Abstract

Wesley R. Willoughby. REVISITING THE PUBLIC STRUCTURE ARTIFACT PATTERN: CULTURAL PATTERNING AT TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GOVERNMENT SITES. (Under the direction of Dr. Charles R. Ewen) Department of Anthropology, May 2007.

This thesis presents a comparison of the artifact assemblages from two eighteenth century government sites: Delaware's Old State House of 1787 located in Dover, Delaware; and The Chowan County Courthouse of 1767 located in Edenton, North Carolina. The main purpose of this comparison is to test the validity of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern first proposed in 1978 by Cara Wise. The identification of this pattern followed Wise's original analysis of Delaware's Old State House. Wise compared the functional groups of artifacts from the State House with two other sites that operated in a public capacity and found them to display similar frequencies. This study introduces data from excavations of the Chowan County Courthouse, a public site comparable to Delaware's Old State House, as a test implication. The proportions of functional groups of artifacts from the Chowan County site were compared to those displayed by Delaware's Old State House and were assessed for their conformity to the expected Public Structure Pattern. The ceramic assemblages from both sites were also compared at the minimum vessel level both by ware and functional type. This comparison was offered as an independent, complimentary test to further assess similarity in patterning between the sites and to further evaluate the Public Structure Pattern. The overall results of this analysis found general support for the validity of the Public Pattern. The functional

groups of artifacts from both sites display remarkable consistency and conform closely to the expected pattern. Additionally, the ceramic assemblages from both sites display consistent proportions of vessels both by ware and functional type.

REVISITING THE PUBLIC STRUCTURE ARTIFACT PATTERN: CULTURAL PATTERNING AT TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GOVERNMENT SITES

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by

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I must not forget my friends and co-workers at the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs who helped make my time in Delaware enjoyable. I am extremely grateful to Charles Fithian, Curator of Archaeological Collections for the State of Delaware, for offering me the position of working with the State House collection in 2004 and allowing me to use the data for this thesis. Cara Wise also deserves special thanks for were it not for her original work on Delaware's Old State House, this thesis never would have happened.

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Preface

I began research into eighteenth century government sites in the summer of 2004 when I took a one year contractual position with the Delaware Department of State, Historical and Cultural Affairs Division. The Division was planning a new interpretation of the Old 1787 State House museum exhibit based on the archaeology. While the site was the subject of extensive archaeological investigation in the late 1970s, little had been published concerning the material culture from the site. A Master's Thesis was written based on the data from the site by Cara Wise in 1978. In this study, Wise conducted a pattern analysis using methods that had just recently been introduced to the field of historical archaeology by Stanley South. Based on this analysis, Wise proposed the Public Structure Artifact Pattern, which has become the primary subject of the research presented here. In this work, however, the material culture from the site saw no description other than lump frequencies of artifacts by functional groups. To help inform the exhibit development process, the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs desired a more thorough analysis and description of the material from the site. I was thus hired to conduct several tasks. First, the thirty year old collection was in need of re-packaging in an up-to-date system consistent with new curatorial standards. Second, I was to re-catalogue the collection and aid in the development of a manuscript describing the collection.

When I initially took the position I did not expect the collection to contain a great deal of interesting material. I expected there to be some architectural materials, maybe

some furniture related items, and perhaps a handful of items related to various specialized activities. I was under the perception, no doubt biased by my experience in the present, that not much happened at government sites other than government business. Upon working with the collection in Delaware, however, this perception began to change. The abundance of ceramics, bottle and drinking glass in the collection suggested that much more had occurred at the site besides litigation, law making and administrating. I reviewed Wise's thesis and began thinking about the implications of her proposed Public Structure Pattern. I also began comparing the State House collection to other sites, primarily domestic, in the Delaware Valley Region to see how the site fit within its regional context. I found that compared to the rural farm sites excavated in the region, the data from the State House exhibits some unique characteristics, particularly with regards to the ceramic assemblage. While clearly more than just government business had occurred at the site, it was not being used in a domestic capacity either. Rather, it appeared to fall somewhere in between.

When I first started graduate school at East Carolina University in the fall of 2005, I was still interested in the potential implications of the artifact patterning displayed by the Delaware State House data. Was this site a unique phenomenon, or is it indicative of the behavior associated with eighteenth century government sites in general? I needed a comparable site to help evaluate the State House patterning. If another site that served a comparable function exhibits similar patterning, we can begin to explain some of the processes that resulted in that patterning.

One day early in that first semester, an archaeologist by the name of Tom Beaman came to the Phelps Archaeology Laboratory at ECU to conduct research. In casual conversation we discussed some of our research interests. Upon hearing of my interest in government sites, Tom indicated that the eighteenth century Chowan County Courthouse had undergone a series of archaeological investigations, some of which he had been directly involved with. I therefore found a site with data already available just waiting to test the patterning displayed by the Delaware State House.

I thus set out with the task of pattern delineation and testing with the goal of illumining regularities in the cultural patterning seen at eighteenth century government sites. The following presents the documented and archaeological histories of the sites used in this study, the history of the patterns being tested, a comparison of the two sites, and a discussion of how these patterns correlate with some of the known social history of these sites. While this project focused primarily on pattern recognition and testing, it has become abundantly clear from this research that government structures in the eighteenth century performed a much more diverse role than I had originally perceived.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Problem Statement

Since the 1960's archaeologists have sought to develop understandings of the cultural processes that governed past human behavior. Stanly South pioneered this anthropological approach to archaeology in the sub-field of historical archaeology in the 1970s. In 1977 South published his seminal volume *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* in which he outlined a new method of pattern recognition. Intended as a method to identify regularities and variation in the archaeological record, the purpose of these patterns was to aid in understanding the cultural processes at British colonial sites (South 1977: 83). South (1977) defined two artifact patterns characteristic of British-American 18th-century sites. The Carolina Artifact Pattern is associated with established settlements while the Frontier Pattern characterizes frontier fort and trading post sites. Cara Wise proposed a third, distinct artifact pattern for British-American sites in 1978 in her un-published Master's Thesis. This pattern was tentatively labeled the Public Structure Artifact Pattern and was proposed for public offices, mercantile facilities and manufacturing sites (Wise 1978: 122).

The identification of the Public Structure Pattern followed Wise's original analysis of Delaware's Old State House and was based on comparing the frequencies of functional artifact groups from the site with two others which operated in some public capacity, a store in North Carolina and a brew house in South Carolina. A more recent analysis of the Delaware State House ceramics at the minimum vessel level has also yielded data displaying a pattern distinct from rural domestic sites within the Delaware

Valley region (Willoughby 2005). Overall, however, studies concerning cultural patterning at government sites have been extremely limited and have not been independently tested.

Excavations conducted on the eighteenth century Chowan County Court House have recovered data providing for an opportunity to further evaluate cultural patterning at government sites. Built in 1767, the Chowan County Court House is roughly contemporaneous with the Delaware State House (constructed in 1788) and served a comparable function allowing us to ask the following questions: Do the data from the Chowan County Court House display patterns consistent with Wise's proposed Public Structure Artifact Pattern? Are the data consistent with the pattern displayed by the minimum vessel data from the Delaware State House? Furthermore, are these potential patterns indicative of government structures, or are significant differences shown between the two sites? The focus of this study will address these questions using a comparable sample drawn from the Chowan County Courthouse collections. The primary objective of this research is to test the validity of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern as a predictive model and to help further our knowledge of the undocumented, everyday use of government sites during the eighteenth century.

Problem Statement:

Two hypotheses were tested during this study in order to assess the validity of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. The first hypothesis states that the Public Structure Artifact Pattern is a valid predictive model. The test implication for this hypothesis is that

the data from the Chowan County Courthouse will display artifact frequencies consistent with the data displayed by the Delaware State House and will conform to the Public Structure Artifact pattern. The second hypothesis states that ceramics class alone reflects site function. The test implication for this is that the Chowan County Courthouse will display frequencies of ceramic vessel types consistent with the Delaware State House data. Comparing the ceramic assemblages served as a complimentary test to help assess the similarity in patterning at both sites and help to further evaluate the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. The overall results of this study yielded general support for both research hypotheses.

Organization:

The content of this thesis is organized into several different parts. Chapter 2 presents a brief overview of the history and archaeology of the two sites of interest, Delaware's Old State House and the old Chowan County Courthouse. Chapter 3 presents a brief look at the history of South's pattern recognition method and some of the underlying theoretical assumptions that underpin this approach. Also presented in this chapter is the development of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern as well as the minimum vessel pattern defined by the author for the Delaware State House data. Chapter 4 describes the methodology used to delineate the artifact patterns from each site and presents a summary of the collections used in this study. In Chapter 5 the artifact assemblages from each site are directly compared against each other and assessed for similarity. Both sites are also assessed for their conformity to the Public Structure

Artifact Pattern. The final chapter presents the overall conclusions of this project and discusses some directions for further research on this subject.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

This study seeks to assess the degree of similarity in cultural patterning from two government sites constructed during the late eighteenth century: Delaware's original State House located in Dover, Delaware; and the old Chowan County Courthouse in Edenton, North Carolina (Figures 2-1). Both sites have been the subject of multiple (if only in the lab) archaeological investigations. The following background summarizes both the history and the archaeology of these sites.

Delaware's Old State House (7KC-7-61):

The Delaware State House was the first permanent capitol building in Dover, Delaware (Delaware Department of State, Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs Website). The structure, built sometime between 1787 and 1792, is located on the east end of the old Court House Square, just off of King Street in downtown Dover. As originally constructed, the structure consists of two stories, 60 feet long by 40 feet deep and was built of brick in the Georgian style (Figure 2-2). In addition to the central main entrance, the structure also had side entrances that opened to the first floor and cellar. These consisted of rectangular brick-walled stairwells on both gable ends of the structure. The State House contains two interior chimneys with fireplaces on both the east and west sides (Wise 1978: 93).

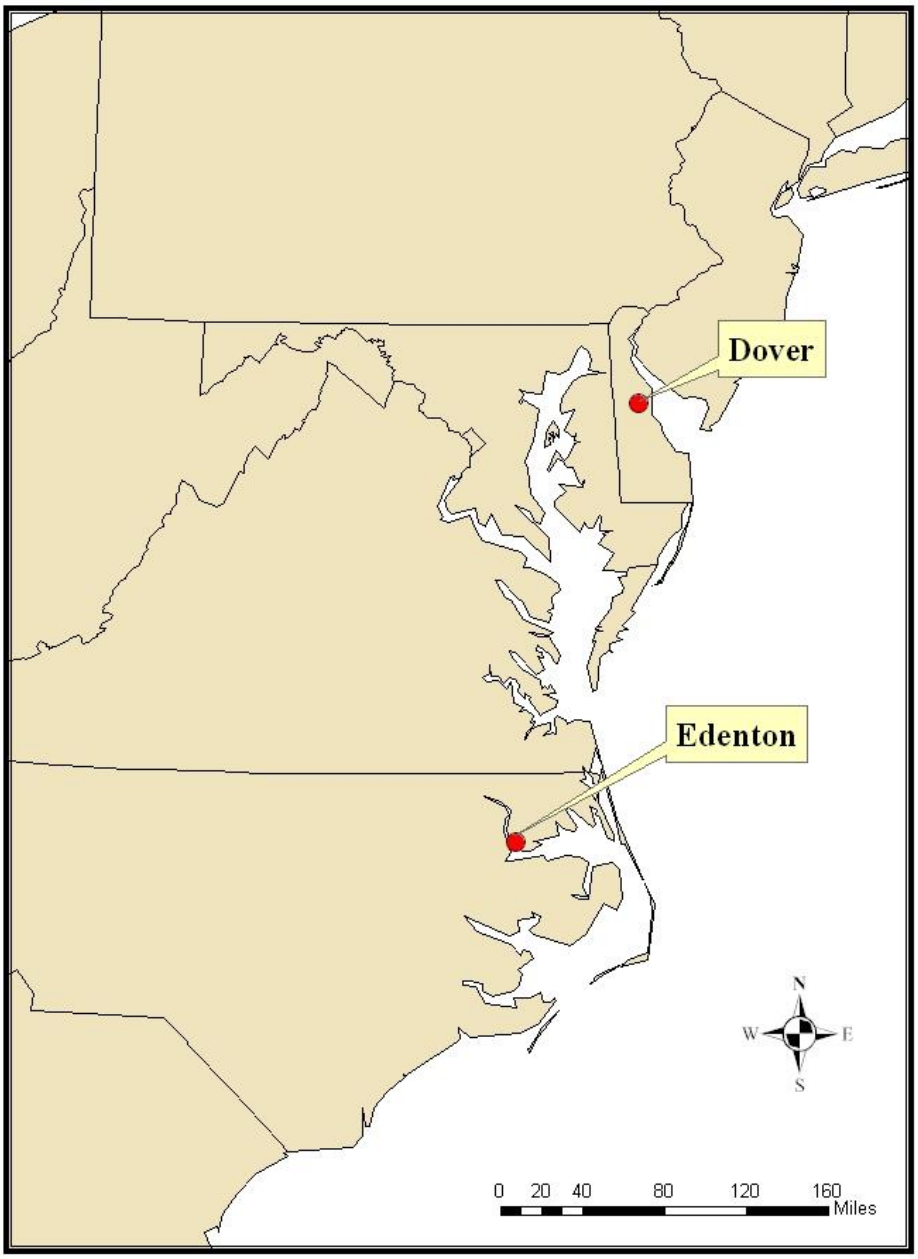

Figure 2-1: Site Locations

Figure 2-2: Delaware State House

The State House replaced two earlier structures on the same property: a county courthouse constructed in 1722; and a small recorder's office building constructed about 1742 (Wise 1978: 16). A certified copy of a 1740/41 map of Dover shows the original configuration of the State House property. The lot was originally laid out in two plots separated by a central alley. The southern lot is labeled "Court Ho. Lot" while the northern lot is indicated as "Office" (Figure 2-3).

It is unclear when exactly these earlier structures were built and what they looked like. It is estimated that the earlier courthouse was constructed sometime around 1722 from a number of documentary clues. An earlier courthouse had been built about 1697 on an earlier courthouse square established by William Penn (Scharf 1888: 1043). This lot,

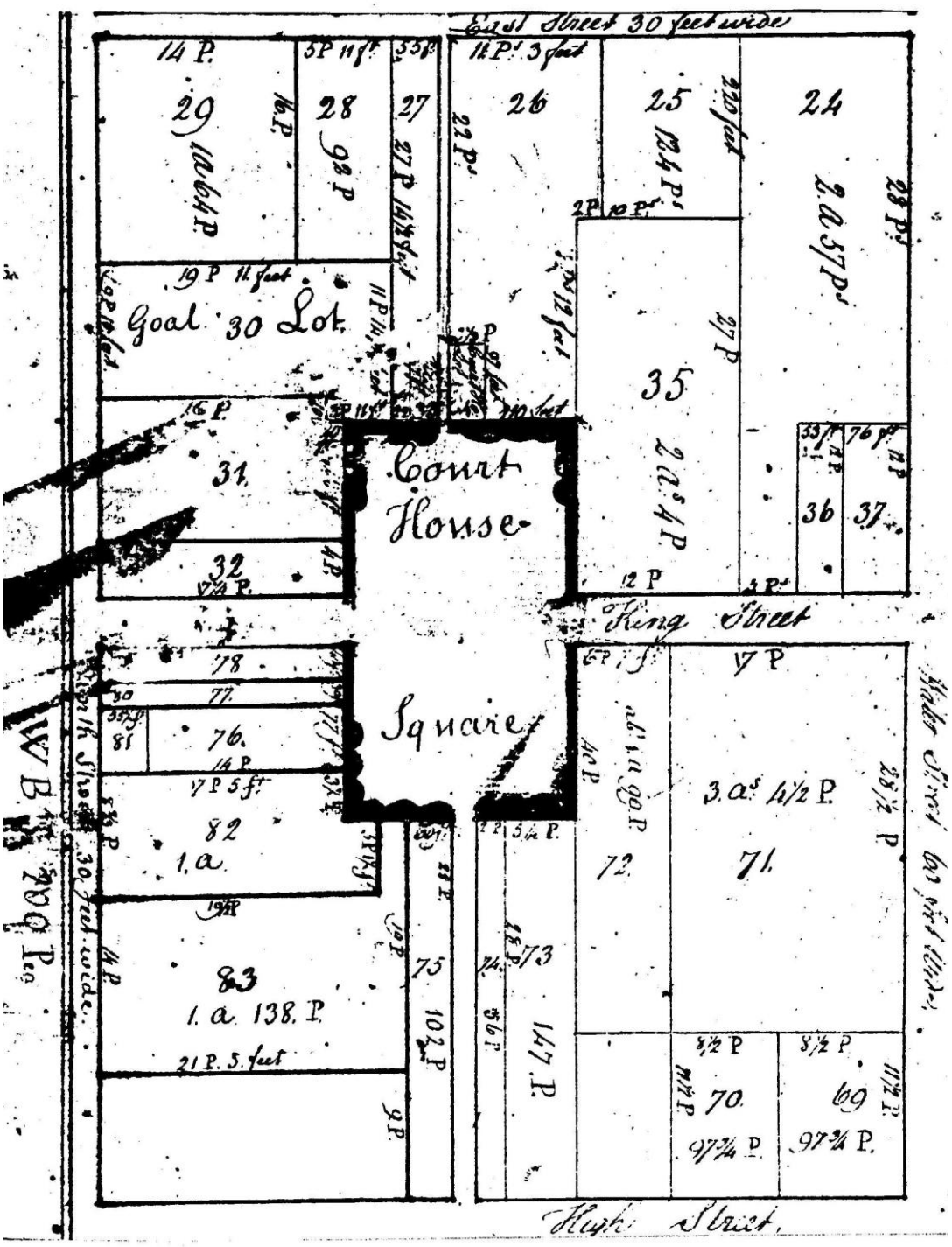

Figure 2-3: 1740/41 Map of Dover, Delaware

including the original courthouse, was sold to a John Lindsay on February 12, 1722 or 1723 (Kent County Deed Book G: 128-9). It is likely that the newer courthouse had been erected by the time of this transaction. The recorder's office is shown on the 1740/41 map of Dover. Additionally, a number of deed transactions from 1742 and 1743 mention the "Recorder's Office" or "Public Offices" on the lot (Kent County Deed Book R-1: 231, M-1: 223). The archaeology has also generally supported beginning occupation dates of 1720 and 1740, respectively, for both structures (Wise 1978: 87).

Originally considered the "three lower counties" of Pennsylvania, Delaware declared independence from both the British Empire and Pennsylvania in 1777 and established itself as an autonomous state with Newcastle as the capital. In 1781 the capital was moved to Dover (Bedell 1999: 8). It was not long before the original government structures built to house the Kent County government and records soon proved insufficient to accommodate both the county and newly formed state governments. On December 19, 1787, the Court House Commissioners, the body responsible for the construction of the building now known as the State House, asked the Kent County Levy Court for permission to tear down the old court house and offices and use the hard bricks salvaged from the demolition to construct the foundation of the new structure (Court House Commission Papers, 1787, Hall of Records, Dover). Completed by May 1792, the new structure became the home of both the state and Kent County governments (Delaware Department of State). Over the structure's 200 plus years of continuous use, the State House has undergone numerous improvements and renovations that have included structural and stylistic changes.

Although the State House was basically complete by 1791 or 92, certain finishing touches, which included stone steps for the front entrance and front yard pavement, were not finished till much later (Wise 1978: 96). The Court House Commission Papers for 1796 include requests for funds to complete both of these projects. However, documents suggest that this work was not completed for another ten or more years. In 1805 the legislature was petitioned to secure funds sufficient for the placement of stone steps (Legislative Papers, Petitions, 1805, Hall of Records, Dover). Two years later the Kent County Levy Court Proceedings of March 5, 1807 (Hall of Records, Dover) indicate that one thousand dollars that was appropriated to Nicholas Ridgley and George Cummins, Commissioners "for repairing and Painting the State House, for paving and enclosing the yard before the same and erecting a flight of stone steps at the front door of the State House…" was rescinded and transferred to the new commissioners to be used for the same purpose. Wise (1978: 96) indicates that this is consistent with the archaeological data, which indicates that the area in front of the State House was sealed from further cultural deposition prior to the availability of ironstone, about 1813.

The first major addition to the State House occurred in 1835. On February 12 the legislature authorized the construction of a large two-story wing to be built onto the rear of the structure (Legislative Papers, Acts, 1835, Hall of Records, Dover). Before long this additional space proved to be insufficient for the State government's needs. In 1873 the General Assembly voted to purchase the county's share of the structure and also allocated $20,000 for improvements (Legislative Papers, Acts, 1873, Hall of Records, Dover). The State then proceeded to drastically alter the structure's original appearance to fit the

times, resulting in a complete “Victorianization” of the structure (Wise 1978: 17). This included the installation of a mansard roof, closing of the first floor entrances, construction of a three-story tower on the front of the building, total removal of the two interior chimneys, removal the geometric staircase, and replacement of the original woodwork with oiled walnut and molded plaster (Figure 2-4).

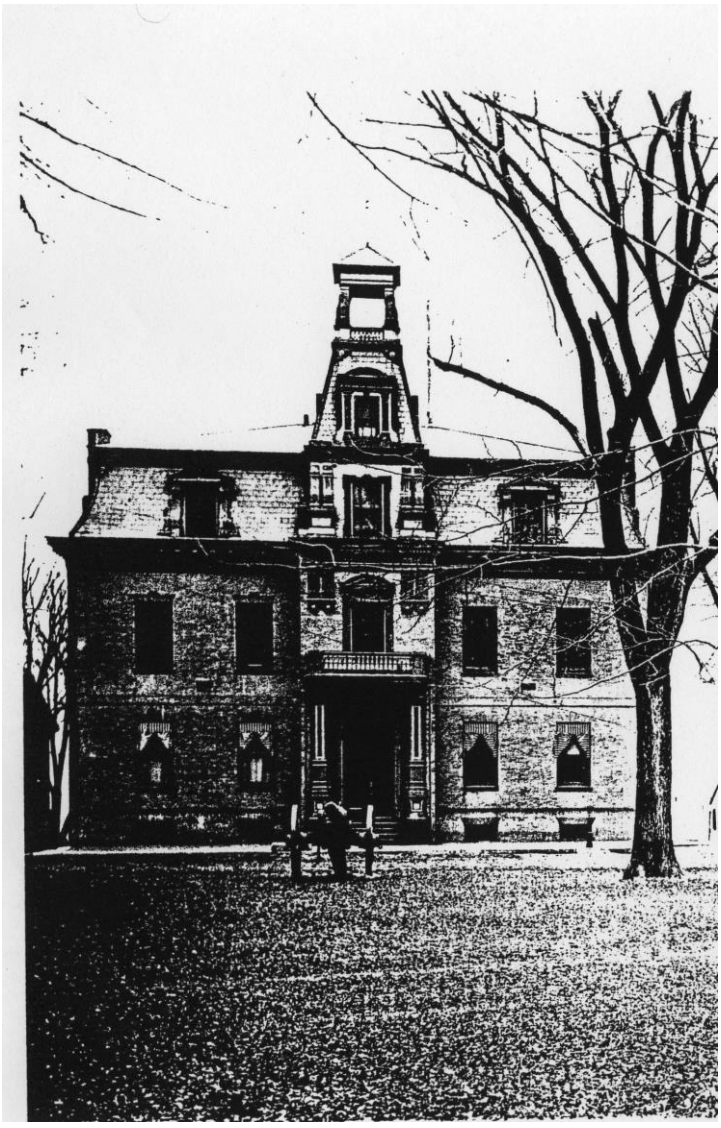

Figure 2-4: The Delaware State House after “Victorianization” (from Wise 1978)

The additional space secured by the state in 1873 only temporarily satisfied their needs. In 1896 a second wing was added to the rear of the structure (Wise 1978: 104). By 1909, the need for space to accommodate the state government became so crucial that there was a motion to demolish the State House. This move was stalled by a delegation from a number of patriotic societies who managed to persuade the legislature to renovate once again. Extra space was acquired by demolishing a mid eighteenth century mansion located on the lot directly south of the State House. The new renovations included the construction of a law library and Supreme Court building which would make up a new south wing to the State House (Figure 2-5).

Figure 2-5: Photograph Showing the 1906 Renovations (from Wise 1978).

This renovation also included the replacement of the Victorian details of 1873 with Georgian features. Although more true to the general, original style of the State House, this renovation did not constitute a restoration and was not accurate to the structure's original appearance (Wise 1978: 107). In 1933, the General Assembly re-located to a new, more spacious home in Legislative Hall (State of Delaware Official Website). After which the State House served as the state archives until the 1960s (Charles Fithian, personal communication).

In 1963 the legislature first appropriated funds for the restoration of the State House. It was not until 1972, however, that enough money was available from both state and federal sources for work to begin (Wise 1978: 17). Restoration primarily involved the removal of all nineteenth and twentieth century additions to the structure. The overall effort, however, involved an extensive research program that sought to uncover clues for the original appearance of the structure. Included in this program was an extensive archaeological investigation, which was conducted between 1972 and 1976, concurrent with the restoration of the structure. Currently, the State House is a museum exhibit operated by the Delaware Department of State, Historical and Cultural Affairs Division. There visitors can see an eighteenth-century courtroom on the first floor while the second floor features the former chambers of the state legislature (State of Delaware Official Website).

State House Archaeology:

Excavations at the State House began in 1973 as part of the overall restoration efforts. The dig commenced after an initial architectural survey of the structure assessed areas where archaeology was necessary to answer questions regarding the structure's original appearance. Aside from answering certain architectural questions, the primary goal of the excavations was to establish the stratigraphic sequence of the site (Wise 1978: 8). A secondary goal was to retrieve as much information as possible regarding the site, especially from the eighteenth century deposits, which would otherwise be disturbed by the placement of utilities during the restoration activities (Wise 1978: 21). The extent of the proposed utilities justified virtually the total excavation of the front yard of the structure (Wise 1978: 21).

The excavations were conducted during two major field seasons, the summer and fall of 1973 and the winter of 1975-76, with isolated excavations during the summer of 1975 to determine original grade in areas to be disturbed by the construction activities (Wise 1978: 18). Excavations began in the basement of the structure in order to determine the depth of the original footings, the original floor level and the original configuration of the chimney stacks removed in 1873 (Wise 1978: 18). Excavations were subsequently expanded to include the areas on each gable end, and the front yard (Figure 2-6). Two isolated units were placed to the rear of the structure, but encountered heavy disturbance created from the construction and recent removal of the 1835 wing (these units were not indicated on the site map). Excavation units were dug in natural levels (Wise 1978: 9). With the exception of modern utility features, all soil was excavated by

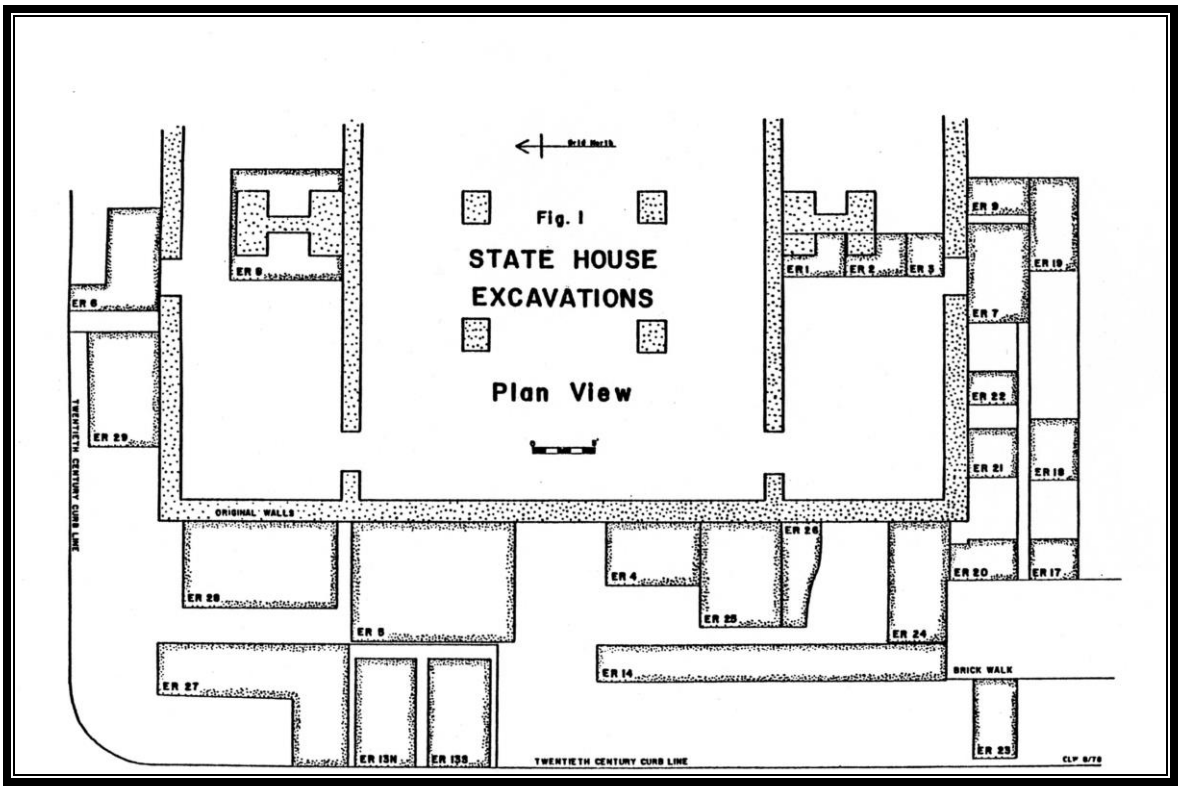

Figure 2-6: Plan View of State House Excavations (from Wise 1978)

trowel. Instead of screening the soil, artifacts were collected as they were encountered during the careful hand excavation (Wise 1978: 9). Despite encountering disturbance related to 19th and 20th century improvements on the lot, a number of sealed, intact 18th century deposits were identified and excavated. These included deposits related to the early years of the State House, as well as features and deposits that predate the structure and are associated with the earlier buildings on the lot. Notable features encountered during the project include portions of the robbed out footing trenches for the 1722 courthouse and 1741 recorder's office, scaffolding holes related to the State House's construction, and the drip line from the original roof line of the structure.

The initial phase of the artifact analysis involved the classification of all collected artifacts into generally accepted descriptive types. Two references were utilized during this process: Noel Hume's *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (1969); and Lyle M. Stone's *Fort Michilimackinac 1715-1718: An Archaeological Perspective on the Revolutionary Frontier* (1974). This, along with observations made in the field, allowed Wise (1978) to establish the relative sequence of activities on the site and to use the data to supplement and confirm the historical data on the site, creating a more complete historical reconstruction. Particularly of note was the identification of surviving portions of the robbed out footing trenches of the original court house and 1740s recorder's office foundations, the exact locations of which were previously unknown.

The next phase of artifact analysis focused on the derivation of artifact patterns in the eighteenth century deposits, in order to better understand the cultural context of the occupations which formed the site (Wise 1978: 2). Wise (1978) turned her attention to recently published material on British-American sites by Kenneth Lewis and Stanley South. Their work suggests that patterning will not only be reflected in the places where refuse is discarded, but also in the quantitative relationships between artifact categories within refuse deposits (Wise 1978: 5). Both Lewis and South had conducted community studies that have contributed to the definition of refuse disposal patterns for Anglo-American sites. Lewis (1976: 105), in his study of the frontier community of Camden, South Carolina, defined a number of areas of intense activity he refers to as "tofts." These "tofts" are associated with primary structures and contained refuse deposits associated with them. Lewis' analysis of the Camden material focused on differentiating between

domestic and non-domestic occupations. He defined six classes of artifacts that were associated either with subsistence related activities, technological activities, architecture, or personal affects (Lewis 1976: 120-1). Lewis suggested that domestic sites will be characterized by a larger proportion of subsistence-related artifacts, while non-domestic sites will be characterized by a lower proportion of such material.

Stanley South (1977) compared the proportions of certain functional classes of artifacts from a number of eighteenth century sites in North America, primarily in North and South Carolina. From his analysis, South defined two artifact patterns applicable to British-Colonial sites, the Carolina Artifact Pattern, and the Frontier Pattern. The Carolina Artifact Pattern is associated with well established sites and is characterized by a high proportion of kitchen material and a low proportion of architectural material. The Frontier pattern is associated with frontier fort and trading posts and is characterized by an inverse ratio of kitchen and architectural materials to that displayed by the Carolina pattern.

Using South's (1977) Carolina and Frontier artifact patterns as well as Kenneth Lewis'(1976) site of Camden as her basis for comparison, Wise (1978) found that primary refuse deposits from the State House correlated well with two other sites, the Hepburn-Reonalds House and Camden Toft 8. Both of these sites served in a public capacity. The Hepburn-Reonalds House was a shop as well as a residence and Camden Toft 8 was the site of a brew house. All three sites display a pattern distinct from the Carolina and Frontier patterns. Based on this assessment, Wise (1978) suggested the presence of a third artifact distribution pattern applicable to Anglo-American sites and

proposed the "Public Structure Artifact Pattern." The idea of testing this particular pattern served as the impetus and part of the theoretical basis for this thesis. These patterns and methodological approach will be discussed more in depth in the next chapter which covers "*Theoretical Framework."*

In summer 2004 I was hired by the Delaware Department of State, Division of Historical and Cultural affairs to conduct work with the State House collection. Under a one year contract, this work had two purposes. First, the collection was in need of re-packaging and stabilization. The collection had remained in its original cardboard boxes and paper and plastic "sandwich" baggies since it was first processed some thirty years prior. Curation standards have undergone a number of updates within the Division since then. Thus the collection was re-packaged in polyethylene zip-lock style bags and placed in "Hollinger" flats, consistent with current curatorial standards advocated by the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs.

Second, the Division was planning to re-configure the State House museum exhibit and was interested in a fresh interpretation based on the material culture from the site. Apart from the pattern recognition study, discussion of the material culture from the site was largely left out of Wise's thesis. Additionally, although the field records were kept well preserved, no paper trail remained concerning the original artifact processing and cataloguing. The only catalogue that had survived was contained in the appendix of Wise's thesis. Only deposits that were identified as primary refuse associated with the eighteenth century use of the site were given the full treatment. Other deposits merely had lists of artifact types recovered, but no counts or descriptions. Thus the second phase

of work consisted of a full re-cataloguing of the collection, also consistent with standards required by the Division, along with the creation of an electronic database. Following this data processing, I wrote a manuscript report under the direction of the Delaware State Collections Curator, Charles Fithian, which summarizes and describes the State House collection.

While the primary purpose of the 2005 report was to provide a detailed description of the State House archaeological collection, a second objective was to re-evaluate the site in light of more recent data from sites within the Delaware Valley region. At the time Wise conducted the original analysis of the collection, virtually no other historic period sites had been excavated and reported in the Delaware Valley region. Since that time over a dozen sites dating to the eighteenth century have been excavated and reported on in the region, providing a large body of comparative data. As a result of this increase in data from Delaware Valley sites, a number of researchers have demonstrated that sites in the Delaware Valley region represent a distinct cultural tradition (Bedell 1999: 81). Studies comparing materials such as ceramics, bottle glass and tobacco pipes from sites in the Delaware Valley and sites in the Chesapeake have shown marked differences in their occurrence in each region. In general, sites in the Chesapeake display greater frequencies of refined wares, coarse (utilitarian) stonewares, porcelain, bottle glass and tobacco pipes with fairly low proportions of coarse earthenwares. Conversely, Delaware Valley sites display predominant frequencies of coarse earthenwares, very little coarse stoneware, and general lower frequencies of refined wares, porcelain, bottle glass and tobacco pipes (Bedell et al 1998; Coleman et al

1990; Thompson 1987; Willoughby 2005). Because of this more recent research that has shown the distinct characteristics in the material culture displayed by sites in the Delaware Valley region, the approach of the new evaluation was to distinguish how the State House fit within this regional context.

In order to evaluate the State House against other sites within this regional framework, the archaeological data needed to be re-organized and evaluated in a way different from Wise's original study. Nearly all comparative analyses published on sites in the Delaware Valley region focused on comparing ceramics assemblages among sites, and to a lesser extent, vessel glass assemblages. With one exception, virtually no other studies in Delaware have evaluated sites according to South's functional groups and pattern studies (Bedell 1999: 70). Instead, ceramics provide the most salient comparative artifact category and form the most comprehensive body of data available for study from the various Delaware Valley sites.

Ceramic assemblages from available sites were compared at the minimum vessel level both by ware and functional type. Seventeen sites were available for comparison dating roughly to the eighteenth and early nineteenth century occupation of the State House site. The sample of sites includes thirteen rural domestic sites, one tavern, and three urban domestic sites. The urban sites and the tavern used in the comparison display considerable variability in the proportions of ware and functional types. However, a general pattern of ceramics from farm sites of the 1730-1830 period has been established. When the proportions of ware types and functional vessel types from the rural domestic sites were compared against the assemblage from the State House, the State House

appears to display a pattern with distinct characterisitcs. Testing this minimum vessel pattern displayed by the State House collection provides the remaining basis for this thesis. This will also be described in greater depth and detail in the proceeding chapter.

The Chowan County Courthouse (31CO78):

Like the Delaware State House, the Chowan County Courthouse is a two story brick structure constructed in the Georgian style (Figure 2-7). The structure, built in 1767, is located in downtown Edenton, North Carolina. The lot is bounded on the north by the "Jailor's House," on the south by King Street, on the west by an unnamed drive and on the east by Court Street (Clauser and Joy 1993:1). Measuring approximately 68 ft by 45 ft, the original design provided a large central room having flanking offices that lie parallel in plan with a semi-circular apse in the rear (Johnston and Waterman 1941) (Figure 2-8). Two interior chimneys are built into the walls of the central portion facing each other across the central space containing the courtroom and main assembly room. The courtroom floor is made of original sandstone blocks that were imported from York, England (Staff, Historic Edenton State Historic Site 2004: 12).

The 1767 courthouse replaced two earlier government buildings. These include an earlier courthouse built in 1719 and a council chamber built between 1722 and 1724 (Brodsky 1989: 16-17). A reading of the Acts of Assembly reveals that these buildings were part of the earliest plans for the town. Listed among the laws of North Carolina in 1715 was the order "to promote the building of a Court House to hold the Assembly in, at

Figure 2-7: Chowan County Courthouse

the fork of Queen Anne's Creek, commonly called Matchacmak Creek in Chowan Precinct" (State Records of North Carolina: Laws of 1715). In 1722 provisions were made for the building of a Governor's House, a Council Room and jail (Brodsky 1989: 15).

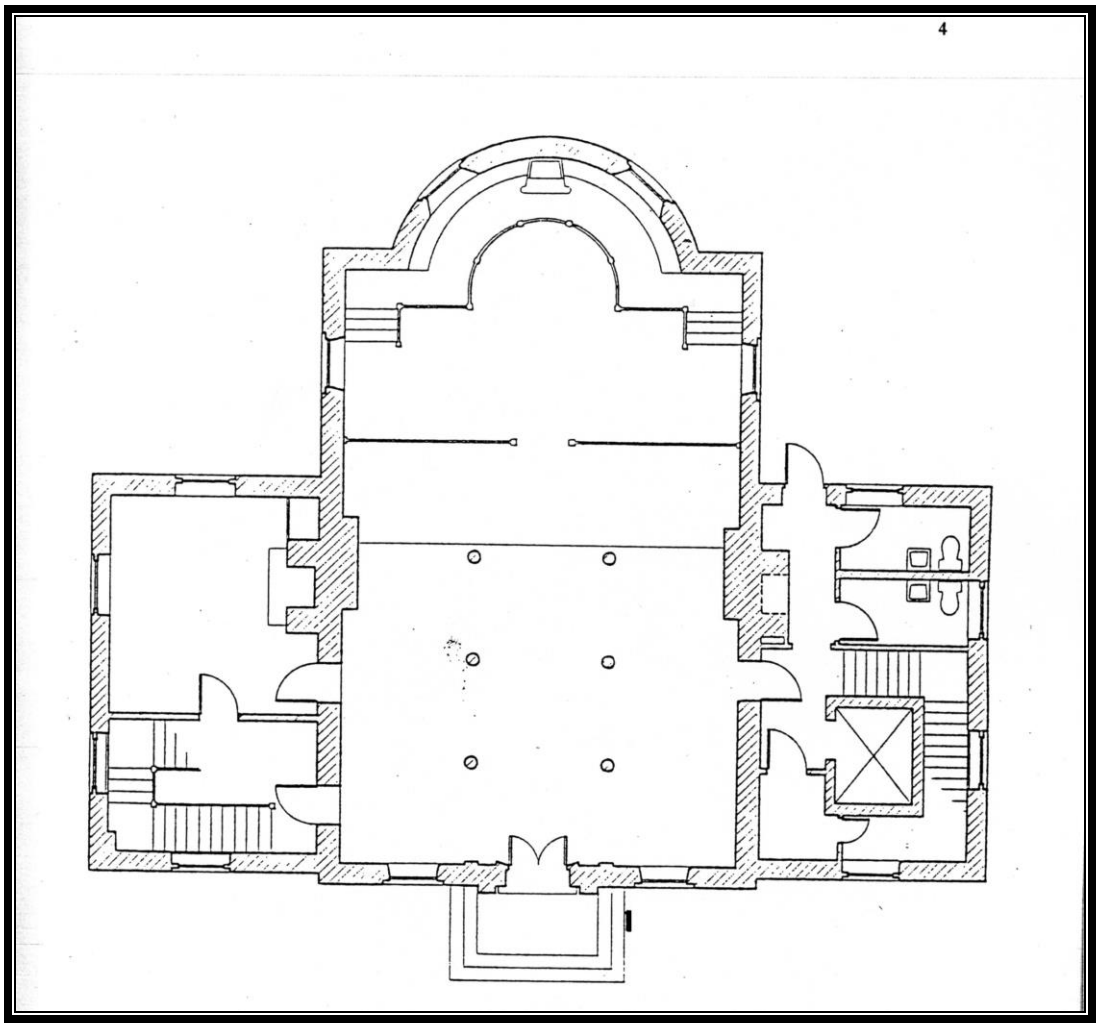

Figure 2-8: Floor Plan of the Chowan County Courthouse (from Clauser 1996)

The first courthouse was a wooden frame structure plastered on the inside, and was described by at least one contemporary as "having much the air of a Common Tobacco House" (Brodsky 1989: 16). The structure was located on lot 5, south of King Street, on what was later to become known as the Courthouse Square or Green (Hoffman 1972). The Council Chamber or Room, occupied by at least 1724, was constructed on the lot where the 1767 courthouse currently stands. Recent archaeological work has revealed

that remnants of the foundation of that structure still occur underneath and were actually incorporated into the construction of the 1767 courthouse (Clauser 2001: 10). This Council Chamber was to be used by both the Governor's Council and the Assembly. When the Council met as the upper house of the General Assembly, it would sit at the Council Chamber, while the lower house would meet at the courthouse (Brodsky 1989: 17). The Council Chamber was also to house the offices of the agencies of government established under the Act that incorporated Edenton. These include the offices of the Chief Justices, the Secretary, the Attorney General and the Surveyor General for the colony (Brodsky 1989: 15). Little is known about the appearance of the structure other than it was a framed building with a brick chimney and several windows (Brodsky 1989: 17). Archaeologists uncovered three corners of the original brick foundation and were able to determine that the structure was 16 ft by 25 ft, and was set about 26 feet further back from King Street than the present courthouse (Clauser 2001: 10-11).

By 1766 both the earlier courthouse and the Council Room must have been both outgrown and beyond practical repair. An Act passed at the General Assembly's November session provided for the construction of a new courthouse (Brodsky 1989: 23). Cullen Pollock, Joseph Hewes, Thomas Nash, Edward Vail and William Lowther were appointed commissioners to direct the project (Brodsky 1986: 23). There are only three surviving documents that pertain to the construction of the courthouse. The first is the Bond of the Commissioners with Governor Tryon in the amount of £2000. The conditions of the bond are the successful completion of the provisions of the 1766 Act. This bond was signed by all the commissioners except for Lowther but was left undated

(Brodsky 1986: 240). The second document is a list of subscribers who contributed to the planned building. The document is dated 25 May 1767 and was signed by twenty men who pledged a total of £235, with a William Hasley also offering one month's work of a bricklayer (Brodsky 1986: 24). The final document consists of a notice placed in the *Virginia Gazette* on 4 June 1767 by the commissioners requesting contractors to bid on the project (Brodsky 1986: 24).

While it is safe to say that steps towards constructing a new courthouse were well underway by June of 1767, there are no other documents that relate when construction actually occurred, nor do any offer any detailed descriptions of what the building looked like from this period. In April 1767, Thomas Jones, Clerk of the County Court, was ordered to "rent a proper place for the reception of the records of this county" (Chowan County Court Minutes). This indicates a transition period while the original buildings which housed the records, the old courthouse and the Council Chamber, were no longer in use but before the new courthouse had been completed. The 1769 C. J. Sauthier "Plan of the Town of Edenton" shows the second courthouse in its present location (Figure 2-9). This indicates that the present structure was completed or near completion at least by this time.

Although no detailed descriptions of the courthouse survive from this early period, reports of repair work on the building provide some clues as to its appearance. In 1775 shutters were ordered to be painted, and the shingle roof was ordered to be tarred (Brodsky 1986: 26). A reference of 3 June 1785 tells of thirteen lights being replaced in the cupola, indicating that its arches were originally glazed (Brodsky 1986: 26).

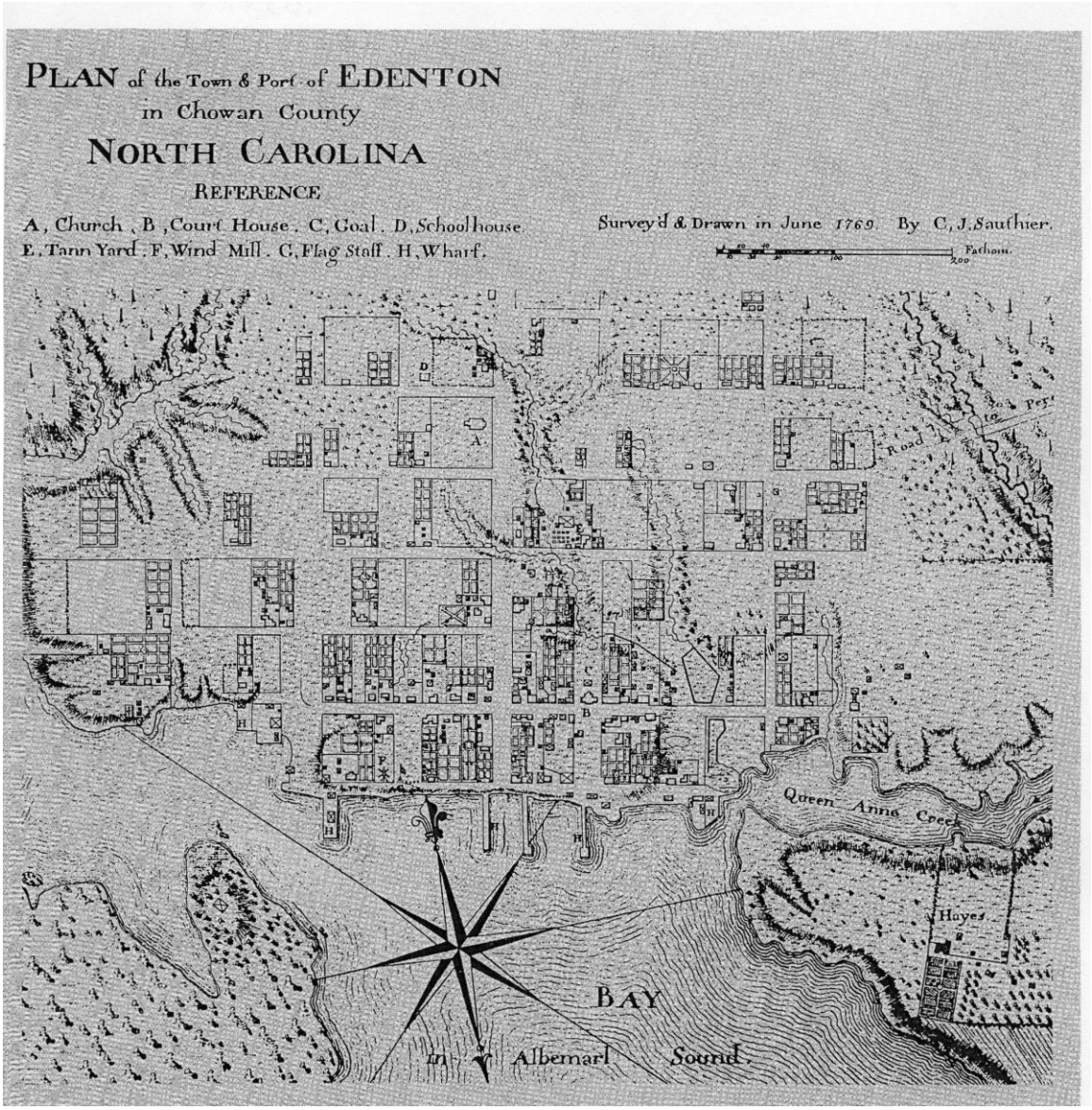

Figure 2-9: 1767 Map of Edenton by C. J. Sauthier (Courthouse is labeled 'B')

By 1778, the general condition of the courthouse had deteriorated to the point that the General Assembly acted to provide for repairs, something which the courthouse came to depend on regularly over the course of its life (Brodsky 1986: 35). The records are

unclear as to what these early repairs entailed besides the specific reference to the cupola above. Between 1806 and 1835, however, a number of repairs are indicated in the records. These include repairing the roof, painting the structure, replacing windows and shutters, and conducting small masonry repairs to the chimneys, fireplaces and brick work at the back of the structure (Brodsky 1989: 42-44). In 1835 the roof was replaced and zincked to render if fireproof (Brodsky 1989: 56). This roof suffered a number of problems forcing it to be replaced in 1837, 1839 and 1840 until finally being replaced by a shingle roof between 1848 and 1849 (Brodsky 1989: 58). Major repairs in the late nineteenth century consist of masonry work on the east side foundation in 1881 and another roof replacement in 1885 (Brodsky 1989: 68).

The first additions to the Chowan County Courthouse did not occur until 1897. In August and September of that year, two vaults were attached to the north side of the building on each side of the apse, enlarging the offices belonging to the Register of Deeds and Clerk of Court (Chowan County Minutes of the County Commissioners 1878-1899: 539, 544). As indicated by the Sanborn Insurance Maps, an additional vault was added to the Register of Deeds office sometime between 1920 and 1927. The final addition to the structure consisted of a boiler room and chimney built onto the rear of the structure in 1947 (Brodsky 1989: 81-82).

In 1970 the courthouse was designated a National Historic Landmark (Staff, Historic Edenton State Historic Site 2004: 11). In the same year planning began for the construction of the third Chowan County Courthouse, built between 1978 and 1979. Restoration of the old courthouse began in 1990. This included the removal of additions

to the structure for the purpose of regaining the original 1767 structure (Clauser and Joy 1990: 9). In 1993 the Courthouse Study Commission was formed and made additional recommendations for the restoration of the 1767 structure. In 1996 ownership of the site was transferred to the State of North Carolina, which then designated it a State Historic Site (Staff, Historic Edenton State Historic Site 2004: 14). Further restoration was conducted between 1998 and 2004. Currently the restored courthouse is used as an interpretive State Historic exhibit as well as for court sessions, educational programs and other public and private functions (Staff, Historic Edenton State Historic Site 2004: 14). Although not built into the original restoration plans, some limited archaeological investigations inevitably became a vital addition to the restoration efforts. Various construction activities encountered intact historic remains representing unique records of historic use of the site. The Office of State Archaeology responded to these encounters in order to record any endangered archaeological data and to provide clearance for the contractors conducting the restoration. The limited archaeological investigations recovered significant insights regarding the site, helping to provide a more complete historical reconstruction. That work is summarized below.

Chowan County Courthouse Archaeology:

The first archaeological response on the courthouse site came after June 21, 1990, when workers uncovered a buried brick structure under the demolished west courthouse addition (Figure 2-10) (Clauser and Joy 1993: 1). Work was temporarily halted in the area of the discovery while a representative from the Office of State Archaeology

Figure 2-10: Brick Structure thought to be a Leaching Chamber

was asked to inspect the discovery. Preliminary project plans included a site visit and two days of field work to investigate and record the brick structure. However, given the complexity of the information available, the importance of the courthouse and its associated resources, and the sure destruction of some of these resources by continued restoration work, the original plans were abandoned (Clauser and Joy 1993: 1).

After initially recognizing the potential of the site, hurried conferences with county representatives, restoration specialists with the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, and the contractor resulted in a suspension of work near the feature until a more complete study could be organized. The data recovery program was formalized and expanded to include all areas within the construction zone. Specific

research questions the state researchers wanted addressed include: 1.What is the purpose and the ages of the brick structure located during construction? 2. Would further ground disturbance for access doors on the west of the building, contouring of a drainage swale to the north, or excavation of a utility trench on the east encounter any other unknown archaeological resources? 3. Could any evidence of landscaping, outbuildings or other support structures be located on the site? 4. What is the potential for additional archaeological research on the property? A total of four excavation units totaling 355 square feet were excavated in areas to be disturbed by construction activities and around features located during construction (Figure 2-11). Unit size varied depending on the available space within the construction zone (Clauser and Joy 1993: 3-5). With the exception of some disturbed deposits, all soil was screened and artifacts were retained (Clauser and Joy 1993: 4-5).

The 1990 excavations investigated a number of features (including the brick structure that prompted the archaeology) that yielded evidence of specific use and upkeep activities (Clauser and Joy 1990: 11). The brick structure is perhaps the most dramatic discovery during this research and proved to be enigmatic. The unusual feature consists of a body twelve feet long by seven feet wide and five feet deep with a barrel vault type covering and a sand floor. The bricks appear to be laid in a random bond pattern with no foundation. Stratigraphic evidence indicates that the structure was built between 1884 and 1927 (Clauser and Joy 1993: 21).

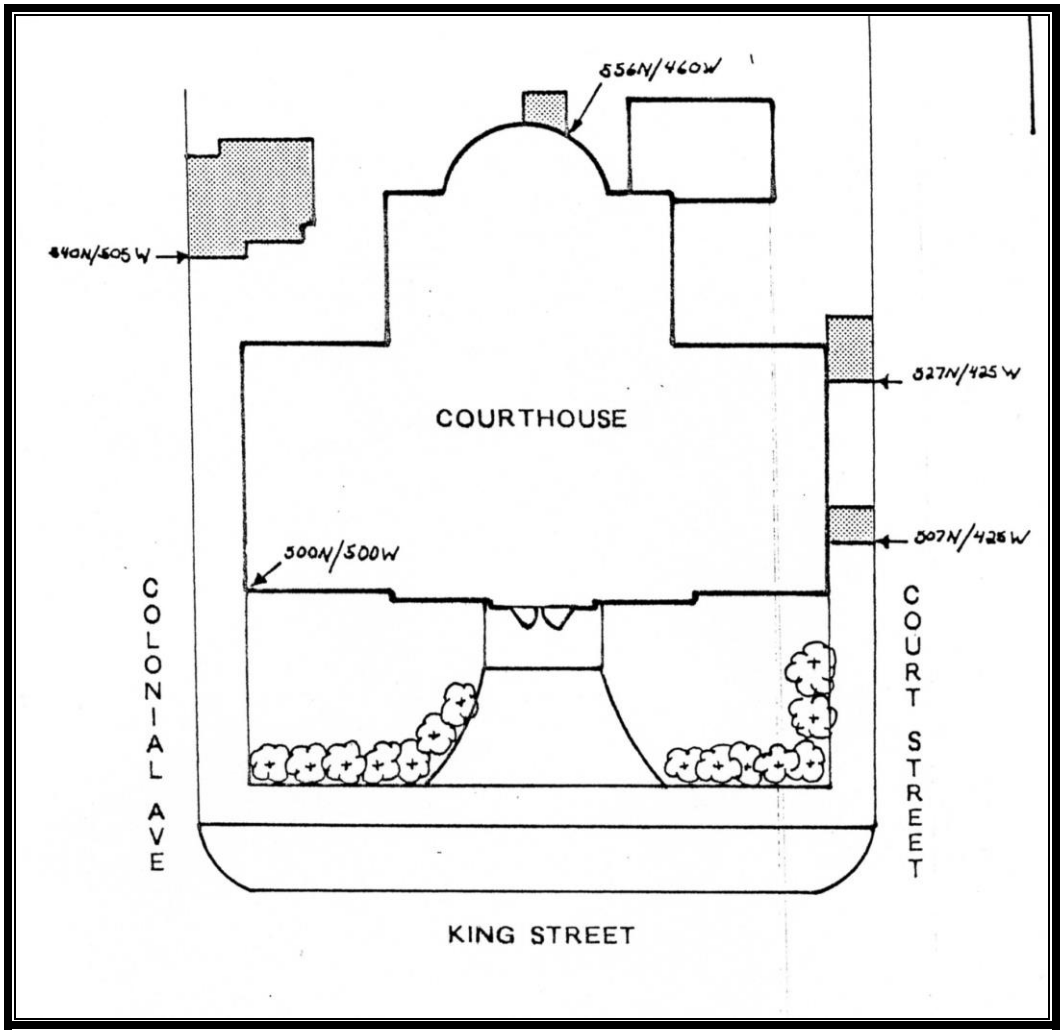

Figure 2-11: Plan View of 1990 Chowan County Courthouse Excavations (from Clauser and Joy 1993)

Although it is not entirely clear what this feature represents, the tentative interpretation is that this feature is a leaching chamber built to accommodate storm water management (Figure 2-12). Its design appears to have provided an area to collect a sudden influx of rain water, and slowly disperse it to prevent the flooding of the courthouse grounds (Clauser and Joy 1993: 19).

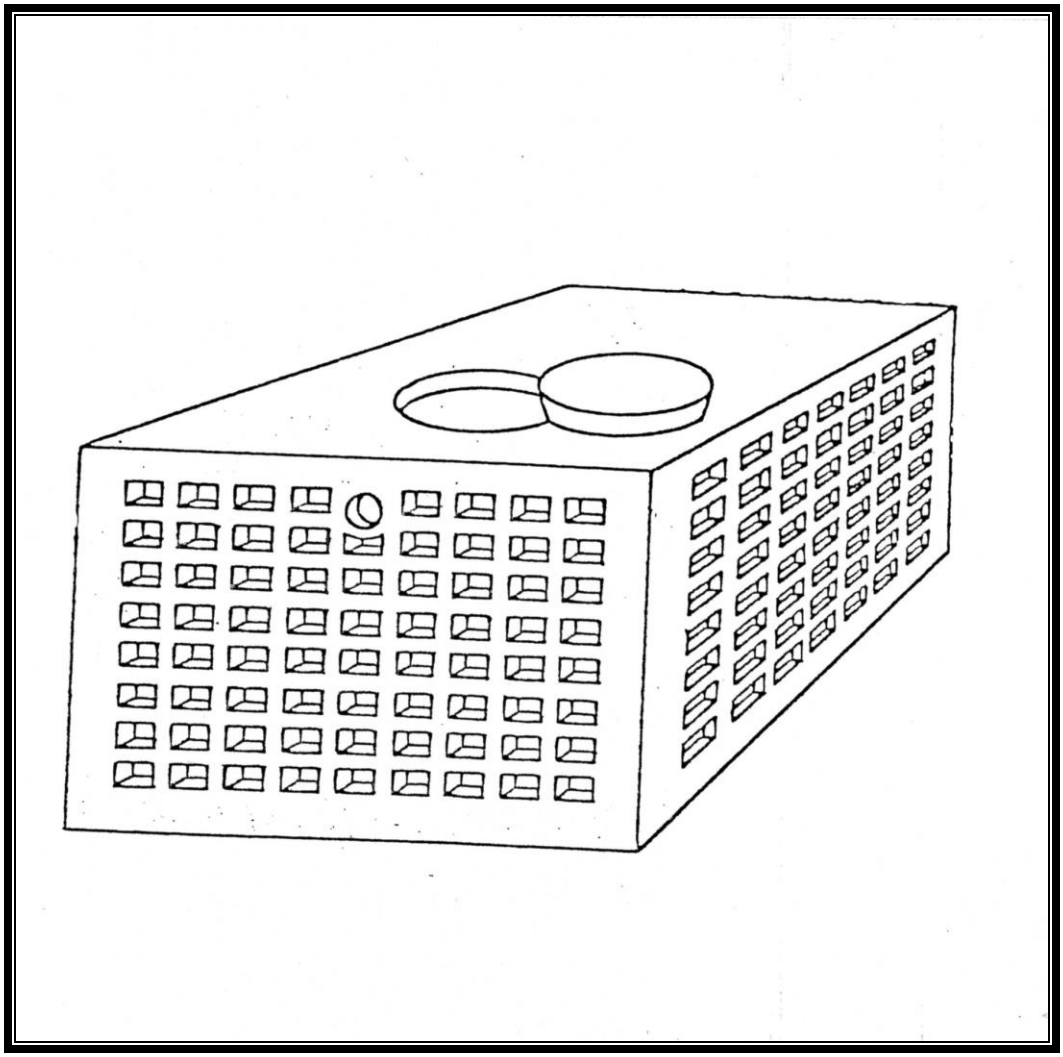

Figure 2-12: Illustration of a Leeching Chamber (from Clauser and Joy 1993, reproduced from Perkins 1989)

Other features investigated include: a late nineteenth century retaining wall built on the east side of the courthouse; a telephone conduit located near the retaining wall; a drainage trench on the west side of the courthouse; and a number of other utility trenches and a scaffolding hole in the apse area of the courthouse. The retaining wall appears to be a repair to the structure. Accounts indicate that frequent traffic on Court Street threatened

the integrity of the east wall and in 1884 a Building Committee was appointed to have a brick wall built to correct the problem (Clauser and Joy 1993: 24). The telephone conduit was a wood lined, covered trench. Although it was filled with twentieth century debris, some evidence suggests that the trench may have originally been a covered storm drain built in the early nineteenth century (Clauser and Joy 1993: 24). The drainage trench was located below any construction levels associated with the courthouse suggesting that it dates to an earlier period of use of the structure. Unfortunately no datable artifacts were recovered from the feature (Clauser and Joy 1993: 24). The pipe trenches uncovered in the apse area appear to date to the late nineteenth century at the earliest. This temporal assignment is based on the presence of Portland cement on the pipe joints and an ironstone ceramic sherd (Clauser and Joy 1993: 27). The scaffolding hole was located 3.5 feet north of the courthouse wall and appears to be associated with the original construction of the building (Clauser and Joy 1993: 30). Excavation in the apse area also revealed stratigraphic data showing that the rear yard has sustained multiple episodes of fill and that the current grade is artificial (Clauser and Joy 1993).

While the 1990 excavations focused primarily on data collection in order to provide clearance for construction activities, they also recovered evidence allowing for a more complete understanding of historic use of the site and certain developments that occurred over time on the property. Most of the archaeological features located during the project dealt with the handling of water. This indicates that there was a continuing drainage problem at the courthouse which became a major concern by the late nineteenth century (Clauser and Joy 1993: 31). As a result of the narrow focus of the project,

however, much of the site has remained unexplored and virtually none of the material culture recovered during the project was discussed in the 1990 report. Despite this narrow treatment, the potential for further research on the property was recognized (Clauser and Joy 1993: 31). Additionally, a significant number of artifacts dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth century were recovered providing a dataset with which future research questions may be addressed.

The second archaeological response on the site came in 1994 as restoration on the courthouse progressed. Questions were raised by members of the Courthouse Study Commission and architects for the project concerning the original grade at the front of the building (Clauser 1996: 1). A single archaeological test was deemed sufficient to answer this question. On April 5, 1994 a 2 ft by 2 ft test unit was placed along the east side of the front steps to not only establish original grade, but to also determine the number of original steps to the structure (Clauser 1996: 1-3). This single test revealed that the front area has also sustained multiple episodes of fill and build-up similarly to what was noted in the rear in 1990 (Clauser 1996: 5). Located below some of this fill was a third step that was visible in the structure's original configuration. This test was meant only to address the specific questions noted above. In order to expedite the project, none of the soil was screened and, apart from a few randomly collected items, no artifacts were retained from the field.

The third and final archaeological response to date on the site came in 2001 during one of the final phases of restoration work. There was not a significant amount of concern when this round of restoration work began. The considerable testing and

monitoring conducted in 1990 and 1994 led the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) to assume they knew what archaeological resources would be present on the site (Clauser 2001: 1). Monitoring was recommended, but prior archaeological testing was not felt to be necessary. This round of restoration would allow access to previously inaccessible areas under the floor for inspection. State officials saw the opportunity to obtain additional structural detailing of the extant building (Clauser 2001: 2). However, monitoring, coupled with some limited archaeological testing, proved more fruitful than originally anticipated. Dramatic discoveries triggered a change to full salvage mode in order to stay within the project schedule. While perhaps not ideal, the situation allowed the recovery of a substantial amount of data concerning changes and development that occurred on the site through time.

Monitoring the placement of utilities outside of the courthouse did not reveal anything previously unknown about the site (Clauser 2001: 2). Grade changes consistent with those observed in 1990 and 1994 were evident. Artifacts collected ranged from the early eighteenth century to the late twentieth century, also consistent with those recovered during previous work (Clauser 2001: 2). Discoveries made beneath the floor of the structure proved more interesting.

Several of the features located under the floor consist merely of large postholes that were probably used for scaffolding during the construction of the 1767 courthouse. However, a large, densely packed trash pit was discovered while excavating in the west wing of the courthouse. The feature measures 10 ft north-south by 8 ft east-west and 2.5 ft deep (Clauser 2001: 6). The stratigraphy indicates that the feature was sealed by a lens

of construction debris associated with the construction of the courthouse walls, indicating a pre-1767 date for the feature (Clauser 2001: 6-7). The trash pit contained a multitude of materials dating from the late 1600s to mid 1700s including: ceramics, table glass-ware, wine/spirits bottles, personal items, and food remains. Presence of high and low status food remains, ceramics and other domestic materials suggests secondary trash deposition, the result of a single large episode rather than long-term usage. Concentrations of particular types of artifacts in separate areas of the feature suggest there were multiple sources for the material. Overall, the data led researchers to conclude that the trash pit was likely the result of a major clean-up effort prior to courthouse construction (Clauser 2001: 9).

Construction excavation beneath the floor of the courthouse uncovered a brick foundation predating the 1767 structure (Clauser 2001: 10). Three corners of the foundation were located providing the dimensions of this earlier structure. Measuring 16 ft by 25 ft, the structure was set 26 ft further back from King Street than the present courthouse. All indications suggest that this feature could only relate to the 1716 Council Chambers, the exact location of which had previously remained elusive (Clauser 2001: 11).

Despite being akin to a salvage project, the 2001 archaeological monitoring and testing produced a great deal of data that documents cultural use of the site prior to the construction of the 1767 courthouse. Portions of the trash pit were left intact for future investigation and most of the Council Chamber interior remains preserved underneath the stone floor of the courthouse. Together these features comprise unique and rare capsules

of early American life that will be preserved, at least in part, for future researchers. This project, however, is still awaiting a final analysis and report to be produced. John Clauser (2001), formerly of the Office of State Archaeology, has prepared a preliminary manuscript detailing the project highlights. Some of the material culture is minimally discussed in this document, but Clauser himself advocates the need for additional analysis stating… " analysis was cursory at best because of time limitations (Clauser 2001: 12)." This is not surprising since the project unexpectedly added to an already heavy workload at the OSA. Linda Carnes McNaughton, who supervised a large portion of the project along with Thomas Beaman Jr, has indicated plans to complete a more thorough analysis and final report for the project sometime in the future (Linda Carnes McNaughton, personal communication 2006).

Summary

It is rare to find a government site from the eighteenth century that has lent itself to archaeological inquiry. Many of these early sites have fallen victim to urbanization and have been continuously developed over the years, leaving little evidence of their eighteenth century origins. Yet here are two contemporaneous sites, each of which served comparable functions, and have both been subject to substantial archaeological investigations. Studies of the Delaware State House collection have produced two potential patterns that may be indicative of "public" structures on eighteenth century British-American sites. While material studies of the Chowan County Courthouse collections have been relatively minimal, the excavations have produced a substantial

dataset. In particular, materials from the 1990 excavations, directly related to the occupation of the 1767 structure, provide for an opportunity to test the observed patterns in the Delaware State House data.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

As previously stated, this study seeks to test two empirically derived artifact patterns abstracted from the Delaware State House site: The Public Structure Artifact Pattern and the Delaware State House Minimum Vessel Pattern. The Public Structure pattern was proposed by Cara Wise (1978) following her analysis of material from the Delaware State House site. Wise found that the proportions of certain functional classes of artifacts from the State House and two other 'public' sites fall outside the normative ranges of two other artifact patterns previously defined for British-American sites, the Carolina Artifact Pattern and the Frontier Artifact Pattern. The Delaware State House Minimum Vessel Pattern was derived following the author's analysis of the ceramic assemblage from the site in 2005. To better understand the context of this study, the following presents a summary of these patterns, how they developed, and the theoretical assumptions or considerations that underlay their derivation.

The Carolina Artifact Pattern:

Stanley South first defined the Carolina Artifact Pattern in 1977 in Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology. This pattern defines an expected range of frequency variation in functional artifact groups from 18th-century British-American domestic sites. South developed this pattern in response to what was at the time a lack of quantitative studies in historical archaeology (South 1977: 83). Pattern recognition studies can help illumine regularities and variation within the cultural processes that produced them,

regularities and variation that may otherwise be overlooked when relying solely on historical documentation for developing explanations of past life-ways, social dynamics and culture history. South focused his studies on 18th-century British colonial sites primarily for two reasons: First, an emphasis on studying specialized sites, such as pottery kilns and blacksmith shops, had resulted in a lack of adequate descriptive data relating to the average domestic dwelling of the eighteenth century (South 1977: 85); Second, by virtue of his occupation at the time, South had spent more than a decade investigating numerous British colonial sites in the Carolinas and had compiled a multitude of quantitative data with which to generate and test cultural patterning.

South selected collections from five sites to define the Carolina Artifact Pattern. The collections were taken from two totally excavated ruins at Brunswick Town, NC, two midden deposit samples from Fort Moultrie, SC, and a secondary midden deposit in a cellar hole at Cambridge, Ninety Six, SC (South 1977: 89). He excavated each of the sites using consistent, controlled recovery methods (South 1977: 89). Additionally, the collections chosen represent a wide variety of human behavior and cover approximately 100 years (ca. 1730-1830) of time making these collections particularly suitable to this type of study (South 1977: 90).

Definition of the Carolina Artifact Pattern relied on certain theoretical assumptions and constructs. The approach adopted by South was a systemic view of culture popularly advocated by the New Archaeology. The first assumption directly linked to his approach towards defining the Carolina Pattern is that each household in an eighteenth-century British colonial society represented a system within a much larger

system of complex variables, with the larger system imposing on each household a degree of uniformity in the relationships among its behavioral parts (South 1977: 86). This assumes that a British family on the way to America in the eighteenth century would bring a basic set of behavioral modes, attitudes, and associated artifacts that would not vary regardless of where they settled (South 1977: 86). This uniformity is expected to be revealed in various classes of cultural remains and should reveal regularities in patterning in the archaeological record (South 1977: 86-88). The second construct informing South's approach is the assumption there was some patterned uniformity in the casting off of behavioral by-products around an occupation site (South 1977: 87). Finally, specialized behavioral activities should reveal patterns distinct from the normative variation found on household sites (South 1977: 88).

The fabric of South's method of pattern derivation is his classification scheme. South (1977: 93) identified 42 separate classes of artifacts during the "Carolina" study based on form and function (Table 3-1). These classes were combined into nine groups based on functional activities related to the systemic context reflected by the archaeological record (South 1977: 93). The data were organized at these group levels because it was expected that broader cultural processes would more likely be revealed at the group level of generalization (South 1977: 93). The frequencies of eight of the nine functional artifact groups (South omitted the 'Bone' group from the overall model since it requires specialized analysis, and is not the same type of by-product of human behavior as represented by the other groups) from the five sites were then compared against each

other, identifying a normative range for typical British-American colonial period household sites (Table 3-2).

Table 3-1: Artifact Classes and Groups

Class No.	Class Name
	Kitchen Artifact Group
1. Ceramics	(over 100 types)
2. Wine Bottles	(several types)
3. Case Bottle	(several types)
4. Tumbler	(plain, engraved, enameled)
5. Pharmaceutical Bottle	(several types)
6. Glassware	(stemmed, decanter, dishes, misc.)
7. Tableware	(cutlery, knives, forks, spoons)
8. Kitchenware	(pots, pans, pothooks, gridiron, trivets, kettles pots, buckets, handles, etc.)
	Bone Group
9. Bone Fragments	
	Architectural Group
10. Window Glass	
11. Nails	(many types)
12. Spikes	
13. Construction Hardware	(hinges, pintles, shutter hooks and dogs, staples, Fireplace backings, lead window cames, etc.)
14. Door Lock Parts	(doorknobs, case lock parts, keyhole escutch-ons, locking bolts and brackets)
	Furniture Group
15. Furniture Hardware	(hinges, knobs, drawer pulls and locks, escutch-on plates, keyhole surrounds, handles, rollers, brass tacks, etc.)
	Arms Group
16. Musket Balls, Shot, Sprue	
17. Gunflints, Gunspalls	
18. Gun Parts, Bullet Molds	
	Clothing Group
19. Buckles	(many types)
20. Thimbles	(several types)
21. Buttons	(many types)
22. Scissors	
23. Straight Pins	
24. Hook and Eye Fasteners	
25. Bale Seals	
26. Glass Beads	
	Personal Group
27. Coins	
28. Keys	
29. Personal Items	(wig curlers, bone brushes, mirrors, rings, signet sets, watch fobs, fob compass, bone fan, slate pencils, spectacle lens, tweezers, watch key, etc.)

Table 3-1 (continued)

	Tobacco Pipe Group
30. Tobacco Pipes	(ball clay pipes, many types
	Activities Group
31. Construction Tools	(plane bit, files, augers, gimlets, axe head, saws, chisel, rives, punch, hammers, etc.)
32. Farm Tools	(hoes, rake, sickle, spade, etc.)
33. Toys	(marbles, jew's-harp, doll parts, etc.)
34. Fishing Gear	(fishhooks, sinkers, gigs, harpoons)
35. Stub-stemmed Pipes	(red clay, short-stemmed tobacco pipes)
36. Colono-Indian Pottery	(or types clearly associated with the historic occupation)
37. Storage Items	(barrel bands, brass cock, etc.)
38. Ethnobotanical	(nuts, seeds, hulls, melon seeds)
39. Stable and Barn	(stirrup, bit, harness bolts, horseshoes, wagon and buggy parts, rein eyes, etc.)
40. Misc. Hardware	(rope eye thimble, bolts, nuts, chain, andiron, tongs, case knife, flatiron, wick trimmer, washers, etc.)
41. Other	(button manufacturing blanks, kiln waster furniture, silversmithing debris, etc., reflecting specialized activities)
42. Military Objects	(swords, insignia, bayonets, artillery shot and shell, etc.)

Table Reproduced from South (1977: 95-96)

Table 3-2: The Carolina Artifact Pattern

Artifact group	Mean %	% Range
Kitchen	63.1	51.8-69.2
Architecture	25.5	19.7-31.4
Furniture	.2	.1-.6
Arms	.5	.1-1.2
Clothing	3.0	.6-5.4
Personal	.2	.1-.5
Tobacco Pipes	5.8	1.8-13.9
Activities	1.7	.9-2.7
	100.0	

Table Reproduced from South (1977: 107)

The Frontier Artifact Pattern:

South (1977) derived the Frontier Artifact Pattern via the same method utilized in his Carolina Artifact Pattern study. Artifact profiles were examined from three sites that served as frontier forts and trading posts. These sites include: Spaulding's Lower Store, a ca. 1763 British trading post in Putnam County Florida; Fort Ligonier, a British fort dating to the French and Indian War period; and Fort Prince George, a British fort and Cherokee trading post also dating to the French and Indian War period. Upon examining the frequency ranges from these three sites, it is readily apparent that these frontier sites display an inverse ratio of kitchen and architectural group artifacts to those displayed by the Carolina Artifact Pattern. While the Carolina pattern is characterized by relatively high proportions of kitchen group artifacts and low proportions of architecture group artifacts, the Frontier Artifact Pattern is characterized by relatively low frequencies of kitchen group versus high frequencies of architecture group artifacts (Table 3-3).

Table 3-3: The Frontier Artifact Pattern

Artifact group	Mean %	% Range
Kitchen	22.6	22.7-34.5
Architecture	52.0	43.0-57.5
Furniture	.2	.1-.3
Arms	5.4	1.4-8.4
Clothing	1.7	.3-3.8
Personal	.2	.1-.4
Tobacco Pipes	9.1	1.9-14.0
Activities	3.7	.7-6.4
	100.0	

Table Reproduced from South (1977: 145)

South (1977) attributed the pronounced difference in kitchen and architecture group artifacts to primarily two explanations. First, each architectural unit on a frontier site generally endured shorter periods of occupation than their established settlement counterparts. Second, frontier sites were more remote from supply sources. Combined, these two characteristics would contribute to lower amounts of discarded kitchen refuse, thus increasing the relative frequency of Architecture group artifacts (South 1977: 146). This pattern provides a vivid illustration of how this type of pattern analysis can reveal the specialized nature of sites that do not fit the profile of the typical British-American household.

The Public Structure Artifact Pattern:

Cara Wise (1978) proposed the Public Structure Artifact Pattern following her original analysis of the Delaware State House site, as briefly discussed in the previous chapter. Interested in determining if the artifact signature from 7KC-7-61 reflects specialized activity related to the public function of the site, Wise organized artifacts from deposits associated with the eighteenth-early nineteenth century occupation of the site into functional groups consistent with those used in South's (1977) Carolina and Frontier artifact pattern studies. Of the deposits Wise analyzed, only one fell within the ranges of the Carolina pattern. However, based on field observations, this deposit was later determined to represent secondary refuse of unknown origins. Two other deposits reflected the Frontier Artifact Pattern. One deposit, the drip line of the original roof, contained an unusually high proportion of architectural debris. Wise (1978) attributed this

to the possibility that the drip line may have been open while construction on the site was still occurring (124). The other deposit falling within the Frontier pattern was identified as original ground surface associated with the earlier ca. 1722 courthouse on the site (Wise 1978: 124). Despite some of the deposits falling within normative ranges of previously defined artifact patterns, Wise (1978) found that other primary refuse deposits associated with the State House site displayed a pattern distinct from that of the Carolina and the Frontier artifact patterns. Three of the deposits, consisting primarily of topsoil and construction horizons related to the ca.1787-1807 State House occupation (and one deposit identified as having been associated with the occupation of the ca. 1740 Recorder's Office) display remarkably consistent artifact frequencies that fall roughly in between the Carolina and Frontier patterns.

Wise (1978) further compared these frequencies against those from two other sites identified as falling outside of the normative ranges for the Carolina and Frontier patterns, the Hepburn-Reonalds House and Camden Toft 8. The Hepburn-Reonalds House, located in Brunswick, North Carolina, was excavated by Stanley South and was identified as a deviant from the Carolina pattern during his original study (South 1977: 154). South attributed this deviation to the structure being used as an office or shop in addition to its residential capacity (South 1977: 158). Camden Toft 8 was excavated by Kenneth Lewis (1976) and is associated with the site of a brew house. Primary deposits from the State House, the Hepburn-Reonalds House and Camden Toft 8 all display similar, tightly clustered frequencies (Table 3-4).

Table 3-4: Artifact Frequencies from Three Sites

	State House		Camden Toft 8		Hepburn-Reonalds	
Artifact Group	*N*	*Percent*	*N*	*Percent*	*N*	*Percent*
Kitchen	2041	50.49	966	52	3702	45.2
Architecture	1757	43.5	824	45	3953	48.3
Furniture	3	.07	0	0	18	.2
Arms	7	.17	1	.01	12	.1
Clothing	102	2.5	0	0	24	.3
Personal	4	.1	0	0	4	.1
Tobacco	92	2.3	16	1	374	4.6
Activities	35	.87	42	2	96	1.2
Total	4042	100	1848	100	8138	100

From Wise (1978: 119-121)

Given the similarity in frequencies displayed by the three sites, Wise (1978) suggested the presence of a third artifact distribution pattern applicable to British-American sites. She noted that none of the sites are wholly domestic, all are located in urban centers (which preclude their classification as frontier sites) and each served a public function. Taken together, it was proposed that these sites may characterize a "Public Structure Artifact Pattern (Table 3-5)." Wise (1978: 122) further suggested that public offices, mercantile facilities, and some manufacturing sites may be expected to fit within this pattern.

Table 3-5: The Public Structure Artifact Pattern

Artifact group	Mean %	% Range
Kitchen	49.23	45.2-52.0
Architecture	45.60	43.5-48.3
Furniture	.09	0-.2
Arms	.09	.01-.17
Clothing	.93	0-2.5
Personal	.06	0-.1
Tobacco Pipes	2.6	1.0-4.6
Activities	1.4	.87-2.0
	100.0	

Some Criticisms of South's Method:

The concept of distinctive artifact patterns as introduced by Stanley South (1977) has largely been abandoned by historical archaeologists (Bedell 1999: 70). Some archaeologists attempting to apply South's concepts to a wider range of sites in North America found it not to work well. Timothy Thompson (1987: 113), after comparing the artifacts from the "Riseing Son" Tavern Site in Delaware to a group of other domestic and tavern sites, concluded that "the distribution of percentages of artifacts within South's Functional Types showed no clear patterning that could be correlated with site function, time, economic status or setting." Charles Orser (1988) has also criticized South for relying on a "whole culture" concept without giving sufficient attention to variation in geographic setting, functional differences, change over time, and variations in the quality of social relations. More recent archaeology has focused on examining the deeper

meanings of artifacts and the complex relationships that exist between people and the things around them (Orser 2004: 47). From this viewpoint, few archaeologists think that South's functional categories have any inherent meaning (Bedell 1999: 70).

Although many archaeologists may sympathize with the above sentiments and feel that South's functional categories and patterns are bereft of any real, inherent meaning, his method, nonetheless, is still alive and widely practiced, at least in the Southeast. Charles Ewen (1997) in a review of the role of Brunswick Town in historical archaeology, suggests that South's work should inspire additional pattern delineation and testing. Thomas Beaman (2001) conducted such a study in which he tested whether or not the normative range of the Carolina pattern was sufficient to explain the cultural processes that formed the archaeological record from two elite eighteenth century households in North Carolina. A recent volume edited by Carl Steen and Linda Carnes McNaughton (2005) contains a whole collection of articles compiled from a session of the 2002 annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, a volume that is quite literally "In Praise of the Poet Archaeologist: Papers in Honor of Stanley South and His Five Decades of Historical Archaeology." While such processual type studies might not illumine all of the complexities of human interaction, or deeper meanings represented by discarded objects from the past, South's method, nevertheless, does remain useful as a tool for assessing inter-site variability. They highlight deviations from expected patterns, which cause us to ask questions we may otherwise have not considered.

The State House Minimum Vessel Pattern:

Minimum vessel analysis has been a regular feature of historic excavations for more than a decade resulting in a large body of data that can be used to study daily life in the past (Bedell 1999: 61). Many have advocated the utility of MNV (Minimum Number of Vessels) calculations over sherd counts because it gives a closer indication of the ceramics actually used by the residents (Bedell 1999: 61). A considerable number of sites in the Delaware Valley region have undergone ceramic MNV analysis while a few studies have also included MNV analyses of vessel glass. Louis Berger and Associates have been involved in an ongoing study emphasizing comparisons of large groups of sites. The main result of this analysis has been to point out the overall similarity in the collections from rural Delaware Valley sites, both in the wares and in the types of vessels found (Bedell 1999: 62). To date, the sample of sites includes thirteen rural domestic sites, one tavern, and three urban domestic sites. The urban sites and the tavern used in the comparison display considerable variability in the ratios of ware and functional types. However, a general pattern of ceramics from farm sites of the 1730-1830 period has been established (Table 3-6 and 3-7) (Bedell 1999: 66).

Table 3-6: Ceramic Vessels from Delaware Valley Farm Sites

Ware Type	Mean %	%Range
Coarse Earthenwares	55.47	30.8-69.5
Utilitarian Stonewares	1.49	0-5.7
Refined Wares	38.3	22.4-53.7
Porcelain	4.74	0-16.2
	100	

Table 3-7: Ceramic Vessels by Function from Delaware Valley Farm Sites

Vessel Type	Mean %	%Range
Tea Wares	26.16	14-39.6
Table Wares	23.54	12.5-37.3
Other Drinking Vessels	11.79	1.5-33.3
Multi-Function Vessels	36.35	20.7-53.7
Hygiene	2.07	.45-6.4
	100	

Minimum vessel analysis was conducted by me on the Delaware State House collection in 2005. Part of this analysis was focused in examining changes in use of the State House site through time. To achieve this objective, deposits from the site were seriated into three distinct chronological phases of occupation. These were defined based on the integration of documentary and stratigraphic evidence and were meant to serve as broad temporal categories with which to correlate the material analysis (Willoughby 2005). Phase I, or the Pre-Construction phase, represents the period of time the site was used prior to construction of the State House in 1787. Deposits associated with this phase of occupation relate to the earlier 1722 courthouse and ca. 1740 recorder's office. Phase II was designated the Construction and Early Post-Construction phase. These deposits consist primarily of construction related rubble and features and early topsoil deposits. All date roughly from 1787 to 1807, at which time a brick pavement was installed in front of the structure, sealing the yard from further deposition. Phase III, the Late Post Construction phase, ranges from 1807 to 1933, when the state government moved to a

new structure. These deposits relate primarily to various intrusive features related to various improvements and utility line placements.

Minimum vessel analysis was conducted on ceramics associated with all three phases of occupation. The overall study, however, focused primarily on analysis from the first two phases of occupation. This was done mainly for two reasons: First, deposits associated with the first two occupations contained topsoil deposits representing occupational horizons while Phase III deposits were intrusive and represented specific construction events; and second, the sample of artifacts from Phase III deposits were relatively sparse contributing only a small fraction (approximately 15%) of the total collection from the site.

Vessels were sorted both by ware type and function based on an approach developed and used largely by Berger and Associates in their analysis of sites in the Delaware Valley region (Bedell 1999). Their approach largely centered on establishing a general pattern of ceramics that one would expect to find on farm sites of the 1730 to 1830 period. Dividing vessels by ware and functional type helps illumine aspects of the individuals who used them, such as status, consumer choice, consumption practices, etc. For example, a site with a high proportion of refined tableware and tea ware might denote high status or social affluence. High proportions of coarse utilitarian wares are indicative of dairying, food storage and preparation activities, things one might expect at a rural domestic site. When the mean frequencies of ware types (Table 3-8) and functional vessel types (Table 3-9) from the rural domestic or farm sites are compared with the assemblage from the Delaware State House site, distinct characteristics are seen.

Table 3-8: Proportions of Ceramic Vessels from the State House and Delaware Valley Farm Sites

Ware Type	State House Ph. I %	State House Ph. II %	Farm Sites %
Coarse Earthenwares	44.3	23.8	55.47
Utilitarian Stonewares	4.1	3.6	1.49
Refined Wares	39.2	57.4	38.3
Porcelain	12.4	15.2	4.74
	100	100	100

Table 3-9: Frequencies of Functional Vessel Types from the State House and Delaware Valley Farm Sites

Vessel Type	State House Ph. I %	State House Ph. II %	Farm Sites %
Tea Wares	31.4	30.2	26.16
Table Wares	27.2	46.3	23.54
Other Drinking Vessels	21.4	5.6	11.79
Multi-Function/Utilitarian	15.7	16.1	36.35
Hygiene	4.3	1.8	2.07
	100	100	100

Overall, the typical rural farm site displays substantively higher proportions of multifunction vessels (characterized by coarse preparation, storage and service vessels) and lower frequencies of table and refined wares than the State House site.

If the proportions of ceramic ware and functional types from rural farm sites to reflect the typical British-American household in the Delaware Valley region, the pattern displayed by the State House site indicates a deviation from the norm. Given the

specialized function of the State House site, it is reasonable to assume that this deviation may reflect the particular behavior associated with a government site.

Notes on Sample Bias and Limitations:

While the minimum vessel data from the State House do display a distinct pattern from rural domestic sites in the Delaware Valley region, some discussion of the urban sites is warranted. Two of the urban sites used in the comparison display frequencies in ware and functional vessel types relatively close to those displayed by the State House assemblage. It has been suggested that the State House and these urban sites may represent a pattern characteristic of urban sites in the Delaware Valley region (Willoughby 2005). The third urban site, a church parsonage, displays frequencies inconsistent with the other urban sites. The parsonage assemblage shows higher frequencies of coarse, multifunction vessels more analogous with rural domestic sites. Given the general lack of data available from urban sites in the Delaware Valley region, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions. Despite this ambiguity, minimum vessel analysis does seem to hold promise for displaying similarities and differences among artifact assemblages from different sites. The general similarity displayed by rural domestic sites versus the considerable variability displayed among the non-rural sites seems to indicate a possible correlation between frequencies of ceramic types and site function, setting, and possibly status. More research on urban sites in the Delaware Valley region will help to further evaluate these links. The Chowan County Courthouse

provides additional data with which to test the relationship between ceramic vessels and site function.

Chapter 4: Methods and Collections Summary

To ensure data compatibility, materials from the Chowan County Courthouse site were analyzed using methods fully consistent with the previous studies conducted on the Delaware State House collection. Two general comparative techniques were utilized to assess overall site similarity and test the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. First, utilizing the same classification scheme devised by South (1977) and employed by Wise (1978) in earlier pattern delineation studies, functional groups of artifacts from both the Delaware State House and the Chowan County Courthouse were compared and assessed against the expected ranges of the Public Structure Pattern. Additionally, ceramics, organized at the minimum vessel level by both ware and functional type as in Willoughby's (2005) previous study, were compared from both sites. Since there is no previously defined pattern delineating the expected ranges of ceramic vessel types from 'public' sites, the ceramic vessel comparisons were further assessed for statistical significance by using a simple cross-tabulation or Chi-square test.

Data Selection:

While the purpose of this study is to evaluate the similarity in cultural patterning from two eighteenth century government sites, the primary objective is to test the predictive rigor of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern against new data. Therefore the Delaware State House data, compiled and organized originally by Wise (1978) served as the baseline for analysis. Since the deposits Wise used to define the Public Structure

pattern correlated primarily with the ca. 1787-1807 occupation, minimum vessel data from the Phase II State House occupation will serve as the baseline for the vessel comparison. This vessel analysis will provide an independent and complementary test to assess the similarity between the two government sites and further evaluate the Public Structure pattern.

In order to test the Public Structure Artifact Pattern and assess the similarity in cultural patterning between both sites, an applicable sample is needed from the Chowan County Courthouse collection. The Chowan County Courthouse collection is the product of three different archaeological investigations conducted at different times over approximately a ten year period. The first project, conducted in 1990, produced a total of 3,400 artifacts relating to the occupation of the 1767 structure. The 1994 test unit, which was placed against the front steps of the structure, failed to produce a substantive amount of material. Since the primary goal of that project was to answer architectural questions, none of the material was screened and only a handful of artifacts was retained from the field. Excavations in 2001 recovered a substantive amount of material from the site, 16,052 artifacts in total. However, with the exception of a thin lens of construction-related debris located underneath the floor of the 1767 structure, all other deposits recovered during this project are associated with earlier use of the site (Clauser 2001, Linda Carnes-McNaughton 2006: personal communication). These deposits are either related to the occupation of the ca. 1720 Council Chamber or, in the case of the Trash Pit, may represent secondary refuse from multiple sources (Clauser 2001: 9). Therefore, materials from the 1990 excavations, which are definitely linked to cultural use of the

1767 Courthouse, were selected as the most applicable material for this study. While some of the materials date to the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century, the majority date primarily to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, making this material roughly comparable to material used in Delaware State House pattern studies. The predominance of pearlware from this collection indicates that this material largely reflects the pre-1840 use of the site.

Artifact Classification:

The first phase of analysis consisted of re-classifying and organizing the data from the 1990 Chowan County Courthouse excavations into the same artifact categories defined by South (1977) at both the class and group level. The material has previously been catalogued and entered into an electronic data base following the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology Research Center standards. This system uses only six classes of artifacts consisting of: artifacts, potsherds, animal bone, ethnobotanical material, human bone and miscellaneous. However, full type descriptions for each artifact are provided. Re-classifying the material simply consisted of assigning each artifact in the database a new class designation based on type and function consistent with South's taxonomy. For a description of the classes and functional groups, table 3-1 can be referenced in the previous chapter.

The second phase of the analysis involved conducting minimum number of vessel calculations on the ceramics from the 1990 Chowan County Courthouse excavations using methods consistent with those used during the author's 2005 analysis of the

Delaware State House material. Minimum vessel calculations were conducted primarily based on certain diagnostic characteristics, including rim sherds, base or foot sherds and, to a lesser extent, sherds displaying unique decoration. The process mainly consisted of separating rim and base/foot sherds by ware type. Rims of the same type of vessel were cross-checked against each other for differences in thickness, consistency and tint of fabric, and tint of the glaze. Rims that exhibited identical characteristics were counted as a single vessel. Base/foot sherds were only counted as separate vessels if there were no rim sherds present that displayed similar characteristics in fabric and glaze. In a few cases there were sherds that exhibited unique decorations but had no rim sherds that appeared to correspond with them. These rare cases were also identified as representing distinct vessels. A number of cross mends were observed in the collection, but were relatively rare and no attempt was made to reconstruct the mends. A few had already been bonded previously. The majority of the sherds are extremely fragmented and most of the vessels identified in the collection are represented by only a few rim sherds.

Once individual vessels were separated by ware type, vessel forms were also identified where possible. Given the fragmented condition of the ceramics, in a number of cases vessels could only be determined as merely hollowware or flatware forms. Hollow wares are basically vessels designed to hold some form of liquid, i.e. bowls, cups, tankards, etc. Flatware forms are comprised of vessels such as plates, platters, saucers, etc. Vessel form classification was adapted from the system largely utilized by Louis Berger and Associates (Bedell 1999: 64-65). Vessel forms were separated into five distinct groups based on function. These include tea wares, other (non-tea) drinking

forms, tableware, multifunction and hygiene (Louis Berger uses three additional categories, storage, food preparation, and activities. These were combined into the multifunction category for this study). Tea wares include such vessel forms as tea cups/bowls, saucers and tea pots. Mugs, tankards and Staffordshire cups are included in the non-tea drinking group. The tableware group includes dining plates, jugs/pitchers and tableware bowls. Coarse earthenware serving dishes/platters, milk pans, butter pots, storage jars and bottles all fall in the multifunction group. The hygiene group contains chamber pots, drug/ointment jars and other similar vessels.

Notes on Comparability:

It should be noted that the Chowan County Courthouse material covers a greater timeframe than the Delaware State House material. One main reason for this is that the lawn in front of the Delaware State House was paved in brick in 1806 which sealed the ground surface to further deposition. The Chowan County Courthouse, on the other hand, had no extensive paving, thus remaining exposed to deposition for a greater period of time. A number of materials in the Chowan County collection were also recovered from late nineteenth century features indicating that at least some of the material is intrusive. This explains why a number of ceramic types described above that appeared in the early nineteenth century show up in the Chowan County collection but not the Delaware collection. These later period ceramics, i.e. whiteware, yellowware and ironstone, however, make up a small proportion of the assemblage. The majority of the

ceramics date primarily from the eighteenth century into the first third or so of the nineteenth century.

Despite there being a slight time gap between the collections, both assemblages can still be considered largely comparable. Even though the Chowan County material extends further into the nineteenth century, the functional groups of artifacts remained constant. Additionally, while certain ceramic types, such as refined earthenware and ironstone, became increasingly more available during the nineteenth century, the functional forms remained relatively un-changed. I also performed analysis on both collections, resulting in consistent artifact classifications, thus making the collections used in this study directly comparable.

Summary of the Collections:

The following section presents a summary of the collections used in this study. Two methods of data organization were used to facilitate the inter-site comparison. First, collections were organized into functional classes and groups according to South's (1977) method described above and in the previous section on *Theoretical Framework.* Second, ceramic minimum vessel data were organized by ware type and functional group, also described in previous sections.

A portion of this study relies on Wise's (1978) previous analysis of the State House collection to serve as the baseline for the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. Wise based her pattern on three broad deposits recovered on the site representing various occupation horizons. The summary of this analysis, presented in her Master's thesis, only

summarized the data at the group level. A summary of individual classes of artifacts was not presented. While she indicates what deposits were analyzed and used for the basis of the Public pattern, after examining the strata descriptions in the original artifact catalogue it is not entirely clear which individual excavation units and strata formed the three broad deposits described in her analysis. As a result, a full description of the collection at the class level could not be replicated with identical results presented by Wise. The author attempted to re-analyze the material at the class level based on Wise's excavation register and original artifact catalogue. In doing so, the functional proportions of artifacts differed slightly from the original calculations. Part of the reason for this discrepancy likely stems from two reasons: perhaps a small number of artifacts were assigned to different classes in the re-analysis; a unit level or two included in the original analysis may have been omitted during this second round. Despite this minor problem, calculations were relatively close to the original (within about 120 artifacts) and the proportion of functional groups remained relatively constant. A summary of this material is presented below. The Chowan County Courthouse material was analyzed by the author without any such replication problems. A description of this material at both the class and functional group level will be presented later in this chapter. Minimum vessel analysis was also conducted by the author on both the Delaware State House collection and a portion of the Chowan County Courthouse collection, allowing for a full and comparable summary of each.

Delaware State House Material:

Wise originally catalogued the Delaware State House material following its excavation in the 1970s. She found that a number of deposits appeared to form a distinct pattern for Anglo-American colonial sites and thus proposed the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. The three deposits Wise used consisted of a topsoil/ground surface deposit associated with the post 1787 occupation of the State House, a deposit consisting of construction debris related to the structure, and an old ground surface deposit associated with the 1740s recorder's office. A brief summary of this material is presented in Table 4-1.

The kitchen group forms the slight majority of the collection *(n = 2061).* Ceramics dominate this group with 1756 sherds. Wine bottle fragments are next in abundance *(n = 105),* followed by glass tumbler fragments *(n = 79).* The remaining portions of this group are comprised of 51 case bottle fragments, 28 pharmaceutical bottle fragments, and 42 miscellaneous glassware fragments (including one enamel twist and one air twist stem).

The architecture group comprises the second largest functional category in the assemblage *(n = 1619).* Window glass makes up the majority *(n = 1136),* followed by 477 nails. A total of 2 spikes and 4 hardware specimens are also present in the assemblage. The hardware consists of 3 lead pipe fragments and one door pintle.

Table 4-1: Delaware State House Artifacts in South Format.

Class	***n***	**%**	**Class**	***n***	**%**
Ceramics	1756		*Buttons*	18	
Wine Bottle	105		*Straight Pins*	87	
Case Bottle	51		***Clothing Group Total***	**105**	**2.7**
Tumbler	79				
Pharmaceutical Bottle	28		*Hair Pin*	1	
Glassware	42		*Slate Pencil*	1	
Kitchen Group Total	**2061**	**52.7**	***Personal Group Total***	**2**	**.05**
Bone Fragments	512		*Tobacco Pipes*	98	
Bone Group Total	**512**	**NA**	***Tobacco Group***	**98**	**2.5**
Window Glass	1136		*Iron Wire*	3	
Spikes	2		*Lead Clippings*	13	
Nails	477		*Undet. Copper Disk*	1	
Hardware	4		***Activities Group Total***	**17**	**.43**
Architecture Total	**1619**	**41.42**			
Upholstery Tack	3				
Keyhole Escutcheon	1				
Furniture Group	**4**	**.1**			
Lead Shot	3		**TOTAL (w/o Bone Group)**	**3909**	**100**
Arms Total	**3**	**.08**			

A total of 4 specimens were included in the furniture group. These consist of three brass upholstery tacks and one small brass keyhole escutcheon. The entire arms group is comprised of only 3 specimens of lead shot. The clothing group is comprised of

18 buttons and 87 straight pins, forming 2.7% of the entire assemblage. The majority of the buttons are of the typical eighteenth-century disk type of various diameters. One bone button, one set of cuff-links, and one green glass setting that is also likely from a cuff-link were also included in the button class. The personal group consists of two items, a two-inch straight pin that was identified as a hairpin, and 1 slate pencil fragment. A total of 98 white clay tobacco pipe bowl and stem fragments form approximately 2.5% of the assemblage. The remaining portions of the assemblage is comprised of 512 bone fragments and 17 artifacts placed in the activities group. These consist of lead clippings, a copper disk, and 3 pieces of iron wire (8 fragments of miscellaneous, unidentified copper and iron were not included in this analysis).

Summary:

Looking at the State House assemblage at the group level reveals the pattern that formed the basis for the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. While the proportions of the functional groups have changed slightly in this replication of the original analysis, the same pattern is evident. As in Wise's original analysis, the kitchen and architecture groups form roughly equal proportions of the assemblage, 52.7% and 41.42% respectively. Table 4-2 presents a summary of this material at the functional group level.

Table 4-2: Functional Group Level Summary, Delaware State House

Artifact group	*n*	%
Kitchen	2061	52.7
Architecture	1619	41.42
Furniture	4	.1
Arms	3	.08
Clothing	105	2.7
Personal	2	.05
Tobacco Pipes	98	2.5
Activities	17	.43
	3909	100

Delaware State House Ceramics:

Ceramics from the Phase II period occupation of the State House site as defined by Willoughby (2005) were selected as the basis of comparison. Excavations of the State House site recovered 3,154 ceramic sherds from Phase II period contexts with a minimum of 223 vessels represented in the collection. A summary of the ceramics is presented in Table 4-3.

Tin Glazed Earthenware (commonly referred to as Delftware): Produced as early as the sixteenth century, this coarse earthenware remained popular into the early nineteenth century as an affordable alternative to more expensive porcelains and refined earthenwares. Phase II deposits produced 112 sherds of tin glazed earthenware with a minimum of 8 vessels represented. Aside from two undetermined vessels, all are hollow forms. Two tea bowls are represented, both with blue painted decoration. One has a

simple wavy line below the rim on the interior surface with a floral/foliate design on its exterior. The other tea bowl exhibits a simple blue band decoration below the rim on the interior.

Table 4-3: Sherd and Vessel Counts from the Delaware State House

Ceramic Type	Ware Type	*N* sherds	*N* vessels
Tin Glazed Earthenware/Delft	*Coarse Earthenware*	112	8
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	*Refined Stoneware*	129	24
Creamware	*Refined Earthenware*	1038	54
Pearlware	*Refined Earthenware*	453	47
Porcelain	*Porcelain*	155	34
German and Other Stoneware	*Utilitarian Stoneware*	126	8
Staffordshire Slipware	*Coarse Earthenware*	8	6
Red Earthenware	*Coarse Earthenware**	1133	42
Total		3154	223

* Two vessels appear to be Jackfield, which is considered a refined earthenware

One undecorated vessel characterized by an everted rim and a robbins egg blue tinted glaze is likely a pharmaceutical or ointment pot. The remaining hollow ware vessels include two with polychrome decoration and one purple sponge painted vessel. At least two other vessels are represented by slightly blue tinted sherds and plain white sherds but are otherwise undetermined.

White Salt-Glazed Stoneware: Beginning in the 1720's, use of this ware continued throughout the eighteenth century and was produced in a variety of forms including mugs, cups, pitchers, plates and tea pots. A total of 129 sherds of white salt glazed

stoneware were recovered from Phase II period contexts. A minimum of 24 vessels are represented in the collection and are split equally between flat wares and hollow wares. At least 12 vessels are plates with molded borders and rims including seven molded in the "Barley" pattern and five molded in the "dot, diaper and basket" pattern. Tea bowls or cups are also represented by six vessels, four of which are of the scratch blue type. The remaining six consist of three undetermined hollow ware vessels and three wholly undetermined vessels, one of which displays unusual molding and appears to possibly be a saucer. Of the undetermined hollow ware forms, one is represented by an unusual scratch blue sherd, possibly a pitcher, but is too incomplete to positively identify.

Creamware: Considered one of the most important ceramic developments; the perfection of this thin, hard firing, pale yellow ceramic marked the beginning of the refined earthenwares. Perfected by the 1760's, this ware type quickly gained popularity and was used in virtually every manner that the current state of ceramic technology permitted (Hume 1969). It continued in use into the nineteenth century. Creamware commonly occurs on late eighteenth century American sites, often in the form of plates and tea wares. This refined earthenware is well represented in Phase II contexts with 1038 sherds. A minimum of 54 vessels were identified. Flat wares are most abundant with at least 29 different plates represented. Of these, 24 are molded in the "Royal" pattern. Of the remaining, 3 display "Feather Edged" molding, one is of the "Queen's" pattern while one other displays an unusual diamond relief along the rim.

Fourteen vessels display various decorative styles. At least five vessels display polychrome, over-glaze enameling including; one saucer with red, green and black enamel in a floral motif; two saucers with plain red enamel; one undetermined vessel with red enamel; and one other undetermined vessel with red, green and black enamel. Three annular decorated vessels are represented including one with brown banded decoration, one displaying brown and yellow bands, and one with molded horizontal ridges that are green glazed with a brown banded decoration below. All appear to be hollow ware types, the latter being an engine turned mug. At least one undetermined hollow ware vessel displays a solid yellow slip on its exterior surface and may also be of the annular tradition. The remaining decorated vessels are characterized as clouded or Whieldon types, all of which are undetermined hollow wares. One vessel has a molded, slightly rippled surface with a green and dark brown clouded glaze. The remaining are smooth bodied and include specimens of one green, one purple and one brown clouded ware types.

All remaining vessels identified in Phase II contexts are undecorated hollow ware forms. At least one tea pot is represented by internal portions of the spout. An additional eight vessels are tea bowls or cups with one displaying a molded cord-like pattern along the rim. Two other small hollow ware vessels characteristic of salt or sugar dishes are represented. Lastly, at least one straight sided tankard is also present.

Pearlware: Also referred to as "China Glaze" in contemporary documents, developed out of the Creamware tradition and saw production beginning about 1780 (Hume 1969).

Phase II deposits produced 453 sherds of this refined earthenware with a variety of forms and decorative styles represented. A minimum of 47 vessels are present with dining and tea wares being the dominant functional groups. At least 20 plates were identified including 12 blue shell edged, six green shell edged and two blue transfer printed plates, one of which displays the Blue Willow pattern (introduced ca. 1792). Saucers are represented by at least five specimens; one displays blue under-glaze painted decoration in a Chinese pattern; one has a yellowish-brown over glaze enameled rim; one specimen displays an over-glaze polychrome foliate design; two display transfer prints, one each of black and blue.

The remaining vessels are all hollow ware forms. Two tea bowls are present displaying under-glaze painted decoration; one with green; one with blue. A single straight sided mug or tankard displaying a simple foliate design in blue under-glaze paint as well as two transfer printed bowls (one blue and one black) were also identified. Pitchers are represented by two vessels, both are relatively small. One displays a simple red over-glaze enameled band decoration at the junction of the shoulder and the neck. The other pitcher, possibly the most unusual vessel recovered at the site, displays a green and brown transfer printed American Eagle with "ARMS OF THE UNITED STATES" above, accented with purple under-glaze bands around the neck. This vessel clearly illustrates the patriotic ideology of a newly independent nation and it is not surprising to see this displayed at an official government site in a state that so firmly supported the American Revolution.

The exact forms of all other vessels identified, although categorized as hollow wares, remain undetermined. These include; one dendridic Mocha decorated vessel; six other annular decorated; one "finger-painted" vessel; two black transfer printed vessels; three blue under-glaze painted vessels; one vessel displaying blue under-glaze painted decoration with brown and yellow over-glaze enamel; and some type of pedestaled vessel represented by a blue transfer printed foot fragment.

Porcelain: Contexts associated with the Phase II occupation yielded 155 porcelain sherds with a minimum of 34 vessels represented. Chinese export porcelain, which shows up on the earliest colonial sites, forms the majority of the assemblage with 150 sherds and 29 vessels. The remaining five vessels are represented by one sherd each of what appears to be European, English or American manufactured porcelain, which start appearing in the late eighteenth century (Hume 1969).

The majority of the vessels identified are over-glaze enameled in monochrome or polychrome designs. Hollow wares are the predominant form. At least nine tea cups or small tea bowls were identified displaying over-glaze decoration; five display black enamel (one with a scalloped rim); two display red bands along the interior of the rims; one displays a red band overlain with blue dots; one vessel displays blue under-glaze decoration with red over-glaze enamel. A saucer or small plate was also identified displaying identical blue under-glaze and red over-glaze decoration as one of the tea cup/bowls mentioned above and may be from a single set. An additional red enameled saucer was also identified. The remaining over-glaze decorated vessels are

undetermined consisting of two with black enamel, two with black and red and one vessel with purple or violet colored enamel.

A minimum of nine blue under-glaze painted, Chinese porcelain vessels were also identified and include six tea cups or bowls, two plates and one saucer. At least two other undecorated tea cups or bowls and two undecorated saucers are also present, all appearing to be of Chinese manufacture.

The non-Chinese vessels are largely undetermined forms and include; one small hollow form of bisque porcelain; one undetermined example displaying a molded floral motif; one possible porringer handle with blue under-glaze decoration in a foliate design; one other hollow ware vessel displaying blue under-glaze, foliate decoration; and one plain white, undetermined vessel.

German Grey and Other Stoneware: Phase II deposits produced 126 sherds of German Grey and other stoneware. German grey stoneware comprises most of the assemblage with 114 undecorated sherds and six displaying cobalt blue decoration. One sherd of English Brown stoneware and one dry, red-bodied sherd with sprig molding were also recovered. Both German and English stoneware appear on colonial sites during the seventeenth century, remaining popular until about the time of the American Revolution (Hume 1969). The remaining sherds consist of two unidentified types; three sherds are thick bodied, grey stoneware with a thick iron oxide interior finish; one sherd is a grey stoneware with a slight green tint to the exterior glaze and a brown glazed interior.

A minimum of eight vessels are represented. Most of the vessels are unidentified hollow forms. At least two, undecorated, German grey stoneware chamber

pots are represented by 106 of the sherds, one of which has been substantially mended. One other undecorated vessel is present consisting of a probable jug or pitcher. At least two other undetermined hollow forms of blue decorated German stoneware were also identified.

Three other undetermined hollow forms are represented by the sherd of English Brown and the two other unidentified types which are likely from coarse, large storage vessels. The dry, red-bodied sherd displaying a sprig molded floral motif probably represents a tea pot, being the most common form produced in this ware type (Hume 1969).

Staffordshire Slipware: Only eight sherds of this ceramic type were recovered from Phase II deposits representing at least six different vessels. Appearing as early as ca.1675, this type of slipware remained popular until the end of the eighteenth century (Hume 1969). Hollow wares thrown with a fine yellow paste comprise the majority with four vessels identified, probably representing cups. At least one vessel displays combed decoration, one is represented by a sherd decorated with a solid brown slip while remaining are represented by sherds displaying no decoration.

A minimum of two Staffordshire serving dishes are also present with each displaying trailed yellow and brown slip decorations over a red and yellow striated fabric.

Red Earthenware: Phase II contexts produced 1,133 sherds of this ware type. With the exception of one sherd each of Iberian (olive jar) ware and North Devon Gravel Tempered ware, most of the coarse earthenware sherds appear to be of local manufacture.

Included in the collection are brown and black glazed vessels, clear glazed and slip decorated vessels mostly from the food preparation, service and storage categories.

A minimum of 42 vessels are present in the collection. Of these, 25 are plain lead glazed vessels in either black, brown or clear glazes. Forms include eight milk pans, five butter pots or storage jars, three tankards, two pitchers or jugs, one large serving bowl, one joggled rimmed serving dish, two thinly potted bowls and three undetermined hollow forms. At least two other hollow ware vessels, thinly potted with a hard fired paste and lustrous black glaze are also present appearing very Jackfield (ca. 1760-1800) like. One additional vessel represented by a number of coarse, un-glazed sherds appears to be a planting pot.

Slip decorated vessels occur with at least 12 vessels represented. Eight of these are serving dishes decorated in the German tradition displaying a clear glaze over white trailed slip, appearing yellow under the glaze with one vessel also displaying green mottling. Six of the vessels display joggled rims with at least one having a smooth, thick, folded out rim. The remaining four vessels are thinly potted bowls with a yellow slipped interior, characteristic of a type produced in the Philadelphia area (Charles Fithian, personal communication).

The sherds of Iberian ware and North Devon Gravel Tempered ware (ca. 1695-1800) indicate two additional vessels, the Iberian being of the storage category while the North Devon appears to be a milk pan rim. Both types are unusual in the collection.

Summary:

A minimum of 223 vessels are represented in Phase II deposits from the State House collection. Refined wares, including white salt glazed stoneware, creamware, pearlware and Jackfied, comprise the majority of the assemblage, roughly 57%. Coarse earthenware, consisting of both redware and tin glazed vessels, forms roughly 23%. Approximately 15% of the minimum vessel assemblage is comprised of porcelain, while the remaining 3.6% of the vessels are utilitarian stoneware. Table 4-4 summarizes the proportions of vessels by ware type.

Table 4-4: Ceramic Vessels by Ware Type from State House Phase II Deposits

Ware Type	*n*	%
Coarse Earthenwares	53	23.8
Utilitarian Stonewares	8	3.6
Refined Wares	128	57.4
Porcelain	34	15.2
	223	100

Of the 223 total vessels identified in the Phase II assemblage, 162 vessels could be identified as to functional form. Vessels were divided into five functional groups based on form including: tea wares; other (non-tea) drinking; tableware; hygiene and multifunction vessels. A summary of functional vessels is presented in Table 4-5.

Tablewares comprise the majority of the Delaware State House minimum vessel assemblage (*n = 75).* Tea wares are second in abundance, forming approximately

30% of the assemblage. Coarse earthenware multifunction vessels comprise 16% of the entire assemblage while the hygiene and drinking categories make relatively minor portions of the assemblage, 1.8% and 5.6% respectively.

Table 4-5: Ceramic Vessels by Functional Type from State House Phase II Deposits

Vessel Type	*n*	%
Tea Cups/Bowls	35	21.6
Tea Pots	2	1.2
Saucers	12	7.4
Tea Wares Total	**49**	**30.2**
Mugs/Tankards	5	3.1
Staffordshire Cups	4	2.5
Other Drinking Total	**9**	**5.6**
Dining Plates	63	38.9
Jugs/Pitchers	4	2.5
Tableware Bowls	8	4.9
Tableware Total	**75**	**46.3**
Coarse E. ware Serving Dishes	12	7.4
Milk Pans	9	5.6
Butter Pots/Storage Jars	5	3.1
Multifunction Total	**26**	**16.1**
Chamber Pots	2	1.2
Apothecary Jars	1	.6
Hygiene Total	**3**	**1.8**
TOTAL*	**162**	**100**

* Does not include 88 undetermined vessels.

The Chowan County Courthouse Collection, Accession Lot 90758:

Material from the 1990 Chowan County Courthouse excavations has previously been catalogued by archaeologists at the Office of State Archaeology. Although the original system used did not utilize the same classification scheme as South (1977), the database provided descriptions detailed enough to facilitate reclassification into South's classes and groups. Table 4-6 presents a summary of the collection in South's taxonomy.

A total of 3400 artifacts are present in the 1990 artifact assemblage. Of these, 2930 were classified into South's scheme. The remaining artifacts consist of brick and mortar fragments, rocks, clam and oyster shells, coal, and 134 miscellaneous unidentified metal fragments. These artifacts are not subject to classification according to South's method and were excluded from this analysis.

The kitchen group comprises the majority of the assemblage *(n = 1479).* Various miscellaneous bottle glass fragments are most abundant in this group with 635 fragments. Ceramics form the next largest class in the kitchen group *(n = 511)*, followed by wine bottle glass *(n = 236).* A total of ten case bottle, 6 tumbler and 1 pharmaceutical bottle fragments were also identified in the collection. The glassware class consists of various miscellaneous table glass fragments, forming the fourth largest class in the kitchen group *(n = 77).* One item catalogued as a metal container fragment was also placed in the kitchen group under the 'kitchenware' class.

The architecture group forms the second largest group in the assemblage *(n = 1145).* The majority of this group is comprised of window glass fragments *(n = 1036).* A

total of 77 nails, 5 roofing slate fragments, and 20 terra cotta drainpipe fragments form the rest of the architecture group (the terra cotta pipe fragments were originally catalogued as brown salt glazed stoneware in the artifact catalogue, p61 and p411).

Table 4-6: Chowan County Courthouse Artifacts in South Format.

Class	***n***	**%**	**Class**	***n***	**%**
Ceramics	513		*Buttons*	2	
Wine Bottle	236		*Porcelain Fastener*	1	
Case Bottle	10		***Clothing Group Total***	**3**	**.11**
Tumbler	6				
Pharmaceutical Bottle	1		*Watch Part*	1	
Other Bottle	635		*Wig Curler*	1	
Glassware	77		*Slate Pencil*	1	
Kitchenware	1		***Personal Group Total***	**3**	**.11**
Kitchen Group Total	**1479**	**55.4**			
			Tobacco Pipes	15	
Bone Fragments	261		***Tobacco Group***	**15**	**.56**
Bone Group Total	**261**	**NA**			
			Lamp Globe	13	
Window Glass	1036		*Ethnobotanical*	6	
Roofing Slate	5		*Lead Pipe*	1	
Nails	77		***Activities Group Total***	**20**	**.75**
Terra Cotta Drainpipe	20				
Architecture Total	**1145**	**42.9**			
Furniture Group	**0**	**0**	**TOTAL (w/o Bone Group)**	**2669**	**100**
Gunflints	4				
Arms Total	**4**	**.15**			

The arms group is made up entirely of gunflints and/or gunflint fragments *(n = 4).* The clothing group consists of two metal disk type buttons and a porcelain fastener, possibly a cuff or shirt fastener. The personal group also consists of only three items, part of a pocket watch with "Bristol Watch Co." engraved on the back, a portion of a ceramic wig curler, and one slate pencil fragment. A total of fifteen white clay pipe stem and bowl fragments are also present in the assemblage.

With the exception of the bone (faunal) group *(n = 261),* the activities group forms the third largest portion of the assemblage. A total of 13 glass fragments that appear to be from lamp chimneys were also included in this group, along with 5 fragments of wood, 1 nutshell, and 1 lead pipe fitting form this group.

Summary:

In looking at the Chowan County assemblage at the group level, the pattern from the site emerges. The kitchen group forms the slight majority of the assemblage with 55.4%. The architecture group comprises nearly 42.9% of the assemblage. The remaining artifact groups form relatively minor proportions of the overall assemblage. Table 4-7 summarizes the Chowan County Courthouse data at the functional group level.

Table 4-7: Functional Group Level Summary, Chowan County Courthouse

Artifact group	*n*	%
Kitchen	1479	55.4
Architecture	1145	42.9
Furniture	0	0
Arms	4	.15
Clothing	3	.11
Personal	3	.11
Tobacco Pipes	15	.56
Activities	20	.75
	2669	100

Chowan County Courthouse Ceramics:

A total of 513 ceramic sherds were recovered during the 1990 excavations at the Chowan County Courthouse. A minimum of 122 individual vessels is represented in the collection. Table 4-8 summarizes the ceramic assemblage from the Chowan County Courthouse.

Tin Glazed Earthenware: The 1990 excavations produced a total of 25 sherds of this earthenware representing a minimum of 11 distinct vessels. At least three plates are present. One consists of a lead-backed Faience type. The other two plates are represented by rim sherds displaying blue painted decoration. Three vessels appear to be tea bowls. All are represented by thinly potted rim sherds with light blue tinted tin enamel and various forms of blue painted decoration. One large vessel is represented by a thick-

Table 4-8: Sherd and Vessel Counts from the Chowan County Courthouse

Ceramic Type	Ware Type	*N* sherds	*N* vessels
Tin Glazed Earthenware/Delft	*Coarse Earthenware*	25	11
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	*Refined Stoneware*	21	2
Creamware	*Refined Earthenware*	110	21
Pearlware	*Refined Earthenware*	211	42
Porcelain	*Porcelain*	60	13
German and Other Stoneware	*Utilitarian Stoneware*	23	6
Staffordshire Slipware	*Coarse Earthenware*	4	4
Red Earthenware	*Coarse Earthenware**	36	7
Yellowware	*Refined Earthenware*	5	3
Whiteware	*Refined Earthenware*	8	6
Ironstone	*Refined Stoneware*	10	7
Total		513	122

* Three of the Red Earthenware vessels are refined types, two Jackfield and one undetermined brown glazed vessel.

bodied sherd of blue painted tin glaze and appears to be a fragment of a large punch bowl. The remaining vessels all consist of undetermined hollow ware forms. One is represented by a sherd with purple sponge painted decoration. The remaining three are light blue tinted vessels with blue painted decoration. One vessel displays a characteristic foliate design.

White Salt Glazed Stoneware: A total of 21 sherds of this stoneware were recovered during the 1990 excavations. A minimum of two vessels are represented in the assemblage. These consist of a plate displaying an unusual molded floral relief rim

pattern. The second vessel is a tea cup or bowl represented by two sherds of scratch blue white salt glazed stoneware.

Creamware: The 1990 excavations produced 110 sherds of this refined earthenware making it the second most abundant ceramic type recovered. A minimum of 21 vessels of this ware type are represented in the assemblage. Of the 21 vessels identified, tableware plates are most abundant with 14 vessels. Seven of the plates exhibit the 'Royal' rim pattern (Hume 1969). At least one of these 'Royal' pattern plates appears to be a soup plate form. Of the seven remaining plates, five display a feather edged pattern. One plate exhibits a dark yellow clouded glaze with a raised floral/foliate design, characteristic of some Wieldon ware style vessels. The remaining plate is characterized by a plain, undecorated rim.

Tea wares are represented by this ware type with a minimum of three vessels. At least one vessel is a plain creamware teapot, represented by a spout fragment. The remaining tea ware vessels consist of plain teacups or tea bowls.

The remaining vessels identified consist of one tableware bowl, one tankard, and one unidentified hollow ware vessel which may be a mug or tankard. The identified tankard is the common, straight sided type and displays a black transfer printed decoration.

Pearlware: This is the most abundant ceramic ware type in the collection. A total of 211 pearlware sherds were recovered in 1990 representing a minimum of 42 vessels.

Tablewares are represented in the collection with a minimum of 20 specimens, 18 plates, one bowl, and one pitcher. Of the plates, seven exhibit blue shell edged rims while four others display green shell edged rims. At least one of the blue shell edged plates is also blue transfer print decorated as well. Three other plates also exhibit decorated rims. One displays a blue edge painted rim with a molded bead pattern. Another displays a blue painted rim molded with an intricate foliate pattern. The other exhibits an un-molded, blue painted rim. Two other plates exhibit blue transfer printed decoration. Of the remaining two plates identified in the assemblage, one displays black transfer printed decoration while the remaining is plain with no apparent decoration. The one bowl identified exhibits no decoration. A large molded handle represents a pitcher.

Tea wares are represented in the collection by a minimum of 14 vessels. At least seven tea cups are present consisting of 5 blue transfer print decorated vessels, one purple transfer printed vessel, and one blue under-glaze painted vessel. The remaining seven vessels all consist of saucer forms. Of these, two saucers are blue transfer print decorated. Two others are under-glaze painted, one with plain blue, one with green, red and blue polychrome decoration. A single rim sherd exhibiting what appears to be polychrome over-glaze enamel represents one saucer. Most of the decoration, however, has worn off. The remaining saucers consist of one plain, undecorated vessel and one displaying a simple blue band decoration below the rim.

A minimum of three tankards/mugs is represented in the pearlware assemblage. Of these, two vessels are annular decorated; one displaying simple brown

bands while the other exhibits a blue-banded decoration. Sherds with blue and green polychrome under-glaze decoration represent the remaining mug.

The remaining vessels represented in the pearlware assemblage are undetermined hollow ware forms. Most are probably bowls, but that could not be determined for certain. These consist of one brown and blue annular decorated vessel, one common cable slip decorated dipped/finger painted vessel, one blue willow transfer printed vessel, and one under-glaze polychrome painted vessel.

Porcelain: A total of 60 sherds of porcelain occur in the assemblage. A minimum of 13 vessels is represented. All but four of these are characterized as tea wares. A minimum of five saucers is present in the assemblage. With the exception of one blue under-glaze painted Chinese specimen, all are plain white examples of probable European or American manufacture. Tea cups/tea bowls are represented by four specimens. Two of these appear to be of Chinese origin. One vessel displays blue under-glaze painted decoration, the other exhibits black over-glaze enamel below the rim, which is also filled with guilt. The remaining two teacups appear to be of a similar European or American manufacture as the above saucers.

Tablewares constitute the remaining porcelain vessels. At least two plain white plates are represented in the collection. Both appear to be of European or American origin. The remaining vessels are characterized as tableware bowls. One vessel is plain white, appearing similar to other specimens identified as having a likely origin in Europe or America. The last specimen is the only other vessel exhibiting the typical traits of

Chinese export porcelain, displaying a light blue tint with blue under-glaze painted decoration.

German Grey and Other Stoneware: A total of 23 sherds of utilitarian stoneware were recovered with a minimum of six vessels represented in the assemblage. All vessels are hollow forms but only three could be identified with any accuracy. German grey stoneware sherds represent three vessels. One tankard displays cobalt and incised decoration. A Rhenish blue and grey stoneware chamber pot is also represented. The remaining German stoneware vessel consists of a stoneware bottle.

The remaining vessels identified in the assemblage are undetermined. One vessel is represented by a foot sherd of English Brown stoneware, possibly a jug or pitcher. One large, thick bodied, grey, utilitarian vessel is also represented, possibly a crock type vessel. The other remaining vessels represent smaller hollow forms of various brown and yellow salt glazed sherds.

Staffordshire Slipware: The 1990 excavations at the Chowan County Courthouse produced four sherds of this ware type representing four distinct vessels. Two of the vessels are characterized as coarse plates or serving platters. One displays a coggled rim with a trailed slip decoration. The other plate or platter displays a red slip over a buff body and has a finely combed decoration. One Staffordshire cup is represented by a handle piece. The remaining vessel is an undetermined hollow form represented by a buff

pasted body sherd with a black slip on both surfaces. This specimen does not look typical of Staffordshire slipware, but the paste is consistent with other Staffordshire examples.

Red Earthenware: The 1990 excavations at the Chowan County Courthouse produced 36 sherds of red earthenware. A minimum of seven vessels was identified in the assemblage. Jackfield, considered a refined type of red earthenware, represents two of the vessels. These include a teacup and one undetermined hollow form. Another vessel, represented by two rim sherds of a thin bodied, clear or brown glazed ware, appears to be a portion of a teapot. This unusual ware also appears to be of a refined earthenware tradition. The remaining four vessels are coarse earthenware. One Buckley vessel is represented in the assemblage. Likely a dairy or some other utilitarian vessel, the exact form remains undetermined. Two tankards are represented by both clear and brown glazed sherds. Lastly, one large, thick-bodied red micaceous ware sherd represents an undetermined utilitarian vessel.

Yellowware: This ceramic type originated sometime around 1825, although the Rockingham style may date back as early as 1788 (Leibowitz 1985). Three vessels are represented in the collection by five sherds (four sherds were misidentified in the catalogue as stoneware; p238, p571 and p578, see Appendix B). All of the vessels consist of undetermined hollow ware forms. Two are of the Rockingham style, while a sherd exhibiting solid purple enamel on one side represents the remaining vessel.

Whiteware: This refined earthenware type, established at least by about 1820, continued well into the twentieth century (Hume 1969). A total of eight sherds of this ware type were recovered during the 1990 excavations (all but one of these sherds were identified in the catalogue as Pearlware). A minimum of six distinct vessels is represented in the collection, nearly all tablewares. At least five vessels are characterized as dining plates. Four of these vessels are undecorated. One displays a scalloped rim also molded with a foliate pattern. One rim sherd decorated with green and red under-glaze painted bands represents a small vessel, possibly either a toy or condiment dish. The remaining vessels consist of undetermined forms. One displays polychrome under-glaze decoration, the other is plain.

Ironstone: This hard pasted stoneware appeared by about 1813 and continues to be produced today (Ramsay 1947). A total of ten sherds of this ware type were recovered during the 1990 excavations representing at least seven distinct vessels (four sherds were originally catalogued as pearlware; p192, p259 and p446). Two undecorated saucers represent tea wares. A minimum of two plates and one bowl represent the tableware category. Three mended base sherds with a green printed maker's mark reading "HOTEL" appear to be from a soap dish. The remaining vessel is represented by two sherds from a fluted hollow form, possibly a gravy boat (although this is undetermined).

Summary:

In a similar trend displayed by the Delaware State House data, refined wares make up the majority of the assemblage with 68.8%. Coarse earthenware vessels, consisting of tin glazed earthenware, coarse red wares and Staffordshire slipware, comprise the second most abundant ware category with 15.6%. Porcelain vessels make up 10.7% of the assemblage, followed by utilitarian stonewares at 4.9%. A summary of the proportions of vessels by ware type can be found in Table 4-9.

Of the 122 vessels identified in the Chowan County Courthouse assemblage, 99 vessels could be functionally classed. As with the State House data, vessels were classed into five functional groups. Table 4-10 presents a summary of vessels by functional group form the Chowan County data.

Table 4-9: Ceramic Vessels by Ware Type from the Chowan County Courthouse

Ware Type	*n*	%
Coarse Earthenwares	19	15.6
Utilitarian Stonewares	6	4.9
Refined Wares	84	68.8
Porcelain	13	10.7
	122	100

Tablewares comprise the majority (51.55%) of the vessels identified in the Chowan County assemblage. Like the Delaware Statehouse data, tea wares are second in abundance *(n = 34).* Other, non-tea drinking vessels form approximately 8% of the

assemblage. The multifunction and hygiene groups form the remaining 4 and 2% of the vessel assemblage.

Table 4-10: Ceramic Vessels by Functional Type from the Chowan County Courthouse

Vessel Type	*n*	%
Tea Cups/Bowls	18	18.2
Tea Pots	2	2.02
Saucers	14	14.1
Tea Wares Total	**34**	**34.32**
Mugs/Tankards	7	7.07
Staffordshire Cups	1	1.01
Other Drinking Total	**8**	**8.08**
Dining Plates	45	45.5
Jugs/Pitchers	1	1.01
Tableware Bowls	5	5
Tableware Total	**51**	**51.55**
Coarse E. ware Serving Dishes	2	2.02
Misc. Utilitarian	1	1.01
Stoneware Crock	1	1.01
Multifunction Total	**4**	**4.04**
Chamber Pots	1	1.01
Soap Dish	1	1.01
Hygiene Total	**2**	**2.02**
TOTAL*	**99**	**100**

* Does not include 23 undetermined vessels

Chapter Summary:

In looking at the collections summary, certain trends become apparent. The kitchen and architecture groups form roughly 50% and 40%, respectively, of each assemblage. Also, the ceramic assemblages from each site are dominated primarily by refined tableware vessels with characteristically low proportions of coarse utilitarian vessels. The following chapter directly compares the artifact assemblages from each site in order to both assess the similarity in the patterning displayed by each site, and to determine if the Chowan County material conforms to the Public Structure Artifact Pattern.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion

As stated in previous sections, this study seeks to test two hypotheses: First, the Public Structure Artifact Pattern is a valid predictive model. The test implication for this is that the Chowan County Court House data will display artifact frequencies consistent with that displayed by the Delaware State House and conform to the Public Structure Pattern; Second, ceramic assemblages from the two sites further reflect the sites' function. The test implication is that the Chowan County Courthouse assemblage will display frequencies of ceramic types consistent with those displayed by the Delaware State House data, which reflect the public nature of the sites. I will present three methods to facilitate inter-site comparison between the sites. Both assemblages were organized at the functional group level using South's (1977) classification scheme. This classification scheme will be used to compare both sites against each other and against the Public Structure Artifact Pattern as defined by Wise (1978). Additionally, ceramics were classified at the minimum vessel level by both ware type and functional form. Given a lack of a predefined pattern for the ceramics assemblages, Chi-Square tests will be applied to cross-tabulations of the ware and functional types to inform the degree of similarity in the patterning of ceramics at the two sites. This method is offered as a technique to independently test the Public Structure Artifact Pattern.

Functional Artifact Groups:

An initial look at the artifact frequencies from both sites at the functional group level reveals some remarkable similarities. Table 5-1 compares artifact frequencies from both the Delaware State House and the Chowan County Courthouse. Both the kitchen and architecture groups display the closest similarity. Kitchen group artifacts form 52.7% of the State House assemblage versus 55.4% of the Chowan Courthouse assemblage.

Table 5-1: Artifact Frequencies from Two Government Sites

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse	
Artifact Group	*N*	*Percent*	*N*	*Percent*
Kitchen	2061	52.7	1477	55.4
Architecture	1619	41.42	1145	42.9
Furniture	4	.1	0	0
Arms	3	.08	4	.15
Clothing	105	2.7	3	.11
Personal	2	.05	3	.11
Tobacco	98	2.5	15	.56
Activities	17	.43	20	.75
Total	3909	100	2669	100

In a similar vein, the architecture groups from each site are within one and one-half of a percent (41.42 versus 42.9). Greater variability, however, is displayed between the other artifact groups. More substantial differences appear between the clothing, tobacco and activities groups. Clothing forms 2.7% of the State House assemblage while it only makes up .11% of the Chowan County assemblage.

The clothing group from the State House assemblage is comprised of 87 straight pins and 18 buttons. While straight pins are included in the clothing group according to South's classification, it is unlikely that the majority from the site are actually clothing related. Historians in Delaware have indicated that it is not uncommon to find old eighteenth century court documents in the Delaware archives still held together by straight pins (Charles Fithian, personal communication). In other words, straight pins were the precursors to the paper clip or staple. Having such an abundance of pins on the State House site may reflect this usage. On the other hand, pins do not occur at the Chowan County Courthouse. This possibly reflects either a difference in recovery methods during excavation. All soil during the 1990 excavations of the Chowan County Courthouse was screened while no screens were used during the Delaware State House Excavations. Excavation of the State House was done completely by trowel and all artifacts were collected as they were encountered during excavation. Pins can easily fall un-noticed through the screen. If straight pins are removed from this category, the disparity observed between the sites in the clothing group would not be nearly as dramatic (0.46% for the Delaware State House vs. 0.11% for Chowan County).

The observed difference in the Tobacco group is more elusive. Again this may be due somewhat to sampling. It must be remembered that almost the entire front yard and side yard of the State House was excavated while only small portions necessary for renovations of the Chowan Courthouse were excavated. One thing to consider is that there may be areas around structures that were more likely to see disposal of tobacco pipe

fragments such as near the doors. These areas were not heavily sampled at the Chowan site.

Despite there being some observed disparity between the sites, remarkable similarity is displayed by both the kitchen and architecture groups from each site (Figure 5-1).

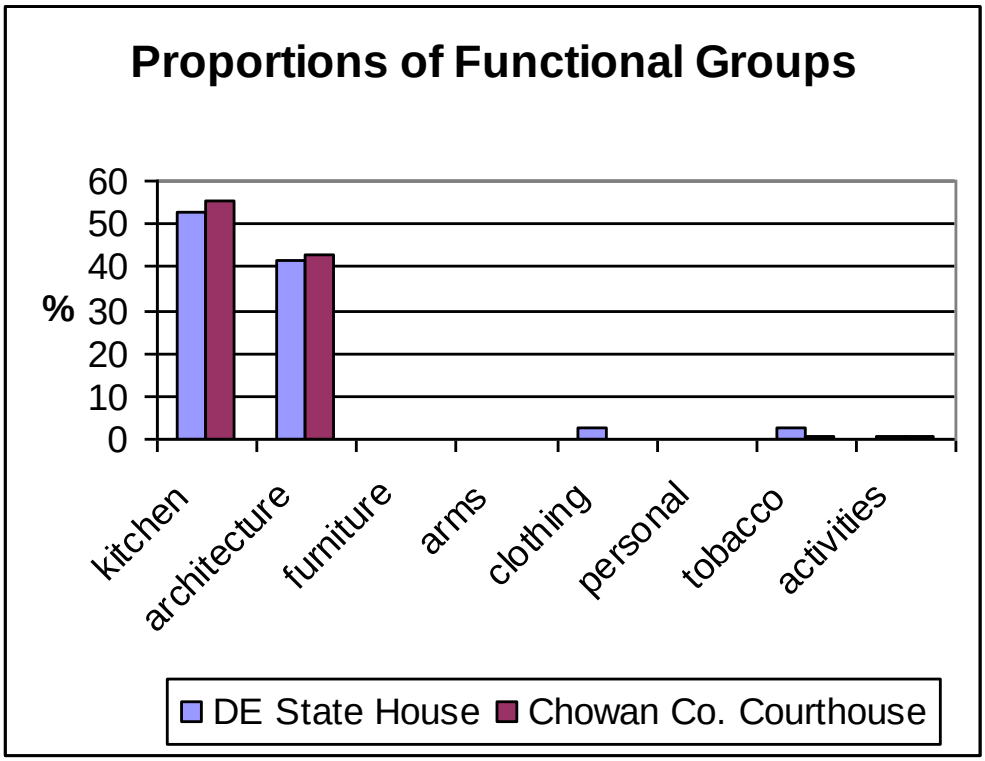

Figure 5-1: Bar Graph Showing Proportions of Functional Groups

Additionally, the overall profiles display a close affinity to the Public Structure Artifact pattern, offering support for its validity (Table 5-2).

Table 5-2: Artifact Frequencies from Two Government Sites

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse		*Public Structure Pattern*	
Artifact Group	*N*	*Percent*	*N*	*Percent*	*Mean %*	*% Range*
Kitchen	2061	52.7	1477	55.4	49.23	45.2-52.0
Architecture	1619	41.42	1145	42.9	45.6	43.5-48.3
Furniture	4	.1	0	0	.09	0-.2
Arms	3	.08	4	.15	.09	.01-.17
Clothing	105	2.7	3	.11	.93	0-2.5
Personal	2	.05	3	.11	.06	0-.1
Tobacco	98	2.5	15	.56	2.6	1.0-4.6
Activities	17	.43	20	.75	1.4	.87-2.0
Total	3909	100	2669	100	100	

** Based on Wise's (1978) Original Analysis*

However, the re-analysis of the State House material done during this study, combined with the addition of the Chowan County material suggests a need for a slight revision in the mean percent and percent ranges of the originally defined Public Structure Artifact Pattern. Both the kitchen and architecture groups fall slightly outside of the expected ranges as do the activities group. With these exceptions, however, the overall pattern appears to hold up well with both the Delaware State House data and Chowan County Courthouse data displaying proportions more consistent with the 'Public' pattern when compared with the Carolina and Frontier patterns (Table 5-3).

Table 5-3: Comparing Government Sites to the Carolina, Frontier, and Public Structure Patterns

Artifact group	DE State House %	Chowan Co. Courthouse %	Public Pattern Mean %	Carolina Pattern Mean %	Frontier Pattern Mean %
Kitchen	52.7	55.4	49.23	63.1	22.6
Architecture	41.42	42.9	45.6	25.5	52.0
Furniture	.1	0	.09	.2	.2
Arms	.08	.15	.09	.5	5.4
Clothing	2.7	.11	.93	3.0	1.7
Personal	.05	.11	.06	.2	.2
Tobacco Pipes	2.5	.56	2.6	5.8	9.1
Activities	.43	.75	1.4	1.7	3.7
	100	100	100	100	100

Summary:

While the overall results of this analysis argue for a slight revision of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern, the results indicate general support for the first research hypothesis. Both the Delaware State House and the Chowan County Courthouse display remarkably consistent proportions of kitchen and architecture group artifacts. Despite these proportions falling slightly outside of the expected range of the Public Pattern, they clearly display a much closer affinity to the Public Pattern than to either the Carolina or Frontier patterns. It is clear from the documented history of these sites that they are 'Public Structures.' For that reason it seems more appropriate to argue for a refinement of the Public pattern rather than a rejection of it. Additionally, all other functional groups, with the exception of the activities group, fall within the expected range of the Public

pattern. Overall, the Public Structure Artifact Pattern held up against this test, indicating support for its validity as a predictive model.

Ceramic Vessels by Ware Type:

In comparing the vessel frequencies from both sites by ware type, a notable trend is revealed. Table 5-4 compares ceramic vessels by ware type from both sites.

Table 5-4: Ceramic Vessels by Ware Type from Two Government Sites

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse	
Ware Type	*N*	*Percent*	*N*	*Percent*
Coarse Earthenware	53	23.8	19	15.6
Utilitarian Stoneware	8	3.6	6	4.9
Refined Wares	128	57.4	84	68.8
Porcelain	34	15.2	13	10.7
Total	223	100	122	100

Refined ware types form the majority of both assemblages, comprising at least 57% or more of each. Coarse earthenware is next in abundance, comprising 23.8% and 15.6%, respectively, of the assemblages. This is followed closely by porcelain. Utilitarian stoneware forms a relatively small proportion of each assemblage.

While there appears to be a slight disparity in proportions of ware types from the two sites, the overall trend from each site remains fairly consistent. The consistency displayed suggests that similar processes related to food ways and ceramics usage

occurred at both sites. Refined wares dominate both assemblages while other ceramic types occur much less frequently.

Ceramic Vessels by Functional Form:

Comparing the ceramic vessel proportions by functional form from each site reveals other similarities between the two sites. Table 5-5 summarizes the proportions of vessel types from both sites.

Table 5-5: Ceramic Vessels by Functional Type from Two Government Sites

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse	
Vessel Type	*N*	*Percent*	*N*	*Percent*
Tea Wares	49	30.2	34	34.32
Other Drinking	9	5.6	8	8.08
Tableware	75	46.3	51	51.55
Multifunction	26	16.1	4	4.04
Hygiene	3	1.8	2	2.02
Total	162	100	99	100

The most prominent functional type found on both sites is tableware vessels, forming 46.3% and 51.5% of the assemblages, respectively. This category is predominantly made up of plates, bowls and other fine serving dishes. Tea wares, consisting primarily of teacups and bowls, saucers and tea pots comprise the second largest proportion in both assemblages, roughly one third. Other similarities are seen in the proportions of the non-tea drinking and hygiene categories. Both categories make up relatively minor proportions of each assemblage. Non-tea drinking vessels form 5.6 to

8.08% of the vessel assemblages while the hygiene group forms roughly 2% or less of the vessel forms from each site.

Statistical Evaluation of the Ceramic Assemblages:

As stated before, no previously defined pattern of ceramic usage exists for "Public Structures." Since there is no predefined frequency range of vessels for "Public" sites, chi-square tests will be applied to cross-tabulations of the ceramic assemblages from each site to provide a statistical measure of similarity. This will provide an independent, complementary test to further evaluate the Public Structure Artifact Pattern.

The chi-square test is designed to give some indication of whether or not observed differences between groups are significant as opposed to random chance or sampling bias. This technique tests whether the null hypothesis, that the groups or assemblages are identical, is likely to be true (Frankfort-Nachmias and Leon-Guerrero 2006: 444). A significant chi distribution value indicates rejection of the null hypothesis allowing one to infer that observed differences between groups in one's samples are not due to random chance. Chi distribution values that are not significant indicate support for the null hypothesis thus indicating that any observed differences between groups are likely due to random chance. The criterion used by most researchers to reject the null hypothesis is a significance value of 0.05 or less *($p < .05$)* (Norusis 2006: 292). Most researchers use the chi-square test to identify significant differences between groups. Their goal is thus to reject the null hypothesis (if *p* is equal to or less than 0.05). I am using this test to find an indication of similarity between the assemblages. In this case, **a failure to reject the null**

hypothesis will indicate a likelihood that the sites' assemblages are similar and that any differences are due to random chance or sampling bias.

The chi-square test is a relatively easy test to perform. Assuming that the assemblages are identical, the expected frequencies for each category are calculated using the formula: *fe = (column marginal)(row marginal)/N.* Table 5-6 provides an example of calculating the expected frequencies of coarse earthenware from each site.

Table 5-6: Obtaining Expected Frequencies

	DE State House	Chowan Co	
Ware Type	*N*	*N*	Total
Coarse Earthenware	53	19	72
Total Vessels	223	122	345

Thus the expected frequencies for the Delaware State House = 72 x 223/345, or 46.5 coarse earthenware vessels. The chi-square test then calculates a value based on measuring the difference between the observed frequencies and expected frequencies for each category using the following formula: $x^2 = \Sigma\ (fo - fe)^2/fe$. The chi values from each category are summed to obtain a total chi value for the entire assemblage. From this value one can calculate the significance level using a chi-distribution table. Some computer programs provide the significance value by default (as was the case in this analysis, which was done using Excel for Windows, Microsoft Office version 2003).

Performing chi-square tests on the frequencies of ceramics from the sites by both ware type (Table 5-7) and functional form (Table 5-8) failed to reject the null hypothesis, indicating support for the second research hypothesis.

Table 5-7: Chi-Square Distribution of Ceramic Vessels by Ware Type

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse	
Ware Type	*N*	*Chi Value*	*N*	*Chi Value*
Coarse Earthenware	53=*o*		19=*o*	
	46.5=*e*	.9086	25.46=*e*	1.6391
Utilitarian Stoneware	8=*o*		6=*o*	
	9.05=*e*	.121823	4.95=*e*	.22273
Refined Wares	128=*o*		84=*o*	
	137.03=*e*	.595059	74.97=*e*	1.0876
Porcelain	34=*o*		13=*o*	
	30.38=*e*	.43135	16.62=*e*	.78847
Total Chi Value				5.7948
Chi Distribution				*p = .122*

o = observed frequencies, *e* = expected frequencies

The above results indicate that the ware types in use at both sites are relatively consistent, displaying no substantive differences. Similar results were indicated by testing the similarity of the assemblages by vessel function.

Table 5-8: Chi-Square Distribution of Ceramic Vessels by Functional Type

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse	
Vessel Type	*N*	*Chi Value*	*N*	*Chi Value*
Tea Wares	49=*o*		34=*o*	
	51.5=*e*	.121359	31.5=*e*	.198413
Other Drinking	9=*o*		8=*o*	
	10.6=*e*	.241509	6.45=*e*	.372481
Tableware	75=*o*		51=*o*	
	78.2=*e*	.130946	47.8=*e*	.214226
Multifunction	26=*o*		4=*o*	
	18.6=*e*	2.9441	11.4=*e*	4.80351
Hygiene	3=*o*		2=*o*	
	3.1=*e*	.003226	1.9=*e*	.005263
Total Chi Value				9.035018
Chi Distribution				*p = .06023*

Again, the Chi test failed to reject the null hypothesis *(p = .06)*, indicating consistency in the patterning of ceramics from both sites. While there does appear to be some level of disparity between the sites on the surface, the observed differences are not appreciable enough to be statistically significant.

Summary:

The chi-square results suggest that any observed differences between the assemblages are likely the result of random chance and do not reflect real differences inherent between the two sites. This suggests that certain behavioral processes (processes associated with ceramics usage) occurred consistently at both the Delaware State House

and the Chowan County Courthouse, thus providing additional, independent support for the predictive rigor of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern.

Interpretations:

There are undoubtedly numerous variables that resulted in the artifact patterning at these government sites. Nevertheless, discerning artifact patterning allows one to begin to question those processes and offer some speculative explanation.

First, examining the artifact profiles from each site at the functional group level revealed remarkable similarity in the kitchen and architecture groups from each site. Some disparity in some of the more specialized groups, namely the clothing and tobacco groups, is also observed, however. These differences can likely be attributed to the difference in recovery techniques at the two sites. The overall trends in ceramic usage appear relatively consistent at the both sites. While there appears to be some level of disparity between the frequencies of certain ware and functional vessel types between the sites, the statistical test found these differences to not be significant.

Overall both sites display remarkable similarity. The profiles of functional groups from each site conform closely to the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. Additionally, chi-square tests failed to find significant differences between the ceramic assemblages from each site. This seems to indicate that although some specialized activities produced some minor disparity in the patterning observed at both sites, certain broad cultural processes acted consistently at both sites, thus resulting in overall similarity. In this sense, both sites operated similarly within the British sphere of eastern North America.

Second, after establishing that the assemblages display remarkable similarity, assessing their patterns against the other previously defined patterns may offer additional explanation. It is clear from the documented history of the both the Delaware State House site and the Chowan County sites are not frontier sites. They were located in well established town centers and were "occupied" continuously. Therefore it is not surprising that the artifact patterns displayed by these government sites are distinct from the Frontier pattern (refer to Table 5-3), displaying higher proportions of kitchen group artifacts and lower proportions of architectural materials. Both sites are also quite distinct from the typical British-American household represented by the Carolina pattern. Both the Delaware State House and Chowan County Courthouse display lower proportions of kitchen group materials and substantially higher proportions of architectural materials.

Tom Beaman (2001), in his analysis of two elite residences in North Carolina, found that these sites also exhibit higher frequencies of architectural materials and lower proportions of kitchen artifacts when compared to the Carolina pattern. Based on the observed deviations from the Carolina pattern, Beaman (2001) proposed the Carolina Elite Artifact Pattern. His results suggested that such an increase in architectural materials may represent a high status indicator. This supposition would be compatible with the results found at both government sites. Although government sites served a different function than a residence, they can certainly be considered high status structures. These sites are where the respective governments displayed and maintained their wealth, power and authority. Another potential explanation in the similar patterning seen at elite residences is the possibility that certain public functions took place on these

sites as well. This would not be unexpected given that balls and dinners held for the social elite were commonplace at high status households. It was not unusual for government councils to meet in elite residences during the colonial period. One of the sites Beaman (2001) used in his analysis was Tryon Palace, which served as the residence for two of North Carolina's royal governors during the eighteenth century. One of the main rooms in the structure is known as the 'Council Room' where the Governor's Council met.

The proportion of kitchen materials from these government sites is somewhat more perplexing. Beaman (2005) attributed the lower proportion of kitchen material at elite residences to increased spatial segregation occurring at these sites over that of the typical household site. This would fit well with elite residences, which had various support structures located away from the main residence, where various specialized activities took place. However, neither the Delaware State House nor Chowan County Courthouse had such support structures. The only noticeable segregation on these lots would be seen between the main buildings and perhaps the jails that were once situated behind them. The amount of kitchen group material occurring on these sites is more likely due to other processes. Perhaps some explanation can be found in what is known of the social history of these sites.

Little has been published on the social history of early American government structures. However, what little has been documented paints a different picture than how we typically see these sites today. Courthouses and State Houses in the present are almost exclusively used by the government for conducting business, passing laws and resolving

litigation. There is virtually no social dimension to these structures. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, these types of sites served not only an official function, but frequently served their communities in a social capacity as well. In a recently published architectural history of early Virginia courthouses, Carl Lounsbury (2005), remarks on how monthly court day brought citizens of all social classes together to transact a variety of business. This one, two or three day event transformed the courthouse grounds into a marketplace, playing field, and social center. This event provided an opportunity for members of local society to conduct business, sell goods, renew ties of friendship, or participate in other amusements. Lounsbury (2005) notes that this was a practice linked to traditions that developed in the old country, traditions that more than likely also found its way to both Delaware and North Carolina.

Court day likely explains some of the material culture found on these government sites. No doubt there were vendors set up on the surrounding grounds peddling an array of goods. However, a number of other social events have been recorded at these sites which may offer a more complete explanation. Other events held at these sites when court was not in session include both public and private celebrations and social functions.

Brodsky (1986: 39) found references for the Chowan County Courthouse being used for dances, receptions and other entertainments. The State Gazette of North Carolina, reported in 1789 on what may have been an annual event when it told of a ball held at the courthouse in celebration of George Washington's birthday (Brodsky 1986: 39). Events such as plays, community meetings, and religious functions also occurred at site from its beginning (Brodsky 1986: 39-40). Rooms were also rented for private

special events and occasions (Brodsky 1989: 48). One notable event that seemed to take place yearly was a July 4th celebration, which in 1808 consisted of a 2 PM dinner at the courthouse, preceded by a ceremonial firing of cannon; and an evening ball in honor of George Washington's birthday (Brodsky 1989: 48). A similar event recorded in the Minutes of the Delaware Legislature, June 22, 1782 celebrated the erection of a triumphal arch commemorating the Revolutionary War. After which, "the President and the Members of the Legislature, with several gentlemen of the army who were in town, and a large respectable company dined together." After dinner, a series of thirteen toasts were drunk in honor of the occasion.

It is perhaps some of the above types of events that help explain the pattern of material culture at these government sites. The lower abundance of kitchen group material than seen in the typical household site likely reflects the periodic, intermittent use of these structures for public and private social events and dinners. In looking at the pattern displayed by the ceramic assemblages from these sites, there seems to be some correlation with this type of behavior. Referring back to tables 5-4 and 5-5, we see that both assemblages are dominated by refined tableware and tea-ware vessels with remarkably low proportions of coarse utilitarian, multifunction type vessels. This is in stark contrast to the ceramic pattern displayed by the typical Delaware household where utilitarian, multifunction vessels are the predominant form (comprising more than one third of the typical assemblage) (see Table 3-7). What this seems to suggest is that certain food ways that occur regularly at domestic sites, such as dairying, food preparation and storage activities, were not occurring at these government sites. Instead, the archaeology

appears to reflect specifically food consumption. What we are left with are just the by-products of dining rituals associated with some of these special events. In these cases it is more likely that food was brought in from off-site already prepared to be served.

At this time it can only be speculated how these periodic social events were structured and who provided the food and drink, etc. One likely candidate would be the local tavern. Nearly every early courthouse in the Mid-Atlantic and Southern colonies had a tavern in fairly close proximity. Lounsbury (2005: 36) notes that the most intensely developed area of Yorktown, Virginia in the 1700s stood clustered around the courthouse grounds on the main street where there were a number of dwellings, stores, shops and ordinaries (taverns). A 1697 plat of the Charles County, Maryland, courthouse grounds shows an ordinary situated directly next door (Figure 5-2). Within five years after its establishment, by 1732 the Caroline County Courthouse in Virginia had no less than three taverns nestled around it (Lounsbury 2005: 265). A building that was once an eighteenth-century tavern (currently a law office) is located on the corner of the old courthouse green in front of the Delaware's Old State House. It would not be unreasonable to assume that when special events featured dining, that they were catered by nearby taverns.

Regardless of the processes that resulted in the patterning seen at these government sites, it is clear from the archaeology and the limited available social history that these sites played a much more diverse role than typically perceived. Not merely sites where governments conduct their business and maintain authority, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these sites were community social centers. It is this

social use of these structures that is reflected predominantly in the observed artifact patterning.

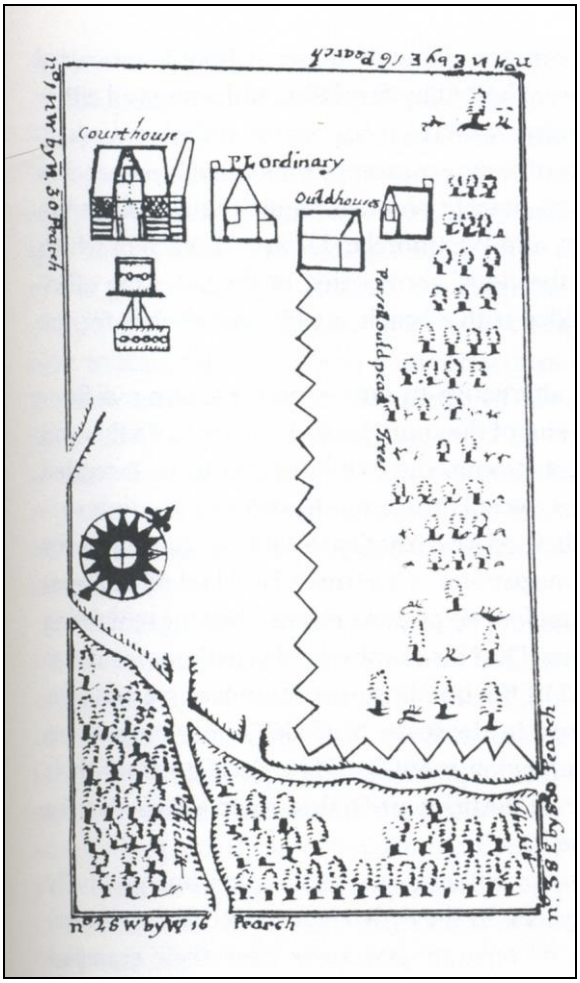

Figure 5-2: Plat of Charles County, Maryland, Courthouse Grounds, 1697 (from Lounsbury 2005: 69)

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

This study sought to assess the similarity of cultural patterning at two eighteenth century government sites with the ultimate aim of testing the validity of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. First proposed nearly thirty years ago, until now there have been no published attempts to test this pattern. More recent excavations at the Chowan County Courthouse, a site comparable to the original site that formed the primary basis of the Public Pattern, have made data available with which to address this issue. Two techniques were presented to assess inter-site similarity. First, consistent with the original methods used to delineate the Public Pattern, the proportions of the functional artifact groups from each site were directly compared against each other. For comparability, the author re-classified into functional groups materials from the original data used from the Delaware State House as well as the data from the Chowan County Courthouse to ensure data consistency. The proportions of functional groups from each site were then directly compared against each other. They were then further assessed against the Public Pattern to determine whether either or both sites conform to the expected pattern.

Based on my more recent work on the Delaware State House collection, I presented an alternative technique to help assess inter-site similarity and further evaluate cultural patterning at Public sites. Minimum vessel analysis was first conducted by the author on the ceramics from the Delaware State House in 2005. I used the same techniques to conduct minimum vessel analysis on the ceramics from the Chowan County Courthouse, ensuring data consistency and comparability. Ceramic vessels were sorted

both by ware type and functional form with the proportions from each site compared against each other. Since there was no predefined 'Public Pattern' based on minimum vessel data from public sites, chi-square tests were applied to provide some measure of similarity of the ceramic assemblages across both sites. This method was offered as a complementary test to assess the similarity of cultural patterning at both government sites and to offer independent corroboration (or rejection) of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern.

The results of this analysis found general support for both research hypotheses. Despite some observed disparity between a number of the functional artifact groups, the two predominant groups (i.e. the kitchen and architecture groups) display remarkable consistency across both sites. Furthermore, with the exception of the activities group from the Chowan County Courthouse assemblage, all other functional groups fall within the expect range of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. It must be noted, however, that the kitchen and architecture groups from the re-analyzed Delaware State House material and the Chowan County material fall just outside of the expected range of the Public Pattern as originally defined by Wise (1978). It is clear, however, that the artifact profiles from both sites align themselves much more closely to the Public Pattern than they do to either the Carolina or Frontier Patterns. Given the documented public use of both the Delaware State House and the Chowan County Courthouse, I argue for an adjustment of the expected range of the Public Pattern rather than rejection of it. Table 6-1 presents a summary of the adjusted Public Structure Artifact Pattern.

Table 6-1: The Adjusted Public Structure Artifact Pattern

Artifact group	Mean %	% Range*
Kitchen	51.3	45.2-55.4
Architecture	44.4	41.42-48.3
Furniture	.075	0-.2
Arms	.085	.01-.14
Clothing	.78	0-2.7
Personal	.07	0-.11
Tobacco Pipes	2.16	.54-4.6
Activities	1.1	.43-2.0
	100.0	

* % Range was calculated from the low and high ranges from the four sites, the Hepburn-Reonalds Site, Camden Toft 8, the Delaware State House and the Chowan County Courthouse (refer to Tables 3-4 and 5-1)

The minimum vessel analysis and comparison found support for the second research hypothesis, offering some independent corroboration for the validity of the Public Structure Artifact Pattern. The ceramic assemblages from both sites exhibited consistent trends in the proportions of vessels by ware and functional form. Despite some observed disparity between the ceramic assemblages, chi-square tests found any observed disparity to be not significant statistically, instead indicating that the differences are more likely due to random chance. While this offers some independent corroboration for the validity of the Public Pattern, it must be noted that this minimum vessel comparison only assessed the similarity between two government sites. No other minimum vessel pattern has been defined for any other public sites. Thus the similarity found between the two assemblages compared in this study can only be said to be indicative of government sites. Additional minimum vessel studies are needed in order to determine if the pattern

observed in the Delaware State House data and the Chowan County Courthouse data reflects ‘Public Structures’ in general. Despite this, the results of this study indicate that ceramics were used relatively consistently at both sites used in this comparison.

An attempt was also made to correlate some of the limited, known social history of these sites with the observed cultural patterning to offer some tentative explanations of the processes that formed them. While the literature concerning the social use of these government structures is somewhat sparse, it is clear that these sites served a much more diverse role within their respective communities than is generally perceived. Not only were they places of government business, but community celebrations, official celebrations, and private functions occurred with some regularity at these sites. Many of these events featured food and drink. Given the relatively large proportion of kitchen group artifacts, and ceramic assemblages that reflect consumption rather than preparation and storage, it is this social use of these structures that is largely reflected in the observed cultural patterning of these government sites.

I offer these explanations only tentatively, however, because this study only examines two sites with only a limited amount of known social history. I would argue that additional sites should be evaluated in order to further test the patterns delineated here before developing more complete explanations of the cultural processes that formed them. Additional archival research would also undoubtedly turn up new insights concerning the official and social use of these sites.

Directions for Further Research:

The directions for further research are numerous. First, both patterns tested in this study should be tested further using data from other 'Public Sites.' Although the Public Structure Artifact Pattern seemed to hold up fairly well when data from the Chowan County Courthouse were introduced, the newly adjusted Public Structure Artifact Pattern is still only based on data from a total of four sites. This pattern should be further tested and refined so that we may make more accurate predictions of what we will find in the archaeological record. Only when these patterns can withstand testing and maintain stability against repeated testing can we make more robust explanations concerning the processes that produced them. Other comparative sites that could be considered are: The New Castle County Courthouse in Delaware, which underwent archaeological investigation in 2004-2005; and the eighteenth century courthouses for York and Prince William counties, which have also seen some archaeological investigation

Besides collecting data from other sites to test these patterns, it should be noted that the archaeological potential of the Chowan County Courthouse has just begun to be tapped. While Delaware's Old Statehouse was extensively excavated, only a small percentage of the Chowan site has been excavated. The material used in this study came from only four excavation units. Some additional material was recovered in the 2001 excavations, but much of it remains to be thoroughly analyzed. Most of the site remains unexcavated.

Additional studies in the Southeast, including ceramic minimum vessel analysis, should also be pursued. I have presented minimum vessel analysis in this thesis as a

technique to assess the similarity of two sites that served a comparable function. The minimum vessel data displayed by the Delaware State House, however, has some unique characteristics when compared to other sites in the Delaware Valley region, displaying lower proportions of coarse utilitarian wares and higher frequencies of refined table wares than the typical dwelling. Developing a comparative body of data from sites in the Southeast would help place the Chowan County Courthouse within its own regional context. Does the Chowan site display unique characteristics within its region? At this point we can only say that it displays a similar vessel pattern to a functionally related site in Delaware.

While a few avenues for further research into public sites are outlined above, the potential research one can do on these sites will likely never be exhausted. Other potential aspects to consider may be how these sites and their material culture reflect the Georgian mindset and its associated ideology. Both structures discussed here were built in the Georgian style. Their ceramic assemblages are dominated by refined tableware vessels that are often linked to the segmented dining etiquette associated with the Georgian order and mercantile capitalism (Deetz 1977, Leone et al 1987). Perhaps one might examine the use of landscape and power in the construction of authoritative, government centers. Regardless of which avenues one might take, these sites have much to offer.

Many have criticized South's method of pattern delineation for its lack of explanatory power and failure to uncover cultural meaning. It must be kept in mind, however, that South never argued for pattern recognition to be offered as an explanation

for cultural processes. Rather, he saw the discovery of patterns as simply an early step in the archaeological process (South 2002). Nevertheless, recognizing patterns and pointing out variability or stability in these patterns allows us to begin asking questions and to build interpretations to explain them. Taken as a whole, pattern studies help us paint a more complete picture of the past, a picture often overlooked when relying solely on documentary history.

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