

**North Carolina
Archaeological Society**

Newsletter

4619 Mail Service Center, Raleigh NC 27699-4619

FALL 2004 & WINTER 2005 Volume 14, Number 3 & 4

<http://www.rla.unc.edu/ncas>

"Site's fogger doesn't faze flies:" Rediscovering Tobacco Pipes from Colonial Brunswick Town

Thomas Beaman, Jr.

One of the most commonly encountered forms of material culture on British colonial-era sites in North America, smoking pipes clearly represent the power and influence that tobacco had on the development of the early colonies. Imported white kaolin clay pipes have been found in almost every archaeological context imaginable, from residences to public buildings to industrial sites to agricultural fields, and across lines of socio-economic status and gender. The great volume of pipes imported to Colonial America by British manufacturers made them an inexpensive commodity, an object that was expected to be readily discarded and replaced with another. As such, the clay tobacco pipe may be considered to be one of the first disposable products. Archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume (1969:296) observed them to be "as expendable as cigarettes, though vastly more durable, ensuring that their fragments survive in the ground in prodigious quantities."

The town of Brunswick was founded in 1726 by Maurice Moore along the Cape Fear River in what is now Brunswick County. Throughout the 18th century, it endured as one of the British Colonial Empire's most valuable ports for the export of naval stores. Brunswick Town was also an important political center in North Carolina during the third quarter of the 18th century, as it served as home to royal governors Arthur Dobbs and William Tryon. The town was later abandoned and partially burned during the American Revolution. It was reoccupied later on a limited basis, although no formal effort was made to resettle or reconstruct. Although construction of Civil War earthworks for Fort Anderson in the early 1860s covered a portion of the former town site, its presence was not forgotten. The site of Brunswick Town remained relatively undisturbed until 1952 when the Sprunt family of Orton Plantation donated the land containing the remains of the historic town to the State of North Carolina for development into an historic site. From

September of 1958 until May of 1968, Stanley South and his crew of local African-American fishermen/ excavators tested and excavated many domestic structures, outbuildings, wells, and public buildings as part of the plan for developing the site into a historic park (Beaman et al. 1998).

As several recent artifact studies on delftware tiles (Beaman 1997), colonowares (Loftfield and Stoner 1997), and olive and oil jars (Mintz and Beaman 1997; Beaman and Mintz 1998) from these excavations at Brunswick Town helped to illuminate different aspects of status, ethnicity, and trade, a chance to study the imported kaolin clay pipe stem and bowl fragments offers an opportunity to examine an aspect of daily life within the colonial port. As such, the author undertook a study of the excavated tobacco pipe fragments in early 1998. The quantitative data questions were designed to help assess the Brunswick Town artifact collection from its initial processing and storage at the site to its archival repackaging and secure storage in the 1990s. Qualitative questions were designed to provide additional data on trade to the town beyond the limited years reported in the Port Brunswick shipping register, such as documenting and tracing pipe bowl forms and makers marks to their point of manufacture. Other pipes within the collection, such as Moravian and other North Carolina stub-stemmed pipes or locally made colono pipes, were considered as well. The final step of the study was to compare these quantitative and qualitative data sets to other historic sites in North Carolina and neighboring states.

The study began with an attempt to compile what quantitative data was already available about pipe fragments excavated at Brunswick Town. Only data from four residences was identified. South had presented three residences in his seminal 1977 work, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*: Nath Moore's Front (S10), the Hepburn-Reonalds House (S7),

and the Public House (S25). The other reported source was the artifact profile for Russellborough, constructed by the author from original artifact catalog sheets for his Master's thesis (Beaman 2001). As no other reported data was available, and with the previous success of compiling totals from the original catalog sheets, it was decided to generate complete artifact profiles for the excavated residences, outbuildings, and landscape features at Brunswick Town from the catalog sheets into Carolina Artifact Pattern format for ease of comparison. The Tobacco Pipe group for each excavated main residence has been excerpted and is presented in Table 1.

The expected range for the presence of tobacco pipes in a normal British colonial household ranges from 1.8 % to 13.9 % of the total artifacts recovered (South 1977:107). South (1977:97) noted that he separated tobacco pipes into their own artifact class due to the high frequency of recovery on sites and the variability as compared to other artifacts among different sites. While smoking was a generally accepted practice by men and women of all social classes in colonial times, the variability may represent a number of different factors. These include the availability and affordability of pipes and tobacco, as well as individual preferences for smoking frequently, smoking only in social situation, or perhaps not smoking at all.

The variability among excavated households at Brunswick Town, noted in Table 1, generally fit the expected ranges from 2.3 % at the Newman-Taylor House to 13.9 % at Nath Moore's Front, with only Russellborough, the James Espy House (S9) and the Judge Maurice Moore House (S11) slightly outstanding. While the percentage of tobacco pipes at each household is certainly pertinent to an interpretation of each residence, what is more significant on a community level is the high percentage of tobacco pipes from the residences along Front Street. In the James Espy House (S8), the Leach-Jobson House (S9), Nath Moore's Front (S10), and Judge Maurice Moore's House (S11), tobacco pipe fragments comprise a larger portion of artifacts among these households than any other residences or area within the town.

What makes the former residents of these four historic households along Front Street apparently larger consumers of tobacco pipes than other occupants of Colonial Brunswick? Of a number of hypotheses that were postulated to explain this phenomenon, only two were considered for further testing.

The first hypothesis considers that the location of these residences on the high bluff on the western bank of the Cape Fear River provided excellent scenic access to watch the activity on the river. Front Street, on which the houses were located, stretches to the southern area of town that is shown on Sauthier's 1769 plan of the town as the wharf areas. As noted by Robinson (1997), these wharf areas likely contained warehouses and industrial sites (e.g., a blacksmith or cooper) that supported the port. Individuals passing to and from the busy port would have passed these residences if traveling along Front Street to the north end of town, as well as further west into the town on Cross Street. Archaeologically, the intrasite distribution of pipe fragments at these residences may confirm this pattern. Much higher concentrations of stems and bowls were recovered in the yard areas that border Front or Cross

Streets than anywhere else in the excavated areas of these buildings, making this hypothesis a probable choice for further testing.

Consideration of a cultural response to the locale within a larger, natural landscape is the second most probable hypothesis to explain the larger percentage of pipe fragments recovered in these residences. As shown on Sauthier's map of the town and modern drawings, to the immediate north of the James Espy House (S8) is a natural drainage in which water becomes stagnant. Traditionally, areas such as this have been breeding grounds for mosquitoes, gnats, and other types of flying pests. Similarly, the residences are on a river bluff, the base of which poses similar environmental conditions. The use of tobacco pipes could provide a protective cloud of smoke that could keep such nuisances away from one's face. Most visitors to the site of Brunswick Town could certainly attest to the flying pests during the summer months. Even in recent history, archaeologist Don Mayhew (1966:May 6) commented on the problem, noting that the "site's fogger doesn't faze flies." While no other excavated residences at Brunswick Town share a similar environmental setting, future excavations at Brunswick Town or data from additional sites could be considered for comparative purposes.

The number of pipe stem and bowl fragments recovered from the James Espy House (S8), Leach-Jobson House (S9), Nath Moore's Front (S10) and the James Espy House (S11) represent a significant portion of the total artifact assemblages for these residences when compared to the other dwellings, outbuildings, and landscape features at Brunswick Town. Given the hypotheses proposed to explain this phenomenon, consideration of the location of the residences within the movement of people about the town and cultural response to the environmental setting seem the most promising. Additional data for all of the hypotheses, as well as other research questions noted above, will be forthcoming in a more complete study on the fragments of tobacco pipes recovered from Colonial Brunswick Town.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Linda Carnes-McNaughton, John Mintz, and Pam Beaman for their time and assistance in the preparation of this summary. However, the author assumes full responsibility for any factual errors and the interpretations presented in this article.

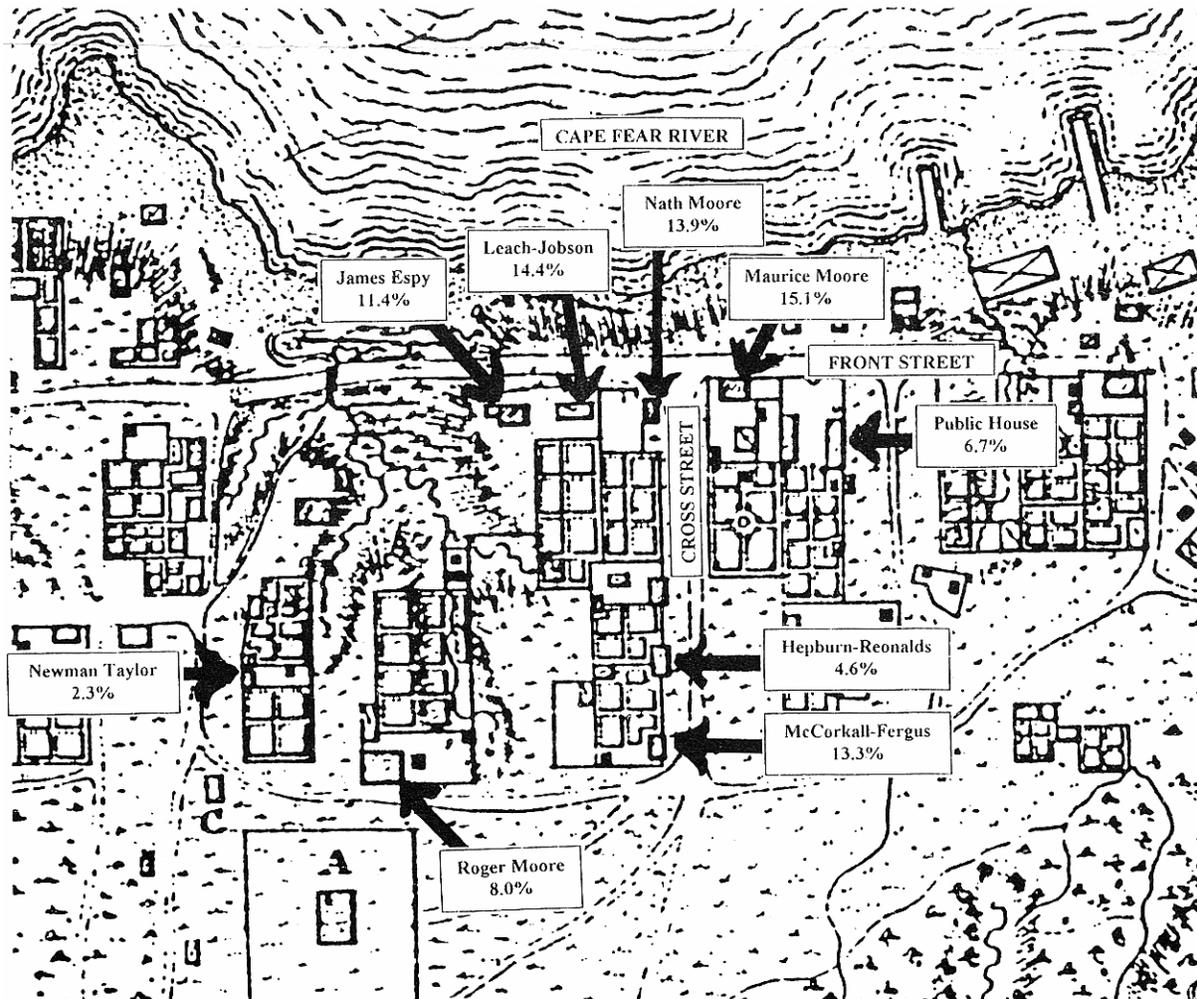
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Table 1. Excavated Tobacco Pipe fragments from Residences at Brunswick Town.

Brunswick Town Excavated Primary Residences	Pipe Fragments	Total Artifacts Recovered	Tobacco Artifact Group	Source
Russellborough (N50)	39	17,353	0.2 %	Beaman 2001
Newman Taylor (N41)	68	2,977	2.3 %	Catalog Sheets
Roger Moore (S2)	264	3,303	8.0 %	Catalog Sheets
Hepburn-Reonalds (S7)	374	8,183	4.6 %	South 1977
James Espy (S8)	3,697	32,559	11.4 %	Catalog Sheets
Leach-Jobson (S9)	5,435	37,843	14.4 %	Catalog Sheets
Nath Moore's Front (S10)	1,829	13,118	13.9 %	South 1977
Judge Maurice Moore (S11)	4,043	26,850	15.1 %	Catalog Sheets
McCorkall-Fergus (S18)	401	3,012	13.3 %	Catalog Sheets
Public House (S25)	2,830	42,497	6.7 %	South 1977

Figure 1. Excerpt from Sauthier's 1769 map of Brunswick Town illustrating percentages of tobacco pipes recovered by residence. Russellborough not shown. Labels added.





Loretta Lautzenheiser, RPA

I was flattered when Bill Covington asked me to be the next archaeologist profiled for the *Newsletter*. Like Charles Heath, who was profiled in the previous edition, I also took the runabout route to a career in archaeology. Having planned for a career in archaeology since I was first able to read the *National Geographic*, I opted for chemistry instead since my school, the University of Chattanooga, did not offer classes in archaeology. I dropped out of college after my sophomore year to get married and set off with husband Ken for our life's adventures! Years later, with our munchkins underfoot, I volunteered my Girl Scout troop to help with the archaeological excavation at an 1850s toll house near our home on Signal Mountain, Tennessee. When the scouts went back to school, I continued to work with the artifacts from the dig. Since I was going to the university to work on them anyway, I figured I might as well drop back in, and I re-enrolled. Now, as the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, the college had an anthropology department with an archaeology concentration (the department was also in the building that used to house my former home, the chemistry department).

None of those *Geographic* articles showed the glamour of working in the cinders of a site like the Union Railyards, but

I got hooked on the historic side of things anyway. Working with Dr. Jeff Brown, I helped excavate the site of the first building on campus, Civil War trenches at Chickamauga Battlefield, and several mill sites in Tellico Reservoir.

I entered graduate school at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville as "the Phantom." With a home and family in Chattanooga, I took independent studies and off-campus classes, and commuted to Knoxville, finishing coursework just in time for us to move to Tarboro, North Carolina, for Ken's work. My thesis examined the mill sites we had worked on when I was an undergrad, and I was fortunate to have Charles Faulkner as my major professor.

My first job after moving to North Carolina was with the state's 400th anniversary project, working for David Phelps at East Carolina University. Going from the red clay of Tennessee to the sands of Eastern North Carolina was quite a change. No rocks! I was also dropped into pre-contact studies, learning the fine points of ceramic analysis from Phelps and Paul Green (I also learned to cut a mean corner on a unit!). My osteology courses from Bill Bass also paid off, when within a month of my starting work at ECU, we were salvaging an ossuary.

After a project working for Pat Garrow in Washington, DC, I joined the North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT). To say I disrupted Tom Padgett's quiet world is putting it mildly! During my three years at NCDOT, I traveled the state from end to end, and with each project learned more of the history and prehistory of the state. I also made many friends there, both in the highway building and at the Office of State Archaeology. I loved my job at DOT, but didn't love the commute from Tarboro. With daughter Anne graduating from the University of Tennessee and son Eric having an appointment to the Naval Academy, the time was right to take a chance and step out of the safe world of a guaranteed paycheck and start my own business. Coastal Carolina Research, Inc. was born.

My office was the kitchen table and my field supplies were a shovel and screen. I took on a few small projects that I could do alone or with family help on the weekends. The first bigger project was a survey for US 64 in Edgecombe County. I rented an office and hired my first employees, one of whom, Jody Carter, came back to work for me after this project was over. We were off and running! Jody stayed three years and then left for graduate school in preservation. After graduating, she returned and opened our Richmond office (we had branched out into Virginia by this time). Jane Eastman also came to work about that time, staying eight years while also working on her doctorate. Working with Jane was always fun. I teamed often with Tom Hargrove on projects, and we decided that we

worked so much alike that we must have been twins, separated at birth. I miss Tom.

Our highlight project was the excavation of the Eden House site in Bertie County. The ca. 1660 site provided much information on the early beginnings of North Carolina, and with the assistance of Tom Padgett and NCDOT, we were able to make the information public, including a web site (www.ccrtarboro.com, and follow the Eden House links). Patricia Samford did a masterful job of analyzing the early artifacts. That project was accomplished with a great crew, most of whom stayed with CCR for the next few years.

The firm began to grow, and we began working in other states when our clients asked us to handle projects for them. We currently work in North and South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Delaware. The firm is a charter member of the American Cultural Resources Association (ACRA), and I served as president in 2003.

I have been fortunate to have worked with some really great people and have a wonderful staff. Susan Bamann and Bill Hall shoulder the load here in Tarboro. From that kitchen table and a second-hand computer, we have grown to a staff of 16, including architectural historians. We have two offices, five vehicles, computers all over the place, and computer graphic gurus (I just buy the software--they do the magic!). I spend half of my time in the car going to one meeting or the other or checking on field projects. And, to think I started this whole business to keep from driving to Raleigh!

North Carolina Rock Art

The North Carolina rock art survey was initiated in 1997 by Scott Ashcraft, U.S. Forest Service Archaeologist, and David Moore, Ph.D., professor at Warren Wilson College. With the addition of Lorie Hansen, avocational rock art specialist, the survey has widened its scope and has obtained nonprofit status via a partnership with Warren Wilson College Archaeology Laboratories. The N.C. rock art survey is a collaborative effort of archaeologists, historians, volunteers, and students with the following participating partners: the National Forest in North Carolina (Scott Ashcraft, Rodney Snedeker, and David Dyson); Russ Townsend and staff with the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian Tribal Historic Preservation Office; Warren Wilson College (Dr. Moore); N.C. Office of State Archaeology; and the North Carolina Archaeological Society.

Using the South Carolina rock art survey "model" of publicizing the survey through small town newspapers, local television channels and public contact, we have increased our documented sites from 7 to over 50. Word of mouth continues to be our best source for new finds.

A North Carolina rock art web site is nearing completion and will be available in November 2004 at www.warren-wilson.edu/~arch/ncrockart.html. The web page will include basic information on rock art—the "what, where and whys" along with a virtual tour of N.C.

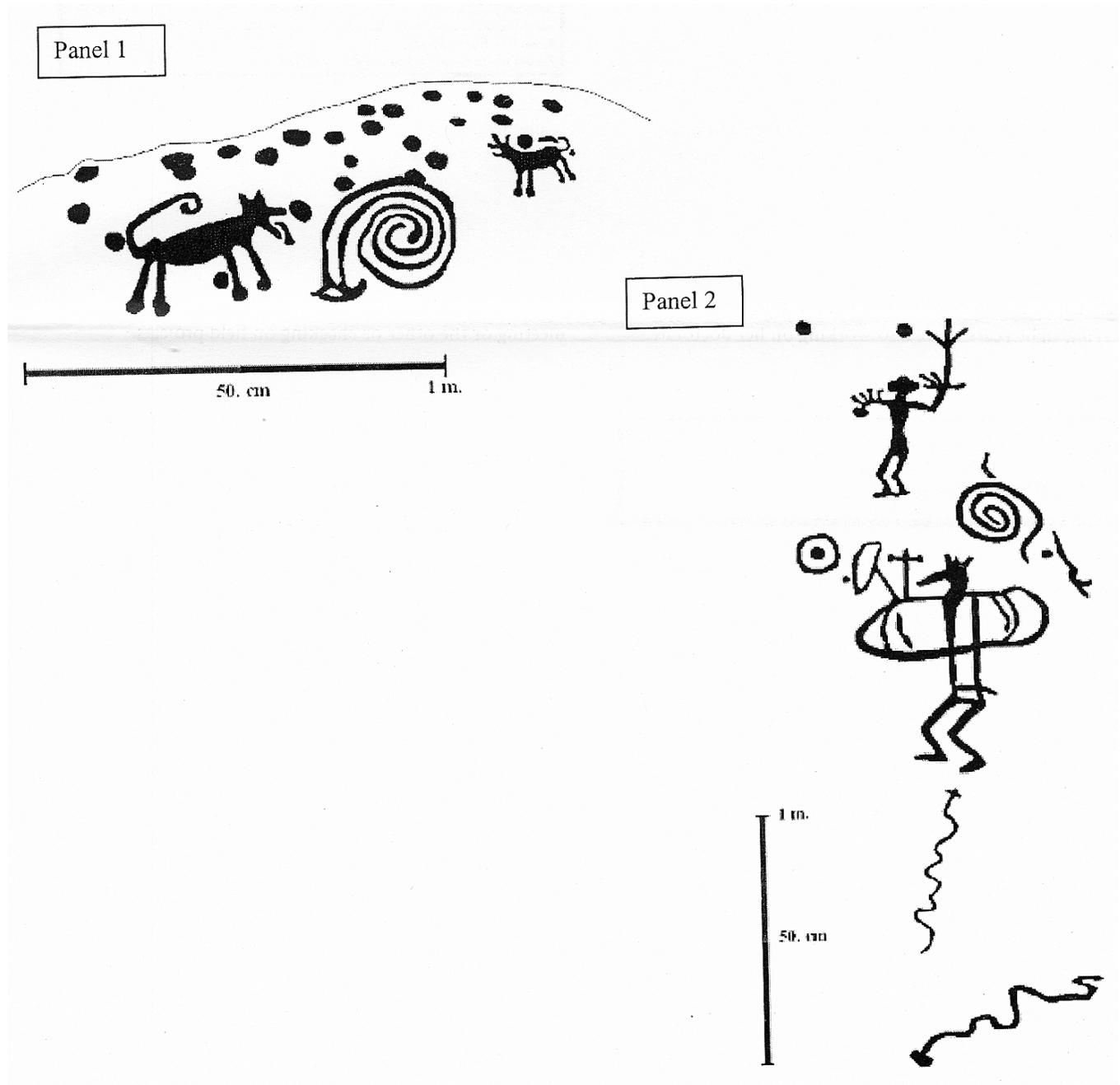
petroglyphs and pictographs with interpretative comments. We would like to link with pertinent rock art, archaeology, ethno-historical, and educational web pages. Please email or call Scott Ashcraft if you are interested in sharing links (sashcraft@fs.fed.us – 828-257-4254).

Additionally, we are pleased to announce an upcoming exhibit of North Carolina rock art in November - January 2005, through the San Francisco Airport Museum at the San Francisco international airport, Terminal three, Gate 76 gallery.

Brasstown Petroglyph Group

A new discovery in 2003, the Brasstown group of petroglyphs is comprised of Mississippian period motifs, rare for North Carolina, and numerous cupules dispersed among the glyphs. Spirals, anthropomorphs, zoomorphs, and possible depictions of serpents are found at the site. Several Mississippian-period habitation sites have been recorded in the surrounding river valleys. Some of the images within the Brasstown Group possess content and symbolism consistent with the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC) motifs,

making them very rare and significant for North Carolina. To date, our research efforts have found no evidence in the archaeological record for SECC motifs depicted on artifacts or rock art in North Carolina, although SECC themes have been documented in nearby Northern Georgia and Eastern Tennessee. Below are illustrations of two panels found at the site. We welcome any interpretative feedback from our colleagues. Our web site will feature several photos from this and other Mississippian-period sites.



2004 Election of Officers

The 2004 Election of Officers was held at the fall business meeting on Saturday, October 2, at the North Carolina Pottery Center in Seagrove.

Paul Mohler and Brian Overton replaced John Hildebrand and Terri Russ as new Board Members. Thank you John and Terri for serving, and welcome Paul and Brian.

William E. Covington resigned as Vice-president and Tom Oakes was voted in as his replacement. Thank you Bill for all your hard work and welcome aboard Tom.

NCAS Newsletter

Publication Schedule

All NCAS members are encouraged to submit articles and news items to Dee Nelms, Associate Editor, for inclusion in the *Newsletter*. Please use the following cut-off dates as guides for your submissions:

Spring Issue	February 28	Fall Issue	August 31
Summer Issue	May 31	Winter Issue	November 30

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