

Brunswick Town: Research Design

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In the six decades of the post-South era at Brunswick Town, interest in the site has been sustained through studies, symposiums, historical publications, textbooks and the evolution of methodology developed there. Archaeology has been limited and generally completed through CRM projects. More recently, several field schools have examined areas South was unable to investigate fully. East Carolina University is undertaking a long-term and comprehensive study of Brunswick Town. The goal of this research design will be a synthesis of the previous archaeology with the documentary record to identify areas for future research.

Brunswick Town: Research Design

A Thesis

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by

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Research Goals:

The primary goal of this research design is to synthesize previous archaeology at Brunswick Town and documentary sources to suggest areas for future research as part of a long-term study by East Carolina University. Broader research questions were employed to construct the framework of this design, most importantly how Brunswick Town fits into the regional context of the Lower Cape Fear.

More specifically, research questions centered on the chronological sequence of the development and decline of the town, and how social, economic, political and ideological forces affected its trajectory.

Finally, what were the characteristics and lifeways of the non-elite residential, labor and industrial districts? What types of industry were present and how are these reflected in the landscape and town layout?

The research goals were intentionally broad in order to incorporate both a large amount of data as well as the extensive geographic area which has yet to be investigated at Brunswick Town.

Methodology:

The primary activity of this research design was comprehensive archival research and compilation of archaeological reports. The North Carolina Department of Natural Resources houses most of the original archaeological reports written by Stanley South following excavations 1958-1968, although a portion are located on site at Brunswick Town. These were synthesized with archaeological reports from four field schools- Peace College/Wake in 2009 and 2011, and East Carolina University in 2015 and 2016.

Historical records were utilized to support the archaeological reports where appropriate, including court documents, colonial records, land deeds, shipping registers, historical treatments, maps, and travel accounts.

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) was used to process data from LIDAR imagery. The methodology is detailed further in Chapter 5.

Chapter 1: Historical Background

The introduction of European expansion into the Cape Fear River by Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon in 1526, was an assignment to explore the northern coastlines of La Florida for Spain (Anglely, 1983). This was also the introduction of the dangers of the Cape Fear to European seamen- Vasquez de Ayllon promptly lost a ship to the treacherous shoals and was forced to construct a new one on the west bank of the river before departing to found the short-lived San Miguel de Gualdupe settlement. Local lore holds that a “Spanish shipyard” once existed just over two miles north of present Southport, North Carolina (Anglely, 1983).

Well over a century passed before William Hilton explored the river in 1662 on the *Adventure*. Sailing upriver as far as the flats below present-day Wilmington, he pushed further up the Cape Fear on smaller boats. The flats were another feature of the river which would influence settlement in the region. Hilton was exploring for suitable land for an expansion of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This initial exploration lasted only three weeks, and he returned the following year with a group of colonists. This settlement was brief, perhaps only a year, and the colonists disbursed for reasons that remain uncertain. They left behind provisions, cattle, and a note discouraging further attempts at colonizing the area.

Hilton returned in 1663, this time at the behest of a group of Barbadians hoping to leave that overcrowded island, spending 21 months scouting the area (Anglely, 1983). The same year, the region now encompassing roughly North Carolina and South Carolina, were awarded to a group of eight English Lords who supported the ascension of Charles II. Historian Lawrence Lee describes this as a feudal arrangement (Lee L. E., 1952). The Lords would be bound to fealty through landownership, and for a nominal fee would distribute their lands to yeoman farmers and planters who would develop it economically. The Lord Proprietors involved themselves in colonial matters as little as possible, delegating administrative duties to governors and councils.

Fittingly, John Vassal led the second attempt at colonizing the Lower Cape Fear (Anglely, 1983). The Barbadians settled Charles Town on the west bank near present Town Creek (another town of the same name was being planted in South Carolina, also by Barbadians), a little more than half-way between the mouth of the river and Wilmington. This settlement was more successful, lasting over two years and leading to the designation of Clarendon County. The colonists primarily pursued agriculture and traded with local Native Americans. Spreading themselves up and down the Cape Fear, historian Wilson Anglely writes that the smoke of the settlements could be seen for sixty miles along the river. Anglely suggests that the settlements could well have extended past the future site of Brunswick Town, six miles below Town Creek. The colony failed and the area was again abandoned in 1667, from “inadequate external support, internal dissension, and increasingly hostile relation with the Indians” (Anglely, 1983).

Thus, by 1667, the character of settlement in the Lower Cape Fear was already extant: the dangerous shoals along the river and ocean, the proximity to the Atlantic, the barrier to upriver travel created by the flats near Wilmington, trading and hostility with Native American groups and internal dissent.

Permanent settlement in North Carolina was slowly appearing, chiefly in the Albemarle region by colonists from Virginia and the northern colonies, a motley assemblage of diverse groups struggling to form a unified administrative system. Quakers, Palatinates, Huguenots, debtors, criminals, anyone seeking a new start or escaping persecution in Europe tried their hand in North Carolina, and it developed a reputation as a backwater, a wild and somewhat dangerous place (La Vere, 2013). In the opening years of the eighteenth century, European settlement extended only to the White Oak River, or present-day Jacksonville. The Lords Proprietors had suspended settlement any further for one compelling reason- the most powerful Native American tribe in North Carolina, the Tuscarora, were becoming increasingly unpleasant (La Vere, 2013).

The other Charles Town was founded in 1670 on the banks of the Ashley River in South Carolina. The small settlement soon moved downstream to the peninsula at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, later known as Charleston. Arriving around 1675, James Moore received a grant for 2400 acres on

what is now the City of Goose Creek (Hetzler, 2010). An Irish immigrant to Barbados, he was hired to manage the plantation of the wife of Sir John Yeamans, soon to be proprietary governor of South Carolina. Yeamans had visited the Barbadian settlement in North Carolina in 1665, losing a ship and cannon he planned to fortify his settlement with in Port Royal, South Carolina (Anglely, 1983).

James Moore married Yeaman's step-daughter, Margaret Berringer, producing ten children, six sons and four daughters: Margaret, Mary, Ann, Rebecca, James, Maurice, Roger, Jehu, William and Nathaniel. The Moore plantation was called Boochawee, likely a Native American name but its origin remains unclear (it is often spelled a variety of ways, notably Boochoi). Situated on Goose Creek, the path from Charleston to the Indian trading post at Monck's Corner passed in front of Boochawee. Here the Moores constructed a rudimentary frontier house and planted crops. Besides the frontier house occupied by the Moores, sixty African and Native American slaves lived on the plantation in "small crude cabins" (Hetzler, 2010).

James Moore soon began trading with Indians, and trading *in* Indians. Historian David LaVere describes Moore as being a notorious Indian slaver, reprimanded by the Lords Proprietors for "contriving wars" with Native Americans as a pretext for slave raids (La Vere, 2013). He was known to have business dealings with pirates as well, but continued to prosper economically and became a core member of a group of anti-proprietary colonists known as the Goose Creek Men. LaVere writes that this group was primarily against any regulation of trade, especially the lucrative trade with and in Indian slaves.

Moore soon built Boochawee Hall, a two-story brick house with "pleasure gardens, ponds, terraces, walkways, and ornamental plantings" (Hetzler, 2010). Although the Goose Creek men clashed openly with the Lords Proprietors, they were influential and Moore was appointed Secretary of the colony in 1698, Chief Justice in 1699, and Governor in 1700. During this period, Charleston and the rest of South Carolina were under constant threat of attack by the Spanish stationed only 200 miles south at St. Augustine. Tensions were also rising with various Native American tribes who complained often of abuses by traders, but continued to supply slaves captured from rival groups to Charleston and the West Indies sugar plantations (La Vere, 2013). The Lords Proprietors refrained from providing meaningful

assistance for these mounting conflicts, although regulating the Indian slave trade was entertained to diffuse tensions with Indian trading partners.

Although the opening of Queen Anne's War in 1702 was not "contrived" by Moore, it was perfect cover for a "legitimate" slave raid on St. Augustine (La Vere, 2013). Moore's expedition was unsuccessful, but he returned in 1704 with a larger mixed force of white militia and Yamasee warriors. Raiding the countryside around St. Augustine and Apalachee province, settlements were burned, missions attacked, Indians tortured and many hundreds killed (mainly Guale). Moore returned with close to a thousand captives for the Charleston slave market. Moore's oldest son, James (Jr.), accompanied him on this raid. The raids on Florida have been attributed to the rapid expansion of Charleston from its protected urban center and into the countryside, as well as the beginning of a shift in the demographics of its enslaved population. The elder James died of yellow fever four years later (Ramsey 2008; Zierden 2016).

The elder James Moore's will did not follow the typical colonial system of primogenitor, but split his holdings among his wife and children. His daughters married local men, sons of Goose Creek men, their portions of Boochawee merging into their husband's plantations. Notably, Mary married Job Howe and Rebecca married William Dry of neighboring Button Hall (Hetzler, 2010).

By 1711, the tensions in North Carolina finally erupted into war. As with South Carolina, the Native American groups were complaining of abuse by traders and colonists, violations of treaties, and encroachment on vital hunting lands. The abduction of De Graffenreid, leader of a Palatinate group settled on the Neuse River, and John Lawson, Royal Surveyor, shocked the colony. The brutal torture and death of Lawson precluded the massacre of 60 English and 70 Palatinate colonists and the capture of 30 more, including women and children, in September of 1711 (La Vere, 2013).

The competing groups in the Albemarle were too disorganized and feckless to avoid the Tuscarora War. LaVere points to a main division in the major landholders. One group, whom he calls "Proprietary Men", were led by Thomas Pollock and felt they were the "law and order" party. Other influential parties were

aligned primarily against them and Proprietary rule, as in South Carolina. Among these were the Quakers, who refused to swear oaths (often keeping them from office) and would not contribute men or supplies to the militia (La Vere, 2013). Also among this group was Edward Moseley, Lawson's successor as Royal Surveyor. After the massacre the North Carolina assembly requested help from Virginia and South Carolina. Governor Spotswood of Virginia only gave minimal assistance, mainly by stopping tributary tribes in his colony from joining the Tuscarora.

In 1712 South Carolina sent a force of 35 white militia, hundreds of Native American warriors, and a contingent of war dogs (La Vere, 2013). The Native Americans represented several tribes, including Yamasee, Cheraws, and Cherokees. Leading the expedition was John Barnwell, an Irishman who dealt extensively in the Indian slave trade and had made his own raids into the St. John's River in Florida against the Timucua Indians. Barnwell devastated the Tuscarora town of Narhunte, by his own account killing women, burning captives alive, and allowing the Yamasee warriors to engage in cannibalism. The town was apparently full of English trade goods, which the victorious Indians plundered. Hundreds of Tuscarora were captured.

In the aftermath, many of Barnwell's Indian mercenaries deserted with their loot and captives to sell in South Carolina. Barnwell moved on the Neoherooka, which he found deserted, but also full of English goods which the remaining Indians looted, leaving behind their previous spoils. Barnwell finally built a semi-permanent earthen fort near Fort Hancock, which he laid siege to for 10 days. Fort Hancock was different than other Tuscarora forts, it contained a palisade, sally ports, revetments, and other features of European forts. Barnwell was to learn that it was designed by an escaped slave, Harry, who had worked on fortifications in South Carolina before living with the Tuscarora (La Vere, 2013).

Barnwell finally negotiated with the Tuscarora and hammered out terms of peace which he was unauthorized to make. Freeing some of the white hostages and bringing a temporary end to the war, Barnwell felt he had achieved his goals. The North Carolinians felt quite different- they thought he should have extinguished the Tuscarora at Ft. Hancock while he had a chance, and instead left behind a

formidable force. They were not inclined to follow his negotiated terms of peace. Barnwell returned to South Carolina, henceforth known as “Tuscarora Jack” (La Vere, 2013).

Barnwell’s expedition did little to quell the fears of North Carolinians. The Tuscarora, many who had taken refuge in the swamps and forests, returned to Neoherooka with clear, first-hand experience of what might await them. The skirmishes and attacks renewed, and indications were that the Seneca from New York were preparing to join them. The North Carolina assembly again appealed for help from South Carolina, with the explicit instruction that Barnwell not be part of the militia. Never a colony to pass on a legitimate slave raid, this time the South Carolinians were led by Col. James Moore, and his brother Maurice who commanded a force of 50 Yamasee left over from Barnwell’s expedition (La Vere 2013 p. 156; South 2012).

The inducements for Native American mercenaries were clear- an estimated 3-4000 women and children left in North Carolina for enslavement (women and children carried much higher prices). The expectation of the raid for the militia was clear too. LaVere quotes a description from a contemporary Anglican minister: The Moores will “bring those murderers to due punishment, we think deystroy the whole nation, that is to kill the men and make the women and children slaves, this is the way of our wars” (La Vere, 2013).

The South Carolinians and mercenaries arrived in 1713. James Moore waited patiently for supplies and additional militia, which had been promised by the assembly but not delivered by the Albemarle factions. Moore took matters into his own hands, and moved his nearly 1000 strong force into the Albemarle region where there was abundant food and supplies, allowing his mercenaries to forage off farms and plantations. He immediately received provisions, arms, and additional militia. LaVere suggests that he did what no one else could-he unified the Albemarle men.

Moore’s force finally attacked Neoherooka and did not negotiate terms. His report records 192 scalped, 200 burned in underground bunkers (likely women and children), 166 killed outside the fort, and 392

captives. Hailed as heroes, they received the thanks of the colony. James Moore returned to South Carolina, climbing through the ranks of public office and the militia, finally becoming governor himself before his death in 1724 (Ramsey, 2008; Hetzler, 2010; Zierden, 2016).

Maurice stayed in North Carolina, purchasing property in Bath and Beaufort, and marrying the wealthy Widow Swann, sister of his new friend Edward Moseley. Three years later, in 1715, the Yamasee war broke out in South Carolina. Somewhat longer than the Tuscarora War, and just as brutal, the North Carolina colony dispatched Col. Maurice Moore and a large force who traveled south along the coast and near the west bank of the Cape Fear River. Encountering hostile Cape Fear Indians, Moore captured and enslaved 80, selling them in Charleston on arrival. Some historians believe this was the last substantial group of Native Americans in the region (La Vere, 2013; South, 2012).

A larger threat than the Yamasee were the Cherokee who appeared to be considering joining the war. A unified force of these groups and their allies could have potentially ended the settlements in South Carolina. Maurice Moore was sent to negotiate with the Cherokee on their lands with a show of force of five hundred men. The Cherokee consequently declined to assist the Yamasee, effectively ending the Indian threat in the Carolinas. Lawrence Lee describes Moseley's negotiation as the most important event of that war.

In 1716, William Rhett, Roger Moore's father-in-law, captured the gentleman pirate Stede Bonnet at the Battle of the Cape Fear (South S. , 2012). In 1718 Blackbeard was killed near Ocracoke Island, North Carolina. These events, coupled with the Moore's removal of the Indian threat, brought a measure of peace to the Lower Cape Fear region for the first time since the arrival of the Europeans.

The effects of all this raiding and trading by the Moores was not only the end of the widespread Indian slave trade in the Carolinas. It activated an intense period of demographic admixture within the enslaved population in Charleston. Ramsey analyzed probate wills and inventories during this period, suggests nearly a quarter of slaves in Charleston from 1705-1725 were Native American, mainly women and

children (Ramsey, 2008). Analyzing slave names, he considers to have Native American origins, he suggests that by the second generation these slaves were “mustee” or creole, and were given more typical African or common slave names. This period also marks an intensification of colonoware in the archaeological record for Charleston, a hand-built, low-fired pottery associated with slave populations and featuring both Native American and African influences (Ramsey, 2008; Zierden, 2016).

The lands now open for settlement in the Lower Cape Fear offered another resource to be exploited in the absence of Native Americans. The Long-Leaf Pine covered the Coastal Plain and the Sandhills region, and area drained by the Cape Fear River. Known for its high production of resin, this pine had been a central feature of Native American life. A pyrophatic forest, the Long-leafs ran from the James River in Virginia into east Texas (Outland, 2004). They now became the target of English mercantilist policy.

Mercantilism, an England-first economic policy based on resources extracted from colonies and newly-claimed lands fueling products of English factories, often dictated royal or administrative attention to geographies. The coastal plain of the American southeast was no exception, and was the target of mercantilist policy for nearly a century prior to the Revolution.

Resource extraction from the colonies or other lands was crucial to England’s ascension and supremacy as it had few resources of its own to draw upon. Mercantilism was an effort to harness the economic crises which arrived from England’s predicament as a small island. It needed raw products, which sucked currency out of the country. It thus had to artificially spur domestic production, and needed a system to delimit where and how products were produced and distributed. To maintain its maritime hegemony in the north Atlantic, it had to expand to acquire resources. The 1660 Navigation Act, for example, contained an enumeration clause, which directed that certain products had to be shipped first to England or its colonies, on English ships, before distribution to other countries (Gamble, 1921).

Mercantilism, in its ideal function, established a continuous cycle of renewable resources to be shipped to the mother country. Wool, for example, might be produced in New England, shipped to England and

manufactured into cloth, which might be then exported. Products were often non-renewable, however, or not as renewable as merchants and administrators believed such as the skin and fur trades. While these products chiefly served English cultural tastes, forest products were militarily vital.

The expansion of ship-building after the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) and throughout the 17th century took an enormous toll on British forests (Outland, 2004). Besides lumber for construction, resinous materials were necessary for protecting the ships and rigging against decay. Tar, pitch, and turpentine, a group of resinous products distilled from the sap of pine trees, were traditionally and reliably obtained from the Baltic through Dutch Hansa merchants and with the cooperation of the Swedish and Russian governments. The Baltic region was forested by *Pinus scotus*, or Scots Pine (Gamble, 1921; Outland, 2004).

This arrangement began to suffer in the late 17th century because of ever-changing alliances and wars on the European continent. Hansa merchants or the respective governments often drove up prices or simply denied England purchasing rights. An alternative source of resinous material was necessary. American forests had long been studied by the English.

The Naval Stores Act of 1705 made naval stores enumerated goods and placed a bounty, or guaranteed price, on tar and pitch production in the colonies. This economic stimulus had a desired effect, though in an entirely different region. Instead of New England, North Carolina became the heart of naval store production and export. From 1705-1718, North Carolina exported nearly 135,000 barrels of tar and pitch. By 1720, 90 percent of tar imported into England was from the colonies (Gamble, 1921; Ward, 1949).

While naval store production in northeastern North Carolina was successful, the most important port for naval store export would be in the southeastern part of the state, on the west side of the Cape Fear river, fifteen miles from where it empties into the Atlantic Ocean. Port Brunswick's development and demise rested on this English economic policy, and while other goods left the royal port, naval stores export remained its *raison d'être*.

Brunswick Town and southeastern North Carolina's outsized role in naval store exports was based on the confluence of politics, geography, and as noted, economic policy. This confluence began in the first quarter of the 18th century and fixed the development of the Lower Cape Fear region until the port was partially burned during the Revolutionary War.

In 1725, the Moores were likely ready for a change of scenery and new opportunity. The eldest brother James, former governor, died the year before. The trade in Indian slaves was drying up and regulations were being enforced (Ramsey, 2008). Maurice, having stayed in North Carolina, hatched an ambitious plan. He requested land to plant a town on the Lower Cape Fear river, and to name it Brunswick after the homeland of the Hanoverian monarchs in England. As tar production was crucial to the military and economic success of England, including how requested lands might be useful to the crown was often a feature of land requests (Harrup, 2013).

In 1725, Governor Burrington granted Maurice Moore 1500 acres on the west side of the Cape Fear River (South S. , 2012). Burrington himself moved to the region, several miles below Brunswick, sounding the river and establishing a road from the Neuse River to the Cape Fear River. Maurice was joined by associates from both North and South Carolina, all receiving enormous tracts of land and establishing plantations far up and downstream from Brunswick. From North Carolina were Edward Moseley, John Porter, John Baptiste Ashe, and Cornelius Harnett. From South Carolina came Eleazer Allen, Job Howe, William Dry, and the brothers Moore- Roger, William, and Nathaniel (James and Jehu were deceased). The group was related in complex ways by marriage, blood, or both. They were also related ideologically, aligned against the Proprietors. Their extended network was known as The Family (South S. , Archaeology at Colonial Brunswick, 2012).

The circumstances of their arrival and the extent of their land grants are cloudy. Roger Moore was soon to be known as "King Roger", and before his death had acquired 40,000 acres and 250 slaves (Wood, 1999). He built Orton Plantation on the northern border of Brunswick Town, the only brick colonial home remaining in the region today. They were accused of fraudulent land acquisition with the help of their

friend Edward Moseley, namely filing “blank patents” where the survey and actual acreage could be filled in later. This allowed tar-burners to start making product without having to wait on the mechanisms of legal land transfers. By 1724, a year before the founding of Brunswick Town, North Carolina was supplying 94% of English purchases. Many of the founders of the town were already acquiring land and producing tar in northeastern areas before moving to the Cape Fear, including Moseley and Porter (Harrup, 2010).

The controversy over the blank patents provides one of the few clues to how many people arrived from South Carolina. In defending their rights to the large tracts, which were usually granted on a headright system to encourage settlement, the signees (including Roger Moore) state that they arrived with more than 1200 people (Wood, 1999). Although this appears to be a large number, there are no records that indicate North Carolina was ever a major destination of slave ships on the order of Charleston. Despite this, the Lower Cape Fear had the highest ratio of slaves to colonists in the state.

Given the nature of the arrivals, a large enslaved population would have been necessary to clear the forests for agriculture, make tar, and build the towns and plantations. The Moores and their associates probably arrived with a large creolized population of African, mustee, and Native American slaves.

Town Development

Maurice Moore set aside 320 acres for Brunswick Town, about half of which was developed into 356 half-acre lots (Lee, 1952; South, 2102). Of these, 77 can be determined to have been sold through land records, and the locations of 60 were established by Lawrence Lee and archaeologist Stanley South. The town was laid out in a grid pattern, with lots set aside for public buildings, a courthouse, a gaol, and a church, the construction of which was directed by the North Carolina Assembly in 1729. Seven years later, in 1736, Moore sold one-half of his interest in the town to John Porter, reserving two lots for himself.

It's clear that 1740 was a watershed for Brunswick Town. It continued to retain influence, however, through two mechanisms. First, some lot owners were appointed public office (Lee L. E., 1952). Roger Moore served in the assembly, Edward Moseley held several offices throughout his career, and William Dry III was customs inspector. Second, Brunswick Town retained representation in the state assembly. In that year, a group of Cape Fear men outfitted a ship and attempted a raid on Cartagena under the pretext of the War of Jenkin's Ear (Lee L. E., 1952). It's unknown if this was a slave raid, but it was ultimately unsuccessful. Nearly two years later one half the crew returned empty handed. Possible retaliation arrived in 1748, as Spanish privateers ransacked and looted Brunswick Town for several days before being driven off by the colonists. By 1745, Moseley and Porter were dead, and the town was administered by commissioners including Roger Moore, William Dry III and Richard Quince (Lee L. E., 1952).

1740 also saw the designation of Wilmington as a township and the transfer of public offices there from Brunswick (Wood, 1999). While Brunswick Town was not yet in decline, its ascension, however hopeful it had been, was halted by the political move.

Governor Dobbs moved to a residence on the outskirts of the town in 1758. This residence went through a string of names and renovations over its lifespan. First owned by William Moore, it was sold to John Russel and known as Russelborough. After Dobbs' death in 1765, Governor Tryon continued renovated

it and re-named it Castle Tryon. During this period, Brunswick Town was the scene of resistance during the Stamp Act crisis (Lee L. E., 1952). Hundreds of armed residents from Wilmington and Brunswick Town converged on Tryon’s residence and prevented the landing of the stamps. In 1769 cartographer Claude Sauthier was commissioned by Tryon to map seven North Carolina towns. Sauthier’s is the only surviving map of Brunswick Town. Tryon relocated to New Bern in 1770, whereupon William Dry III took up residence, renaming it Bellfont. It was burned by the British in 1776-7, along with parts of Brunswick (South S. , Archaeology at Colonial Brunswick, 2012). Bradford Wood’s dissertation *Formation of a Region* attempts to address the causes and ramifications of Wilmington’s rise (Wood, 1999). His charts of lot conveyances in Brunswick Town and Wilmington during the Colonial period, here combined into a single chart, are revealing (Table 1).

Table 1 Lot Conveyances 1725-1775

Years	Brunswick Town Lot Conveyances	# of ¼ ac lots	Wilmington Lot Conveyances	# of ¼ ac lots
1725-1729	2	6		
1730-1734	16	38	7	15
1735-1739	14	30	94	315
1740-1744	5	9	48	90
1745-1749	5	11	46	63
1750-1754	3	10	56	90
1755-1759	7	12	53	95
1760-1764	6	20	37	40
1765-1769	14	22	37	52
1770-1775	9	12	52	72
Total	81	170	430	832

There is no evidence Brunswick ever developed any type of industry or economy that didn’t relate to forest products, or that it engaged in any significant manufacturing or export of products besides these (Lee, 1952; Wood, 1999). It must be noted that exports recorded for Port Brunswick represented the entire Lower Cape Fear, including Wilmington (Wood, 1999). Attributing products recorded as exports

of the Port of Brunswick as having been manufactured within the Town of Brunswick is impossible.

Although archaeological evidence exists for tar manufacturing within the town limits, it was limited and likely related to land clearing and possibly pre-dates the town.

Wood notes items such as flour, bread, or other provisions would have come from the Cross Creek (Fayetteville) region, down the Cape Fear through Wilmington (Wood, 1999). The Moravian settlements had been persuaded to send their goods through Wilmington via Cross Creek, rather than Charleston, by Governor Dobbs. Wood and Lee also point to Alexander Schaw's description of the Brunswick/Wilmington region in the 1770's as not producing enough grain to feed its population (Lee, 1952; Wood, 1999).

Lee finds that Brunswick Town's nearly total reliance on direct trade with Britain stunted its growth, while Wilmington developed a more varied trade with the West Indies (Lee L. E., 1952). Lee's analysis of available shipping records concludes that because of its deep port, Brunswick would have received more shipping tonnage, while Wilmington would have received a greater number of ships. The records for shipping and tonnage are sparse during the Colonial period, and for most of the first half of the 18th century unavailable. Additionally, Lee notes that many ships entered Port Brunswick in ballast, an indication of a trade imbalance. Since Brunswick's trade when mainly with England directly, there was little need for large mercantile imports, which instead were going to Wilmington.

Woods' analysis of exports from 1768-1772 indicates 83% of wealth exported through the Port of Brunswick, encompassing the entire region, was in the form of naval stores and forest products, followed distantly by beef and pork (Table 2) (Wood, 1999). Wood contends, along the same lines as Lee, that Brunswick never developed organic "linkages" or trading networks which would have developed with a more diverse economy.

Table 2 Export Values Lower Cape Fear 1768-1772

Commodity	Estimated Value (pounds sterling)	% of Exports from Lower Cape Fear Ports
Tar	91091	55
Pine Boards	25849	16
Turpentine	17737	11
Tobacco	5582	3
Staves and Headings	5122	3
Deerskins	4440	3
Beef and Pork	3609	2
Bread and Flour	3495	2
Flaxseed	2141	1
Rice	1294	>1
Indigo	549	>1
Wheat	294	>1
Maize	221	>1
Pitch	184	>1

An analysis of Sauthier's 1769 maps of seven towns in eastern North Carolina indicate characteristics of each town's development. Sauthier denotes the location of public buildings, including the courthouse, church, and gaol. For New Bern, Sauthier marks the location of a school house, tan yard and still house. Edenton also has a school house, tan yard, and a windmill. Halifax has a play house, tobacco store, and a hemp store. Wilmington has a tan yard and still house. No buildings indicating mercantile or cultural facilities are listed for Brunswick Town, only the church, gaol, courthouse, and governor's residence.

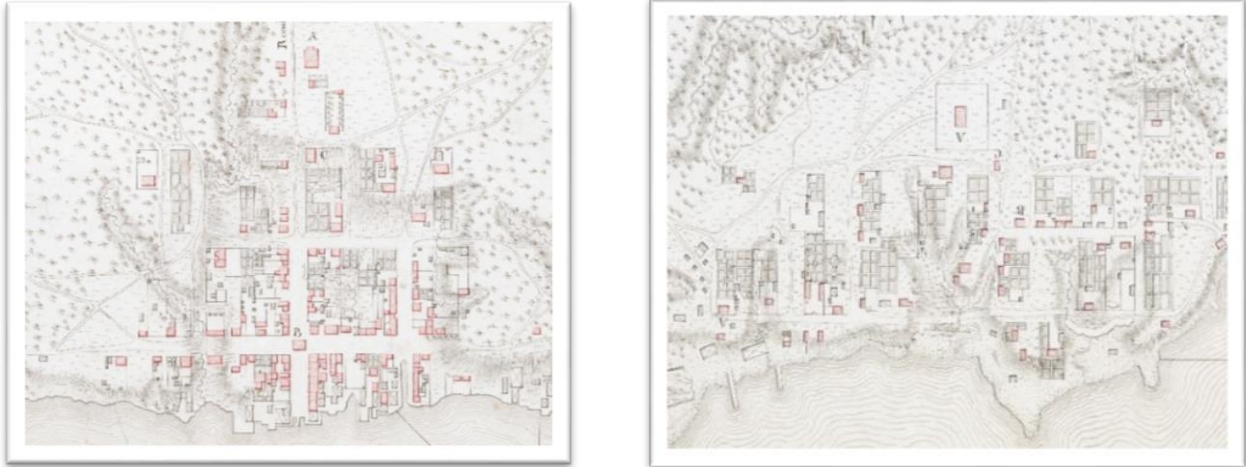


Figure 1 Wilmington (L) and Brunswick Waterfronts 1769

The depictions of the port/areas of Wilmington and Brunswick indicate they are functioning differently. Wilmington's wharf is far more urban and dense, while Brunswick is only a few houses along the waterfront, there is far more land and space between residences. Brunswick's commercial activities were likely waterfront ordinaries catering to sailors and little else. Interestingly, there is no evidence, other than possibly the Public House/Tailor shop, of a store in Brunswick, while owners in Wilmington operated a string of stores spreading to New Bern, Cross Creek, and Swansboro (Wood, 1999). In short, there is no evidence of production within Brunswick Town for export, besides forest products or naval stores, either to England, the back country, or other colonies.

The question may be asked, why would one desire to move to Brunswick Town? Surrounded by plantations owned by the network known as The Family, both up and down the river as well as the adjacent interior lands, there would have been little opportunity unless one was dealing directly with them. The only available lands were much farther up the Cape Fear. The Family also had the politics of the town firmly in hand. A parsimonious explanation for the singular character of the village is people moved to Wilmington and points beyond because they had little choice.

Although there is no evidence of wholesale export of products manufactured at Brunswick, commercial activity by local craftsmen was likely. South lists carpenters, shoemakers, and victualers were living there at various times (South S. , 2012). There was also likely provisioning of the waterfront taverns and public houses, and possibly ships while in port.

While Wilmington quickly surpassed Brunswick Town in size, trade, and eventually political power, the raw economic truth remained. Britain needed naval stores, the lot owners of Brunswick continued to own many thousands of acres of the best tar-producing lands, and they had the largest enslaved labor force (Wood, 1999). Rather than in decline in the latter half of the 18th century, Brunswick Town appears to have settled in to this static state of affairs. St. Phillips became an official Episcopal parish in 1741 and St. Phillip's church finally constructed in 1764. The Family's influence extended into the second generation. Roger Moore died in 1751; William Dry III was appointed port collector in 1761. After the death of Roger Moore, Orton plantation passed to his son William. His mismanagement led to the plantation being administered by Dry and Richard Quince (Lee 1952, South 2012).

Post-War/Antebellum

The history of Brunswick Town during the post-Revolutionary period and the antebellum period is largely misunderstood. The few contemporary accounts describe only a few houses remaining immediately post-war, and historians usually assert the town was completely abandoned by the beginning of the 19th century. However, lot conveyances continued until 1819, although confined to the northern sections of town. For the port area or commercial district on the southern edge of town, there are no records of lot conveyances after 1773.

For reasons which remain unclear, the British burned at least part of Brunswick Town and Russelborough, but not Orton. In 1790, Benjamin Smith, a distant cousin of the Moores, married William Dry's daughter, Sarah, and received Orton plantation and over two hundred slaves as a gift. Although Smith would become governor of North Carolina, his management of Orton and other properties ended in foreclosure in 1824 and auction through the Bank of Cape Fear. Smith died penniless in Smithville (Southport).

Orton was purchased by Frederick Hill in 1825, who began restoring it to profitability. By 1830 he had acquired 30 slaves. In 1833 Bishop Ives of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina visited Hill, and they toured the ruins of St. Phillips. The Bishop remarked what good condition the building was still in. In 1842, Hill purchased an adjoining 85 acres, which included the ruins of St. Phillips and Brunswick Town.

For over a century, from 1842 to 1952, Brunswick Town was part of Orton plantation. What its function was in regards to the operation of the plantation remains unclear. Under the ownership of Hill and Thomas Miller, who purchased Orton in 1854, the plantation remained successful. It should be noted however, that the prosperity of Orton under Roger Moore referred to his timber holdings, multiple plantations, saw mill and naval store operations. The iconic rice plantation along the Cape Fear River where the residence now stands did not produce rice in commercial quantities until well into the antebellum period.

Rice is often mentioned as a major feature of the development of the Lower Cape Fear region during the Colonial period, though there is no documentary evidence for this. A visitor to the region in 1731 mentions the existence of rice swamps, but large-scale rice production did not occur until the antebellum period and the introduction of tidal rice farming instead of upland rice farming. Clifton's *Golden Grains of White: Rice Planting on the Cape Fear River* places the total rice production of the entire region at 220 acres in 1771. By 1859, 5,000 acres of rice fields were recorded. Orton largely followed this pattern. After its mismanagement and decline post-Revolution, its resurgence continued with forest products and increasingly with rice. By 1860, 300 acres at Orton were planted in rice.

Tidal rice farming requires intensive manual labor, especially in the construction and maintenance of the earthen dykes. The increasing profitability of rice planting is reflected in the growing number of slave population at Orton from its purchase in 1825 until the Civil War. Hill reported no slave ownership in 1826; by 1830 55 slaves were recorded in the census, and 77 in the 1850 census. Miller acquired 62 slaves with his purchase of Orton. Nine years later, Miller is recorded as owning 144 slaves and forty slave houses.

Orton remained under Miller's ownership through the Civil War and continued producing rice and timber products. An earthen fort, Fort Anderson, was constructed on the plantation, covering some of the ruins of Old Brunswick Town. Hood writes: "With no indications to the contrary, the rice-dominated agricultural operations at Orton are believed to have continued in like scale, or with possible increases, during the Civil War. Surviving Confederate government vouchers for the period from April 1862 to March 1864 indicate quantities of rice straw/hay, merchantable lumber, refuse (rough/slab) lumber, cord wood, and shingles, acquired from Orton as well as the services of its blacksmiths, and the use of Mr. Miller's schooner, the "Blue Perch," for use by the officers and troops stationed at Fort Anderson and Fort Fisher and nearby... For periods the Orton Plantation seat was utilized by Confederate officials. However, it survived the war virtually unscathed, and not without irony, as Orton's architectural grandeur was such a

prominent, visible symbol of Southern antebellum society and its slave-labor foundation” (Hood, 2013, p. 57).

Miller’s wealth was based primarily on his slave holdings. With their emancipation Orton was again foreclosed on and auctioned off. The property went through a series of owners in the years after the war. The Murchisons donated 4 acres containing St. Phillips and its courtyard to the Diocese of North Carolina in 1880.

The Sprunt family acquired Orton in the late nineteenth century and was instrumental in the preservation of Brunswick Town and its development as a historic site. St. Phillips continued to be a tourist and civic group attraction throughout Reconstruction and the early twentieth century. It was James Sprunt who located the ruins of Russelborough. The oft-repeated circumstances of its discovery usually include the presence of an ex-slave, and are part of Orton and Brunswick Town lore.

Sprunt wrote the definitive history of the Lower Cape Fear in the late nineteenth century, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916* (1896). E. Lawrence Lee Jr., a history student at the University of North Carolina, chose to write his Master’s thesis on Brunswick Town as well as his dissertation, and developed an association with the Sprunts. Lee was instrumental in the donation of the property to the State of North Carolina in 1952, which coincided with the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina donating St. Phillips and its graveyard.

Chapter 2: Previous Archaeology

Dr. Lee began searching for the ruins of Old Brunswick Town in 1958, and was joined in that year by Stanley South, a state archaeologist. This commenced the first period of archaeology at Brunswick, from 1958-1968/9. From 1969 until 2009, no archaeology was conducted at the site, except for minor CRM projects such as walkways and picnic shelters. Lee had already begun some data recovery when South arrived, mainly collecting and bagging surface artifacts from the ruins he discovered. South introduced a grid system onto the site, to begin a more organized system for data recovery as the site was so overgrown and jungle-like the ruins could not be survey eyed.

Beginning with the only ruin which was readily observable, St. Phillips, South cut lanes through the undergrowth guided by a hand compass (South S. , 1962). Using the northeast corner of the church as a zero point, he plotted the grid with a line running parallel to the church from zero-east as the zero line, and a line zero-north as a base line. He designated measurements east of the baseline beginning from its location on the zero-north line. No preceding number indicates it is to the north, and to the south begins with an "S". The easting number began with an "R", if it was to the right of the base line when facing north, and those to the west with an "L". The ruins themselves received a designation beginning with either N (north) or S(South), maintaining Lee's designations. The numeric designations indicate the sequence of discovery rather than location. The squares plotted onto the sites were marked by their lower-right hand corner when facing north (South S. , 1962).

The grid system allowed Dr. Lee to correlate his reconstructed town lot plan with the only surviving Colonial period map, that of C.J. Sauthier (1769). This led to lot number designations, which permitted a lot to be associated with a lot owner or owners. Lots with multiple owners were designated with a hyphen, i.e. McCorkal-Fergus.

Thus, Unit N1, the Jones-Price house, is also lot 120 and is located at 150L150 on the grid system. To maintain the integrity of the grid, South sunk 17 cement markers marked with their grid position and

elevation. He initially plotted 46 units on the grid, leaving off 4 which he determined to be inaccessible. While the various nomenclatures are often perplexing to the archaeologist, it may reflect the development of the site and the workers employed there. The covers of the excavation reports display all the designations (Fig 3). Lee began locating the ruins first, and South maintained his basic system of

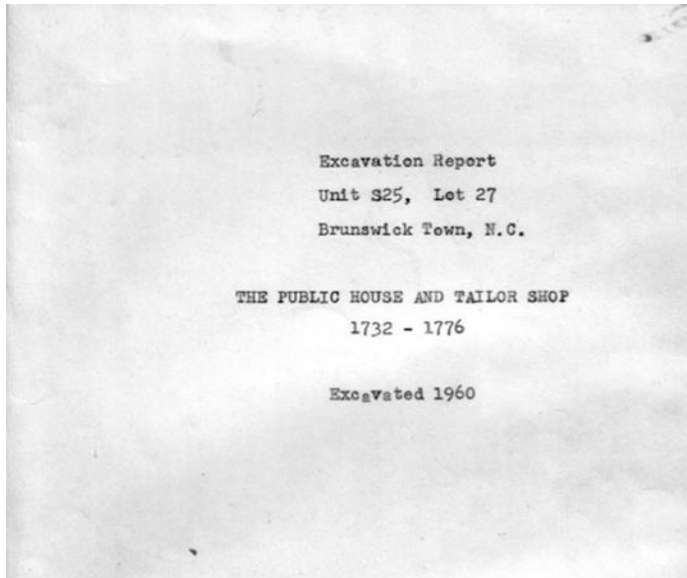


Figure 2 Excavation Report cover

North/South designations. The lot identifications came later, but are crucial to historical archaeological research. The use of Right and Left would have been an easy way to direct employees without experience in surveying to a site through the undergrowth. The usage of Lot owner's names might be a nod to public history and the interpretation of the site. South could tell the story of the Public House/Tailor shop to an interested public, without resorting to grid or unit numbers.

South began excavations after the establishment of the grid system in 1958. The ballast stone foundations of larger structures were the initial ruins to be located. These were either visible above the surface in the dense foliage or found during sub-surface probing. That year, he worked on Nat Moore's Front, Unit S10, Lot 29 which lies along the Cape Fear River at S560R620. In 1959 he excavated 11 ruins, either near St. Phillips or those which follow a street depicted on Sauthier's map as running from St. Phillips to the river. These are S2, S7, S10, S12, S15, S18, N1, N4, N7, and N18. In 1960 he excavated the Public House, S13, as well as an associated lot wall, S14 (Spears, 1969).

Excavations were less intense after those first years. The data analysis of 11 ruins would have been formidable. From 1961 to 1967 he excavated 3 ruins: The Newman Taylor ruin, N41 (1961); the Maurice Moore ruin, S11 (1962); and the Courthouse, N7 (1964). In 1966 South worked on the two largest structures in Brunswick, St. Phillips Church, N1, and the Russelborough mansion and kitchen, N50 and N51. The Espy ruin and associated smokehouse, S8, and the Leach-Jobson ruin, S9 were excavated in 1967. South's last excavation was the Quince ruin, N14, in 1968 (Spears, 1969).

South also investigated a diverse number of other ruins and features. He interpreted associated units as servant's quarters, kitchens, wells, smokehouses, and brick ovens, a gaol, a courthouse, a public house, a tavern, and Civil-War period barracks. Correlating these with deeds and lot transfers, South and Lee identified owners as shipmasters, carpenters, merchants, tavern-keepers, a judge and Colonial Governors. South conducted a survey of the mudflats along the river in a shrimp boat and pulled a cannon out of the flats with a tractor. South also oversaw the development of a visitor's center, the clearing of the site for public interpretation, and the construction of a bridge across a swampy area which bisects the site (South S. , *Archaeology at Colonial Brunswick*, 2012).

While most of South's work concentrated on Colonial-period structures, he also investigated Fort Anderson, often attempting to locate structures depicted on the Sauthier map upon which Fort Anderson's earthworks were built. N38 was a test pit with an unconfirmed location in the earthworks, and unit N23 was a test pit into the west arm of the magazine. N30, N31, and N32 were profile trenches. N 33 was a "window" into the earthwork, and N34 were "windows" into opposing sides of the earthwork. South's excavations of Units N4 and N41, the Newman-Taylor ruin and associated kitchen, were a nearly complete removal of a section of the earthwork, leaving a thin wall to record the stratigraphy. The specific dates for most of these investigations have yet to be confirmed (Spears, 1969; South 2012).

South's recovered data were recorded in a series of excavation reports and artifact catalogs. The excavation reports are consistent throughout the decade he worked at Brunswick. They include a boiler-plate site description, a site map with elevations and representative stratigraphy, and charts comparing the

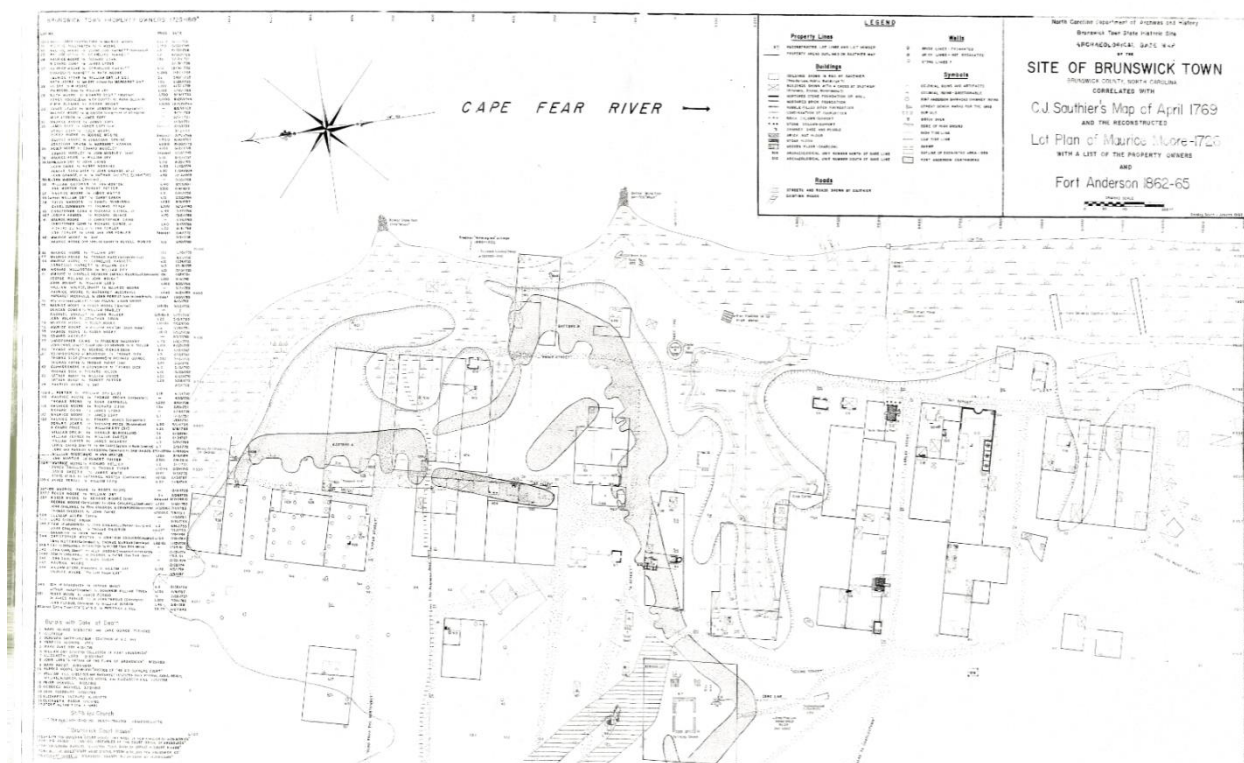
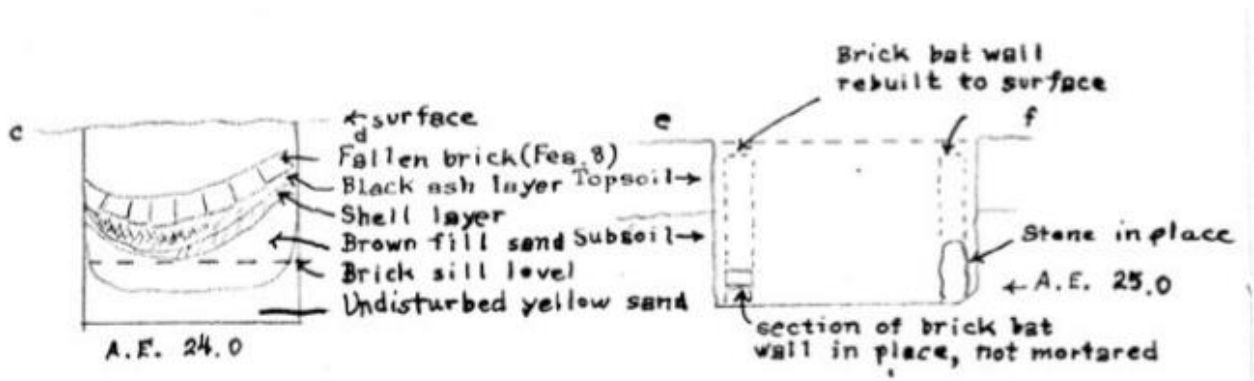


Figure 3 South Base Map

data from the major colonial sites in seriation sequences, pipe-stem dates and dates from documentary evidence. A few reports contain profile sketches and more detailed site maps. His more detailed reports avoid those which were investigated by Lee, the artifact catalogs noting on each page “Dug by Lee”.

South’s methodology may have changed over the course of the excavations. Later artifact logs are noted as “sifted”, suggesting a variability in the methodology. South produced a map which details the grid coordinates, features, colonial structures, and Fort Anderson (Figure 4).

The following picture is from S10, Nat Moore’s Front, depicting typical stratigraphy of the southern section, and below a profile sketch from the excavation report (Fig. 5).



South Entrance Details of S10

Figure 4 Stratigraphy and Profile: S10

The artifact catalogs change significantly over time (Fig. 5). The catalogs for the Newman-Taylor ruin, excavated in 1961, contain 50 typed artifact categories, mainly ceramics, where sherd counts could be

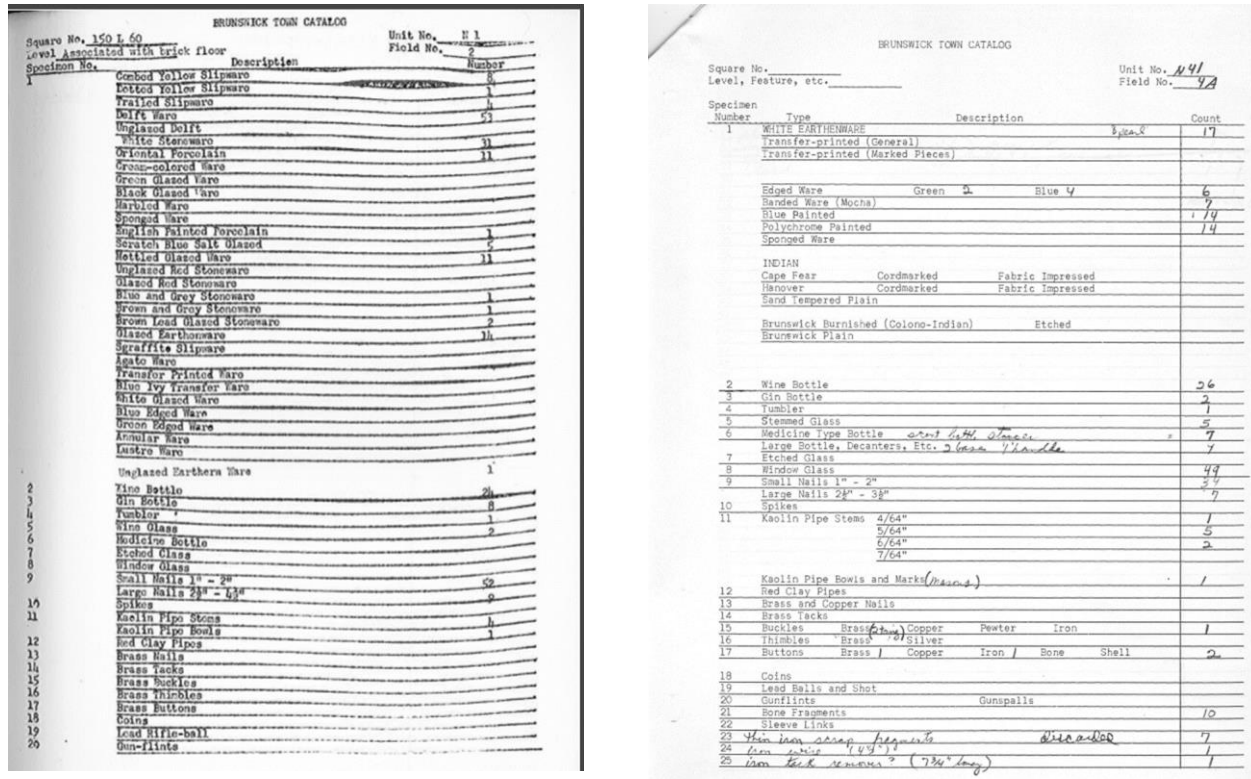


Figure 5 Artifact Catalogs 1961 (L);1968

recorded, and hand-written notes for artifacts not in those categories. By 1967, the catalogs included two sheets of typed Ware categories and more detailed hand-written descriptions.

The amount of data recovered by South across Brunswick Town varies markedly. The southernmost unit, the Public House, S25, produced 42,497 artifacts (South S. A., Excavation Report: S25 The Public House/Tailor Shop, nd). The Roger Moore unit, S2, is near the center of the site and produced 3,236 artifacts, while the Jones-Price unit, N1, only produced 494 artifacts (South S. A., Excavation Report: S2 The Roger Moore Ruin, nd). While this may reflect changes in methods of data recovery and geographical size of the excavations, it also appears closely associated with distance from the earthworks. Recent field schools in 2009, 2011, 2015, and 2016 were located next to the earthworks on the northern side of the site and recovered artifacts on a lower range quantitatively and compare with South’s artifact counts on the northern side. The following chart illustrates the differences in artifact counts, as well the

differences in pipe stem and bowl counts from each (Figure 6). Note that Russelborough and Russelborough Kitchen N50 and 51, while on the north side of Brunswick are on the extreme northern most edge near Orton, a comparable distance from the earthworks as The Public House-Tailor shop. The Barracks and Lot 35 are both within a few yards of the earthworks, albeit on opposite sides of the fort.

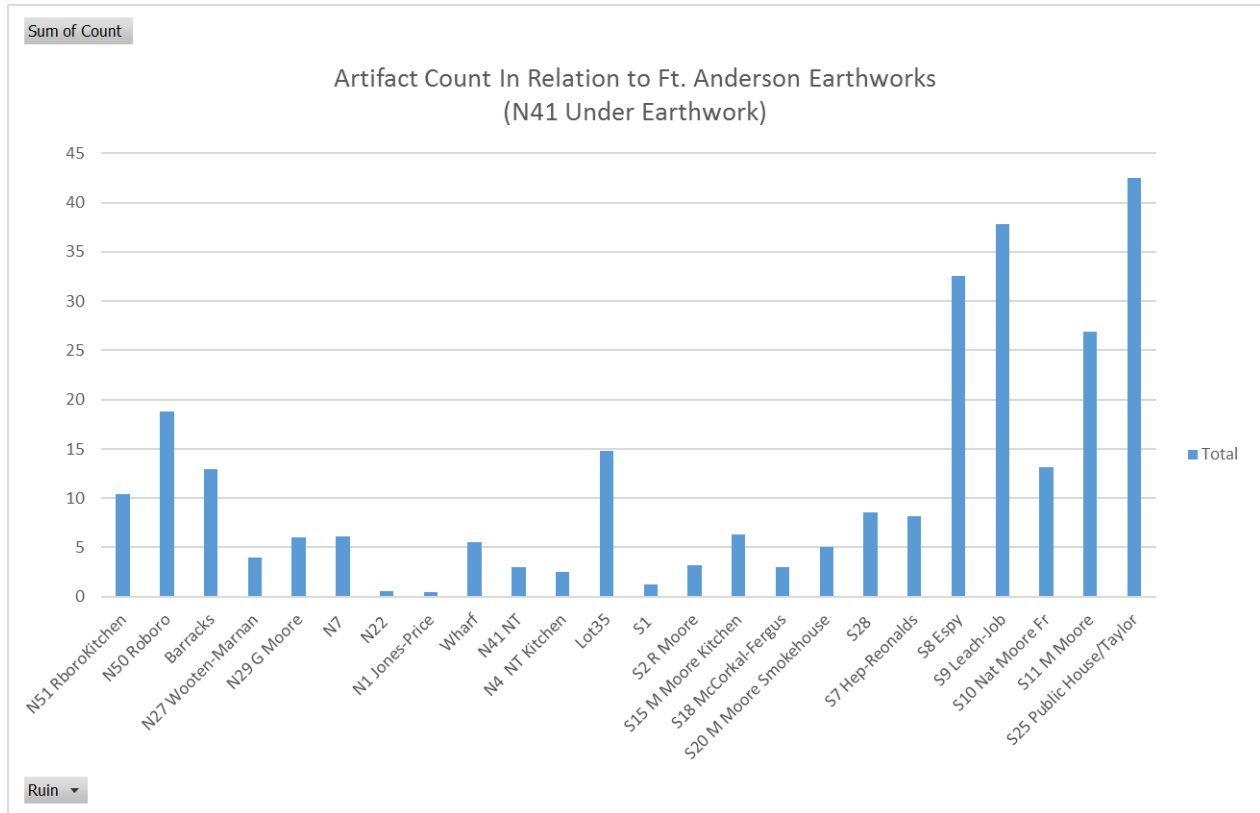


Figure 6 Artifact Counts in relation to Earthworks

Although it seems logical to correlate the site intrusion of earthwork construction with the quantity of artifacts recovered, other factors may affect quantitative results. The units with the highest artifact counts are in the southern portion of town. This has been interpreted as the commercial district. The Sauthier map depicts large piers and greater concentrations of warehouse or non-residential structures. It is also where the first lots were sold, to a ferry operator. While the location of the ferry remains unconfirmed. The ruins with the highest artifact count have a long period of use, and are either on the riverfront or just behind it. This dichotomy is also reflected in the quantities of pipe stems recovered from the geographical sections of Brunswick Town, with a far greater number in the southern portion. In short, the marked

difference in artifact count may be attributed to the construction of the earthwork or because the south side of Brunswick experienced a longer and more intense period of use. The possibility remains the two are interrelated. If the southern section was indeed the port, as seems most likely, and was burned by the British while the northern section was not and remained a functioning part of Orton, then the southern section would have been extremely overgrown in the near-century leading up to the Civil War. It would have represented a much higher degree of difficulty in building Ft. Anderson. Thus, the higher artifact count may represent a higher degree of early activity, followed by a lower degree or cessation of activity which preserved a greater number of artifacts.

South's archaeological work began during the theoretical transition to scientifically-oriented processualism. Influenced by his friend Lewis Binford and trained in pre-historic archaeology by Joffre Coe, South began developing his pattern-recognition techniques utilizing the ceramics recovered at Brunswick (South S. , 1977). His approach to historical archaeology remains influential, despite the more varied techniques employed today. South published or disseminated his findings through academic journals, conference proceedings, lectures, and interested local groups. He developed the site for public interest, enlisting interpreters who used recovered clothing items such as buttons on their costumes for authenticity (South S. , 2012).

After South left Brunswick Town data recovery at the site came to an end for four decades. South continued to use the Brunswick data to develop and publish his theoretical approaches to historical archaeology including *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (1977), the handbook for historical archaeologists for many years. Data collected from Brunswick Town were used to develop his Mean Ceramic Date formula, the Carolina artifact pattern, and the Brunswick Pattern of Refuse Disposal. Figure 6 illustrates sites across Brunswick using the Carolina Artifact Pattern, along with the year excavated and if the structures indicated they were burned.

Ruin	Kitchen	Architecture	Furniture	Arms	Clothing	Personal	Tobacco	Activities	Count	Excavated	Burned
N51 RboroKitchen	90.7	8.2	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.1	10.384	1966	
N50 Roboro	52.5	44.9	1.6	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2	18.813	1966	y
N41 NT	57.4	35.7	0.3	0.7	2.1	0.5	2.3	1	2.977	1961	
N29 G Moore	59.3	36.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	3.3	0.3	5.993	2009	
N27 Wooten-Marnan	80.1	13.6	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.1	5.3	0.1	4.021	1959	
N22 Gaol	65.3	33.2	0	0.2	0	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.551	1959	
N7 Courthouse	42	52	0.4	2.2	1.1	0.1	0.4	1.7	6.123	1964	
N4 NT Kitchen	56	39.5	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.4	2.482	1959	
N1 Jones-Price	77.7	19.4	0	0	0.2	0	1.8	0.8	0.494	1959	
S1 St Phillips	3.3	95.4	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	1.265	1966	
S2 R Moore	63.8	26.3	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.3	8.2	0.5	3.236	1959	y
S7 Hep-Reonalds	45.2	48.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1	4.6	1.2	8.183	1959	y
S8 Espy	60.2	27.6	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	11.4	0.1	32.559	1967	y
S9 Leach-Job	48.6	35.2	0.1	0.1	1.4	0.2	14.4	0.1	37.843	1967	
S10 Nat Moore Fr	51.8	31.4	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.2	13.9	1.2	13.118	1958	y
S11 M Moore	55.4	26.9	0.1	1	1.1	0.1	15.1	0.3	26.85	1962	y
S15 M Moore Kitchen	65.9	20.4	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.4	11.8	0.4	6.299	1959	
S18 McCorkal-Fergus	53.7	32.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	13.3	0.3	3.02	1959	
S20 M Moore Smokehouse	72	15.9	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	11.3	0.4	5.058	1959	
S25 Public House/Taylor	52.9	22.6	0.2	3	13.1	0.2	6.7	1.4	42.497	1960	y
S28 E. Scott	59.7	17.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	21.9	0.4	8.534	1959	
Wharf	48	28	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	13	11	5.498	2015	
Lot35							0.02		14.83	2016	
Barracks	58	38	0.001	0.01	0.001	0.001	0.03	0.001	12.935	2009	

Figure 7 Carolina Artifact Pattern (Courtesy Thomas Beaman)

More recently, South has revisited important themes and contributions from his career, either by re-issuing previous publications with revisions or publishing for the first-time monographs that had been neglected. Among re-issues are *Historical Archaeology at Wachovia* (1999), *Methods and Theory*, and *Archaeological Pathways to Historic Site Development* (2002). *Archaeology on the Roanoke* (2005), *An Archaeological Evolution* (2005) and *Archaeology at Colonial Brunswick* (2010) are monographs published for the first time.

Archaeology post-South

In the late 1990's interest in the site again appeared. A volume of North Carolina Archaeology was devoted to re-examination based on a symposium at the Society for Historical Archaeology at Corpus Christi, Texas. Dr. Charles Ewen's *The Once and Future Research Project: The Role of Brunswick Town in Historical Archaeology* places the articles into two categories: artifact and processual. The artifact-centered articles built on South's pattern recognition, while the processual ones placed Brunswick Town into global perspective. *From the Ashes: Renewed Research of Brunswick Town, North Carolina's Colonial Port* by Linda Carnes-McNaughton summarizes the renewed interest in research as "material culture studies". *Brunswick Town Colonowares Reconsidered* by Thomas Lotfield and Michael Stoner makes a case for the evidence of pottery production by enslaved Africans instead of Native Americans. Thomas Beaman compared delft tiles found at several house excavations. John J Mintz and Beaman considered the process which led to Spanish ceramics being present at Brunswick Town in *Invaded or Traded? Olive Jars and Oil Jars from Brunswick Town*. Kenneth Robinson's *Port Brunswick and the Colonial Naval Stores Industry* placed Brunswick into an Atlantic World context. Anna Gray contributed *Return to the Port of Brunswick: An Analysis of Two Eighteenth-Century North Carolina Sites*. These studies are indicative of the continued interest in Brunswick Town, and they offer various directions for research (R.P. Stephen Davis, 1997).

Other archaeological reports place Brunswick Town in a regional framework. Recent archaeological surveys and data recovery because of the expansion of Orton Plantation produced a SHPO report (Hood, 2013). Lotfield and Stoner's article also draws an important distinction of Brunswick Town which doesn't follow general settlement patterns of other coastal North Carolina sites, mainly settled by colonists drifting south from Virginia. Shawn Patch and Sarah Lowery produced a 2012 report for New South Associates *Geophysical Survey to Prospect for Historic Features at the Brunswick Town Dock* (Patch & Lowry, 2012). More recently, Hannah Smith and Jennifer Gabriel have addressed the wharf and

the Fort Anderson barracks area, respectively, in their MA theses (Smith, 2014) (Gabriel, 2012).

Benjamin Johnson analyzed the form and function of colonoware recovered by South from the Public House/Tailor shop for his 2016 MA thesis (Johnson, 2016). The WakeTech and PEACE College field schools in 2009 and 2011 focused on a suspected barracks area behind Battery A. Matthew Kerr and Eleanora Reber analyzed residue of colonoware and Native American sherds from the barracks area (Kerr & Reber, 2012). J. Matthew Compton produced a faunal analysis of the site in 2014 (Compton, 2014).

Recent intensification of erosion along the waterfront exposed features of a wharf structure constructed with timbers in a crib-cob style. East Carolina University was invited to investigate and record the wharf, along with anomalies recorded during a geophysical survey of the adjacent terrace, and a gun emplacement in Battery B of the Fort Anderson earthworks. These investigations took place during a field school in 2015 under the supervision of Dr. Charles Ewen of the Department of Anthropology at ECU. The anomalies along the terrace were confirmed by Ground Penetrating Radar. Excavations revealed two Colonial-period naval store production sites, or tar kilns, along the first terrace adjacent to the wharf and Colonial-period artifacts. Excavation of the crib closest to the shoreline recorded construction techniques and determined the terminus of the wharf.

Following the 2015 field school a long-term research initiative was formalized between East Carolina University and the North Carolina Department of Natural Resources. In 2016 a field school under the supervision Dr. Ewen investigated what had been interpreted as features associated with the Edward Moseley ruin, N5 and N6, on Lot 35. A Ground Penetrating Radar survey in the research area indicated sub-surface anomalies. Excavations revealed a Colonial period structure interpreted as the base of a beehive oven, ballast and brick foundations and adjacent sub-surface piers. A gun emplacement was investigated in Fort Anderson's Battery B in preparation for the placement of a restored Civil War period cannon.

Remote Sensing:

Diverse methods of remote sensing have been employed in archaeological investigations at Brunswick Town. As noted, the 2015 ECU field school successfully utilized GPR to confirm anomalies previously recorded by a magnetometer survey. The 2016 ECU field school also utilized GPR and sub-surface probing to locate ballast and brick foundation piers associated with Colonial period structures. The 2011 Peace College/Wake Tech field school, concentrating on possible Civil War barracks sites, enlisted volunteers for a metal-detecting survey in front of the visitor's center attempting to locate additional barracks. While the survey was successful in locating large amounts of metal objects, locating barrack sites through this method were inconclusive.

Recently, ECU has applied LIDAR point data processed through GIS software to produce a Bare-Earth Digital Elevation Model (DEM), which revealed topographic features under the tree and shrub canopy (Figure 7) (Harrup 2017). This can be useful especially in delimiting survey areas in the parts of the site which are obscured by thick undergrowth. The DEM model is also useful in georeferencing maps because it gives the most accurate depiction of the site and is already referenced to the appropriate datum (Figures 8 -11). Processing through GIS software can assist in interpreting the site geomorphology. The accuracy of the Sauthier map has long been questioned by researchers. Lee found that it was not accurate enough to scale street widths from, and South encountered errors in locating some structures, such as the courthouse ruin. Nevertheless, the map was sufficiently accurate to allow Lee to reconstruct the town lots and employed by South during his initial surveys. Its status as the only detailed map of Brunswick Town from the Colonial period leaves little choice but for archaeologists to utilize it.

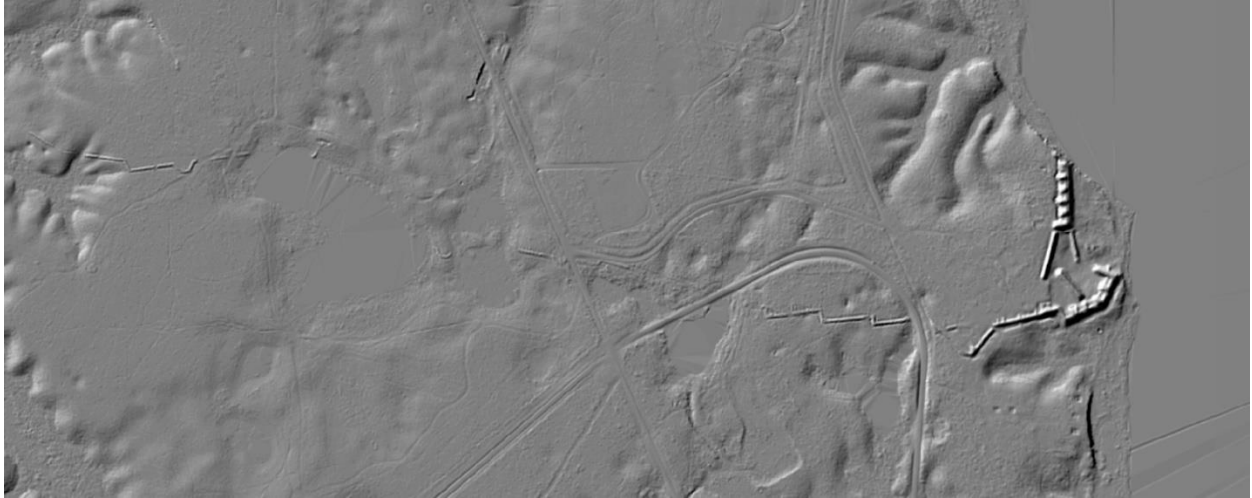


Figure 8 Bare Earth DEM

The georeferenced Sauthier map confirms that it is acceptably accurate. However, georeferencing an inaccurate map only replicates inaccurate data. Two attempts to safeguard against this were made. First, the DEM surface was smoothed through GIS Fill tool, and then processed through GIS 3D Analyst Hydrology tools, which uses the N8 algorithm to pick stream beds from the topography. This gives an accurate depiction of current drainages which can be compared to drainages as depicted by Sauthier, and the interpretation of geomorphologic change and correlation of topographic features. The results showed a high degree of correlation between modern and Colonial period drainages. Second, this allowed the comparison of features on the Sauthier map to be compared to the adjacent topography, i.e. streambeds to determine their appropriateness in using as control points for georeferencing. These methods proved to be effective in determining the Sauthier map is accurate but requires ground surveys. etc.



Figure 9 DEM over Topographic Map



Figure 10 DEM/Topo Detail

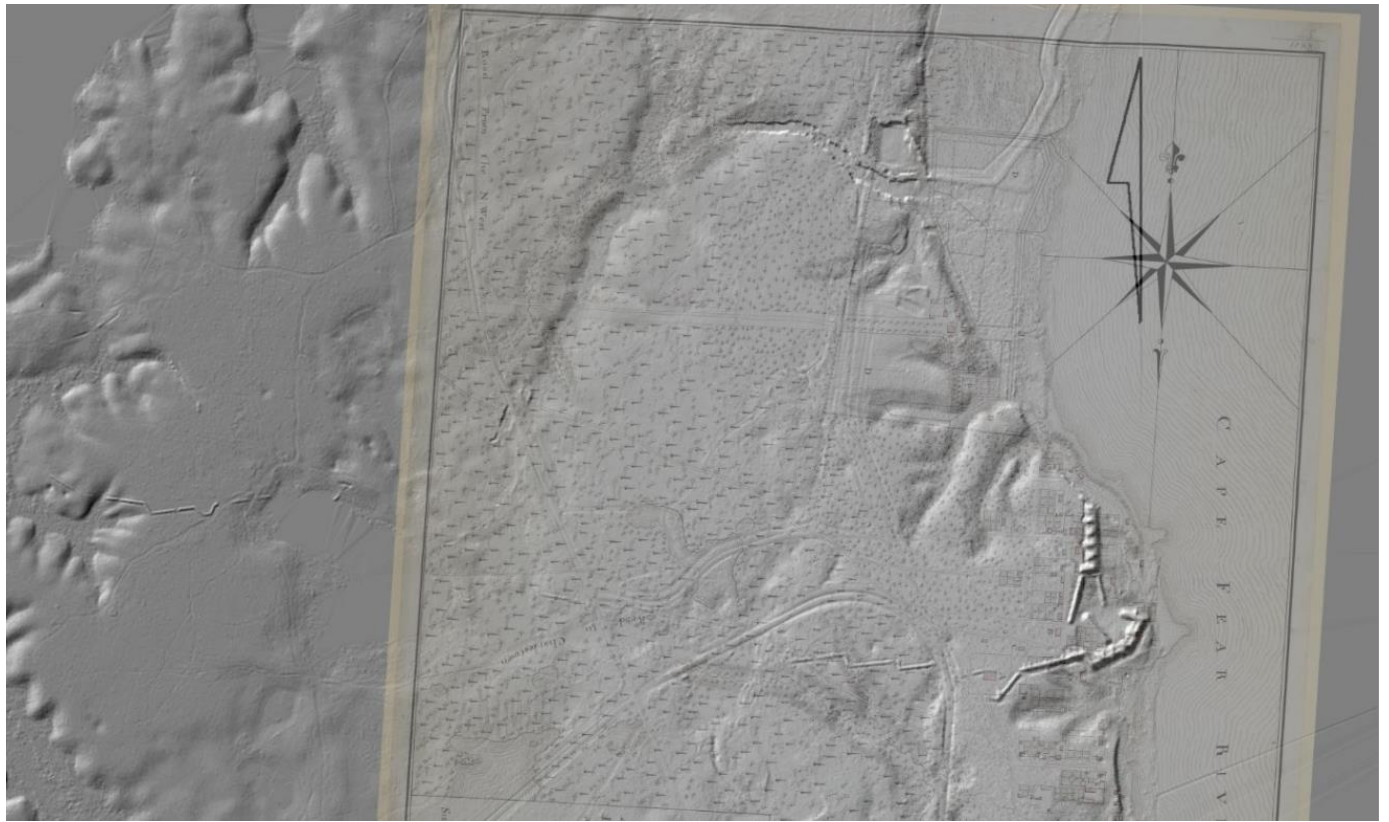


Figure 11 Georeferenced 1769 map



Figure 12 Georeferenced 1769 map Detail

Analysis of Near-Infrared imagery of Brunswick Town (Fig 12) reveals crib-cob features of the wharf in front of Battery B, and manipulation of the Red-Blue-Green wavelengths have revealed an underwater anomaly connected to the wharf (Figure 13).

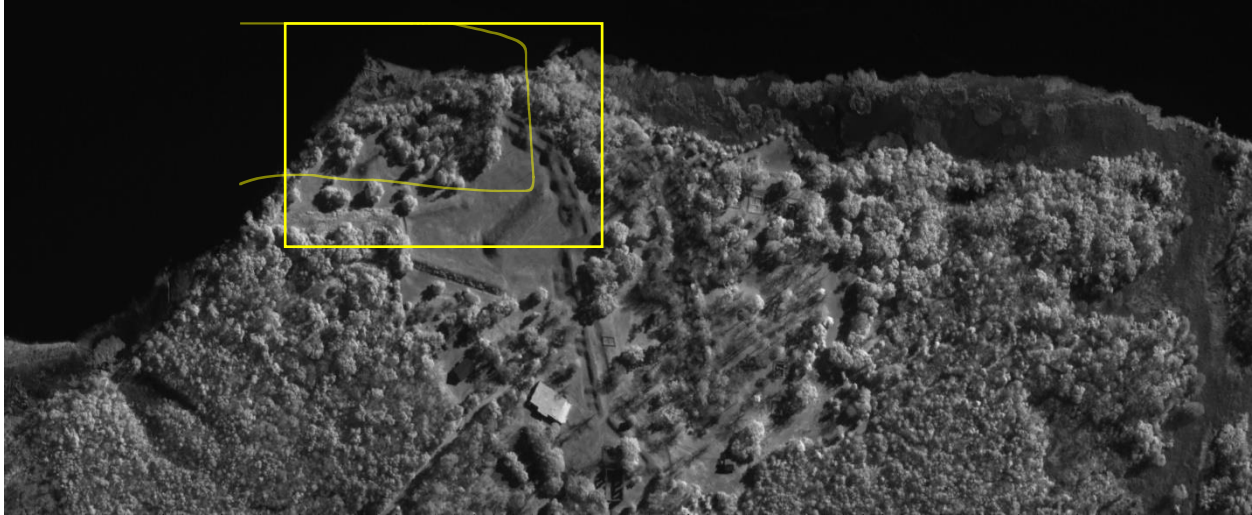


Figure 13 Near-Infrared Image

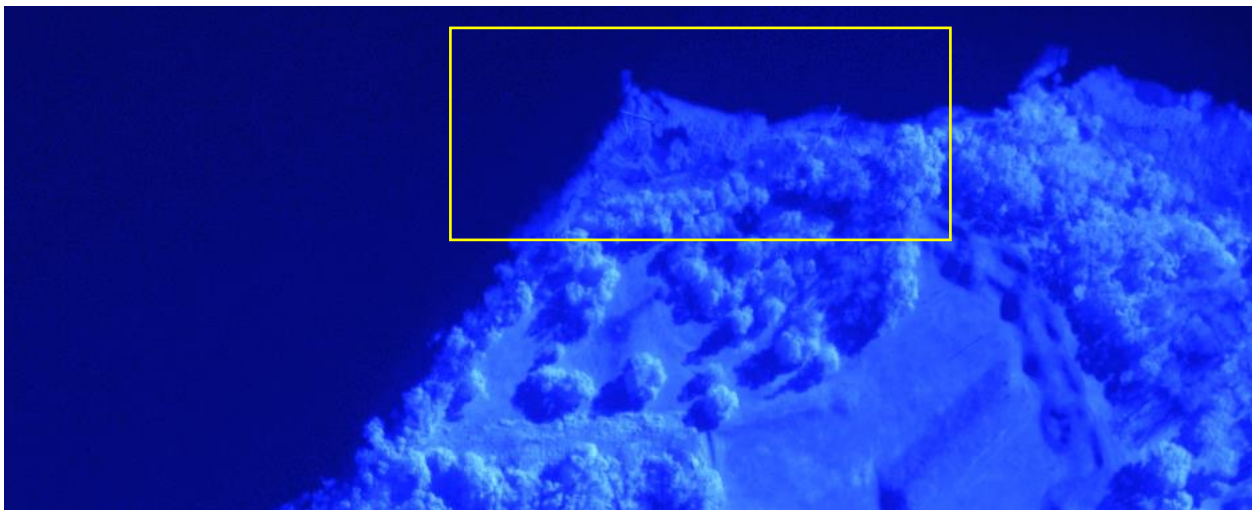


Figure 14 Near-Infrared RGB shift showing wharf

Remote Sensing has played an integral role in recent investigations. GPR and magnetometry surveys have located sub-surface features such as piers, foundations, and in the case of the investigations at the wharf, the site of naval store production. LiDAR and Near-Infrared have also pointed to features which would

have required extensive surveys and mapping prior to their discovery. Future research aided by remote sensing will be discussed more fully in the chapter 5.

Chapter 3: Future Research: The Public House

The Public House/Tailor shop, S25, is the southernmost structure excavated by South. Beyond this lies the port area and other unidentified lots which have not been investigated. The Public House presents an excellent beginning point for investigations further into the commercial district, and the port area. The Public House sits on the southeastern-most corner of the wide flat bluff upon which the commercial district was constructed. Immediately to the south the ground drops rapidly to the port (Figure 15) South noted that the lot dropped north to south and east to west. The southeastern-most part of the structure was built on a midden which leveled out that part of the lot. South reached sterile soil 1 foot deeper on the east end than the west (South S. , Excavation Report: S25 The Public House/Tailor Shop, nd).

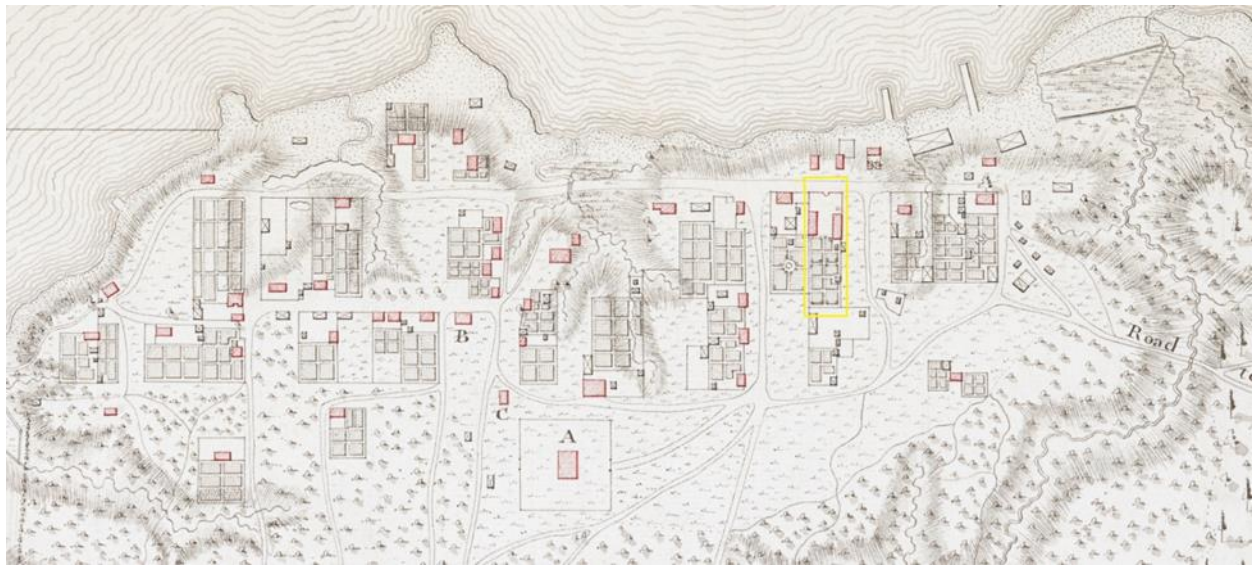


Figure 15 Lot 27

The structure is 69 feet long and 9 feet wide; it appears to have been partitioned into 6 rooms arranged consecutively, with 3 central fireplaces serving 2 rooms each (Figure 18). South interpreted this structure as the Public House/ Tailor Shop based on lot ownership, the configuration of interior rooms, and lot ownership. The lot was first owned by Cornelius

Harnett, Sr. Documentary evidence suggests he owned an inn in Brunswick, and operated the ferry. He did not own this lot long however, and sold it to Nath Moore the following year. It then was purchased by William Dry Jr. in trust for his daughter in 1735; this is the end of the documentary evidence. William Dry also purchased the waterfront lot in front of the Public House. The configuration of the rooms suggested to South that it might be an inn/motel/public house. South thought it might have later served as a tailor shop because excavations recovered thousands of brass pins, a large quantity of articles which might be related to sewing such as buttons, scissors and various types of beads (South S. , 2012). Interestingly, only a single needle was recovered. The mean pipestem date calculated using Binford's method was 1746. South also calculated the date for just the top layer, and three excavated levels. They are 1751, 1749,1745, and 1742. The mean pipestem date from the wall was 1754. South recovered a 1770 coin from under the floor of the building, giving a terminus post quim date (South S. , nd). The Public sits on lot 27, which is depicted by Sauthier as also having another similar structure mirroring the

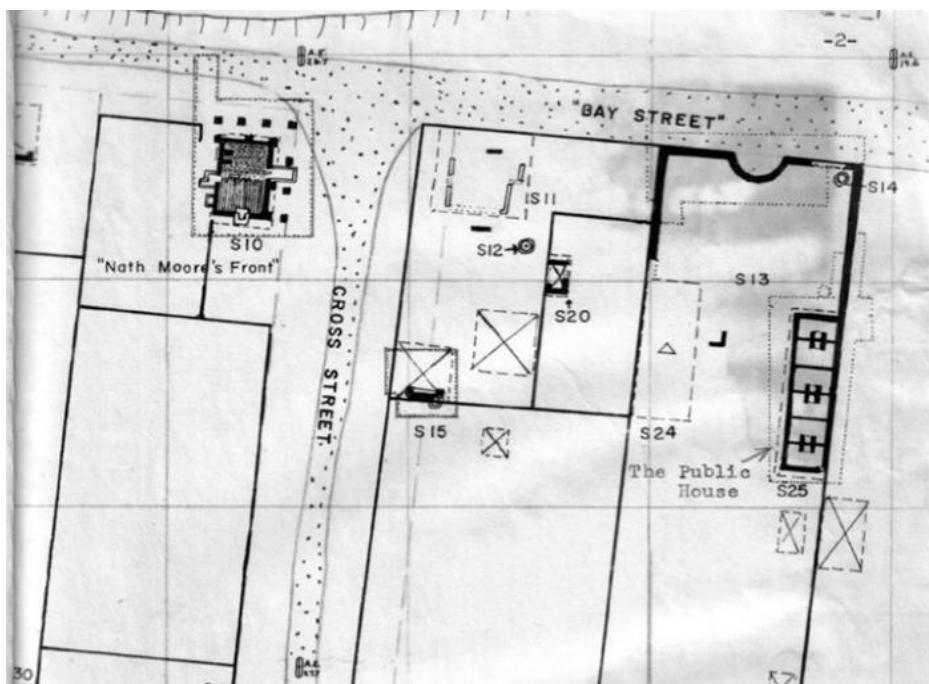


Figure 16 From South's Base Map

Public House to the north, an outbuilding to the west and a well (See Figure 15). It was bounded

on the river side by a wall, designated S13, and referred to interchangeably by South as The Wall around Lot 27 and Cornelius Harnett's Wall. The shop is heavily constructed in comparison to other structures is Brunswick Town (Figure 19). The floor joists are set into the stone foundation wall itself at 2 foot intervals, suggesting they were designed to carry a heavy load (Figure 18). South did not record other structures using floor joists, only pine boards set directly on sand or on sills. It's unclear if a suspended floor indicates

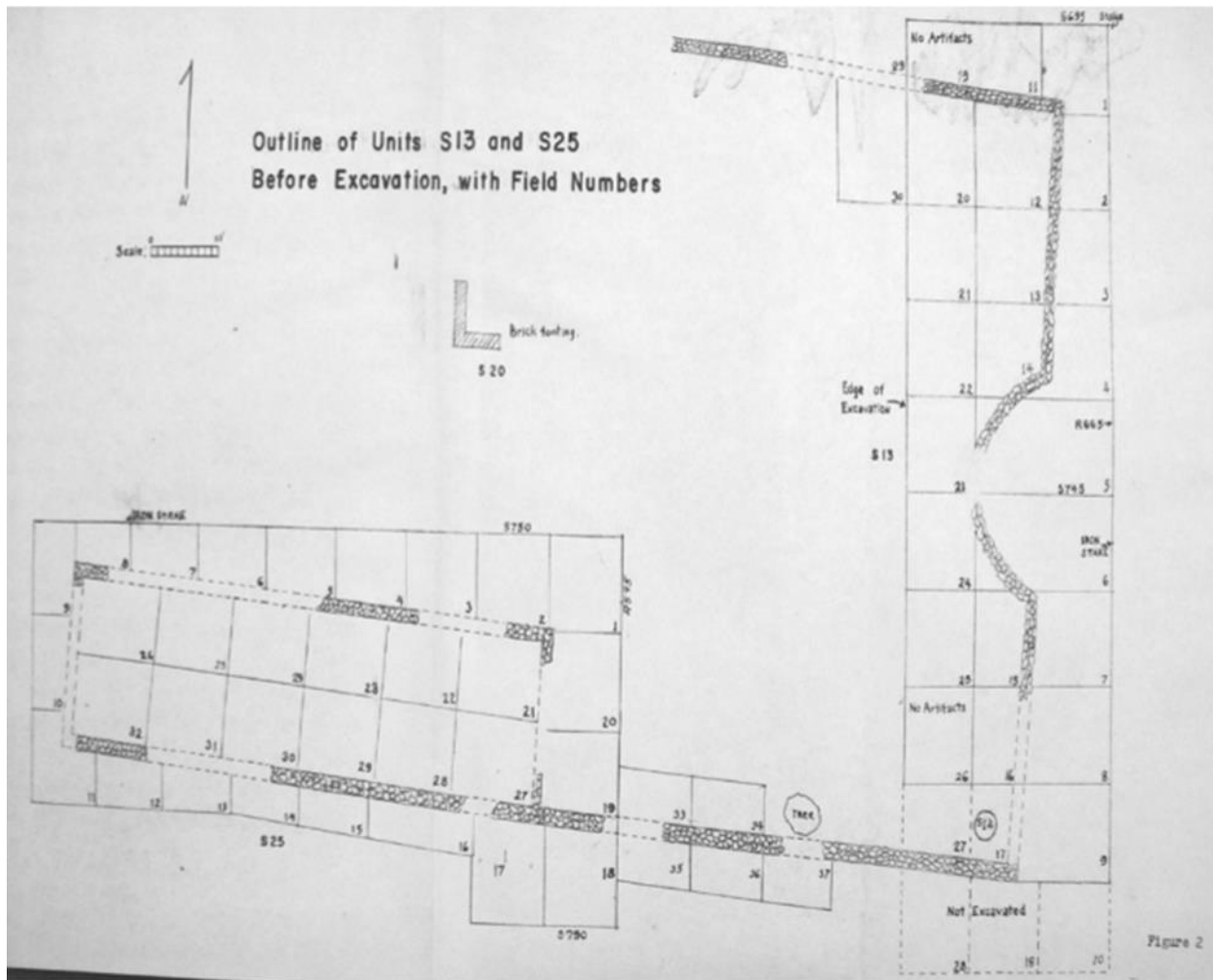


Figure 17 Excavation Units

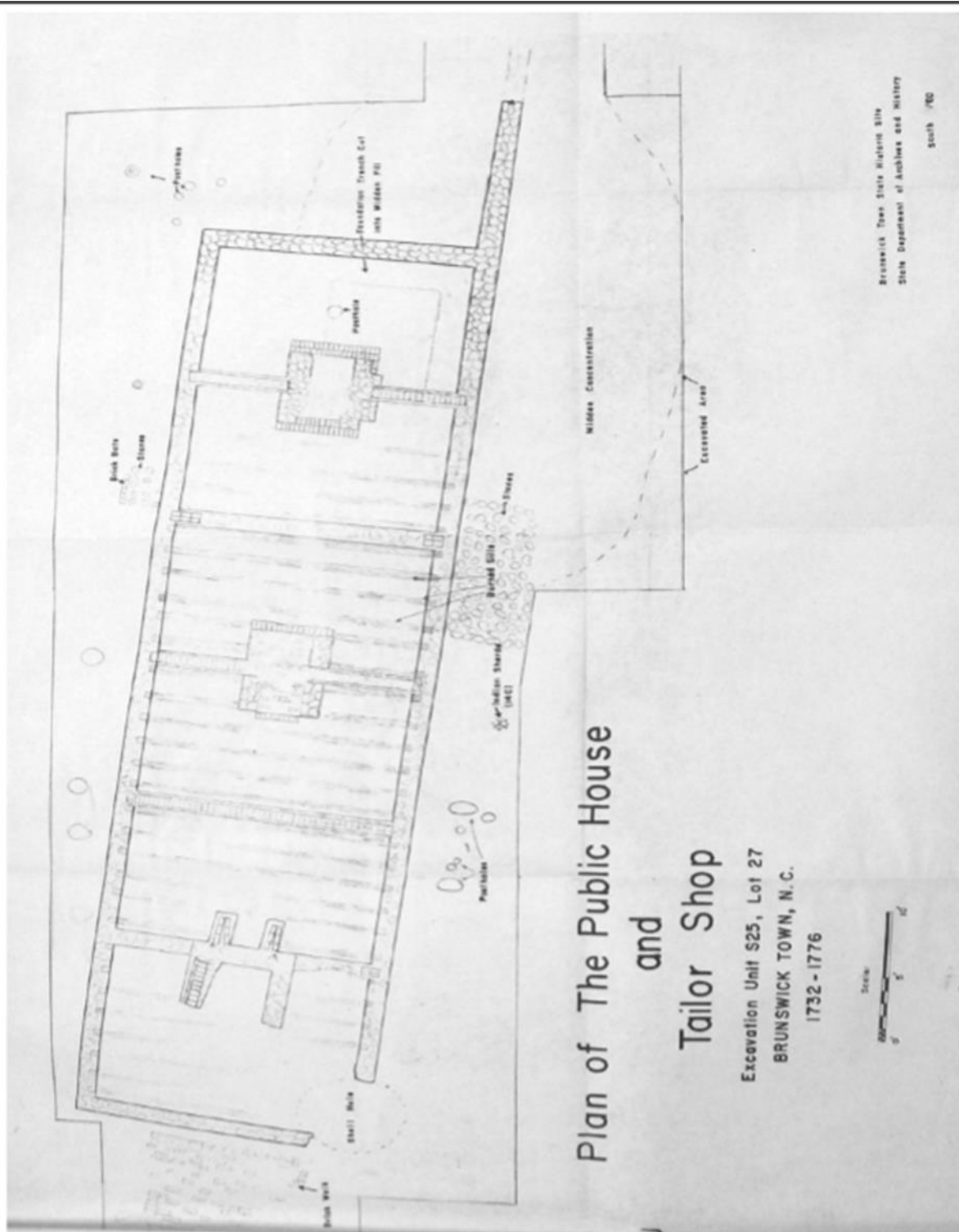


Figure 18 Excavated S25

another Colonial-period usage, for drainage on an uneven lot, or for allowing heat to escape. The fireplaces are also heavily constructed. Other fireplaces in Brunswick Town are built of stone

with a hearth consisting of a single layer of brick laid on sand at the floor level. The hearths within the shop are several layers thick and flush with the stone “arms”. This appears to be for a work surface and would have been overbuilt for cooking. The need for heavy partition walls is unclear. Other structures in Brunswick Town utilize stone and brick piers, a far less intensive mode of construction. The partition walls might have served as load-carrying supports, with a floor covering the entire structure over the joists and walls, or as foundations for an upper story or half-story or both. This would have given it a barn-like appearance, with a high roof and three central work areas. Further investigation of construction methods is warranted.

An analysis of the artifact catalogs and South’s excavation report reveals interesting contextual data. South notes that 55% of the pipestems he recovered in Brunswick Town were from this site. He also notes the bottom layer of the midden contains a slightly higher percentage of colonoware (Brunswick Burnished) than is typical of sites used in his pattern. Colonoware was found throughout the structure, except the outside the structure along the foundation facing the yard. Another midden on the north side of the lot, and in front of the other similar-sized unexcavated building, has a pipestem date (Binford) roughly the same as the midden under and around the shop. The wall bounding the entire lot, or the portion South excavated, has the highest percentage of colonoware of South’s excavations (South S. , Excavation Report: S13 The Wall around Lot 27, nd). Areas in proximity to these middens, as well as near the wall and shop foundations, contained no artifacts at all, suggesting the yard may have been swept.

Artifacts related to smithing are numerous in the artifact catalog and spread throughout the building and midden, including discs and lumps of lead, copper ore, sulphur, and clinkers formed from firing charcoal at high temperatures, iron tongs and sprue. Iron objects include fishhooks,

sinkers, nails, spikes, hinges, flat irons, a shingle rive, broken utensils, heavy door latches, chain, locks, and unidentified iron objects which had been drilled or otherwise modified.

South recorded brass escutcheons, thousands of tacks, pins, padlocks, drawer pulls and sugar tongs. Lead baling seals and a window came are present. Silver is represented by thimbles, a compass, and a silver-plated brass candlestick were recovered. Pieces of pewter plates and spoons are also present in the assemblage.

Objects which might have been repaired or manufactured are musket parts, buckshot, gunflints, and swan shot including 10 attached to a sprue. Other artifacts include a number of coins including Spanish reals which had been fashioned into cufflinks, and a notable number of rings and paste sets. 186 pieces of baculum were recovered. Numerous buttons are listed in the artifact catalog, along with bone and metal button blanks.

Artifacts which might be related to an enslaved workforce include worked flint, a worked rum bottle, worked glass and slate, an iron bracelet with a nail in the eye. Similar worked items were found along the boundary wall and in the opposite midden. An interesting artifact, also found in Nat Moores Front, is a whole conch shell.

South recovered large amounts of bone from the Public House. According to the excavation report, these were sent to Dr. Barkalow in the Department of Zoology at North Carolina State University for analysis. It is not known whether a report exists.

Two studies examine the colonoware recovered from Lot 27. Lotfield and Stoner's article, "Colonoware Re-examined" (R.P. Stephen Davis, 1997), and Johnson's thesis on colonowares at

the Public House in 2016 (Johnson, 2016). Johnson's thesis is largely descriptive and is based on



Figure 18 Excavate S25 facing East

the same data as Lotfield and Stoner, although he correctly includes colonoware South recovered

from the Wall around Lot 27. Johnson's data provides evidence of enslaved populations at the site, and he confines his conclusion to merely confirming that an enslaved population was present at or near the Public House. Lotfield and Stoner considered whether colonoware was associated with African Americans or Native Americans, and why they might have been at Brunswick Town. Using comparative data from South Carolina, they conclude that it was of African American manufacture from nearby plantations.

Further investigation should interpret lot 27 as a whole. Test units within the yard outside of South's excavations may reveal information on the nature of the work yard. Investigating the structure opposite the Public House would shed light on the function of the lot. South suggested the outbuilding immediately west of the Public House may have been a detached kitchen connected to the Public House by a brick walkway and would be an appropriate site for future investigations.

Finally, a discrepancy exists concerning Dry's ownership of the neighboring lot (Lot 28) which needs to be clarified. In several sources, Dry is listed as the last known owner, yet all structures in this lot are referred to having been associated with Judge Maurice Moore.

Chapter 4: Future Research: Area behind Battery B

During the antebellum period, a shift in architectural style and agricultural technology occurred at Orton Plantation, coinciding with changes in plantation ownership and function. Orton had fallen into disrepair and foreclosure at the beginning of the nineteenth century through mismanagement of former General and Governor Benjamin Smith (Hood, 2013).

Orton experienced a rebirth through the more capable management of Frederick Hill, who expanded the plantation and remodeled the old brick house into the iconic Greek Revival mansion which remains today. It retained its core function as a producer of forest products through its large land holdings, though tar and pitch production was being replaced by tapping the pines for turpentine. Orton pond continued to power its sawmill (Hood, 2013).

It was the introduction of tidal rice farming on a massive scale which changed the landscape and labor at Orton and the Lower Cape Fear. The earthen dykes needed for this type of rice farming extended out from Orton, replacing the marsh. Hill could sit on his porch, with its huge columns, and look out over hundreds of acres of rice fields, overseers and slaves to the river beyond.

Hill reported no slave ownership in 1826, but 55 by 1830. Hill expanded Orton in 1842 which included the site of Brunswick, where the last lot transfer had occurred in 1830. He listed 77 slaves in the 1850 census. Miller acquired 62 slaves with his purchase of Orton in 1854 and 144 slaves and forty slave houses in 1860 (Hood, 2013).

A shift in vernacular architecture also occurred on Orton Plantation. A series of brick and ballast piles have been recorded behind Battery B of Fort Anderson (Figures 20,21,22). First investigated by South, and later more thoroughly by the Peace College/Wake Tech field schools in 2009 and 2011, the exact number of piles is unconfirmed, though South plotted 50 on his base

map. The piles appear to be chimney falls, with the bricks mortared to ballast stone foundations (Beaman, 2016).

The arrangement of brick mortared to ballast stone is similar to construction techniques in Brunswick; the significant difference is the use of mud or clay mortar, rather than the shell and limestone mortar found in the Colonial-period ruins.

Forty of the chimney falls are concentrated near the site of the Colonial-period “Prospect Hall”, and are seemingly bounded by two roads which appear of Sauthier’s map, and correlate with two lots identified by Lee (Figure 22). They also appear to be arranged in four linear series. To the south, two rows of six are more tightly concentrated than the northern row of three on each side.

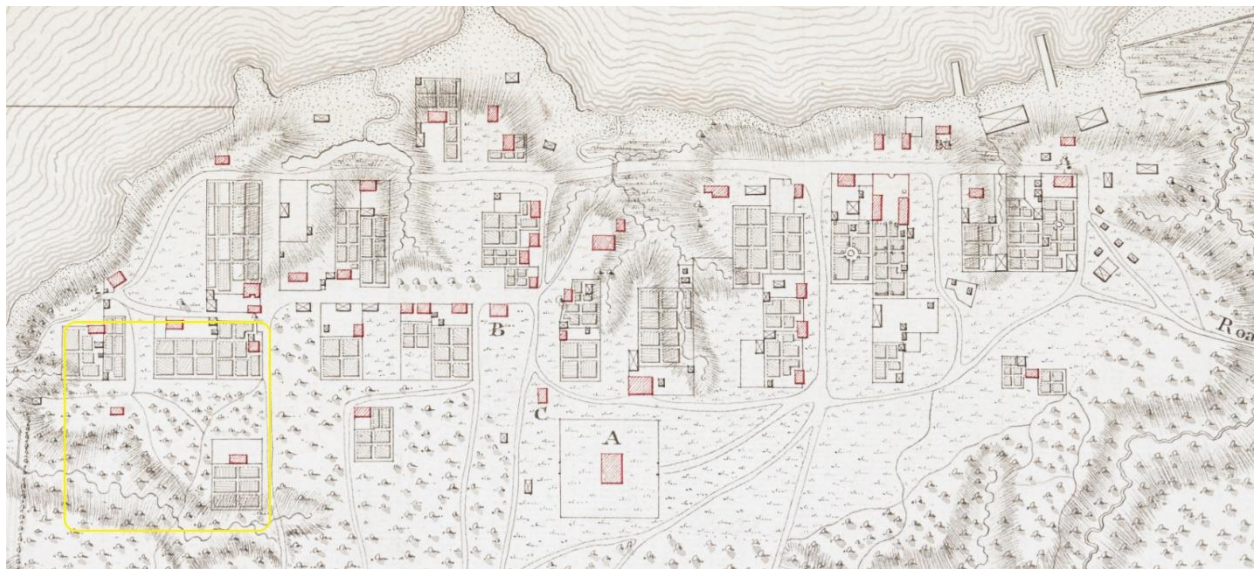


Figure 19 Barracks area on Sauthier Map

The chimney falls are also recorded scattered across the western edge of the site, towards the road which connected Brunswick to Orton and the network of plantations along the river. No chimney falls are recorded past St. Phillips in the commercial district, and a single chimney fall was recorded on the edge of the fort.



Figure 20 Base Map Detail

The proximity of the chimney falls to Fort Anderson, the linear arrangement of a portion of them, and the different mortar used in their construction prompted South to conclude they were Civil War period barracks. Although maps of the fort indicate a large concentration of barracks to the southwest, in what is now Sunny Point, South though they might have been used as “overflow” barracks, built to house an influx of soldiers streaming from other forts lost to the

encroaching Union army. This interpretation has persisted since South's initial investigations.



Figure 21 Barracks area on LiDAR

South first investigated one of the seemingly random chimney falls near St. Phillips and the current visitor center, N18 (Figure 23) (South S. , Excavation Report: N18 Fort Anderson

Barracks, nd). He noted the use of mud mortar and an outline of cut nails, and concluded the structure has been damaged during the bombardment of Fort Anderson. During excavation, he recovered parts of artillery shells and a cannonball fragment, a few red clay pipe bowls, and 6 ceramic sherds- Combed Yellow Slipware, Delft, White Salt-Glazed Stoneware, and Blue and Grey Stoneware.

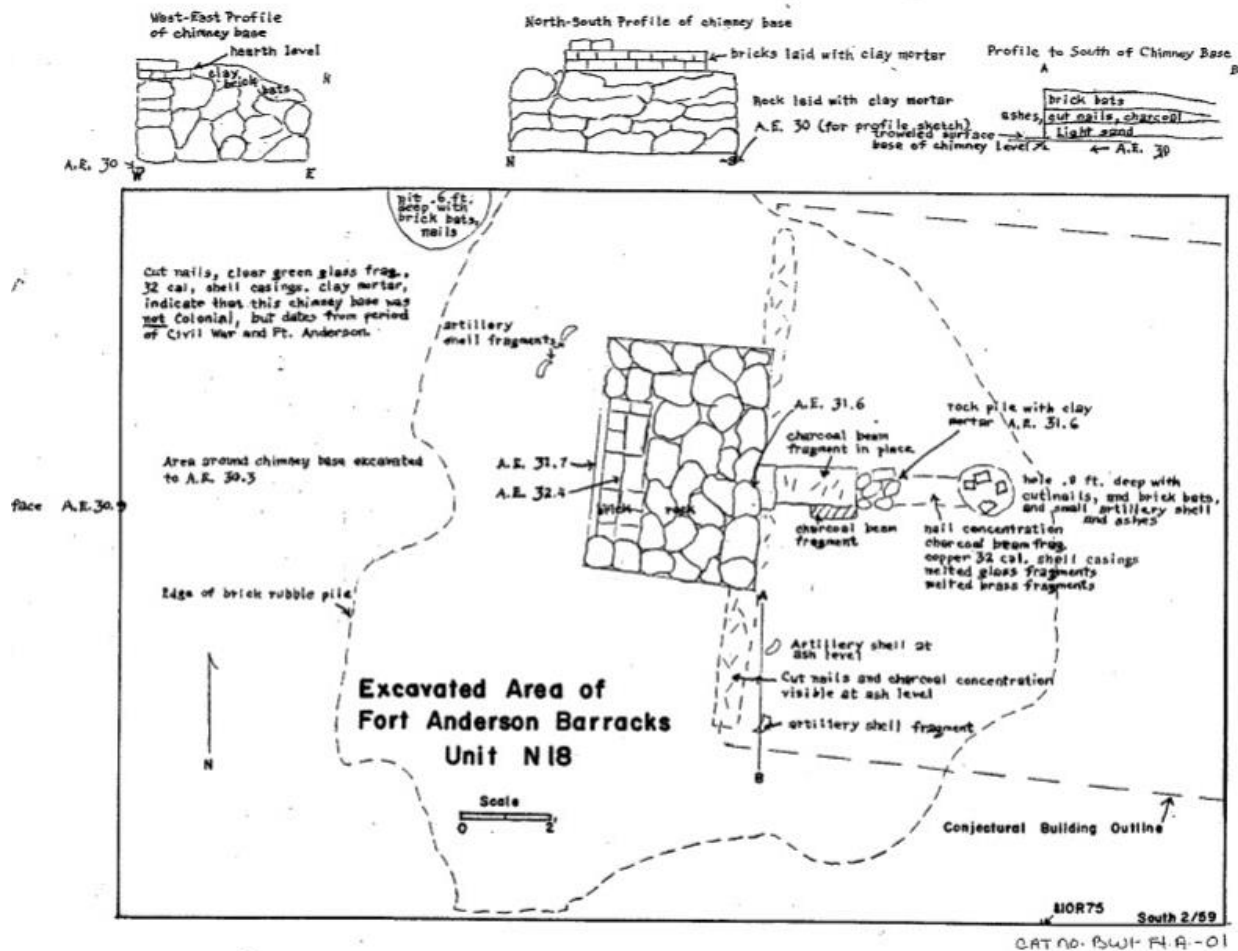


Figure 22 N18 Profile

South also investigated near Prospect Hall. While excavating the “brick oven”, located just to the east of the linear rows, he surveyed a chimney fall and found no Colonial-period artifacts. It’s unclear which unit this was. The “brick oven” yielded a high percentage of Creamware and a low

percentage of Delft in comparison to other Colonial-period structures in Brunswick, and a mean pipestem date of 1756 (Binford).

Excavating the Wooten-Marnan house and an associated brick foundation, South uncovered a pit containing cut nails, iron gear but predominantly colonial artifacts. The pit also contained blue transfer-printed sherds which he could glue together into a bowl. South determined that it was manufactured by Enoch Woods until 1830 (South S. , nd).

A test unit near N28 produced colonoware, Delft, kaolin pipestems, salt-glazed stoneware and Creamware.

The 2009 and 2011 Peace College/Wake Tech field schools identified and mapped 30 chimney falls and investigated 10 in the same area covered by South. The excavations yielded over 46,000 artifacts and located a Colonial-period structure now called the George Moor house, and interpret another structure as part of the Wooten-Marnan house and detached kitchen (Beaman, 2016).

Of the 10 chimney falls investigated, one was determined to not be a barracks feature, and 6 had fireboxes and hearth pads. Additionally, no architectural features were found relating to the chimney falls, except for concentrations of cut nails and a single post-hole.

Virtually no material culture relating to barrack life was recovered. Only three buttons could be definitively attributed to the Civil War-period. Personal artifacts were absent, and only a small amount of kitchen, faunal, or military items. A high percentage of diverse ceramics contrasts with other barrack assemblages. In addition to Colonial-period ceramics, pearlwares, whitewares, yellow-wares, hard-paste porcelain, lavender transfer-printed ware and brown salt-glazed stoneware were present in the assemblage. These European and American ceramics from the antebellum period are the cause of much speculation, including their possession by ex-slave

refugees who lived in the fort immediately post-war for a brief period, or by confederate soldiers (Beaman, 2016).

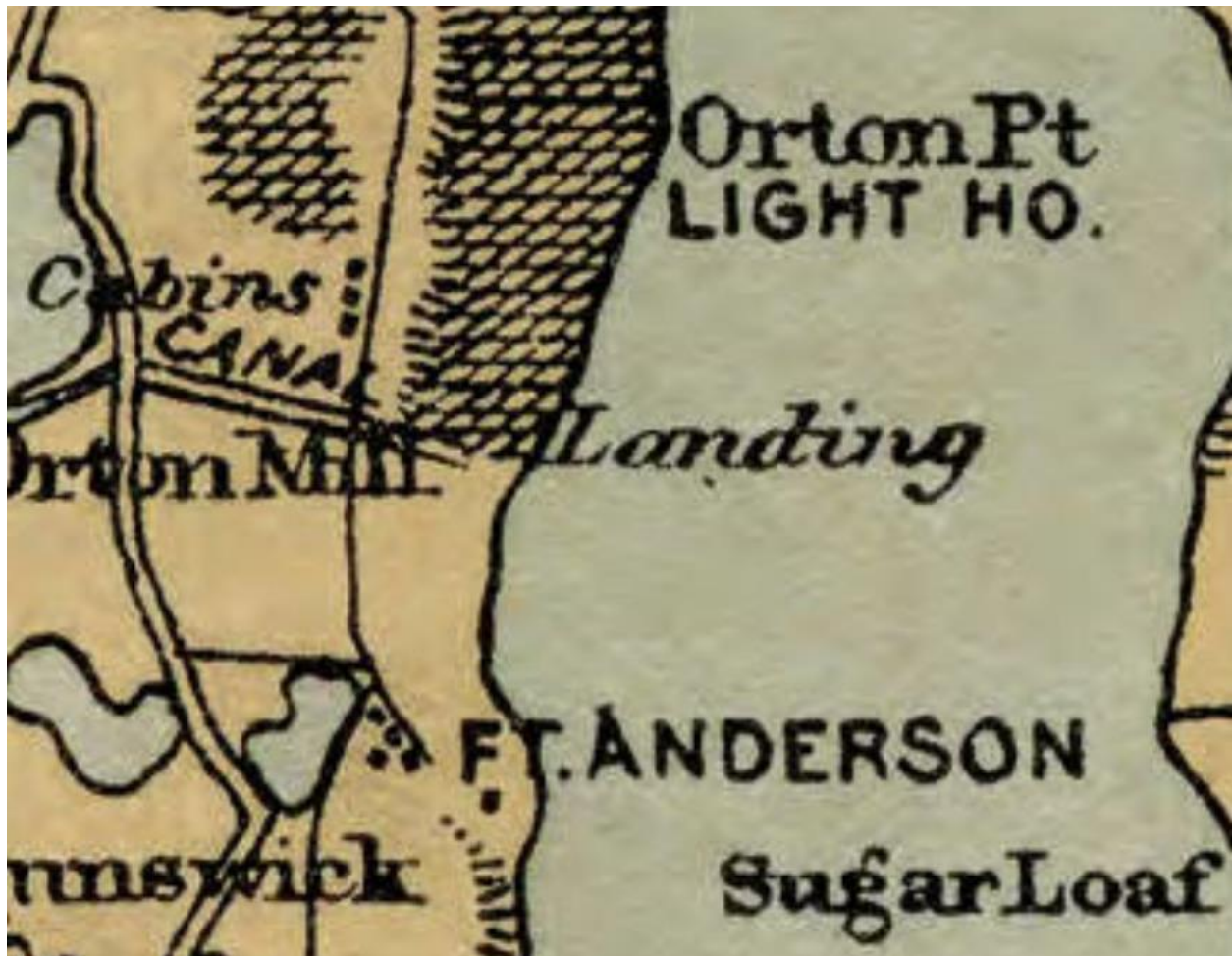


Figure 23 Civil War-period map depicting cabins

The excavation report concludes that the barracks may have been constructed by any number of groups, including Confederate or Union soldiers, slaves who constructed Fort Anderson, or refugees, and any of these groups may have inhabited them at various times. A single undated map prepared by Confederate engineers depict a row of cabins in the vicinity of Fort Anderson (Figure 24). This map does not record barracks for any of the surrounding forts.

Given the site intrusion caused by the construction of Fort Anderson, it is recommended that further investigations should be placed farther to the west, and extended to the adjacent sand

ridge, which has been virtually unexplored archaeologically. The chimney falls further west may well be more intact. A ground survey and test units on the western sand ridge may shed information on the nature of the function of Brunswick Town during its century-long inclusion into Orton plantation and if the presence of antebellum ceramics are associated with the changes occurring at Orton during this period.

Chapter 5: Future Research: Remote Sensing

The Commercial District Port

The southern port depicted on the Sauthier map has not been investigated archaeologically, and lies just beyond the Public House at the edge of South's investigation (Figure 25). It's largely overgrown with dense foliage. LiDAR imagery suggest the existence of structures and roads on the upper terrace.

This area was the subject of a comparative analysis of the drainages depicted on the Sauthier map and current drainages utilizing the Hydrology tools in GIS. A Digital Elevation Model was acquired from a NOAA 2014 LIDAR data set as a Bare-Earth model (Figure 27)). Post-processing consisted of utilizing the Hillshade tool within ArcGIS for visualization.

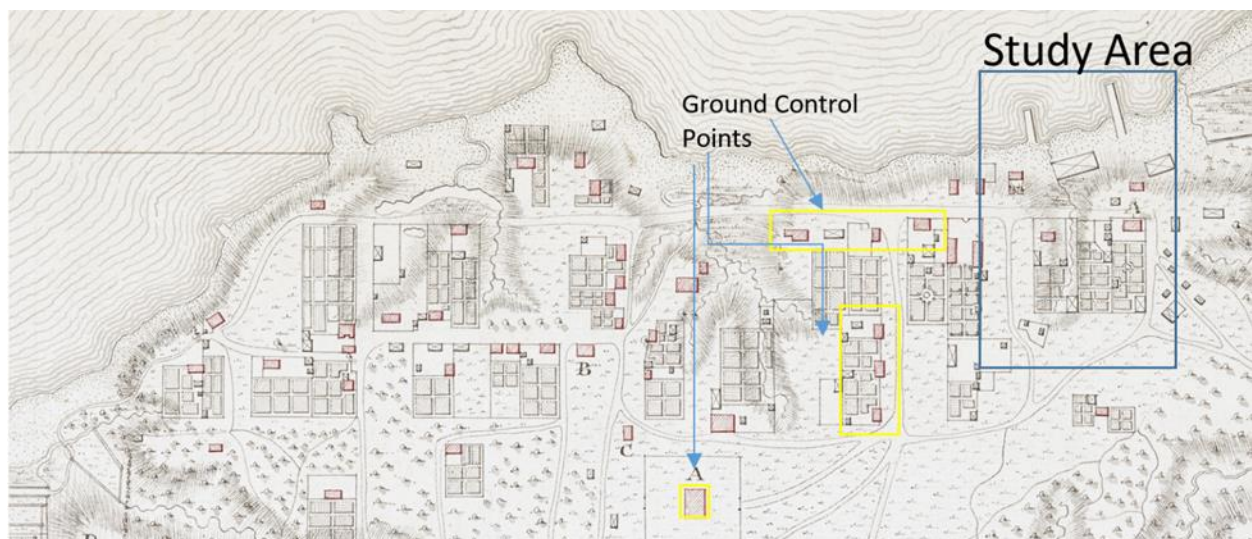


Figure 24 Study Area



Figure 25 Area Detail



Figure 26 DEM Port Detail

In the Hydrology toolbox, the DEM was processed with the “Fill” algorithm, smoothing the DEM surface. The surface was processed with the “Flow Direction” tool, and refined with the “Flow Accumulation” tool. This displays stream-like features which utilize an algorithm to delineate a likely hydrologic path through the landscape. Additional processing, such as identifying stream orders or other hydrologic features were not necessary for this application. The “streams” representing the Flow processing algorithms were super-imposed (Figure28) on a



Figure 27 Drainage superimposed on 2012 imagery

state 2012 LIDAR image. The colonial map was georeferenced from the central area using the 2012 LIDAR imagery, and the Flow model was then super-imposed on the colonial map (Figures 29+30).

The “Fill” algorithm was subtracted from the DEM using the “Math” tool in ArcGIS. This model was placed under the Hillshade model which was given a 60% transparency.

On the colonial map, the study area consists of a small drainage surrounded by outbuildings leading to the Cape Fear River. The colonial map indicates a large warehouse-type structure at the mouth of the drainage, flanked by two large piers. The Flow algorithms depict a drainage

which correlates roughly with the colonial map within the topography of the village.

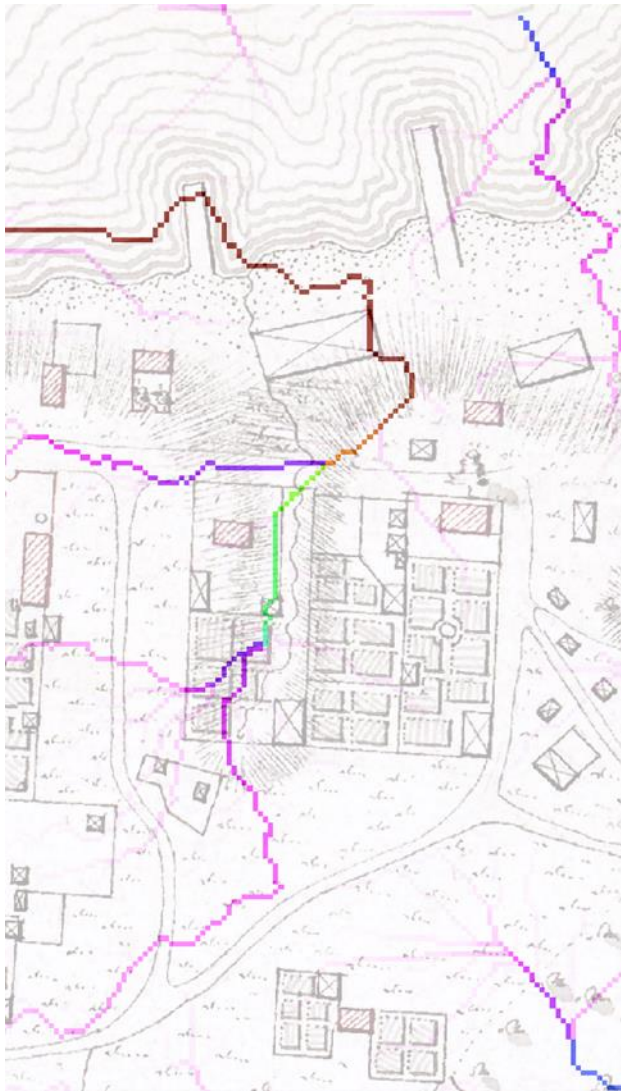


Figure 28 Drainage on Georeferenced Map

However, the Flow drainage depicts a sharp southern-eastern-northern curvature shift in the drainage at its mouth where the colonial drainage ends. This shift correlates roughly with the location of the warehouse and upper pier locations. The 2012 LIDAR imagery suggests sediment deposition at this area.

Erosion of wharf-like features at the northern areas of the site have revealed structural elements features. Test units in the area depicted by the drainage shift may reveal sub-surface features of the warehouse or port.



Figure 29 Drainage on 2012 Imagery and Sauthier map

Northern Earthwork

An earthwork at the extreme northern edge of the Russelborough site was discovered after surveying the processed LiDAR imagery (Figures 31+32). No known earthwork is known to exist in this area, however this is the only other earthwork on the site besides Fort Anderson. Its proximity to the Orton pond outfall may provide some context. Historical documents indicate a Revolutionary War-period battery existed at Brunswick.

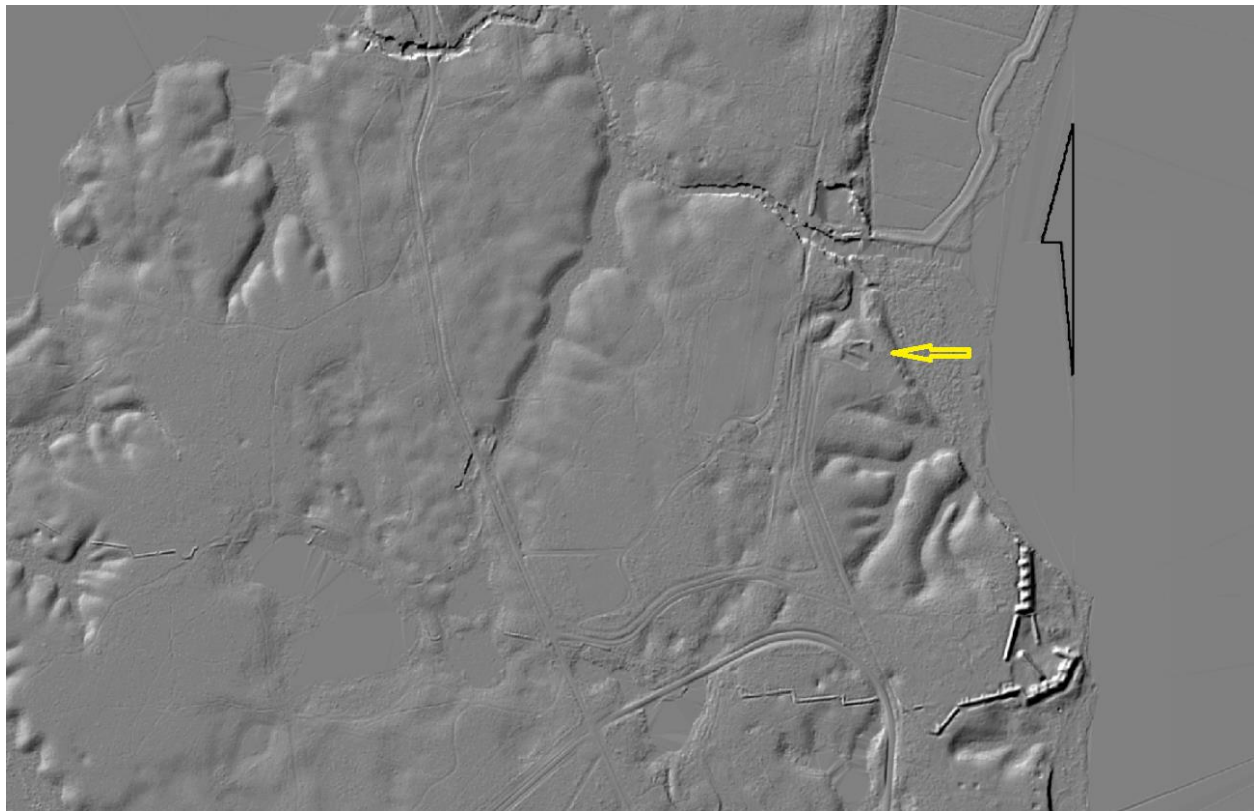


Figure 30 Northern Earthwork



Figure 31 Northern Earthwork Detail

Southern Feature A

This appears to be a rectilinear feature, slightly raised, southwest of the port area, and is on the edge of a high ridge. (Figure33). Related structures on the Sauthier map are shown in Figure 34.

A ground survey is recommended for confirmation.

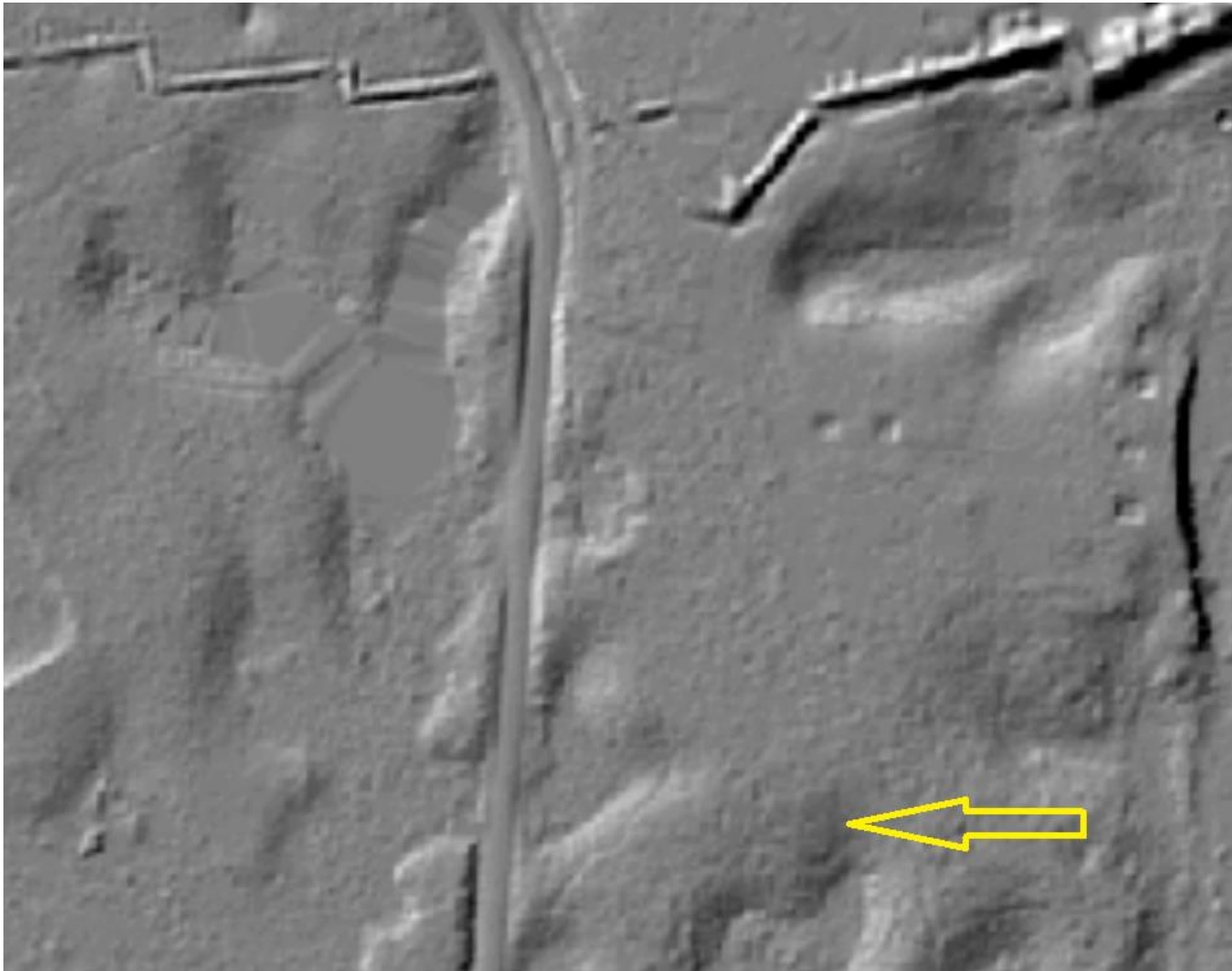


Figure 32 Southern Feature A

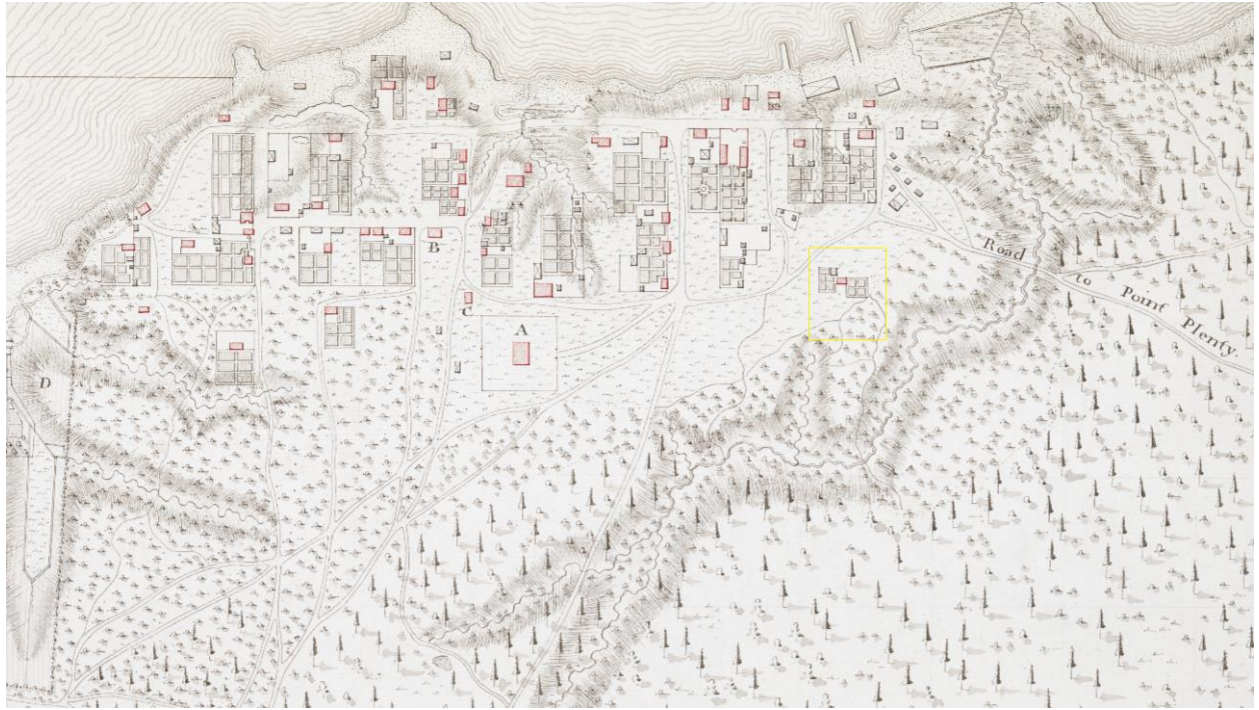


Figure 33 Structure related to Southern Feature A

Brunswick Town and The Lower Cape Fear Region

Interpreting Brunswick within a regional or even an expanded local perspective has been problematic. Geographically, its circumscribed by Military Ocean Terminal Sunny Point to the south, Orton plantation to the north and west and the Cape Fear River to the east. Data recovery from any of the three is difficult. There have been few archaeological investigations into other plantations in the region; most comparable data is from Charleston and the Low Country.

Remote sensing is one tool to begin to see a broader picture by determining historical topographies and site morphology associated with Brunswick but beyond the boundaries of the historical site.

The Fort Anderson earthworks extend nearly a mile westward to Orton Pond, and pass through a narrow portion of MOTSU, but are primarily in Orton's timber tracts. They have never been investigated archaeologically or even surveyed. Comparing the LiDAR imagery with Civil War period maps gives a perspective on their construction, and the incorporation of natural features like small ponds into their architecture (Figures 35+36).

Topographical features from the Colonial period are also identifiable (Figure 37). Naval store production sites, or tar kilns, have a distinctive morphology as a large donut shape on the terrain. The 2015 East Carolina field school excavated two Colonial-period tar kilns along the waterfront of Brunswick Town. Those kilns as well as the ones identifiable on the LiDAR likely pre-date the construction of Brunswick Town and were either associated with the original clearing of the land or of squatters burning tar illegally before the area was open to settlement. At minimum, ground surveys, GPS locations and measuring their size should be attempted if Orton allows

access to their property.

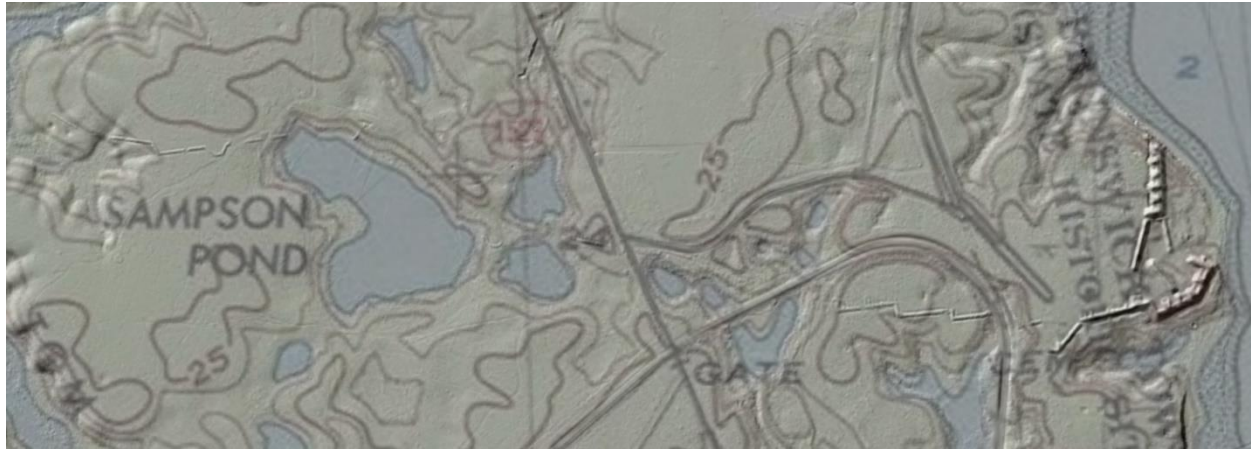


Figure 34 Earthworks extending west

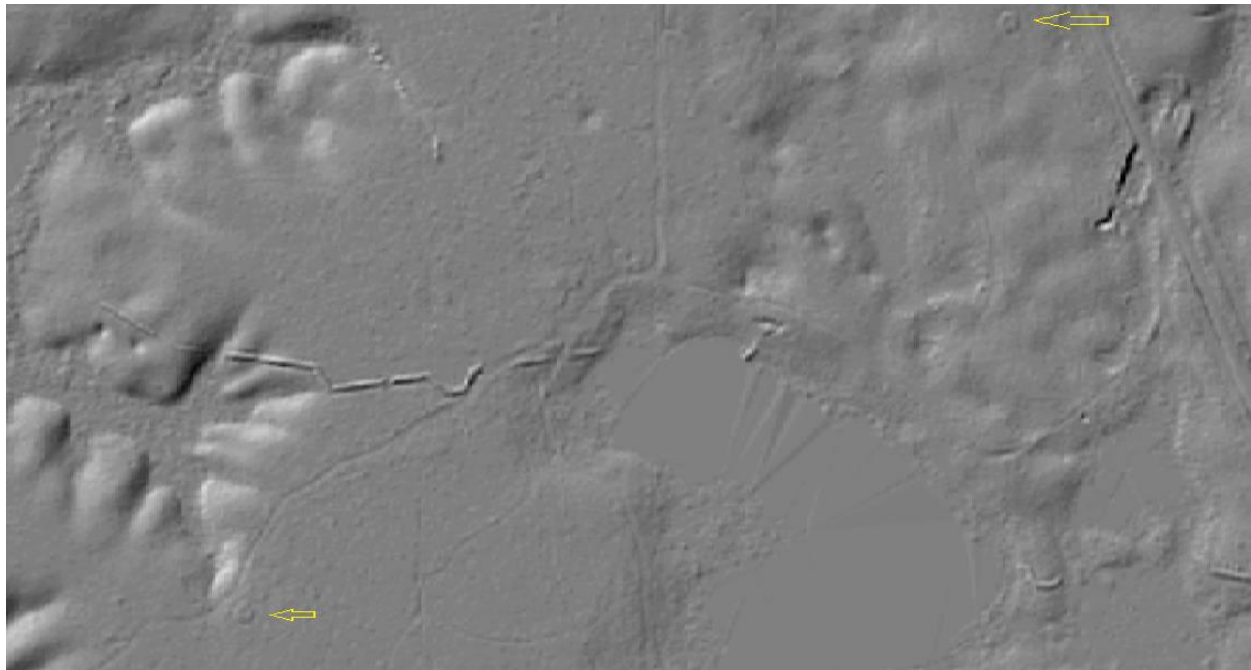


Figure 35 Earthworks and Tar Kilns (arrows)

A more obvious choice in linking Brunswick Town to the greater region is the identification of historic roads (Figure 37). While many serve as the base for modern roads, the georeferenced Sauthier map matches with observable roadbeds just outside Brunswick. The “Road to Charleston” intersects with a roadbed running north-south. This road was the only road linking

South Carolina and the northern colonies at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This intersection indicates some sort of activity; a ground survey is required to determine the time.

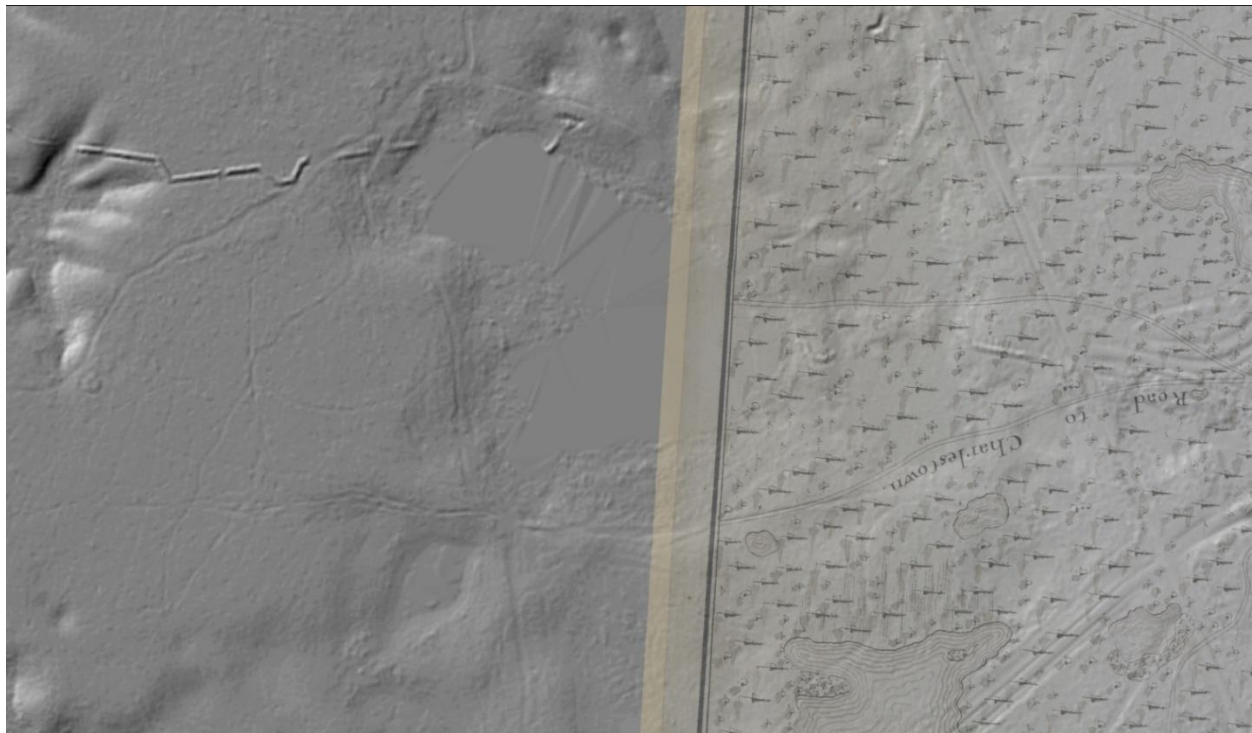


Figure 36 "Road to Charleston" intersection

The continued collection of elevation data by NOAA and other government and private organizations should allow the data to become more refined and precise over time.

Chapter 6: Summary

The return of systematic and site-wide archaeology to Brunswick Town has already yielded new and interesting data which enhance or reconsiders long-standing interpretations. The data from Peace College/Wake Tech field schools in 2009 and 2011 appear to rule out the barracks features as simply housing for confederate soldiers. The East Carolina University 2015 field school excavated two unexpected Colonial-period naval store production sites along the waterfront, first identified through magnetometer and GPR surveys. The ECU 2016 field school confirmed that a site had been mislabeled for decades, first through a careful re-analysis of maps, deed transfers and Stanley South's excavation reports, and then through archeological investigations. What had been interpreted as Edward Moseley's house and steps are now interpreted as an oven and a separate structure on a different lot.

These developments reinforce the need for a research design. Brunswick Town Historic Site is over one hundred acres, much of it in dense foliage and largely uninvestigated; which sites might yield the most data from archaeology must be weighed judiciously. In addition, the site is a popular and influential historic site, and the East Carolina field schools attract a steady stream of visitors. Public archaeology is an important feature of the ECU field schools at Brunswick Town, therefore coordination with the goals and resources of the historic site is an important consideration prioritizing sites for investigation.

Site preparation should also be considered. The uninvestigated areas may be accessible for test pits, but opening multiple units may require prior clearing or burning, and may be difficult for visitors to access.

The area behind Battery B would likely shed light on important historical processes which have not been addressed thus far including the role of Brunswick Town as part of Orton plantation, activity during the antebellum period, and the presence of an enslaved population. Sites further west from the earthworks would likely yield more data and in a less intruded environment. The westernmost sand ridge should be surveyed and recorded (Features 38+39). This area is conspicuous for the lack of depiction of any structures on the Sauthier map and its almost total avoidance by South (maybe for that reason). The

LiDAR imagery depicts roads or trails across the ridge. A first step might be recording features with a GPS. The coordinates could then be entered into the georeferenced map.

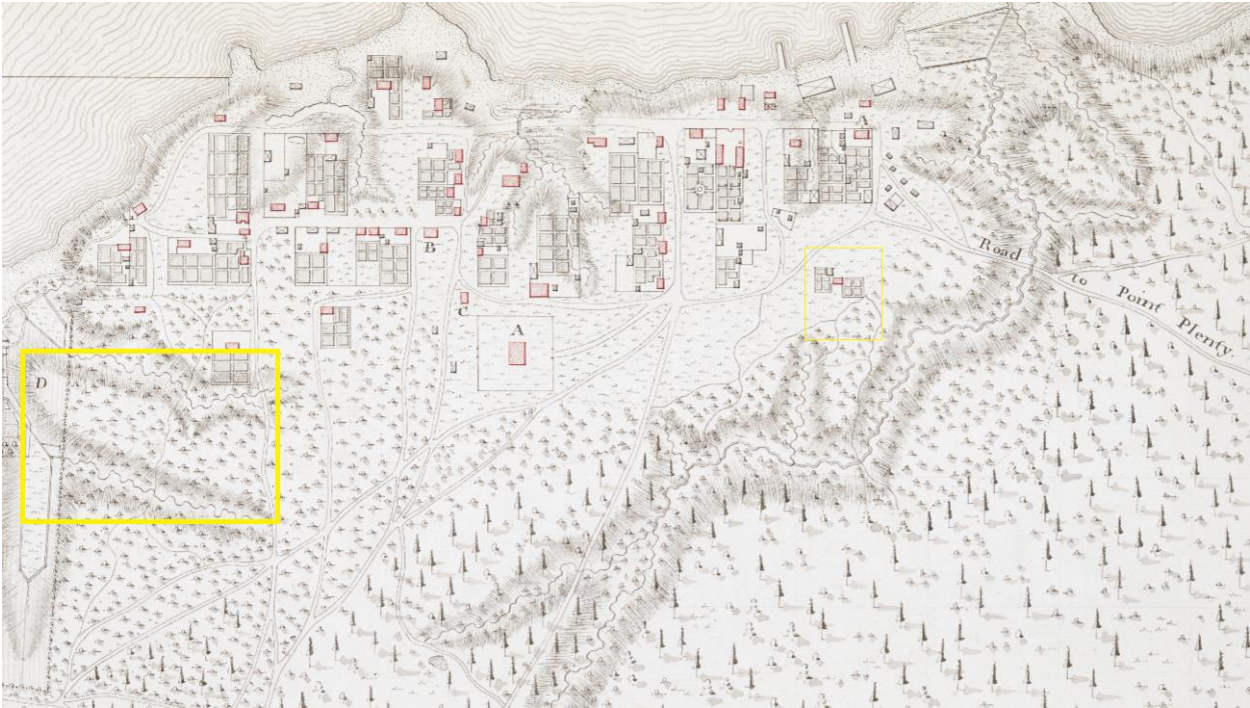


Figure 37 Western Sand Ridge



Figure 38 Western Sand Ridge

This would seem to be a logical first step in the southern commercial district as well. A brief survey during the 2016 ECU field school confirmed the presence of brick and ballast concentrations. The area along the river analyzed through the hydrology tool in GIS might be tested with subsurface probing and GPR surveys.

The Public House would be an excellent site for public archaeology. It is in a heavily trafficked area, and carries both name recognition and at least two unexcavated structures. It would require minimal site preparation and the identification and interpretation of this lot would seem to draw public interest and reveal important data about activities along the waterfront. Additionally, it would be a good departing point for investigating the port and commercial district just to the south.

The features identified through remote sensing, the Northern earthwork and Southern Feature A, require closer inspection. The Northern earthwork might also be identified through historical documents.

The features identified outside the boundaries of Brunswick Town Historic Site ideally should be surveyed and recorded at the minimum. Whether this is achievable will rely on the permission of Orton plantation and Sunny Point.

Far from being exhausted archaeologically, Brunswick Town remains a rich and significant site vital to the interpretation of historical events in the Lower Cape Fear.

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