Porcelain (English, Chinese, and Japanese) • Transfer-print refined earthenware

Table 7: Ware types represented in the Intern House assemblage.

It is revealed that 78% of ceramics recovered from the Intern House fall into Miller's classification level I, comprised of undecorated ceramics. Only 7% of the assemblage is classified under level II. Combined, levels III and IV make up 14% of the Intern House ceramic artifacts. Table 8 displays these results below:

Ceramic classification level	Count	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)
I	1,046	78
II	97	7
III	82	6
IV	111	8
Total	**1,336**	**100**

Table 8: The total ceramic assemblage from the Intern House, categorized according to Miller's ceramic classification levels I-IV.

Total artifacts sorted by group

The types of artifacts recovered from ECU's 2009 excavation at the Intern House largely mirror those found from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard. These include: various eighteenth-century ceramic ware types, cut, wire, and wrought nails, ferrous and non-ferrous metal fragments, brick, lime mortar, charcoal, animal bone, kaolin pipe stems and bowls, curved bottle glass, and flat window glass. Unique small finds to the Intern House included a dime and quarter, a rubber shoe sole, a slate tile, and a lead shot. In comparison to the Palmer-Marsh House north yard, the amount and character of these small finds don't reflect as clear use as a dump or proximity to a domestic site.

The *architecture* group makes up about two-thirds of the Intern House assemblage (Table 9). The *kitchen* group accounts for 35% of the total artifacts, represented almost equally between the three materials but led just barely by faunal remains.

Artifact group	Count and percentage of group (rounded to nearest whole)	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)
Kitchen	4,419	35
Ceramics	1336 – 30	11
Glass (curved)	1256 – 28	10
Faunal	1427 – 32	11
Architecture	7,332	58
Personal	18	0
Arms	11	0
Clothing/clothing related	16	0
Smoking	626	5
Unassigned/Misc.	145	1
Total	**12,567**	**100**

Table 9: The total artifact assemblage from the Intern House, sorted by group.

Summary

This chapter prepares the relevant data for interpretation. The following summary highlights what will be discussed and interpreted in the following chapter.

The 2022 field school exposed all present walls of the structure, along with the location of the original southern staircase and the brick western staircase. The orientation of the structure was found not to exactly mirror what South had determined in 1960 – rather, the north-south aligns more with the plan of the Palmer-Marsh house than previously thought. Several rounded holes, along with a pile of large chalky debris, were uncovered upon clearing the brick floor of the structure. A cut coin of foreign origin, made of copper alloy, helps illustrate the scarcity of currency in the colonies. In the eighteenth-century, coins were valued by their material and weight rather than denomination.

Artifacts from South's 1960 excavation in the Palmer-Marsh House north yard span from eighteenth-century objects like cut nails and colonial ceramics to modern architectural and domestic refuse. 67% of ceramics fall under Miller's classification levels I and II, while 33% fall into levels III and IV. The 2022 excavation in South's unit 1 unearthed a large amount of artifacts which also spanned from the eighteenth-century onward. 75% of these ceramics fall under Miller's classification levels I and II, while 25% fall into levels III and IV.

Considered together, 71% of the total ceramic assemblage recovered from South's unit 1 falls into Miller's classification levels I and II, while 29% fall into levels III and IV. Small finds recovered from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard from both years' excavations attest to the site's use as a dump during construction of the Palmer-Marsh House and its high degree of disturbance over the years. 45% of the total artifacts from this site fall under the *kitchen* group. 50% are classified under *architecture*. The remaining 5% are divided between the *smoking* group and the *unassigned/misc.* group.

The Intern House excavation revealed architectural similarities to the Palmer-Marsh House structure. The brick construction of the cellar and design of the staircase resembled that of the unit 1 structure, though the treads of the Intern House cellar stair are short with long wooden ends, while the Palmer-Marsh House structure displays the inverse. A barrel hoop and strap fragments recovered from atop the floor of the Intern House cellar attest to its known use as a mercantile cellar. It was revealed through stratigraphic analysis of the site that there were likely two fill episodes of the cellar, which took until level 13 out of 15 of the excavation to remove. The interior fill of the Intern House, similar to the Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure, is highly disturbed.

Of the ceramics recovered from the Intern House cellar, 84% are classified under Miller's levels I and II. The remaining 16% of ceramics fall into levels III and IV. The Intern House ceramic assemblage displayed more identifiable ceramic types among its level I ceramics than the Palmer-Marsh House structure. Of the total artifacts from the Intern House excavation, 35% fall into the *kitchen* group. The *architecture* group describes 60% of artifacts. The remaining 6% are divided between the *smoking* group and the *unassigned/misc*. group.

The following chapter will extrapolate upon these results and offer interpretations related to the consumerist environment of Bath during the eighteenth century. Of particular interest for discussion will be the architecture of the Palmer-Marsh House structure and differences between the Palmer-Marsh House north yard and Intern House assemblages on the basis of ceramic classification level. The observed differences in artifacts classified under the *kitchen* versus *architecture* groups will also be compared and interpreted.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Introduction

To reiterate the anticipated findings of this thesis, it was expected that the structure in the north yard of the Palmer-Marsh House represents a private mercantile warehouse owned by the wealthy merchant Michael Coutanche before construction of the Palmer-Marsh House itself. This hypothesis was inspired by a lack of archaeological indicators that the space was once attached to a residence, along with historical evidence that attests to Coutanche's status as a prominent merchant of the Albemarle. Through examination of the structure's architecture and by comparing its artifact assemblage with that of a known mercantile cellar in the area – the Intern House site – this hypothesis is supported. Comparison of the artifacts between sites is on the basis of their assigned group and material, as the proportions of artifacts groups (particularly *kitchen* and *architecture*) and material (specifically within the *kitchen* group) have implications as to the structure's use. While proportional similarities between groups and materials were both identified and expected between spaces operating for a similar purpose in the same physical and temporal environment, apparent differences between the cellars are reflections of their physical context within Bath town as well as the nature of their use by people of greater or lesser affluence.

The secondary hypothesis states that Miller's ceramic classification system can be used to grade ceramics from levels I (undecorated) to IV (the most costly decoration), and that this classification will reflect Coutanche's status as a wealthy merchant able to acquire higher quality merchandise in higher quantities to cater to Bath's more affluent clientele. The Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure contains a significantly higher proportion of level III and IV ceramics, while the Intern House cellar has a significantly higher concentration of level I and II

ceramics. The merchants operating out of the latter are known through historical documents to have been commoners, while Michael Coutanche is known as one of the wealthiest individuals in the Albemarle. Coutanche, therefore, could afford to procure higher-value goods for his clientele as well as higher-value goods to use himself.

Pattern recognition in historical archaeology

"*When the archaeological process of observation, analysis, and pattern recognition is completed, an explanation is invented to account for the culture process responsible for the observed patterned phenomena* (South 2002:294)".

Intersite comparisons, writes Stanley South, produce predictable empirical data ranges from which patterns can be inferred. The Carolina Artifact Pattern, therefore, is a term used to describe similarities in archaeological data gathered from British colonial households operating within a larger societal system in the Carolinas. A core tenant of South's Carolina Artifact Pattern is that the product of an activity, such as broken ceramics from a colonial kitchen, will have a consistent frequency in relation to other artifact classes produced from that kitchen, or kitchens like it in the colonial cultural system (South 1978:228). Following this logic, South claims that patterns can be derived from colonial contexts of similar common use. This research methodology can be applied when comparing both cellars at Bath – as mercantile warehouses operating in a similar time and space, similarities in artifact proportion and distribution are expected. Differences in proportion and distribution thus reflect differences in use of space, bias in preference for one type of artifact or another, and/or differences in the socioeconomic character of individuals utilizing the space and consuming those objects. Analysis of the artifacts from both contexts – depending on their similar or dissimilar use – can begin to suggest a "warehouse pattern" representative of British colonial warehouse sites. This pattern can aid

archaeologists in identifying future warehouse contexts in the colonial south, as well as providing a model to compare against warehouses or mercantile cellars in other colonial regions. Future comparative studies using this model could provide valuable information regarding consumer norms and how access to and need of certain goods differed from place to place.

Data comparison

Tables 10 and 11 compare the total dataset gathered from both sites organize by functional group. The Intern House produced significantly more artifacts than the Palmer-Marsh House north yard by about 8,000 items. The majority of artifacts from both sites were classified under the *architecture* group (50% from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard, 58% from the Intern House). The bulk of the Palmer-Marsh House north yard's artifacts were nearly evenly split between the *kitchen* and *architecture* groups (45% and 50%, respectively), while the Intern House displays a notably higher concentration of artifacts under *architecture* than *kitchen* (58% and 35%, respectively). Within the *kitchen* group, the Palmer-Marsh House north yard displays a higher percentage of ceramic artifacts (comprising 21% of the group), while the Intern House's *kitchen* group is comprised mainly of faunal remains (comprising 32% of the group). Considering the context of these two sites, which were probably employed for either strictly mercantile or both mercantile and personal storage, the *kitchen* group likely represents merchandise. Only those artifacts associated with colonial occupation of Bath in the eighteenth-century were considered during analysis.

Miller's ceramic classification revealed that while 29% of ceramics from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard fell under levels III and IV – the most valuable decorated ceramics – only 14% of the Intern House ceramic artifacts could be classified similarly.

	Palmer-Marsh House north yard		Intern House	
Artifact group	Count and percentage of group (rounded to nearest whole)	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)	Count and percentage of group (rounded to nearest whole)	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)
Kitchen total	2,056	45	4,419	35
Ceramics	954 – 46	21	1336 – 30	11
Glass (curved)	781 – 40	17	1256 – 28	10
Faunal	300 – 15	7	1427 – 32	11
Architecture	2,275	50	7,332	58
Personal	18	0	18	0
Arms	5	0	11	0
Clothing/clothing related	5	0	16	0
Smoking	120	3	626	5
Unassigned/Misc.	77	2	145	1
Total	**4,556**	**100**	**12,567**	**100**

Table 10: The total artifact assemblages from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard and the Intern House organized according to artifact group. The *kitchen* group is further divided by material.

	Palmer-Marsh House north yard		Intern House	
Ceramic classification level	Count	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)	Count	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole)
I	576	62	1,046	78
II	81	9	97	7
III	154	16	82	6
IV	118	13	111	8
Total	**929**	**100**	**1,336**	**100**

Table 11: The total ceramic assemblages from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard and the Intern House organized according to Miller's ceramic classification levels I-IV.

Two-proportion t-test of significance

Of particular interest to this analysis are the differing proportions of artifacts within the *kitchen* and *architecture* groups between sites. While we can see there is a 10% difference in the proportions of the *kitchen* group, for example, between the Palmer-Marsh House north yard and the Intern House artifact assemblages, a two-proportion t-test can be conducted to determine statistically if the difference between these two proportions is significant. For this test, a 95% confidence interval is selected ($a = 0.05$) and the null hypothesis states that there is no significant difference between the proportions of the two groups. The equation below calculates the *Z*-value for the two-proportion t-test, where $\hat{p}_n$ represents the proportion of interest, n_n the sample size, and $\hat{p}$ the overall sample proportion:

$$Z_1 = \frac{(\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2) - (p_1 - p_2)}{\sqrt{\hat{p}(1-\hat{p})(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2})}}$$

The test yields a *Z*-value of 11.88 and $p < .001$. The *Z*-value allows us to determine whether the results of the test fall within or outside the range of acceptance for our null hypothesis, while the *p* value informs us how likely it is a type I error (in which a correct null hypothesis was rejected) occurred. A *p*-value closer to 0 suggests it is unlikely a type I error occurred. The results of this test indicate we are to reject the null hypothesis and conclude there is a significant difference between the two sites' proportions of artifacts classified under the *kitchen* group. A similar test between the *architecture* groups yields a *Z*-score of 9.8 and $p < .001$, which also compels us to reject the null hypothesis. These results conclude that there is a statistically significant difference between the proportions of artifacts classified under both the

kitchen and *architecture* groups from the Palmer-Marsh north yard structure and the Intern House cellar.

A two-proportion t-test is also useful when comparing the ceramics from both sites. For this test, the ceramics classified under Miller's levels I and II will be combined and considered the less decorated group, while levels III and IV will be combined and considered the more decorated group. Running the test using the ceramics proportions for the less decorated group yields a *Z*-value of 8.6, with $p < .001$. Because the total ceramic assemblage is only split between these two groups, it is not necessary to also run the two-proportion t-test on the more decorated group, as it would yield the same answer. These results suggest the proportions of both groups' more and less decorated ceramics differ significantly. Between the two sites of interest, therefore, the Palmer-Marsh House north yard cellar housed a greater number of more decorated ceramics which attests to the ability of its owner to purchase more valuable goods in greater quantities.

Conclusions

After comparing the data visually and running tests of statistical significance, it is revealed that the Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure has a significantly higher proportion of *kitchen* artifacts and a significantly lower proportion of *architecture* artifacts than the Intern House cellar. It is also determined that the ceramic assemblage from the Palmer-Marsh House north yard contains a significantly lower concentration of less decorated ceramics and a significantly higher concentration of highly decorated ceramic than the Intern House site.

It is surprising that the Palmer-Marsh House north yard site – having been used as a dump during construction of the Palmer-Marsh House itself – would not contain more

architectural debris than the Intern House cellar, which does not abut any similarly large historic structures. It is possible that the site's use as a dump area did not produce as concentrated waste as the Intern House site's two phases of fill; if South's excavation unit 1 were used as a private dump area close to a domicile, the Intern House site was perhaps subject to the waste of multiple groups disposing of largely non-domestic refuse in two major phases, resulting in a higher concentration of architectural materials. The Intern House cellar contained significantly more artifacts than the Palmer-Marsh House north yard site as well, attesting to the historical knowledge that the cellar was used by multiple merchants and suggesting more individuals had access to the site as a dump after its primary use period.

The results of the ceramic analysis align with the hypothesis that the Palmer-Marsh House north yard site would contain a higher number and proportion of highly decorated ceramics than the Intern House. This outcome suggests that a significant quantity of more valuable ceramics were being sold and stored at the Palmer-Marsh House north yard site, supporting the idea that Michael Coutanche was able and/or had incentive to procure more costly goods than the common merchants operating out of the Intern House cellar. These results will be revisited after discussion of both sites' architecture, which will help suggest the function of the structure in the Palmer-Marsh House north yard.

Determining function of the Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure

Architecture of the Intern House cellar

The Intern House cellar resembles that of the Palmer-Marsh House north yard in multiple ways. As already stated, the brick staircases are of similar design but slightly different execution, with long brick treads with short wooden ends in South's unit 1 but short treads with long

wooden ends in the Intern House cellar. The stairs and walls of the Intern House cellar are constructed of brick, while its floor was likely wood-planked (Figures 19 and 20). While ballast stones were readily available in a colonial port town for construction, bricks were more expensive and harder to come by. Why, then, is the Intern House cellar full of brick while the Palmer-Marsh north yard structure only paved? Functionally, brick or stone lining in any sort of subterranean structure would have improved cleanliness and helped bolster the dirt walls. Bath's dense clay subsoil would have promoted insulation and helped to keep humidity conditions within the underground space at ideal levels for storage of goods or crops; therefore, lining of either stone or brick was likely for aesthetics and cleanliness. It is possible that the Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure originally sported ballast-stone walls and a floor of packed earth, only adding the current pavement once it was necessary to move the original staircase and bricks were acquired both for the floor and staircase.

Lauren McMillan posits the following hypothesis as to why both structures are lined with different materials from a non-functional perspective in her blog detailing the 2009 excavation:

"So, one of the questions I am asking, is why would a communal warehouse be constructed in a way that would require the most bricks, or even with bricks at all? Why not make a generic post-in ground or sill set building? My initial thoughts on this are that because it is right on Front Street, right in front of the first port in North Carolina and that most of the visitors to Bath were merchants, this was a way of advertising to the rest of the world that Bath was a cool place to live. Bath was a fairly new town when the building was constructed in the 1720s, and the community would have wanted to encourage immigration and one of the best ways to do that was to show that the town had the money to burn on bricks" (McMillan 2009).

In a recent excavation conducted by Barile and Maroney in 2019 on a nineteenth-century icehouse, Hugh Mercer, a wealthy storeowner in Fredericksburg, Virginia, utilized his own wealth to improve upon his house and its associated outbuildings as a status indicator. As the wharf area along Water Street transformed from a work yard into a public venue in the nineteenth century, Mercer became aware of the increased visibility of his property (Barile and Maroney 2019:44). He constructed a modern icehouse for private use as a symbol of his relative success and wealth. This icehouse had walls over 2 feet thick, constructed at slight angle with the lower courses canted inward so that the building had the shape of an inverted cone (Barile and Maroney 2019:46). The structure's stones were laid with a combination of lime and mud mortar.

While the Intern House cellar was not constructed in the same way as Mercer's icehouse, his apparent reasoning for constructing as fine an outbuilding as he did may lend credit to McMillan's thesis. By constructing the mercantile cellar in Bath out of brick, it would signal to other merchants and immigrants that Bath was a successful port worthy of investment.

Figure 19: West-facing shot of the excavated Intern House cellar (McMillan 2009).

Figure 20: A birds-eye view of the excavated Intern House cellar (McMillan 2009).

Architecture of the Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure

In order to evaluate farm buildings – and other associated outbuildings – archaeologically, consideration of site form and construction must go hand-in-hand with awareness of a structure's chronology and location (Lanier and Herman 1997:177). The stark difference in climate from Europe to the Chesapeake necessitated a reconfiguration of housing and outbuilding arrangements from what English colonists were used to (Linebaugh 1994:1). Of utmost importance was ensuring facilities needed for food storage and processing removed heat, vermin, bad odors, and promoted a comfortable work setup, health, and long-term storage conditions. Archaeology from domestic sites in Virginia and Maryland suggest that separate buildings were being erected to serve as stores, barns, workhouses, cellars, icehouses, and animal sheds by about 1620 (Linebaugh 1994:9).

The colonial building tradition in the Chesapeake region is closely associated with pier foundation supports (Lanier and Herman 1997:63). Piers may be constructed from stumps, stacked bricks, stones, concrete blocks, cast cement pilings, or a combination of such materials. They are usually found in the corners of a structure to raise the building and its wood floor off the moist ground. This same pattern is found in Colonial structures in the south, in areas where buildings needed to be raised up and away from wet soils. Piers are often found supporting outbuildings like granaries, sheds, and dairies (Lanier and Herman 1997:63). Some structures, however, didn't require the use of piers. Subterranean constructions, such as the below ground level root cellar, were "specifically adapted to farms with level lands that have no hills or embankments available…sometimes known as a field root cellar or prairie root cellar" (Gage 2012:61). These buildings were formed by digging a pit or trench at least six feet deep, supported by stone or brick lining if the natural soil was not stiff enough to support itself (Gage 2012:61).

Stanley South hypothesized in 1960 that the structure in the north yard of the Palmer-Marsh house represented the remains of a residence, likely belonging to Michael Coutanche. Based on the results of ECU's 2022 excavation, there is insufficient architectural evidence to support such a conclusion. No footings were exposed in the corners of the structure, which one would expect to find for elevating a floor above the damp ground surface, nor was there any evidence of a hearth. Once the interior had been entirely cleaned out, it became apparent that the space was only dug about 4 feet below the surface. A subterranean pit atop which the floor of a residence stood would need to be dug closer to 6 feet below the surface to provide adequate room for movement beneath the house. This evidence supports the identification of the structure in the north yard as the remains of a dairy or root cellar, rather than a residence. In this case, there would not have been a floor above the cellar itself. The structure may have only extended

a couple of feet about the ground surface but would have allowed people to stand upright once they descended to the floor (Figure 21). Because the brick pavement doesn't underlie the stone wall, the floor of the cellar may have been paved at a later time when the western brick staircase was constructed – though this theory may not be confirmed by the current archaeological evidence alone.

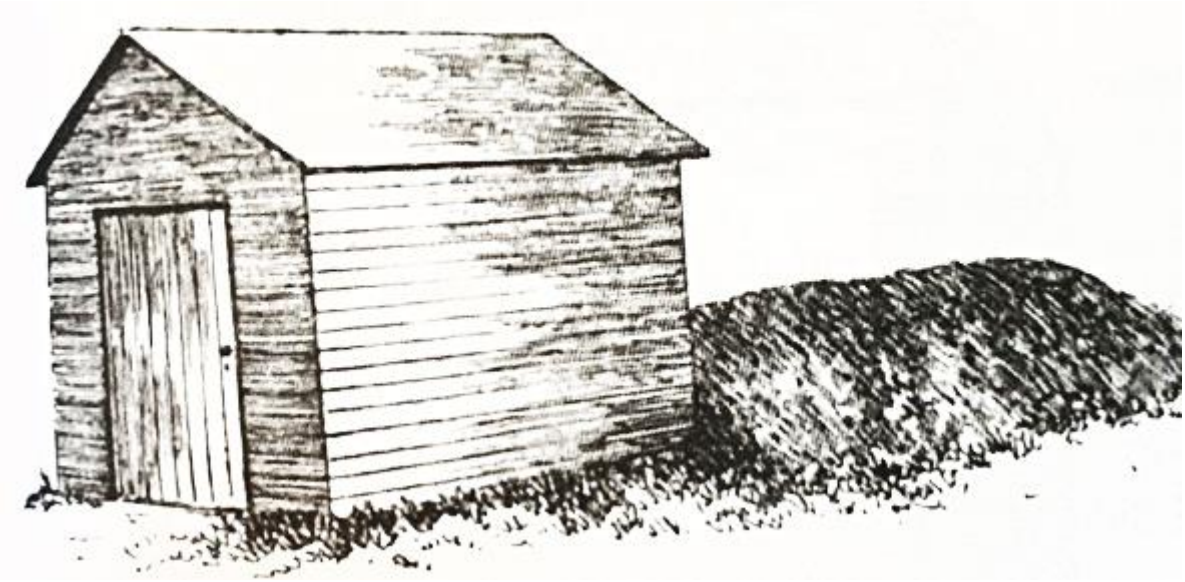

Figure 21: A structure built over a stairway leading down into a root cellar or dairy, like what may have been the case in the Palmer-Marsh House north yard (Gage 2012:113).

The southern colonies not only had to worry about temperature, but humidity during the summer months (Gage 2012:2). Keeping goods over the summer and winter required engineering solutions inspired by Native American practices. The "root cellar" – or structure used for long-term food and crop storage – refers to a variety of subfloor pits, full height cellars, field root pits, and free-standing buildings which all served as proto-refrigerators (Gage 2012:1). Dairies and cideries are among several specialized structures used to keep and process specific foods, though most of these below-ground or partially below-ground buildings were multi-use

(Gage 2012:1). Root cellars were common on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century farmsteads (Maryland Agriculture Research Center, 2018). Packed soil acts as a natural insulator, meaning root cellars could stay cool in the summer and above freezing in the winter. Food was not only preserved for personal consumption – merchants used root cellars by the middle of the nineteenth century for storing crops until the winter, when they could be sold for higher prices (Maryland Agriculture Research Center, 2018). Michael Coutanche could have employed the structure in the Palmer-Marsh House north yard, therefore, as a cellar used for either personal and business purposes or as strictly a mercantile space.

The icehouse was another common feature of many middle-to-upper class domestic properties in the eighteenth century. Because of their necessary depth and the intricacy of their architecture, few of these outbuildings are explored in depth archaeologically (Barile and Maroney 2019:38). Early attempts to construct icehouses in Virginia were not often successful – the technology required to keep conditions optimal and consistent for ice storage was difficult to execute (Barile and Maroney 2019:42). Thomas Jefferson himself did not construct an operational icehouse at Monticello until 1802, after observing those in southern France. Thomas Moore published an essay the next year detailing successful European building designs, in which he describes the most preferable construction for an icehouse: "The most favourable situation is a north hill side near the top. On such a site open a pit twelve feet square at top, ten at bottom, and eight or nine ft. deep" (Moore 1803, from Barile and Maroney 2019:42). It was after this essay published that such buildings became commonplace on residential properties and plantations. This information highlights two main issues with identifying the structure in the Palmer-Marsh House north yard as an icehouse. The first is the timeline of construction – if Thomas Jefferson was not able to have a functional icehouse in Virginia until the nineteenth century, it seems

unlikely Michael Coutanche could have pulled off such an architectural feat nearly a century prior. Furthermore, the depth of the structure is quite shallow. If an ideal icehouse, according to Thomas Moore, should be dug around eight or nine feet into the ground, the Palmer-Marsh House structure should be about twice as deep as it is. For these reasons, it is more likely that the structure functioned as an independent cellar rather than a residential attachment or an icehouse.

There are two working hypotheses that aim to explain the hole features in the cellar's brick paving (see Figure 15). The first is that they represent areas where South and his men, working quickly, accidentally broke through the floor without realizing. The second hypothesis states that these were holes intentionally dug into the floor to improve drainage and moisture control within the cellar.

South worked with four men to excavate unit 1 over the course of three weekends (South 1960b:1). In order to move such a large amount of dirt in such a short period, the excavators surely worked quickly and thoroughly inside unit 1. It is plausible that, upon reaching the floor of the cellar, South's men mistook the pavement for brick fill overlying the floor, leaving behind shovel-width holes in the base of unit 1. The holes are not at regular intervals, nor does their arrangement make sense as evidence for support beams or shelving. Three of the holes are about equal in diameter and depth, while a fourth smaller one to the north is noticeably smaller. A fifth hole near the foot of the western staircase is identified in Figure 15, however it is questionable whether this is indeed a purposeful feature or merely a scar in the cellar floor.

The soil of the area, visible in the north wall profile of Figure 12, starts as a dark, sandy loam before transitioning into yellow clay. This clay would have trapped moisture in the cellar, creating unfavorable conditions for storing any perishable goods. Because summer humidity was a concern for southern colonists, these holes in the pavement could have been intentionally

placed to promote air flow and water dispersal in the clay-lined pit (Gage 2012:2). It is not clear how much sump holes would have helped dispel moisture trapped in this cellar – as the dense clay beneath the brick floor and behind the stone walls would not have been conducive to a dry, properly refrigerated environment. Features 7 and 8 were further excavated to reveal artifacts within the holes themselves. The soil is disturbed in these holes to a depth of about 0.2'. The artifacts from these features are likely to have been placed by backfill. Based on current evidence, it seems more likely that these holes were accidentally created by South's excavation team in 1960 than purposefully dug into the cellar floor.

The north end of the site posed a few challenging questions: Was there ever a north wall to the cellar? Why would only three out of four walls have been lined with ballast stone? What is the nature of the large pile of unslaked lime above the floor in the northeast corner? Based on the stratigraphy revealed in Figure 12, it is clear by the undisturbed soil at the end of the brick pavement that no wall was placed on the north end. There may have been plans to expand the cellar at a later date, prompting builders to leave the north wall open but enclose the rest of the cellar. The large pile of unslaked lime in the corner of the structure did not show evidence of having been mortared, and, according to South, "did not extend higher than the top edge of the undisturbed level of the subsoil clay" (South 1960c:2). In this same report, South suggests that the lime lumps were piled "as if to cover the face of the subsoil clay wall" (South 1960c:2). While it is plausible that these lime lumps were placed intentionally near the wall as a kind of curtain, they may have also been the remains of construction material from the Palmer-Marsh house itself. This latter explanation seems more likely, due to the prolific presence of other construction debris recovered from unit 1.

Figure 13, drawn in 1960, shows the angle of the cellar in relation to the Palmer-Marsh house according to Stanley South. It was found upon closer investigation in 2022 that only the east wall exhibits as dramatic an angle as South originally recorded, while the remaining two walls are oriented more in line with the Palmer-Marsh House (see Figure 14). This realization will help create a more accurate map of the site in relation to the Palmer-Marsh house, and suggests that, contrary to South's assertion in 1960, that lot line orientation at Bath may not have shifted between the construction of Coutanche's cellar and the erection of the Palmer-Marsh House.

The results of the artifact analysis revealed that the Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure exhibits a significantly higher proportion of *kitchen* artifacts and a lower proportion of *architecture* artifacts than the Intern House cellar. As stated earlier, the Palmer-Marsh House north yard site did not appear to produce as concentrated waste as the Intern House site. It is hypothesized that this difference is due to the private versus shared nature of both contexts; where the Palmer-Marsh House site was employed as a private dump area close to a domicile, the Intern House site was used by multiple groups, who likely disposed of largely non-domestic refuse (or refuse preferable to keep away from the domestic sphere) in two major phases, resulting in a higher concentration of architectural materials. Within the *kitchen* group, the Palmer-Marsh north yard structure had a higher proportion of ceramics, then glass, then faunal remains, while the Intern House cellar had a higher proportion of faunal, then ceramics, then glass remains. Between groups, it was expected for each context to display a small amount of faunal remains as indicators of non-domestic use. The higher concentration of faunal refuse in the Intern House cellar may be for the same reason that it displays more architectural remains than the Palmer-Marsh north yard structure: it is preferable to keep large amounts of architectural

and animal refuse away from the home, as these materials are either quite bulky when produced in large quantities over a short period of time, or run the risk of becoming odorous and attracting pests when left in substantial quantities. Artifacts from the other functional groups have similar percentages between both contexts.

Comparison of the artifact assemblages in conjunction with the similar architecture of both sites support the conclusion that the Palmer-Marsh House north yard structure is not a residence, but more likely a private cellar used for both mercantile and personal use based on architectural and artifact similarities. The differences between each structure's architecture and artifact assemblages may be largely due to their private versus shared nature, desire to express status, and the nature of each site's unique post-use artifact deposition events.

Determining status through ceramics

Analysis of the ceramic assemblages from both sites through Miller's leveled decoration classifications and with the two-proportion t-test supports the hypothesis that the Palmer-Marsh House north yard site contains a higher number and proportion of highly decorated ceramics than the Intern House. This analysis suggests that more valuable ceramics, defined as those attributable to levels III and IV, were being utilized and stored at the Palmer-Marsh House north yard site. While the highly disturbed nature of the site limits the degree to which we can derive trustworthy information from artifacts alone, knowledge that Michael Coutanche was one of the region's wealthiest citizens supports the idea that he was able and/or had incentive to procure more costly goods than the common merchants operating out of the Intern House cellar.

To reiterate, the major material difference between middle- and upper-class consumers was not so much gaps in the *quality* of objects purchased, but rather their ability to purchase

smaller or larger *quantities* of those desirable goods (Baugher and Venables 1987:38). Thus, Coutanche and the several merchants operating out of both cellars do not only represent individuals active in the business of selling goods to others, but as consumers themselves. This has implications for how we can assume the wealthy of Bath, and the Albemarle, lived in contrast to the common colonist. The ability to procure larger amounts of desirable objects like oriental porcelain also indicates an increased degree of freedom within a capitalist economic system. Michael Coutanche could purchase highly decorated, exotic ceramics that may have served the same purpose as a simple North Devon teapot, yet which symbolize his ability to purchase property, to access material goods, and to engage in society in a way the average person could not.

It is known that wealth is regularly passed through generations and affects not only the individuals who accumulate it in their lifetime, but their offspring as well: "the existence of rights to inheritance of productive material resources has enormous consequences and enables the rich to get richer on previously unimaginable scales, for a variety of reasons" (Shennan 2011). Thus, the results of this investigation at Bath reflect how archaeological remains can reflect differences in status that have larger implications for the lives of individuals in the past, as well as their lineages today.

A suggested "warehouse pattern" of refuse and future research

While significant differences in the amount and character of the remains found between both contexts were unearthed, there are notable factors which acted on the site formation processes of either cellar which affect the archaeological assemblages. Differences in the status of the individuals employing each structure, the number of merchants operating out of each

structure, each context's proximity to domestic space, and the nature of each site's post-use role as a dump each contribute to the archaeological context visible today.

These excavations only begin to suggest a "warehouse pattern" of refuse for mercantile contexts on southern colonial sites. While more data from preferably undisturbed contexts are needed to compare sites and fully develop a pattern with a meaningful sample size, it is nonetheless helpful to point out similarities between both cellars which may guide identification of similar sites in the future. Both structures have a combined 5% makeup of artifacts classified under the *unassigned/misc.* and *smoking* groups. This lack of *smoking* group refuse – which is quite common on domestic historic sites – points to a lack of leisure opportunity or activity happening within these contexts that would necessitate smoking. For comparison, ongoing excavation at the Brunswick Town tavern site has unearthed more than 3,000 pipe fragments, while the Intern House structure has produced around 600. To the limited degree this evidence alone can suggest, such cellars could be described as get-in-and-get-out type venues.

Although both sites are disturbed, it is reasonable to claim that other historic cellar contexts have gone through a period of use as a dump site after being abandoned. Thus, it is useful to detail here what artifacts are represented between the Intern House and Palmer-Marsh House north yard disturbed historic cellar sites. A negligible amount of other functional group types are represented in the cellars apart from *architecture*, *kitchen*, *smoking*, and *unassigned/misc*. The lack of artifacts attributable to the *personal* group speaks to the nature of these cellars as business venues – similarly, where the *kitchen* group on a domestic site would reflect items involved in the processing and production of food, here it is more a description of merchandise which would then have been taken to the home. Both sites exhibit mostly architectural remains, with a smaller yet still large amount of kitchen refuse. On other sites

which share a similar background to either of these contexts, it may also be expected that about 95% of the archaeological assemblage can be classified under *architecture* and *kitchen*. Which of these groups holds the larger share of artifacts may be influenced by a site's unique formation history and physical context within a larger township.

It has been shown that the architecture of such sites is subject to variation as well. While both staircases and floors to each cellar were constructed of brick (a relatively valuable material in this context), the Palmer-Marsh north yard cellar displays walls of unlaid ballast stone. Apart from providing a practical solution for cleanliness and aesthetics, the actual materials used to construct a cellar may depend on the desire of the user to signal their own success and attract business to their area. While the Intern House cellar could have been the result of a business investment by multiple merchants to increase their social capital, the Palmer-Marsh House north yard cellar did not need to speak as loudly. Michael Coutanche himself already possessed a high degree of popularity as a politician and businessman, and these accolades surely preceded him without the need for a display of an entirely brick cellar. Other such features in early colonial port towns may be influenced by their visibility to passing merchants and immigrants, or by the need of an individual or group to signal their own success. While a fully developed pattern for colonial mercantile cellar sites is beyond the scope of this research, this investigation is a necessary step forward in the development of such a pattern that would contribute to the larger body of research on the archaeology of consumerism.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The 2022 re-excavation of Stanley South's unit 1 in the north yard of the Palmer-Marsh House revealed significant architectural similarities to the Intern House site. Both structures were dug at a similar depth and exhibit nearly identical brick staircases. What materials each cellar was constructed of, however, differed; while the Palmer-Marsh structure has a brick staircase and floor with un-mortared ballast stone walls, The Intern House cellar has walls and stairs of brick. Its floor was either flatpacked earth or wood that has since degraded. Holes in the floor of South's unit 1 were likely accidental scars left by his excavation team as they worked rapidly over the course of only a few weekends. There may have been plans to finish the cellar during its use which never panned out, reflected in the lack of a north wall. Overall, these architectural features help identify the Palmer-Marsh north yard structure as a cellar used for mercantile or mixed mercantile/personal storage.

Similarities in artifact types and functional group proportions between both contexts also support the hypothesis that the Palmer-Marsh House north yard cellar served a similar purpose to that of the Intern House site. 95% of all recovered artifacts from either site could be classified under the *architecture* and *kitchen* groups. For the purposes of this analysis, the *kitchen* group likely represents merchandise. Differing proportions of *kitchen*- versus *architecture*-associated artifacts are likely to do with contextual differences between sites. The Palmer-Marsh House north yard cellar was employed by only one merchant and was likely used as a private dump site during construction of the house itself; however, multiple individuals operated out of the Intern House cellar, and its more accessible location in town could mean it was employed as a dump site by many. Furthermore, the stratigraphy from the Intern House site excavation suggests two major fill episodes. These episodes could be reflections of multiple townspeople discarding large

amounts of refuse undesirable to have near the domestic space (e.g. architectural debris, faunal remains) at once. A lack of *personal*- or *smoking*-related artifacts attests to the nature of these venues as places of business rather than for leisure or personal use.

Analysis of ceramic remains using Miller's ceramic classification and scaling technique revealed that the Palmer-Marsh House north yard cellar assemblage contains both a greater count and a significantly higher proportion of highly-decorated ceramics than the Intern House site. To reiterate, the price of different ceramic types related directly to how they were decorated (Miller 1980:3). By determining that the Palmer-Marsh north yard cellar contained a significantly higher quantity of highly-decorated ceramics, therefore, it is possible to infer that the wealthy merchant Michael Coutanche was able to afford and provide commodities representative of higher status to Bath's affluent clientele. While some decorative types of ceramics were affordable to the working class, others could only be acquired by the very wealthy (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1984:33). It is likely that economic inequality in the American British colonies increased through time; therefore, the ceramic assemblages of these two warehouse contexts reflect visible evidence of social stratification through the material holdings of everyday people as early as the turn of the eighteenth century (Lindert and Williamson 2014:28).

These findings from Bath carry a few implications. The results of ceramic analysis using Miller's technique reveal how material distinctions between rich and poor were apparent early in American history and have only amplified since. This knowledge helps relate wealth-based lifestyle differences in the past to those visible now in the present. The second point is that, with more data from more sites along the east coast, it may be possible to suggest a "warehouse pattern" of refuse helpful for the identification of colonial mercantile cellar contexts. Comparison of these refuse patterns with those from eighteenth-century domestic sites in Bath

may further highlight differences in site function and socio-economic status. While both cellars examined in this study were highly disturbed, even this is useful to note for future investigations, as it's likely similar sites were also used as dumping grounds once they fell out of commission. While it is difficult to generalize about economic growth in British America using historical sources due to the multifaceted nature of economic production and efficiency and the complex factors which determine "wealth", future archaeological investigations focused on the socioeconomics of individual communities can aid in providing a more holistic picture of how wealth was distributed and spent in British America.

REFERENCES CITED

Barrile, Kerri S. and Sean P. Maroney. (2019). Left Out in the Cold: Archaeology of the Sentry Box Ice House and the Ice Business in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Northeast Historical Archaeology 48 (4):38-58. Electronic document, https://orb.binghamton.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1518&context=neha, accessed January 2023.

Baugher, Sherene, and Robert W. Venables. (1987). Ceramics as Indicators of Status and Class in Eighteenth-Century New York. Essay. *In* Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology. Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, ed. Pp. 31–51. New York, NY: Plenum

Bloch, L. (2011). An archaeological study of common coarse earthenware in the eighteenth century Chesapeake (thesis).

Boyd, Cliff.(editor) 1993 North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources Historic Sites Southeastern Archaeological Conference Vol. 35 No. 2:3-4.

Butler, Lindley S. (2018). North Carolina 1718: the year of the pirates. The North Carolina Historical Review, 95(2), 125-146.

Cole, Arthur H. (1959). The Business History Review, Vol. 33, No. 3. "The Tempo of Mercantile Life in Colonial America.". 277-299.

Cross, Jerry L. (1976). Department Cultural Resources Historic Sites Library. Raleigh, North Carolina. Historical Research Report for the Palmer-Marsh House, Bath, North Carolina.

Davis, R. (1962). English Foreign Trade, 1700-1774. *The Economic History Review*, *15*(2), 285–

303. https://doi.org/10.2307/2598999.

Deetz, James. *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*. Anchor Books, 1996.

Einaudi, L. (2014, November). German thalers from the Renaissance to the Münzverein and the German mark. Centre for history and economics. Retrieved January 23, 2023, from https://www.histecon.magd.cam.ac.uk/coins_nov2014.html

Falls, E. (2013). Excavations in the north yard of the Palmer-Marsh House, Bath, North Carolina.

Fenn, E. A., Wood, P. H., Watson, H. L., Clayton, T. H., Nathans, S., Parramore, T. C., & Anderson, J. B. (2003). *The Way We Lived in North Carolina*. (J. A. Mobley, Ed.). Published in association with the Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Dept. of Cultural Resources, by the University of North Carolina Press.

Flood, Lindsay N.. (January 2012). Archaeological Survey of Historic Bath: Locating the Early Eighteenth-Century Colonial Settlements in North Carolina's First Town (Master's Thesis, East Carolina University).

Gage, J. E. (2009). Root cellars in America: Their history, design and construction, 1609-1920. Powwow River Books.

Gallman, Robert E. (1979). Comment. Journal of Economic History, (39)1, 311-312.

Gibbs, James G. (1996). The Archaeology of Wealth: Consumer Behavior in English America. Springer New York.

Greene, Lorenzo J. “Slave Occupations.” Essay. In *The Negro in Colonial New England: 1620-1776*, 100–123. Eastford, CT: Martino Fine Books, 2017.

Historic American Buildings Survey, C., Coutanche, M., O’Connell, Z.U., Palmer, R., Marsh, J., Waterman, T. T. & McDonald, M., Biggs, A. A. & Boucher, J. E., photographer. (1933). Palmer-Marsh House, Main Street, Bath, Beaufort County, NC. Beaufort County North Carolina Bath, 1933. Documentation Compiled After. [Photograph] Retrieved from the Library of Congress. *Historical Review, 13*(4), 273-289.

Hookway-Jones, G.; Brooks, Baylus. "Boundaries for Port Bath - August 1, 1716." Base map: Edward Moseley's 1733 map of North Carolina, provided courtesy of Joyner Library, East Carolina University. Boundary data: Merrens, 1964. Annotated by G. Hookway-Jones and Baylus C. Brooks.

Lanier, G. M., & Herman, B. L. (1997). Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lee, E. L. (1952). Old Brunswick, the story of a colonial town. The North Carolina Historical Review, 29(2), 230–245.

Lindert, P., & Williamson, J. (2014). American colonial incomes, 1650-1774. National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), 1–46. https://doi.org/10.3386/w19861.

Linebaugh, D. W. (1994). "all the annoyances and inconveniences of the country": Environmental factors in the development of outbuildings in the Colonial Chesapeake. Winterthur Portfolio, 29(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1086/496641

McCraw, T. A. (1999, October 12). It came in the first ships: Capitalism in America. HBS Working Knowledge. Retrieved October 26, 2022, from https://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/it-came-in-the-first-ships-capitalism-in-america

McCusker, J. J., & Menard, R. R. (1985). The Economy of British America: 1607-1789. The University of North Carolina Press.

McLaughlin, Erin E. 2012 Palmer-Marsh Site Report. East Carolina University. (unpublished).

McMillan, L. (2009, May 28). Adventures in the field: archaeology at Historic Bath, NC | Blog posts 1-6. *Preservation in Pink.* https://preservationinpink.wordpress.com/2009/07/10/adventures-in-the-field-week-6/

Miller, G. L. (1980). Classification and economic scaling of 19th century ceramics. Historical Archaeology, 14(1), 1–40. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf03373454.

Moll, Herman. "Carolina." Map. 1729. North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. North Carolina Maps. https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/ncmaps/id/355

Moore, Thomas. (1803). *An Essay on the most Eligible Construction of Ice-Houses*. Bonsal & Niles, Baltimore, MD. The History of Waterford Virginia <https://www.waterfordhistory.org/history/waterford-ice-houses.htm>.

Mullens, Nancy J.. (September 2010). Did John Lawson Sleep Here?: An Investigation of Lots

Five and Six in Historic Bath, North Carolina (Master's Thesis, East Carolina University).

NC Historic Sites (n.d.). Retrieved July 22, 2022, from https://historicsites.nc.gov/all-sites/historic-bath/history/palmer-marsh-house. https://doi.org/10.1086/496602.

Paschal, H.R. (1955). Edwards and Broughton Company, Raleigh, North Carolina. A History of Colonial Bath. 1-69.

Perkins., E.J. (1988). 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press. The Economy of Colonial America.

Price, J. M. (1989). What Did Merchants Do? Reflections on British Overseas Trade, 1660-1790. The Journal of Economic History, 49(2), 267–284. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2124062

Root cellar. Maryland Agricultural Resource Council. (n.d.). Retrieved December 1, 2022, from https://marylandagriculture.org/root-cellar/

Shennan, Stephen. (2011). Property and wealth inequality as cultural niche construction. The Royal Society, 366(1566). https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0309.

Smith, S. D. (1998). The Market for Manufactures in the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1698-1776. *The Economic History Review*, *51*(4), 676–708. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2599568

South, S.

(1960a). Progress report no. 1: the exploratory excavation in the yard to the north of the

Palmer House in Bath, North Carolina. Report on file, North Carolina Historic Sites Section, Archaeology Branch, Raleigh.

(1960b). Progress report no. 2: the exploratory excavation in the yard to the north of the Palmer House in Bath, North Carolina. Report on file, North Carolina Historic Sites Section, Archaeology Branch, Raleigh.

(1960c). Progress report no. 3: the exploratory excavation in the yard to the north of the Palmer House in Bath, North Carolina. Report on file, North Carolina Historic Sites Section, Archaeology Branch, Raleigh.

(1960d). Final progress report, no. 4: the exploratory excavation in the yard to the north of the Palmer House in Bath, North Carolina. Report on file, North Carolina Historic Sites Section, Archaeology Branch, Raleigh.

(1978). Pattern recognition in historical archaeology. American Antiquity, 43(2), 223–230. https://doi.org/10.2307/279246.

(2002). *Method and Theory in Historical Archeology*. Eliot Werner Publications. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2sx9g77

Spencer-Wood, S. M., & Heberling, S. D. (1984). Ceramics and socio-economic statues of the Green Family, Windsor, Vermont. Northeast Historical Archaeology, 13(1), 33–52. https://doi.org/10.22191/neha/vol13/iss1/5

Stern, S. Miklos , Allan, . John , Sutherland, . Carol Humphrey Vivian , Avila-Martel, . Alamiro

de , Sellwood, . David Grenville John and Breen, . Walter Henry (2019, February 18). *coin*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/topic/coin

Tilley, Nannie May. (1936). Industries of colonial Granville county. *The North Carolina*

Tryon, R. M. (1966). *Household manufactures in the United States: 1640-1860*. Augustus M. Kelley.

Walton, Gary M., and Hugh Rockoff. "Chapter 3: Colonial Economic Activities." Essay. In *History of the American Economy*, 44–58. Boston: Cengage, 2018.

Watson, Alan D. (1973). Society and economy in colonial Edgecombe county. The North Carolina Historical Review, 50(3), 231-255.

Wells, C. (1993). The Planter's Prospect: Houses, outbuildings, and rural landscapes in

Woodruff, N. E. (1992). The Transition to Capitalism in America [Review of The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860, by C. Clark]. Reviews in American History, 20(2), 168–174. https://doi.org/10.2307/2703096

APPENDIX: FORMS

ECU Archaeology Laboratory

Level Data Form

Date:_____ Site Name/Number:_____

Unit Number:_____Unit Dimensions:_____Zone_____Level_____

Elevations: NE_____NW_____SE_____SW_____CTR_____

Recorder:_____Excavators:_____

EXCAVATION TECHNIQUE:

DESCRIPTION – REMARKS:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

FS CATALOG NUMBERS (artifacts, flotation, etc.)

FS:_____CONTENTS_____

FS:_____CONTENTS_____

FS:_____CONTENTS_____

FS:_____CONTENTS_____

PHOTOS _____

ECU Archaeology Laboratory

Feature Data Form

Date:_____ Site Name/Number:_____

Feature Number:_____Excavation Unit: _____Zone_____Level_____

Length_____Width_____ Elevations: Top_____Base_____

Recorder:_____Excavator(s):_____

EXCAVATION TECHNIQUE:

DESCRIPTION – REMARKS:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

FS CATALOG NUMBERS (field specimen, flotation, etc.)

FS:_____CONTENTS_____

FS:_____CONTENTS_____

FS:_____CONTENTS_____

FS:_____CONTENTS_____

PHOTOS _____

ECU Archaeology Laboratory

Field Specimen Catalog

Site Name _____Site Supervisor_____

FS#	Unit	Provenience	Excavator	Date	# Bags	Status

ECU Archaeology Laboratory

Photo Log

Site Name____

Camera Type____

Photo #	Photographer	Date	Direction	Description

Database Structure for ECU Archaeology Lab

Accession:	The number assigned to a particular artifact collection for curation purposes.
Site:	Tri-nomial site number assigned by the state.
Unit/FS:	Context of the artifacts; generally the F.S. number.
Count:	Number of artifacts (quantity) to be entered into the individual record.
Group:	Functional categories following South (1972), or use list of categories from Colonial Williamsburg or self-define.
Class:	This category can be used in two different ways. For complete objects, a descriptive term describing the artifact (e.g. nail). You may want to have a code list so everyone is calling an artifact by the same name. If the object is not complete (i.e. ceramic sherds), it should be cataloged as fragment. While the class category loosely follows South categories, actual form descriptions are unnecessary (unless the vessel is complete) at the inventory level, due to increased processing time and skill required to discriminate larger objects from small fragments (i.e. bowls from cups). Class descriptions are based on the Form category from Williamsburg.
Material:	Defines what an artifact is made of (e.g. ceramic, glass , iron, etc.).
Type:	For ceramics this category would be where distinctions between Pearlware and Creamware are made. For glass, curved vs. flat. Nails and other fasteners should be classified as wrought , cut , or wire. Similar to South's and Williamsburg's Ware category.
Variety:	This would apply to specific clusters of attributes which define a commonly identified subtype of artifact category. These attributes can reflect a combination of decorative traits (e.g. Staffordshire for Slipware,).
Color:	Color of artifact or primary decoration. If the ceramic is red paste with a white slip, the color should be white.
Element:	Refers to something other than a body fragment (i.e. rim, base, handle).
Decoration:	The primary decorative element for the artifact (i.e. overglaze, check-stamped. Note: sometimes there is overlap with variety category.
Weight:	Weight (usually in grams) of artifact(s).
Dimensions:	Usually linear measurements (e.g. length of nail) or can be used for pipestem bore diameters, etc..
Remarks	For the inclusion of any pertinent information that doesn't fit the other categories (i.e. maker's marked, burned, cross-mend).