

## ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:

BOWLS BETWEEN THE BAYS:  
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRADE AND  
CERAMIC CONSUMPTION ON THE UPPER  
DELMARVA PENINSULA

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Ceramics have been produced for thousands of years, and for much of that time innovators have attempted to invent new vessel forms and methods of decoration to create a unique product that would be appealing to the consumer. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries comprised a period of booming consumerism, as evidenced by the number of locales of production dedicated to the innovation of new styles and decorative techniques applied to contemporaneous ceramic types. While the Navigation Acts limited colonial trade solely to Britain, colonists could import many types of ceramics from Britain, even those that were imported into Britain from the European mainland. Therefore, the colonists had an abundance of options to choose from when it came to vessel type and decoration. However, I and other archaeologists of the region have noticed a distinct separation between the ceramic types found in different parts of the greater Chesapeake region. As a result, I wished to see if a separation of types existed on the upper Delmarva Peninsula due to the trade routes used to ship these goods to

each site of interest and, if distinct patterns exist, how these patterns are related to social and communal consumer preferences and ritualistic emulation of regional high-status individuals and families. 22 archaeological sites – 10 located on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and 12 located in Delaware – dating to the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been selected for study based on factors related to the material culture and the overall integrity of the site. Imported ceramic types from these sites will be examined to assess the region for patterns related to the trade and consumption of specific ceramic types over others. This thesis attempts to answer two distinct questions: how did patterns of trade and consumer behavior vary between the Chesapeake Bay region and Delaware River region during the eighteenth century? Also, how have these patterns associated with trade or differences in regional consumer behaviors and preferences resulted in the distribution of types across the Delmarva Peninsula and established associations of certain types with the ceramic assemblages from sites of one region over another? While similar studies into the comparison of ceramic types have been performed on individual sites and more closely related sites in the region, none have been so comprehensive to assess the entire upper Delmarva Peninsula in this way, and few have taken the approach of trade, consumer preference, and emulation in an attempt to explain the patterns in ceramic types in the region. While this thesis contributes to the study of the archaeological record of the Delmarva Peninsula, a peripheral region that is chronically overlooked and understudied during this period, it establishes a framework through which differences in the regional distribution of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ceramic types based on consumerism and emulation can be explained.

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AND CONSUMPTION ON THE UPPER DELMARVA PENINSULA

by

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## Foreword

The process of developing the substance in this thesis has been years in the making. I could say it started with my first archaeological experience, but I do not wish to bore the few souls who have been subjected to perusing my thesis. Nevertheless, the idea for this thesis has evolved several times before reaching its final state presented here. When I first started applying to graduate schools, I knew I would need a thesis topic that would combine something of interest to me, which would have to be something within the realm of historical archaeology, with something that others may find interesting and insightful. I had originally envisioned an even more ambitious, multidisciplinary project than I have produced.

Having just graduated in December 2022, I started looking forward to graduate school and what I wanted to focus on as a specialty. I started working for Edward Otter, Inc. in 2023, and thankfully I was thrown right into a Phase III investigation of an eighteenth-century domestic farmstead site. I was fortunate to have this as my first real experience in the world of CRM, as I have learned to appreciate Phase III investigations, especially one at a site from an era I am so fascinated by, as they are so few and far between. Nevertheless, this fruitful experience inspired me to focus on eighteenth-century ceramics as a general topic of discussion, as I had never spent so much time with the material culture from a single site, even during field school. The abundance of creamwares, pearlwares, and even Whieldon-type, Wedgwood Green, Astbury-type, and Jackfield-type ceramics fascinated me and made me think about not just how these ceramics got here, but why? Why did the former colonial residents of this site choose to consume these specific ceramics in these forms? Did they like how they look? Were some more accessible than others?

With a topic in mind, I started out with researching sites in Delaware to compare to sites in and around Philadelphia and Annapolis. I believed that comparing imported ceramics from sites in Delaware to select sites in Philadelphia and Annapolis would provide insights into the trade routes and how these trade routes affected the ceramic distribution across the Delaware. Having encountered some difficulty in finding sites and associated reports in Pennsylvania, I realized that a more fruitful effort would be to conduct a similar examination on sites on the Delmarva Peninsula, where sites and associated reports would be more readily accessible. In addition, the Delmarva Peninsula provides a more distinct region than just examining randomly selected sites in Delaware, Philadelphia, and Annapolis, although including sites from Philadelphia and Annapolis would add an extra layer of analysis to this product. I then pushed forward with a vision and a significant list of literature to review.

Discussing my thesis topic with one of my coworkers one afternoon over lunch, he recommended that I take some classes on economics to gain a greater understanding of the marketing, production, and trade machinations at work during this period. Alas, if time weren't so cruel, this would have been a fruitful effort, and I believe this would have improved my grasp on the British mercantilist system that so administered trade at this time in history. Looking back at my work, there are so many layers of research and analysis that I wish I could have added to this thesis had I had more time. A more Marxist approach may have recommended a discussion into how marketing and production of different types of ceramics may have impacted the distribution of ceramics across the region. Most likely, this would have required a deep dive into primary documents from many of the largest manufacturers of ceramics in Britain, Europe, and China at the time, which certainly would have been daunting at least and nearly impossible due to my blatant lack of study into French, German, Italian, Spanish, or Chinese. I think primary

research would have been important for other echelons of analysis as well. In this thesis, I note the disparities that exist in using ceramics to assess socioeconomic statuses of households and how I steered clear of that line of analysis for that reason. However, using wills and probate inventories to assess the socioeconomic status of associated households would add an extra layer of analysis to see how the types and proportions of different types of imported ceramics differ between households of various statuses and provide a clearer picture into how emulation did (or did not) affect the types of ceramics that households of lower and middle classes purchased and consumed. Although there are many other paradigms through which to look at ceramics on the Delmarva Peninsula, that just means that there are many more ways to add to this research in the future. This is the culmination of over two years of work, but this is still just a steppingstone to what is possible when looking at such a large dataset.

## Dedication

To young Max, who never thought he would find a job digging in the dirt and studying cool old stuff.

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank everyone who has assisted me in gathering data and in refining my research for my thesis in all capacities. To all who served on my thesis committee – John McCarthy, Dr. Matthew Palus, Dr. Kathryn Lafrenz-Samuels, and Dr. Paul Shackel – I am very grateful. I extend my gratitude, in no particular order, to Dr. Edward Otter, Rebecca Morehouse, Jennifer Cosham, Aaron Levinthal, Dr. Elizabeth Ragan, and Bill Liebeknecht, who have kindly endured my annoyances and have provided valuable assistance in refining my research and providing data that made my thesis possible. Special thanks to Dr. Julie Markin, who graciously allowed me to study the ceramics from the Barwick's Ordinary Site. In addition, my gratitude again goes to John McCarthy, whose invaluable encouragement and mentorship in the field of archaeology helped to guide me on the path I am on today. My thanks also go out to Dr. Edward Otter and my coworkers, John, Dawn, Mark, Jill, and Colin, who have humored my daily discussions of colonial ceramics and consumer behaviors. Finally, last but certainly not least, I extend my heartfelt appreciation to my family and my girlfriend, for their endless love and support even when my nose is stuck in a book or computer.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1: Consumerism

The eighteenth century is widely considered a period of consumer growth, in which this new class of farmers, artisans, and merchants attempted to establish themselves within the social fabric of the American colonies. To do so, they chose to purchase consumer goods that might portray a higher social status, including furnishings and newly emerging ceramic types. While ceramics were just one method of conspicuous display, they were especially important due to their role in the social rituals of food and tea consumption. Many new types of ceramics were developed during the eighteenth century, appealing to a wide range of consumers. Many of these types are recovered by archaeologists from sites dating to the 1700s, including those located on the upper Delmarva Peninsula. The patterns created by the ceramic types found on these sites may be related to the personal preference and taste of the household, the local area, or the region as a whole, or related to emulation of upper-class material culture and behaviors. It is also possible that the presence of certain ceramic types within a region may be associated with the ceramic trade and the accessibility of these households to certain types over others. This thesis hopes to answer the question: How did patterns of trade and consumer behavior vary between the Chesapeake Bay region and Delaware River region during the eighteenth century? More specifically, how have these patterns associated with trade or differences in regional consumer behaviors and preferences resulted in the distribution of types across the Delmarva Peninsula and established associations of certain types with the ceramic assemblages from sites of one region over another? Some ceramics may be more prevalent on sites associated with trade up the Chesapeake Bay than on sites associated with trade up the Delaware River. While types more

prevalent on Chesapeake sites have been identified (Blades et al. 2015:15-16), and more local patterns have been hypothesized (Wilkins, Shellenhammer, and Bedell 2016:12, 222-223), a regional study to confirm these hypotheses has not been conducted on this magnitude. This thesis studies the imported ceramic types recovered from 22 selected sites dating from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century. Ten of these sites are located on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and twelve are in Delaware. The Eastern Shore of Virginia was not included due to the lack of sites in the region from this era that have been investigated. In eighteenth-century consumer studies, the Delmarva Peninsula, a region peripheral to the urban areas often subject to more scrutinous study, is often overlooked; not only does this thesis contribute to the study of the colonial archaeological record in the region, but it may also provide greater insight into consumer behavior, taste, and ceramic trade in the region during the eighteenth century.

Imagine you have been transported back hundreds of years to the 1750s. Your parents had immigrated to the American colonies before your birth, so you have known little beyond the region where you were born. Your father was a tenant farmer who provided enough for the family to get by with little comfort. However, as you purchased your own land to farm and started a family, you were able to purchase increasingly more goods of comfort and luxury than your parents. More domestic goods like ceramics, furniture, and personal items of adornment became increasingly accessible, much of which you purchased from the shop in the small town upriver. You have developed a good rapport with the shopkeeper, and he knows what ceramic types and decorative styles you prefer. You make the short trip upriver to the store one afternoon to purchase some new tablewares. While there, you notice your more affluent neighbor perusing the selection of ceramics available in the shop. You have always envied this neighbor's wealth and stately manor overlooking the river. You have never been invited to any of their many social

gatherings, but you have heard from other neighbors about the size of their estate and the stylish furnishings and tablewares that they possess. You wonder whether purchasing some of these more stylish and prestigious goods might increase your social status within the area.

Nevertheless, your purpose here today is to purchase a new, modest tableware set, not some expensive baubles. However, you see your neighbor purchasing a new tea set. The type is unusual to you and does not appear to be consistent with what is usually considered stylish. In fact, you might consider it to be ugly, even hideous. But you think to yourself, ‘Maybe if I purchase a similar vessel, then they will think we have similar taste, and I can create a social connection?’ However, you balk at the expense required to purchase even one vessel from this set. What do you do? Do you purchase a more modest set and save your resources for more sensible pursuits, or do you purchase just one expensive vessel to possibly establish some social station? Do you choose status over style and personal taste?

While this situation is purely hypothetical, it represents a predicament that members of the newly emerging middling class may have experienced (e.g., Carr and Walsh 1994; Breen 2004). From the Handys of Salisbury, Maryland, to the Dawsons of New Castle County, Delaware, all households included in this study operated under the auspices of a burgeoning consumer society. It is pertinent for the reader to understand the contexts within which this study is conducted, the fabric of trade and consumerism that ensued and progressed throughout the eighteenth century. Many scholars view this century as one of advancing consumerism, a “Consumer Revolution” of sorts, in which newly accessible goods were utilized as conspicuous displays of status by the upper and middle classes alike, with the upper class embracing new goods and behaviors that would continuously differentiate themselves from the lower classes as these goods and behaviors became increasingly accessible to them (e.g., McKendrick, Brewer,

and Plumb 1982; Carson 1994; Hodge 2010). The emergence of new goods, specifically new types of ceramics, is considered a result of this cycle; manufacturers were responsible for developing new ceramic types and decorative styles that would be appealing to the upper class and eventually become accessible to the middle and lower classes (e.g., McCusker and Menard 1985; Lucas and Shackel 1994; Beaudry et al. 1996).

## **1.2: What to Watch For**

Some scholars view the accessibility of luxury goods as a process of emulation (e.g., D. Miller 1987; Pendery 1992; McCants 2007), although issues related to that paradigm, including consumer agency and the meaning of consumer goods, are discussed by others (e.g., Wurst and McGuire 1999; Hodge 2009; Hodge 2010; Mullins 2011b; Mullins 2019). Taste and personal preference are reflections of household behavior that are neglected by the theory of emulation (e.g., Deetz 1982; Breen 1993; Martin 1996). Deetz's "Georgian" worldview (1996) is also discussed as a paradigm through which eighteenth-century consumerism can be examined, a concept characterized by individualism and segmentation manifested through the separation of public and private space within the household and individualized place settings at the dinner table (e.g., Leone 1988; Shamma 1990; Pogue 2001; DiZerega-Wall 1991).

In this study, consumerism theory is congruent with typological theory, which studies how typologies are established and the information that types provide, including, but not limited to, the material, production location, form, and design (Whittaker et al. 1998; Bortolini 2017). For ceramics, types are usually defined by one or more attributes, including paste, glaze type, glaze color, and decoration (Gifford 1960; Miller 1980; Ness 2015). The study of eighteenth-century ceramic types, as opposed to some types from previous centuries and millennia, is assisted by documentation that provides information about the processes used to create these

forms, where they were produced, where they were shipped to, and who purchased these forms. The information related to locales of production, as discussed further, allows ceramics to be placed within the larger context of trans-Atlantic trade in the eighteenth century (Miller and Stone 1970; Barker and Majewski 2006; Casella 2013; Riello 2022).

Trans-Atlantic trade in the eighteenth century was dominated by Great Britain, as discussed further in this thesis, in which ceramics are contextualized within international and regional trade from that era. Britain's ever-fraught relationship with other European powers appears to have impacted the types of ceramics available to the colonies, although some variety is still recovered from colonial sites. Although the Navigation Acts enacted in the seventeenth century cemented Britain's chokehold on trans-Atlantic trade (e.g., McCusker 1996; Davis 2012; Morgan 2014), it appears as though many colonists still preferred some European ceramics over similar types produced in Britain, despite the additional expense. Trade and settlement on the Delmarva Peninsula are considered, especially who settled the region, what they did, and how they accessed consumer goods. Rivers were certainly an important conduit for transportation during this time, as the road system on the peninsula was still developing. The rise of Philadelphia as an important port certainly affected the accessibility of goods in the region and the types of goods that were imported (Clemens 1980; Thayer 1982; Steele 1986; De Cunzo 2004). Other smaller ports along the Chesapeake Bay and Delaware Rivers were still important to the residents of the Delmarva Peninsula in accessing consumer goods (Munroe 1979; Munroe 2003; De Cunzo 2004). Many of these landing towns, specifically those that would have been important to the occupants of the selected sites, are listed, along with their location, associated waterways, and general information related to their settlement and importance as a landing town. Finally, this section of the thesis includes a table that lists many of the imported ceramics found

on sites on the Delmarva Peninsula. Information including their production range, locales of production, common vessel forms, morphological characteristics, associated decorative techniques, and other general information is provided. Although many resources were used in the development of this table, two of the most important are the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory's Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland webpage and Ivor Noël Hume's *A Guide to the Artifacts of Colonial America*.

The methodology section details the process through which this topic and associated sites were chosen. The sites were selected not only by their location but also by their subsurface integrity; all analyzed sites had associated features from which imported ceramics were recovered. These sites are listed with their associated number and approximate location. They are mapped by two separate categories: Maryland sites versus Delaware sites and pre-creamware sites versus creamware sites. The sites are also separated into eras – pre-creamware and creamware – as different types are expected to be found on each of these sites. A specific type was chosen as the separation factor rather than an ambiguous date since the occupation period of many of the sites selected for analysis would encompass any selected year. This section also details the processes through which technical reports for each site were accessed and the difficulties encountered in accessing the ceramic assemblages from many of the sites.

The results of this study are presented on a site-by-site basis. Sites from Delaware are listed first, followed by sites from the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Within this section, each site is provided context, with general information including the location and age of the site, who conducted the investigation and when, the methods used to excavate the site, the types of features identified and excavated, and the types of imported ceramics recovered from the site. Types of imported ceramics are separated by the context from which they were recovered;

ceramics recovered only from disturbed contexts are listed, while those recovered from feature contexts are described within the associated pie chart, showing the proportions of ceramics recovered from features. The types of ceramics recovered from each site are briefly analyzed, providing hypotheses as to why certain types are present or more prevalent than others and what that can tell us about household behavior.

The distribution of ceramics across the upper Delmarva Peninsula is analyzed within the context of consumer behavior and trade in the eighteenth century. Those ceramics produced in England are analyzed first, with the approximate locations of sites from which these types were recovered mapped to illustrate the distribution of these types across the region; the same is then conducted for those types produced outside of England. Certain types are excluded from this analysis, including those ceramics that are prevalent across nearly all contemporaneous sites (creamware, pearlware, white salt-glazed stoneware [WSGSW], tin-glazed earthenware) and those ceramics found on fewer than three different sites (French earthenwares, Frankfurter earthenware, Iberian earthenware, Jasperware, etc.). Analysis of the distribution of ceramic types on the Peninsula can provide information related to the accessibility of ceramics and the prevalence of certain types in Chesapeake assemblages over Delaware assemblages. The presence of European-made ceramic types on certain sites is discussed at length, especially within the context of trade restrictions enforced by the British government. Their presence on British colonial sites is unusual, especially due to the added expense and time required to acquire these types, so the presence of these types on certain sites may characterize the tastes and preferences of the household. The proportion and presence of ceramics recovered from features and the relationship between ceramic assemblages regionally are then analyzed to assess the impact that emulation may have had on the ceramics consumed by these households based on the

similarities of ceramic assemblages between proximal sites. Finally, the amount of unique types recovered from each site is then assessed by era (creamware versus pre-creamware) and region to determine whether one region may have had greater access to unique ceramic types than another and whether that accessibility could be connected to a more intimate relationship with the trans-Atlantic trade.

The Delmarva Peninsula provides a unique region of study; being a peninsula, it is bounded by two unique bodies of water. Each of these bodies of water was a significant trade route, each serving their respective regions. Being located between these bodies of water means that the Delmarva Peninsula was impacted by trade from both the Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware River, each with different connections to locales of production through the trans-Atlantic trade. Although this region is often overlooked, this study into eighteenth-century sites on the Delmarva Peninsula and their associated imported ceramic assemblages connects the consumption of ceramics to regional trade and discusses how the presence of ceramics on a site may reflect household, local, and regional behaviors.

## Chapter 2: Eighteenth-Century Consumerism and Ceramic Typology

### 2.1: The Rise of a “Consumer Revolution”

The eighteenth century is considered by many scholars to be a period of burgeoning consumerism. Compared to the seventeenth century, during which the material culture of households across social and economic classes was more homogenous, the eighteenth century saw members of the upper class use increasingly accessible material goods as projections of their status and wealth (Breen 1988:75-76; Breen 1993:251; Shankman 2015:40; Berg 1999:63; Trentmann 2009:195). The “Consumer Revolution,” as it is termed by several scholars, corresponded with the relationship between prestige goods and conspicuous displays of status, which led to the development of new consumer goods that signaled an individual’s or family’s social and economic status (Carson 1994:502; McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb 1982:1; Glennie 1995:166; Hodge 2010:217). However, as the lower and middle classes increasingly devoted their resources to purchasing refined goods and items of comfort, the upper classes relied on manufacturers and shopkeepers to continuously develop and sell new items, such as increasingly elaborate ceramic types and forms, that would further differentiate themselves from the middling classes, contributing to the richness of ceramic assemblages from contemporaneous archaeological sites (McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb 1982:101; Barker and Majewski 2006:209; Lockett 1994:34; Adams and Boling 1989:94; Richards 1999:2, 37; Baugher and Venables 1987:31; Greene 1988:91; McCusker and Menard 1985:287; Lucas and Shackel 1994:28-29; Wurst and McGuire 1999; Shackel 1994:8; Beaudry et al. 1996:290-292; Cook et al. 1996:53; Pezzarossi 2014:157; Majewski and Schiffer 2009:2; Bird and Smith 2005:222; Brito 2023:452). Not only did emulation of the upper class require an increase in the acquisition of goods as status symbols, but it also required an understanding of the behavioral discipline

associated with the upper class and how these goods were used (Shackel 1993:13). Associated with those behaviors is a concept of possessive individualism, in which public and private space are clearly differentiated and meals are served individually in increasingly elaborate matching ceramic vessels (Mullins 2011b:49; Pogue 2001:48; D. Miller 1987:140-141; Carson 1994:602; Beaudry et al. 1983:23-24).

Although today we may associate specific types of ceramics with upper-class consumerism in our assessment of archaeological sites and their material culture, it can be difficult due to the increased accessibility of all types of ceramics to all but the lowest of social and economic classes. However, it is prudent to note that these more affluent ceramic types, forms, and sets are associated with an upper-class mindset and a consumer behavior required to own such prestige goods (Hodge 2014:74; Beaudry et al. 1983:22; Barker and Majewski 2006:225; White 1991:84; Beranek 2004:8). Thus, the eighteenth century is intertwined with the intensification of a “consumer society” in which commodities, like ceramics, and associated behaviors were increasingly associated with wealth and status (Breen 1988:77). A focus on the consumption of ceramics in this region provides a greater understanding of trans-Atlantic trade and consumer behavior in the region, and a congruent focus on ceramic typology allows us to understand the information associated with the identified types that are recovered from archaeological sites from the colonial era.

## **2.2: Conspicuous Display and Social Signaling**

The idea of a “consumer revolution” is based on the assumption that goods hold meaning and that meaning can be explicitly portrayed (Prown 1982:6, 16; Styles 1993:535; Pendery 1992:60; Schweickart 2014:398). This, according to Schiffman and Kanuk (1987:7), is associated with a “consumer behavior” that allows consumers to “[search] for...products...which

they expect will satisfy their needs,” which includes the conspicuous display of wealth and status (see also Henry 1991:3). Thus, consumer behavior describes the actions performed by consumers to acquire desired goods that fulfill a specific goal, and the meanings that they establish upon these goods are often reflective of that goal. These goals can be social, such as displaying status through a public consumption of goods, or personal, such as providing the household with desired goods or products that are deemed necessary by the household. Consumption of goods, based on their perceived meaning, may signify an individual’s or family’s membership of a particular social or economic class, whether or not their income or heritage reflects that (Martin 1993:142, 145; Cochran and Beaudry 2006:197; Martin 1989:6-7; Mullins 2011b:2, 5; D. Miller 1987:215; Gibb 1996:250; Dietler 2010:217-218; Smith 2002:69). Henry (1991:8) suggests that “social class membership exerts more influence on consumer behavior than does income.” While two households may belong to the same social class, one may have to dedicate a higher percentage of their income to prestige goods in order to maintain their societal status (Berg 1999:64). However, social signaling was especially problematic during the eighteenth century due to the speed with which lower classes could access goods previously accessible only to the colonial elites. Thus, those belonging to the upper class had to be especially careful to continually differentiate themselves from those of lower classes and pay attention to the behaviors of those belonging to their class (Lucas and Jones 2020:219; Carr and Walsh 1994:63; Carson 1994:550; Glennie 1995:166). As the “consumer revolution” increased the accessibility of previously exclusive goods, the colonial elites had to work harder to find ways to maintain their prestige and consequently encouraged producers and manufacturers to develop increasingly elaborate and expensive goods that only the wealthy could purchase (Scribner 2013:13). Shackel (1992:81) saw these newly developed forms and associated behaviors as a “modern discipline.”

While both modest and affluent households could access certain types of prestige goods, affluent households could possess higher percentages of these goods and displayed these goods in a way that differentiated themselves from their lower-class constituents (Mullins 2011a:12-13; Little 1988:274). Gibb (1996:38) sees the consumption of matching ceramic sets and dinner services as fulfilling the need for order and discipline as part of the push towards individualism discussed below, as the elite found the consumption of several sets as an effective method of differentiating themselves from the middling classes.

While many consumer studies consider income and social status as driving factors in the consumption of goods, they tend to neglect individual and communal preference and agency in the discussion of why certain goods were purchased and not others (Dietler 2010:216; Martin 1996:101; Breen 1993:250; Garland 2011:60). Not only are the artifacts that we recover from sites indications of social status and conspicuous display, but they also reflect the behavior of that household and their style and taste, such as the preference of one type of ceramic or decorative technique over another (Deetz 1982:718-719; Stahl 2002). Breen (1993:257-258) saw an individual's membership in the consumer culture not as encumbering but empowering, galvanized by the plethora of choices available. What differentiated eighteenth-century consumerism from past markets was the rise in the choice of goods available to most households, even those previously considered middling or ordinary. While the choice of goods heightened consumer desires, increased consumer demand stimulated producers to develop new goods that would be in demand and establish social status and meaning (McCusker and Menard 1985:277; Mullins 2011b:42). New ceramic forms marketed by English potters like Josiah Wedgwood were available and accessible from the Carolinas up to New England, a consumer experience that defined the lives of all who were involved in the shopping process of their households (Breen

2004:65; Breen 1988:81-82; Agnew 1993:24; Martin 2008). While Martin (1993:152) discusses the impact that material culture and consumerism had on the perception of social status in the eighteenth century, the discussion fails to consider the agential impact of the consumer on the market; it was consumer demand that encouraged the development of new types of prestige goods, such as ceramics, that would have only been economically accessible to the upper-class households.

### **2.3: Georgianization of Consumer Goods**

Deetz's "Georgian" worldview (1996) is defined by a shift towards individualism, evidenced by increased definition between public and private space and the consumption of individualized table settings during formal meals. It was this shift towards individualism that characterized the increased consumption of ceramic sets so everyone would have their own place setting at the table, with plates, glasses, and silverware (Pogue 2001:49-50; Mullins 2011b:51; Martin 1993:153; Shamma 1990:186; Barker 2010:13; Beranek 2009:167). Leone (1988) saw this increased individualism as the implementation of a social order, in which individualism, formality, luxury, and symmetry were all essential to maintaining one's prestige. Individualism also characterized how consumers and their households considered their personal preference and taste (D. Miller 1987:197).

The "Georgian" worldview is also associated with a sense of "refinement" associated with the consumption of goods of comfort (Pogue 2001:41; Leone 1988; Shackel 1992; Shackel 1993). Refinement, although an ambiguous term, conveys the idea of consumers exhibiting a shared genteel behavior, often associated with the consumption of luxury goods and the participation in social behaviors such as the tea ritual (Hodge 2014:20). The dedication of increasing amounts of income towards the purchase of individualized status goods led to a

differentiation between goods used in the public and private spheres (Weatherill 1996:137; Carr and Walsh 1994:66-67). Scribner (2013:42) discusses the different ways that the classes used public space as consumers. As everyone became interconnected through their consumption habits, the elite pushed for more control while the newly emerged middle class sought to establish themselves as members of the consumer culture and of fashionable society. As more goods were being purchased to be consumed in the presence of company, the private setting within a household maintained a modest level of comfort. There was no perceived need for elaborate goods to be purchased if their flamboyance could not be flaunted; it was not the private setting that determined a household's social status, but the goods displayed and consumed in the presence of other members of that social class (Berg 1999:64; Crowley 1999:758-759; Martin 1993:154; Beaudry 2010:3).

#### **2.4: Emulation: Fact or Fiction?**

As goods of “comfort” became more readily accessible to the middle and lower classes during the eighteenth century, these classes purchased goods that were being consumed by many in the upper class. Many scholars view this process as an act of emulation, a material link between classes. Emulation requires purposeful action by those of lower social standing to make a concerted effort to replicate the material culture and social behaviors of the elite; they purchased goods and adopted behaviors that they believed might elevate their social standing. In the same way the colonial elite emulated the elite of England and Europe with their material possessions and behavior, many in the middle class emulated the elite by consuming prestige goods and participating in ritualistic behavior previously reserved for members of the upper class (Breen 1988:103; Shammass 1989:63; Scribner 2013:14; McCants 2007:24; Breen 2004:79-80; Hodge 2014:20; Carr and Walsh 1994:67; D. Miller 1987:135-136; McKendrick, Brewer, and

Plumb 1982:11; Pendery 1992:66; Barker 2010:6). The tea ritual is an excellent example of emulation and increased accessibility; the drinking of tea was reserved for only the upper echelon of society. Chinese porcelain, introduced to American households in the late seventeenth century, was extremely costly and reserved for only the wealthiest of the elite for several decades (Stolk 2021:26; Hodge 2014:74; Martin 1994:172-173). However, by the mid-eighteenth century, tea services made of porcelain, tin-glazed earthenware, and eventually creamware and pearlware became increasingly available to those of the middle class (McCants 2007:20-21; Shammas 1990:183, 185; Richards 1999:99). By the 1780s, the drinking of tea became an almost universal ritual in the young United States (Martin 1993:154). Those of the middle class living on the Delmarva Peninsula may have been influenced by the behaviors of their elite neighbors, and they wished to establish themselves as respectable members of upper society by purchasing the goods that they saw their neighbors purchase and consume (Clark 1996:233-234; Russo and Russo 2012:160). While it is debated whether the middle and lower classes dedicated increasing amounts of their income to the purchase of commodities and comfort goods (Shammas 1989:65), there is no doubt that the amount of goods that was accessible to them increased tremendously during the eighteenth century, due to improvements in manufacturing processes and decreases in the prices of these types of commodities.

One of the major issues in the idea of emulation is the lack of agency that it imposes on those of the middle and lower classes (Shackel 1993:162; Mullins 2011b:73; Campbell 1993:40-41; Mullins 2019:28; White 2006:98). While it is almost undeniable that the members of the middle class were influenced by the consumer behavior of the elite, some members of the middle class certainly, by choice, did not participate in the consumer revolution to the extent of others. As noted by Wurst and McGuire (1999:192-194), many consumer choice models neglect to

consider the choice of the household to not be influenced by emulation and regional consumption patterns and behaviors. Even those that did participate fully and consume significant amounts of prestige goods were not only driven by emulation but also by their personal preferences and tastes (Hodder and Hutson 2003:61; Beranek 2004:8-9; Hodge 2009:196-199; Hodge 2010:219-220). Breen (2004:197) notes that, while the middle class operated under the confines of the open market, they could still exercise their right of choice and reject certain imported goods and consume others (see also Richards 1999:96-97; Groover 2005:259-260). As Hodder and Hutson (2003:9) state, “agents do not simply fill predetermined roles, acting out their scripts.” Instead, we see material culture affecting human behavior through consumption habits, and we see human behavior affecting material behavior through consumer demand and the cycle of emulation, which sparks the development of new prestige goods. The issue with emulation that Weatherill (1996:196) presents is that it assumes a singular social meaning behind the consumption of goods. Emulation sees goods as only serving a social function, acting as emblems of prestige and respectability. Instead, all goods have many different meanings; an individual’s choice of consumption may not necessarily reflect a social meaning but instead may serve an individual or practical purpose (Hodge 2007:ix; Hodge 2013:71; Hodge 2014:74; Mullins 2009:210, 217; Mullins 2011a; Mullins 2019:27; Pezzarossi 2014:168; Glennie 1995:176; Campbell 1987; Earle 1989; De Vries 2008:5-6; Uusitalo 1998).

## **2.5: Eighteenth-Century Ceramic Typology**

A study into the types of ceramics produced and developed during the eighteenth century and their overall accessibility to members of various social and economic classes requires an understanding of the various information associated with each ceramic type. All archaeologists have used typology to describe an artifact they have recovered from a site, but rarely is the

meaning behind the type and the information that is associated with that type discussed.

Typology is essential for communication between archaeologists; the imposition of a type on an artifact should recall a plethora of information, including the material, the production, the design, and its relationship regionally and temporally to the larger archaeological record (Whittaker et al. 1998:129; Bortolini 2017). While the imposition of types may be considered by some scholars to be constraining (Boozer 2015:93-95), ceramic types possess unique attributes that make them useful for the analysis and understanding of an archaeological site and regional patterns of trade and consumption. The morphological difference in types usually involves a combination of multiple different factors, usually with one key defining attribute, such as paste, glaze type, glaze color, and decoration (Ness 2015:311; Gifford 1960:342; Miller 1980:1). As discussed above, the morphological changes in ceramics during the eighteenth century are often due to consumer demand; as briefly discussed previously, middle-class consumers wanted ceramics, like tin-glazed earthenware, creamware, or pearlware, that were less expensive, more readily available, and morphologically and functionally like Chinese porcelain accessible to upper-class consumers. While porcelain became more readily accessible by the mid-eighteenth century, it was still expensive enough that middle-class consumers could only afford a few select pieces (Shepard 1985:XVI; Wilkins et al. 2016:126; Voss 2012:40).

The information that can be gleaned from the analysis of eighteenth-century ceramic types has been studied extensively with varying degrees of success, but differences in ceramic typology and morphology between sites and regions provide information, with varying degrees of certainty, on topics related to the occupation period of a site, the socioeconomic status of the previous occupants of a site, behavior related to the association of ceramic types with specific functions, and the distribution and trade of these ceramics based upon their locales of production

(Barker and Majewski 2006:205; Wilkins et al. 2016:235; Liebeknecht et al. 2015:4-17; Miller 1980:1; Bragdon 1981; Hodge 2014:74). These manufactured ceramics are commonly found on historic archaeological sites, and due to the chronological information related to these types, the presence (and sometimes absence) of specific ceramic types can be excellent markers for the dates of features and occupation periods of an archaeological site (South 1977:204-205, 231; Wilkins, Shellhammer, and Bedell 2016). The relationship between some ceramics and specific locales of production makes it possible to place an eighteenth-century archaeological site within the larger context of trans-Atlantic trade. Ceramic types are related to specific locales of production, making it possible to trace their lifespan from fabrication to deposition (Barker and Majewski 2006:220; Miller and Stone 1970:98; Riello 2022:220-221; Casella 2013:90). Ceramics would often be imported to larger port cities like Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, or Boston and then distributed to peripheral areas, of which the Delmarva Peninsula would be considered (South 1977:232).

The “consumer revolution” of the eighteenth century provided consumers with increased accessibility to goods of comfort and relative luxury, especially with the emergence of new ceramic types, contributing to the richness of ceramic assemblages from contemporaneous archaeological sites. These types were imported by merchants to shops and markets, where they could be purchased by local consumers. These consumers in turn developed a relationship with their local merchants, a relationship that, although present in previous centuries, was not nearly as intimate, as the shopkeeper would have been expected to cater to the needs and desires of their clientele. The shopkeeper therefore had to develop an intimate relationship with transatlantic merchants and the production centers of imported ceramics to cater to their customers. Although the types of ceramics imported were highly dependent on the relationship between Britain and

other countries and on the restrictions that Britain placed on international trade, the local landing towns and villages where goods were imported became centers of burgeoning trade for local consumers.

## Chapter 3: Trans-Atlantic and Regional Trade in Ceramic Distribution

### 3.1: International Trade and British Trade Relationships

Consumer behavior and trade connected locales of production to the locales of consumption, developing intimate relationships between production centers within England, like Liverpool, Burslem, and Nottingham, and outside of England, like Germany and the Netherlands, with consumers on the Delmarva Peninsula and in the greater American colonies (Davis 2012:264). English and colonial trade relations and restrictions significantly impacted consumer behaviors (Strikwerda 2018:130). Trade and associated regulations impacted the countries from which goods were imported and the types of goods from which consumers could choose. The Navigation Acts enacted by the British government in the seventeenth century gave England control over the colonies' international trade so that goods brought to the American colonies had to come directly from England. Therefore, the presence of certain types of ceramics found on sites on the Delmarva Peninsula was impacted to some degree by the trade relationships of England with other sovereignties, such as China, Germany, France, and the Netherlands.

Starting in the late seventeenth century, the trade relationship between Britain and the Netherlands dominated trans-Atlantic trade until the American Revolution. London and Amsterdam were two of the largest and wealthiest cities in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so it was inevitable for the two to develop a connection of some external significance (Morgan 2014:119). Before New Amsterdam became New York, and before the enactment of the Navigation Acts, people living in New Amsterdam and the surrounding colonies consumed significant amounts of Dutch goods, including decorative delftware, a

preference that continued well into the period of English dominance in America when Dutch goods became less accessible. The Dutch, through importation to England, still supplied the colonies with a number of commodities, including linens, paper, earthenware tiles, and delftware vessels, even when the production of English tin-glaze earthenware was at its peak (Morgan 2014:126; Koot 2011: 9, 154; Enthoven 2014:331).

The enactment of five Navigation Acts between 1651 and 1696 was an attempt by the British government to dominate the transatlantic trade between the American colonies and Europe. They essentially stated that all imported goods produced outside of England must first be shipped to England, from where they can be shipped to the American colonies (Morgan 2014:125; Sawers 1992:262; Griffith and Fithian 2014:177; McVae 2008:54; Davis 2012:258; McCusker 1996:349). Other restrictions included the number of English subjects that had to be on British or colonial ships, but it was the importation clause that most greatly affected the colonists. The restrictions on importation “were reinforced by fiscal policies that gave colonists considerable preference in the British domestic market through heavy duties on foreign products” (Morgan 2014:122), including European- and Chinese-made ceramic vessels. Although the Navigation Acts limited the amount of international competition that American merchants faced, it also limited the amount of goods produced outside of England that people could access or afford (Sawers 1992:262, 270).

Even with the passage of the Navigation Acts, there was still illicit trade between the colonies and other European nations, especially with Dutch merchants. The Dutch ideology of free trade with mercantilist restrictions was intriguing to many colonists, and the prices for certain commodities like sugar were much lower than the highly taxed commodities shipped by British and American merchants (Enthoven 2014:328-329). However, despite a smattering of

illicit trade, British and colonial merchants still dominated the transatlantic trade of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, further solidifying the relationship between colonial consumers and the locales of production in Britain (McCusker and Morgan 2000:4; Morgan 2000:36-38; Truxes 2021:146). Shepherd and Walton (1972:130-131) suggest that the importance of trade and the types of goods imported to each region varied based on costs related to production and transportation as well as regional consumer demand and preference. Thus, even while subject to the regulations instituted by the Crown, each region maintained its own sense of individuality based on production habits, importation, and consumer behavior (Gallup-Diaz 2015:241).

### **3.2: Chesapeake Bay and Delaware River Trade**

Chesapeake society in the eighteenth century was dominated by its dependence on agriculture and lumber as its main sources of economic growth and by its dependence on the Chesapeake Bay, the Delaware River, and their respective intercoastal waterways to provide its citizens with methods of importation and exportation, developing a distinct identity and relationship with its constituents in Britain. So much of the diverse Chesapeake society, from the poor landowners to the wealthy estate elite, depended on the export and sale of tobacco, corn, grain, and lumber to sustain their respective ways of life and import certain commodities that would allow them to maintain their societal status (Murrin 2015:9-10; Clemens 1980:20; Hoffecker 1988:59; Herman 1987:5-6). Members of Chesapeake society, especially those landed elites, could access prestige goods and enjoy “improvements similar, if not equal, to those of England in the standard of material life as seen in household goods” (Carr 2000:333). Land and water were both important conduits through which these goods could access consumers. Consumers on the Eastern Shore were highly dependent on the many navigable rivers flowing

through the region as a source of transportation and a conduit through which they would be able to receive their goods or travel to the local town to purchase imported goods. The elite of this region built large houses that commanded attention from the rivers that they oversaw, and many of these houses had docks and landings to which they could have goods transported (Greene 1988:93). The tobacco industry may have contributed to the growth of some of these landing towns. In 1683, the Maryland Colonial Legislature passed the “Act for Advancing the Trade of Tobacco,” which established thirty “ports of entry” exclusively reserved for the regulation and exportation of tobacco (Luckenbach 2019:106; Kerns-Nocerito 2003:325). These towns include Kingston Landing along the Choptank River and Oxford along the Tred Avon River. In the same way that consumers depended on these towns for purchasing goods, tobacco farmers also depended on these towns to export tobacco and receive income from their export, thus increasing the importance of these landing towns to the farmers of the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Although the Chesapeake Bay and its intercoastal waterways remained vital for transportation for the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Philadelphia’s emerging dominance as an international port of trade for both Maryland and Delaware cannot be denied. During the eighteenth century, Philadelphia became the most bustling port in the American colonies (Finger 2015:908). An increase in land travel and an improvement of highways from Philadelphia into the hinterlands meant that many of the goods arriving on the upper Eastern Shore were coming up the Delaware River as well as the Chesapeake Bay (Thayer 1982:73-74; Steele 1986:53; De Cunzo 2004:94-95; Clemens 1980:217). The relationship between Delaware and Philadelphia was even more closely knit. Many of the landed Delaware elite, many of whom immigrated from the North Midlands of England, arrived first in Philadelphia and eventually made their way south into what is now Delaware. These individuals, many of whom were heavily influenced

ideologically by their commitment to Quaker principles and values, had connections to seaports like Bristol and Liverpool and the manufacturers who used these ports to ship their goods. The German, Dutch, Scandinavian, and Welsh immigrants who arrived in Philadelphia and Delaware during the eighteenth century contributed to the diversity of the region and possibly to regional preferences of imported commodities (Fischer 1989:430-431, 462-465; Munroe 2003:156, 158; Herman 1987:5; Murrin 2015:10-11). The diversity of the region can be attributed to the tolerance of the colony, as the Quakers, led by William Penn, invited Dutch and German Quakers to emigrate to the colony besides those from England (Fischer 1989:430-431). As much as Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland depended on trade up the Delaware River to Philadelphia, Philadelphia was equally dependent on these hinterland regions to provide foodstuffs like corn and grain for processing and cut wood for shipbuilding (De Cunzo 2004:94-95; Munroe 2003:190).

Although the smaller ports of Lewes and New Castle were still important to the Delaware economy, the rise of Wilmington as a bustling small port during the mid-eighteenth century was a crucial node in the Philadelphia trading network since it had easier access to those towns and farms located farther west from the Delaware River (De Cunzo 2004:94-95; Munroe 1979:57). Concurrent with the rise of Wilmington was the rise of other inland landings that offered places for farmers and artisans to sell their goods while also receiving commodities imported from Britain by way of Philadelphia, as waterways were vital to transportation in Delaware prior to the development of a well-maintained road system. Although these rivers today may be impassable, during the eighteenth century, traders and merchants used small boats, such as shallops, to navigate the waterways that connected inland landing towns and villages to the Delaware River and to Philadelphia. The logging industry in southern Delaware meant that many of these small

ships were built at the landing towns and villages they serviced (Munroe 2003:193). Exceptions to trade with Philadelphia may exist in western Sussex County in southern Delaware, where the Nanticoke River, which flows by Seaford, and its tributary Broad Creek, which flows by Laurel, empty into the Chesapeake Bay. The importance of waterways and lack of a dependable road system may mean that western Sussex County was serviced by Chesapeake trade as opposed to Delaware River trade (De Cunzo 2004:117; Munroe 2003:191-192). Nevertheless, the inland towns and villages, as described below, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and in Delaware were vital to many local consumers, especially those in more rural areas, who purchased many goods at the shops and markets in these towns. Several landing towns and villages that would have been important to the sites sampled in this thesis are listed in Table 1, along with any relevant information.

Table 1: Delaware and Maryland Landing Towns

<b>Town</b>	<b>County</b>	<b>River/ Waterway(s)</b>	<b>Associated Site(s)</b>	<b>Settled</b>	<b>General Information</b>
Lewes	Sussex	Broadkill River, Delaware Bay	Knapp	1631	Originally a Dutch settlement that was destroyed within a few years of its founding, the town has been continuously occupied by European settlers since 1682. It has operated as a port town and as the base for river pilots assisting ships in navigating the Delaware River (Lewes 2025; Munroe 1979)
Milford	Sussex/Kent	Mispyllion River	Cedar Creek	1680	The town was first settled by Henry Bowan. During the mid-to-late 18th century a gristmill and sawmill were built along the Mispyllion River. Around that same time, a shipbuilding industry was developing, and streets were being laid out. The town was incorporated in 1807 (Milford Delaware 2025).
Frederica	Kent	Murderkill River	Somy	1681	The land on which the town is now located was deeded to Boney Bishop by William Penn in 1681. Originally called Indian Point, the area was used as a landing. The town was laid out in 1772, and by 1796 it was named Frederica Landing. Frederica was first incorporated in 1826, but was repealed in

					1855 and reincorporated in 1865 (Frederica 2025).
Dover	Kent	St. Jones River	Dawson	1683	Dover was founded by William Penn in 1683 as the county seat for Kent County. Its location along the St. Jones River and the King's Highway running from Philadelphia to Lewes made it a center for trade and commerce in the colony. By 1742, Dover had around 5,000 inhabitants (Schwartz ND).
Smyrna	Kent/New Castle	Smyrna River/Duck Creek	Strickland	1716	Founded along Duck Creek, the town was originally named Salisbury. Duck Creek provided the town access to the Delaware River, which allowed for trade and shipbuilding. The town was named Smyrna in 1806 (Smyrna Delaware 2025).
Odessa	New Castle	Appoquinimink River	McKean/ Cochran, Noxon Tenancy, Cardon/ Holton	1731	The town was originally known as Cantwell's Bridge, after a toll bridge was constructed by Richard Cantwell across the Appoquinimink River. A tannery was built in 1767, and several other industries developed around it. The town was renamed Odessa by 1855 (Odessa Delaware 2025).
Denton	Caroline	Choptank River	Barwick	1781	While Caroline County was created in 1773, the court and other administrative buildings were established at

					Pig Point until the establishment of “Edentown.” The town, which soon became known as Denton, was laid out in 1781, and by 1796 was established as a village. A wharf was constructed in 1791 to provide easier access to the village (Denton, MD 2025).
Easton	Talbot	Tred Avon River	Dover Bridge, Pleasant Valley	1710	Although a Quaker meetinghouse was first built near the town in the 1680s, the town was first established in 1710 as a court town for Talbot County. A tavern was built near the courthouse, and stores and houses were constructed soon after. The town was first known as Talbot Court House, but was changed to Easton in 1788 (Easton, MD 2025).
Oxford	Talbot	Tred Avon River	Long Point	1683	Oxford was established as a town by the Maryland General Assembly in 1683, although it may have been settled well before then. By 1694, Oxford and Annapolis were the only two seaports in the Maryland colony. During the 17 <sup>th</sup> and 18 <sup>th</sup> centuries, it operated as an important port for the export of tobacco (Oxford, Maryland 2020).
Cambridge	Dorchester	Choptank River	Dover Bridge	1684	Although the town was authorized in 1684, it was not incorporated until 1745. However, as early as 1719,

					Cambridge was operating as a port for trading ships from England and served as an important port for the export of tobacco. A shipyard was established in Cambridge in 1775 (Caroline County Historical Society 2002a).
Salisbury	Wicomico	Wicomico River	Pemberton	1732	The town was first founded in 1732 by residents of Somerset County. Its position on the Wicomico River made it and Handy's Landing, which had existed since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century, important places for trade and commerce in the county. The town was incorporated by 1854 (Landsman ND).
Snow Hill	Worcester	Pocomoke River	18WO183	1686	The town was founded by English immigrants in 1686. By 1694, the town was named a royal port, which proved its importance to the farmers of the region. Worcester County was created in 1742, and Snow Will was designated the county seat (Snow Hill, Maryland 2025).

### 3.3: Ceramic Context and Attributes

The table (Table 2) provided below is a list of ceramics produced in Britain, Europe, and China and imported to the United States by way of Britain. This table provided here includes important context for the ceramics that are discussed in the results section of this thesis. The dates, production locales, and specific attributes associated with these ceramic types is vital to

understanding the trade routes required to transport them and the behaviors associated with each type. This list also standardizes different terms used to describe the same type, an issue discussed in Chapter 4. Besides those resources provided in the table, the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory's Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland webpage and Ivor Noël Hume's *A Guide to the Artifacts of Colonial America* were especially valuable at providing information necessary for ceramic context. These ceramics are presented with where they were produced, their range of production, their characteristics, and general comments about that ceramic type. Each one of these ceramics was present on at least one of the sites of interest on the upper Delmarva Peninsula.

Table 2: Ceramic Attributes

Type	Origin	Est. Start Date	Est. End Date	Common Vessel Forms	Attributes	Decorative Techniques	Comments	Sources
Agateware	England (Staffordshire)	1740	app. 1780	Tablewares (Bowls, Plates, Dishes, Teapots)	Agateware vessels are produced by combining red, yellow, and white clay into a swirled (variegated) pattern and then coated in a clear lead glaze. Agateware vessels are usually thinly potted.	All agateware vessels naturally appear decorative. However, the rim of some hollowwares may be rouletted, and other vessels may have molded decoration.	The agateware technique was used on doorknobs into the late nineteenth century. Agateware was produced to resemble the swirled pattern found in agate, hence the name.	Noël Hume 1969; Chappell 2016; Hughes 1960; Millersville 2011; Liebeknecht et al. 2014; JefPat 2002a
Astbury-type	England (Staffordshire and Bristol)	1725	1750s	Teawares (Teapots, Cups) and Tablewares (Bowls, Coffee Pots)	This refined earthenware with a dense, red paste is defined by its ginger-colored glaze.	Astbury-type vessels may be decorated with white slip bands or molded in white clay with various motifs, such as flowers or animals.	Although this type was named for John Astbury, other potters in the Staffordshire and Bristol region produced this type of ware.	Noël Hume 1969; Lewis 1999; Wills 1969; Liebeknecht 2014; JefPat 2002b
Black Basalt SW	England (Staffordshire)	1750	1820	Teawares (Cups, Teapots, Saucers)	Black Basalt vessels are comprised of a thin, dense, unglazed, smooth black paste.	Vessels are either decorated with die-stamped reliefs, sprig-molded motifs, or engine-turned decorations.	Black Basalt was developed by Josiah Wedgwood initially for vases but expanded into tea services. Vessels of a similar type were coined "Egyptian Black" by other potters.	Noël Hume 1969; Miller 1991; Gilchrist 1981; Hughes 1960; Millersville 2011; JefPat 2002c
Borderware	England	1640	1715	Tablewares (Bowls, Pitchers), Drinking Vessels (Cups, Mugs, Tankards), and Utilitarian Vessels (Jugs, Colanders, Pipkins)	These coarse earthenware vessels usually have a pale gray to buff to reddish tan body. Lead glaze colors include yellow and green, with brown appearing later.	Cogged rims, cordoning, and incised designs may be found on vessels.	The term "borderware" describes the border between Surrey and Hampshire where this type was being produced.	Millersville 2011; JefPat 2002d

Buckley-type	England, Wales	Mid-17th century	1775	Tablewares (Cups, Pitchers, Bowls) and Utilitarian Vessels (Milk Pans, Butterpots)	The paste on these coarse earthenware vessels appears marbled with yellow and red clays. Lead glaze is dark brown to black.	The exterior of these vessels is often ribbed.	Named after Buckley in northwest England, it was also produced at other sites in England and Wales. This type is rarely found in the Lower Delaware Valley and in the Chesapeake region before the 1720s.	Bloch 2011; Liebeknecht et al. 2014; JefPat 2002e
Creamware	England (primarily Staffordshire and Leeds)	1762	1820	Tablewares (Plates, Dishes, Mugs) and Teawares (Tea Pots and Teacups)	Creamware vessels have a cream-colored paste with a clear lead glaze. Earlier creamwares tend to have a deeper cream color than later creamwares.	Creamware vessels may be decorated in a variety of ways, including molded rims (feather edge, royal pattern, shell edge), overglaze paint, underglaze paint, and transfer print.	Creamware is ubiquitous on North American archaeological sites dating to the late-18th to early-19th century. Its development by Josiah Wedgwood created a refined ware that was more easily accessible by all classes while also being fashionable for the upper class.	Noël Hume 1969; Martin 1989; Miller 1991; Miller 2015; White 1991; Lockett 1994; Chappell 2016; Gilchrist 1981; Lewis 1999; Martin 1994; Hughes 1960; Atterbury 1980; Wills 1969; Millersville 2011; Miller 1984; Nelson 1980, JefPat 2002f
Elers SW (Rosso Antico)	England (Staffordshire)	1690	1800	Tablewares (Coffee Pots and Mugs) and Teawares (Teapots and Cups)	This type is characterized by a thin, dense, unglazed, smooth red paste.	Vessels are either decorated with die-stamped reliefs, sprig-molded motifs, or engine-turned designs.	Red dry-bodied stoneware vessels were produced by John Dwight and the Elers brothers between 1684-1700. Wares of a similar type were not produced against until around 1750, when Staffordshire potters produced a similar ware type coined "Rosso Antico." These wares were produced to imitate "fine red porcelain" produced in China.	Noël Hume 1969; Miller, Janowitz, and Gilbert 2017; Lewis 1999; Hughes 1960; Millersville 2011; Elliott 1998; JefPat 2002f
English Brown SW	England (Fulham, Staffordshire, Bristol and elsewhere)	late-17th century (unconfirmed examples may date earlier)	1775	Utilitarian Vessels (Jugs, Crocks, Jars) and Drinking Vessels (Mugs, Tankards)	English Brown vessels commonly have a buff-colored paste with an exterior brown salt glaze.	Most English Brown vessels are undecorated; however, they were sometimes incised, impressed, or even sprig-molded with initials signifying ownership.	The term "Fulham" may also be used to refer to English Brown SW, although more specifically the earlier brown stonewares produced by John Dwight at his factory in Fulham. Domestic reproductions of an English Brown SW were produced by William Rogers in Yorktown between 1720 and 1740. These vessels may be difficult to distinguish from Rhenish Brown vessels	Noël Hume 1969; Barker and Majewski 2006; Skerry and Hood 2009; Gilchrist 1981; Lewis 1999; Hughes 1960; Wills 1969; Charleston and Towner 1977; Millersville 2011; Elliott 1998; JefPat 2002g

Frankfurter	Holland, Germany	early-18th century	late-18th century	Utilitarian Vessels (Pots, Pans, Hollowwares)	These coarse earthenware vessels usually have a pale red to buff body with a yellow, green, or clear translucent lead glaze.	Not usually decorated, but vessel may have lid seats and/or handles.	This type is extremely uncommon on American sites. Vessels produced in Holland tend to have a redder paste.	McVae 2008; Krivor et al. 2010
Jackfield-type	England (Shropshire and Staffordshire)	1740s	1790	Tea and Coffee Services	These refined earthenwares have a thin, dense purplish to gray paste with a lustrous black glaze.	Jackfield-type vessels may be decorated with sprig molding or enamel painting of floral motifs.	Although this type was named where it was first produced (Jackfield in Shropshire), Staffordshire potters including Thomas Whieldon produced vessels of the same type.	Noël Hume 1969; Millersville 2011; Wilkins, Shellenhammer, and Bedell 2016; Miller, Janowitz, and Gilbert 2017; JefPat 2002h
Jasperware	England (Staffordshire)	1775	Present	Most commonly teapots	These thin, dry-bodied stoneware vessels can be made from a variety of colors, including blue, yellow, and green.	Jasperware vessels always have molded neoclassical motifs in white clay, like a cameo.	Jasperware is still being produced today, although usually as commemorative pieces.	Gilchrist 1981; Elliott 1998; JefPat 2002i
Manganese (Midlands) Mottled	England (Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Bristol), Wales	1670s	1780	Tablewares (Bowls, Dishes), Utilitarian Vessels (Jugs, Jars, Chamber Pots), and Drinking Vessels (Tankards, Mugs, Cups)	Manganese Mottled vessels generally have a thin, dense buff-bodied paste with a yellow-to-clear lead glaze covered with small purple-to-brown specks or streaks.	Most Manganese Mottled vessels are undecorated. However, some may be stamped with royal initials.	The specks found on Manganese Mottled vessels were produced using iron, not manganese. This misnomer resulted from a mistake made in a 17th-century document.	Liebeknecht 2014; JefPat 2002j
Nevers Faience	Nevers (France)	late-16th century	late-18th century	Tablewares (Plates, Dishes)	Most tin-glazed earthenwares are comprised of a pale buff body with a white tin glaze.	Although many decorative motifs were employed in Nevers, the most common is Nevers Blue-on-White, which employed underglaze blue paint to create various motifs.	Although it may have not been the first place in France to produce tin-glazed earthenware, it was certainly one of the earliest to produce this type of ware at a significance magnitude, so it is often considered the birthplace of faience in France. Although vessels produced in Nevers are not limited to plates and dishes, they are the most common.	Metreau and Rosen 2014; Waselkov and Walthall 2002

North Devon	Western England (North Devon)	mid-to-late-17th century	early-18th century	Utilitarian Vessels (Creampans, Jugs, Storage Jars, Pitchers, Chamber Pots), Tablewares (Plates, Mugs, Bowls), and Teawares (Teapots, Teacups, Saucers)	Gravel-tempered forms have a pink-to-gray body with a light brown to green glaze. Gravel-free forms of North Devon pottery were also produced.	Sgraffito slipware (red with white slip with incised patterns) is the most common decorative form on North Devon vessels. Decorative motifs on sgraffito vessels include geometric shapes and natural motifs like birds, flowers, and animals.	These vessels are named for the area in which they were produced: North Devon in southwest England. This type of pottery is common on Chesapeake sites dating to the 17th and early 18th centuries.	Noël Hume 1969; Atterbury 1980; Millersville 2011; Grigsby 1993; JefPat 2002k
Nottingham SW	England (Nottingham, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Liverpool, Yorkshire)	1700	1800	Tablewares (Bowls, Pitchers) and Drinking Vessels (Cups, Mugs, Tankards)	Nottingham vessels have a dense gray or buff paste with a lustrous brown salt glaze.	Nottingham vessels may be decorated with applied clay (for texture), incised designs, or applied or sprig molded motifs.	Unlike WSGSW, the "orange peel" finish on Nottingham SW is barely noticeable. Some Nottingham vessels may have a white slip layer below the glaze.	Skerry and Hood 2009; Lewis 1999; Wills 1969; Charleston and Towner 1977; Millersville 2011; JefPat 2002l
Pearlware	England (Staffordshire)	1775	early-19th century	Tablewares (Plates, Bowls, Cups)	Pearlware vessels have a pale-colored paste and a clear glaze with a light blue tint.	Various decorative techniques were used on pearlware vessels, including sponge, underglaze paint, transfer print, slip decoration, and molded shell edge rims.	Pearlware was developed by Josiah Wedgwood, which he termed "Pearl White." It was the next step towards the imitation of Chinese porcelain. Many of the motifs used on pearlware vessels imitated Chinese motifs or represented Chinese landscapes.	Noël Hume 1969; White 1991; Lockett 1994; Miller and Earls 2008; Miller and Hunter 2001; G. Miller 1987; Snyder 1995; Lewis 1999; Millersville 2011; JefPat 2002m
Porcelain, Chinese	China	14th century	Present	Teawares (Cups, Teapots, Saucers)	Chinese porcelain vessels tend to have a denser paste than their English counterparts. The glaze may have a slight blue to gray tint.	Decorated Chinese porcelain vessels are usually underglaze or overglaze painted in various motifs.	Chinese porcelain vessels were first introduced to Europe in the mid-16th century. Until the mid-18th century, Chinese porcelain was accessible to only the wealthiest households in the colonies. Even after that time, lower- and middle-class households could only afford at most a few vessels. Japanese porcelain vessels have a similar appearance but with different decorative techniques and motifs.	Deetz 1996; Charleston and Towner 1977; Sullivan 1986; Wilkins, Shellenhammer, and Bedell 2016; McVae 2008; Noël Hume 1969; JefPat 2002n

Porcelain, English	England (Liverpool, Staffordshire, Bow, Worcester)	1742	1800	Tablewares (Bowls, Pitchers, Plates) and Teawares (Teapots, Cups, Saucers)	English porcelain vessels dating to the 18th century are generally considered "soft paste," which means the clear glaze is not fully fused to the paste. Compared its Chinese counterpart, English soft paste porcelain is chalkier and more porous.	English porcelain vessels are most commonly decorated with underglaze blue paint of various landscape and floral motifs. Overglaze painting is sometimes found on soft paste vessels.	English soft paste porcelain was replaced in the early-19th century with English hard paste porcelain, otherwise called bone china. Although William Cookworthy developed a hard paste porcelain in 1768, his invention and growth of hard paste porcelain in England was overshadowed by the advent of creamware.	Miller 1991; Miller and Hunter 2001; Rodriguez 2023; Watney 1963; Millersville 2011; Sullivan 1986
Rhenish (Brown) SW	Rhine River Valley (Germany)	16th century	mid-to-late-18th century	Utilitarian Vessels (Jars, Jugs) and Drinking Vessels (Mugs, Tankards)	The hard paste of Rhenish vessels is usually light gray but can sometimes be pinkish-gray or tan. The exterior is then covered in a brown salt glaze.	Rhenish SW vessels can be molded with a bearded face commonly referred to as Bartmann or Bellarmine vessels. However, the latest dated example of a Bellarmine vessel is marked 1699. Bellarmine vessels may also include coat of arms and maker's marks.	British Brown SWs were developed to imitate brown salt-glazed SW vessels produced in Germany. While restrictions had been placed in 1672 on the importation of "painted wares" to England, these restrictions did not include German SW, so large amounts of German SW are found in England and America. These vessels filled the void of stoneware in England until the production of English Brown SW and WSGSW. Rhenish Brown SW and English Brown SW can be difficult to distinguish from one another	Noël Hume 1969; Barker and Majewski 2006; White 1991; Skerry and Hood 2009; Deetz 1996; Gilchrist 1981; Charleston and Towner 1977; Millersville 2011; JefPat 2002o
Rouen Faience	Rouen (Normandy, France)	1690	1790	Tablewares (Plates, Bowls, Cups) and Pots	Two of the most common forms produced in Rouen are the Rouen Plain and the Normandy Plain. Rouen Plain vessels have a buff to salmon colored paste with a tin glazed interior and a brown lead glazed exterior. Normandy Plain vessels have a buff-colored paste covered in a white tin glaze.	Rouen Plain and Normandy Plain vessels are generally undecorated.	Faience production in Rouen peaked in the 18th century, although competition from English potters producing creamware and pearlware led to its decline. These wares are generally uncommon on English colonial sites.	Gilchrist 1981; Millersville 2011; Miller and Stone 1970; Walthall 1991a; Waselkov and Walthall 2002; Metreau and Rosen 2014; Blanchette 1981; Walthall 1991b

Saintonge	France	early-18th century	mid-to-late-18th century	Tablewares (Plates, Bowls) and Utilitarian Vessels (Creampans, Jugs, Pots, Storage Jars)	These coarse earthenware vessels have a typically white to pinkish buff paste with a bright ("apple green") to deep green glaze. The paste may have small inclusions of red clay pebbles.	Saintonge vessels are not typically decorated but may be perforated depending on the purpose of the vessel.	This type is uncommon on English sites in America. Saintonge-type vessels are most commonly found on 18th-century French sites.	Krivor et al. 2010; Sullivan 1986:58; Barton 1977; Barton 1981; Walthall 1991a
Staffordshire-type	England (Staffordshire, Bristol, Clifton, and Jackfield)	1670	1775	Tablewares (Bowl, Pitcher, Plate), Drinking Vessels (Cup, Mug, Posset Cup), and Utilitarian Vessels (Chamber Pots, Jugs, Baking Dishes)	Staffordshire-type vessels typically have a buff body decorated with dark-colored slip with a clear lead glaze.	All Staffordshire-type vessels are decorated in various motifs with a brown slip, but there are various methods of slip decoration, including combing, joggling, or marbling. Rims of some vessels may be coggled (pie crust).	Samuel Malkin was one of the leaders in slipware production in Staffordshire in the late-17th and early-18th centuries. He was one of the last to use the press-molded method for vessel forming. Despite the name, Staffordshire-type vessels were produced throughout England, especially in the Midlands region. Staffordshire-type vessels were used widely by poor and middle-class households, since it was one of the least expensive imported ceramics available.	Barker and Majewski 2006; Orr 2003; Chappell 2016; Miller, Janowitz, and Gilbert 2017; Deetz 1996; Gilchrist 1981; Lewis 1999; Charleston and Towner 1977; Millersville 2011; Grigsby 1993; Weatherill 1971; Liebeknecht et al. 2014; Wilkins, Shellhammer, and Bedell 2016; JefPat 2002p
Tin Glaze (English)	England (Liverpool, Bristol, London)	late-16th century	1790	Tablewares (Plates, Bowls, Mugs) and Teawares (Cups, Saucers)	Tin-glazed earthenwares have a soft, porous, pale-colored paste with a clear tin glaze. The glaze is characteristically distinct from the paste and may sometimes be found separated from the paste.	Underglaze paint of various motifs is the most common decorative technique found on tin-glazed vessels, usually in blue but sometimes polychrome may occur.	The term "delftware" is sometimes used to describe tin-glazed earthenware of Dutch or English origin, even though Delft is a region in the Netherlands. When only smaller sherds are present on a site, it can be difficult to determine the exact origin of the sherds, although tin glaze found in the colonies was most commonly produced in England. Tin-glazed vessels may be more accurately dated based on the motifs present on the vessel.	Noël Hume 1969; McCants 2007; Barker and Majewski 2006; Chappell 2016; Deetz 1996; Gilchrist 1981; Lewis 1999; Hughes 1960; Richards 1999; Wills 1969; Charleston and Towner 1977; Millersville 2011; Elliott 1998; Noël Hume 1977; Liebeknecht et al. 2014; JefPat 2002q

Wedgwood Green	Staffordshire (England)	1759	1780s	Teapots, Coffee Pots, and Plates	Wedgwood Green vessels, as their name suggests, have a cream-colored paste and a green-colored glaze.	The green glaze was employed in the production of teapots and coffee pots resembling cauliflowers, pineapples, melons, and other fruits and vegetables and were therefore molded. Plates with the green glaze often had molded rims of the dot-diaper-basket and barleycorn motifs commonly found on WSGSW.	The green glaze was produced from a partnership between Thomas Whieldon and Josiah Wedgwood. However, Wedgwood started producing his own green-glazed vessels in Burslem, hence why the term "Wedgwood Green" is used.	Noël Hume 1969; Barker and Majewski 2006; Lewis 1999; Hughes 1960; Wills 1969; JefPat 2002r
Westerwald SW	Westerwald region of the Rhine River Valley (Germany)	late-16th century	late-18th century	Utilitarian Vessels (Pots, Jugs, Bottles, Chamber Pots, Crocks) and Tablewares (Mugs, Bowls, Plates)	The hard paste of Westerwald vessels is usually gray but can sometimes be grayish tan. The exterior is covered in a clear salt glaze.	Westerwald SW is characterized by its incised decoration that is then filled with cobalt blue or manganese purple paint. Motifs include flowers, hearts, chevrons, and royal coats of arms. Vessels may also be molded, stamped, rouletted, and/or incised.	Mineral water bottles were produced in the region; these bottles were stamped with the mark of where the water was sourced and painted in cobalt blue. Debased scratch blue was developed to imitate Westerwald SW. Vessels with royal coats of arms were produced for importation to England. While cobalt blue SW was produced well into the eighteenth century, manganese purple SW dates to the seventeenth century.	Skerry and Hood 2009; Deetz 1996; Charleston and Towner 1977; Noël Hume 1969; Barker and Majewski; Millersville 2011; Mellin, Liebeknecht, and Burrow 2013; Krivor et al 2010; JefPat 2002s
Whieldon-type	England (Staffordshire)	1740	1770	Tablewares (Plates and Teapots)	Whieldon-type vessels have a thin, cream-colored paste with a clear lead glaze. This ware type is characterized by mottling in multiple different colors, described as either "clouded" or "tortoiseshell"	Whieldon-type vessels are generally not decorated besides their characteristic mottling	The development of a cream-colored ware was influential in the innovation of creamware. Although the ware type was named after Thomas Whieldon, he was not the only potter to produce wares of this style.	Noël Hume 1969; Lewis 1999; Hughes 1960; Wills 1969; Charleston and Towner 1977; Millersville 2011; Weatherill 1971; JefPat 2002t

White Salt-Glazed SW	England (Fulham, Staffordshire, and elsewhere)	late-17th century	late-18th century	Tablewares (Plates, Cups, Bowls, Mugs, Tankards) and Teawares (Teapots, Teacups, Saucers)	WSGSW vessels have a dense, vitreous paste with a clear salt-glaze, creating a finish akin to an "orange peel"	<p>After 1740, some WSGSW flatware vessels were molded along the rim with various motifs, including "barleycorn," "bead and reel," "basketweave," and "dot, diaper, and basket." After 1735, "scratch blue" was a common decorative technique, in which the vessel is incised and filled with cobalt paint, wiped off, and then glazed. After 1765, "scratch blue" was often debased, in which the paint was not wiped off and the style emulated the Westerwald SW of Germany. Rarer is a technique of filling incised lines with iron oxide instead of cobalt, called "scratch brown." Also rare is transfer printing on WSGSW plates, limited to between 1760 and 1770. Starting in the 1750s, some WSGSW vessels were decorated with overglaze enamel depicting common Chinese and Japanese motifs.</p>	<p>John Dwight developed a version of WSGSW in the late-17th century; many of these hollowwares were decorated with a brown-slip rim. However, the type of WSGSW found most commonly on 18th-century sites, with a bright white paste and clear glaze, were not produced until after 1720. As many as 150 potters were producing WSGSW during the mid-18th century, nearly 100 of which were in Staffordshire. The popularity of WSGSW, outside of scratch blue, waned with the increase in popularity of creamware and pearlware. By the mid-18th century, WSGSW teaware sets were more affordable than relative counterparts made of Chinese porcelain, and therefore were popular with middle class consumers and even some upper-class consumers.</p>	<p>Noël Hume 1969; White 1991; Chappell 2016; Edwards and Hampson 2005; Skerry and Hood 2009; Mountford 1971; Lewis 1999; Hughes 1960; Atterbury 1980; Wills 1969; Charleston and Towner; Millersville 2011; JefPat 2002u</p>
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## Chapter 4: Trust the Process

### 4.1: The Premise and Research Introduction

On the Delmarva Peninsula, there exists significant variation in the types of ceramics found on archaeological sites dating to the colonial period. While this variety characterizes eighteenth-century consumption, patterns can be identified in the distribution of ceramic types across the upper Delmarva Peninsula, based on the ceramics that are recovered from selected archaeological sites of interest. As is the premise of this thesis, the variety in the ceramic types found on these sites is affected by the consumer behavior and preferences of the individuals that inhabited that site, as well as the accessibility of certain types of ceramics through trade. Thus, a study into the types of imported ceramics recovered from these sites can provide information related to the consumer behavior and tastes of the individuals living in that household as well as their accessibility to different types of ceramics.

Having worked in Delaware for a few years and having developed an interest in eighteenth-century-era archaeological sites, it seemed only fitting to research the contemporaneous material culture of the region, focusing on colonial-era imported ceramics. From excavating period archaeological sites on both sides of the Chesapeake Bay, there appeared to be a pattern of certain ceramic types that were more prevalent on one side of the bay than the other. Therefore, I wanted to see whether a pattern truly did exist and what some of the root causes might be, including consumer behavior and accessibility through trade. Archaeological sites of interest were chosen based on their age, location, and subsurface integrity. To be eligible for research, a site, having been occupied sometime between 1650 and 1800, had to contain a variety of pre-19<sup>th</sup>-century ceramic types. Although whiteware – which has a *terminus post quem*

of 1800 – may have been present on a site of interest, in most cases it was intrusive and therefore not considered in the research. All sites (Figures 2 and 3) chosen for research are located within Delaware (Sussex, Kent, and New Castle counties) and the Eastern Shore of Maryland (Worcester, Somerset, Wicomico, Talbot, Queen Anne’s, Dorchester, Caroline, Queen Anne’s, and Kent counties). Although it would have been preferred to include sites from the Eastern Shore of Virginia, there was a noticeable lack of excavated archaeological sites from the colonial period in that region. All sites chosen for research had to possess subsurface integrity; all sites contained ceramics recovered from contemporaneous features. Limiting research only to sites with features made it easier to limit the overall number of sites that could be included in the analysis and ensured that nineteenth-century ceramic types like whiteware and yellowware were not included in much of the data. All ceramics identified as coarse red earthenware were excluded from analysis. These ceramics were produced both in England and the colonies; however, similarities in the production techniques mean that it is difficult to determine where it was produced. While these types tend to dominate the ceramic assemblages from many sites within the sample, they provide little information related to trade without further intensive study and identification. The socioeconomic status of the households associated with the sites of interest is avoided due to the lack of primary research involved in this thesis and the problematic associations between imported ceramic types and estimated socioeconomic status.

Although all eighteenth-century ceramic types are included in the overall analysis of a site and its consumer behavior, only those ceramic assemblages that were recovered from undisturbed contexts (features) were included in the comparative analysis of the proportion of ceramics recovered from a site. For analysis, sites will be separated into creamware and pre-creamware categories, a threshold occurring in approximately 1765 to 1770. Although

creamware was first developing in the early 1760s, it was not common on colonial sites until around 1770. Due to its ubiquity on sites dating to the latter half of the eighteenth century, creamware acts as an excellent temporal marker for dating archaeological sites. Using creamware to separate sites temporally is preferable to establishing an arbitrary date of separation, especially when the occupation period of a site could extend across that date. The sites included in the sample for this thesis are listed in Tables 3 and 4. Figure 1 provides a general overview of the distributions of the selected sites across the region, and Figure 2 displays how these sites are separated into pre-creamware-era and creamware-era.

Table 3: Sites of Interest in Delaware

Site Name	Site Number	Site Location
Cedar Creek Road	7S-C-100	Cedar Creek Hundred, Sussex County
Somy Field	7K-F-196B	South Murderkill Hundred, Kent County
Dawson Family	7K-C-414	South of Dover, Kent County
Knapp	7S-D-109	Lewes, Sussex County
William Strickland Plantation	7K-A-117	Smyrna, Kent County
Cardon/Holton	7NC-F-128	St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County
McKean/Cochran Farm	7NC-F-13	Odessa, New Castle County
Noxon Tenancy	7NC-F-133	St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County
Augustine Creek North	7NC-G-144	St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County
Augustine Creek South	7NC-G-145	St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County
John Powell	7K-C-203H	Little Creek Hundred, Kent County
Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck	7S-D-91A	Lewes, Sussex County

Table 4: Sites of Interest in Maryland

<b>Site Name</b>	<b>Site Number</b>	<b>Site Location</b>
Barwick's Ordinary	18CA261	North of Denton, Caroline County
Bennett's Point	18QU28	North of Queenstown, Queen Anne's County
Pemberton Hall	18WC23	Salisbury, Wicomico County
Pleasant Valley Farm	18TA37	Easton, Talbot County
Cloverfields	18QU868	Wye Mills, Queen Anne's County
	18QU409	Kent Island, Queen Anne's County
	18WO183	South of Snow Hill, Worcester County
Grieb Site	18KE83	South of Chestertown, Kent County
Long Point Farm	18TA78	East of Oxford, Talbot County
Dover Bridge Site	18TA315	East of Easton, Talbot County

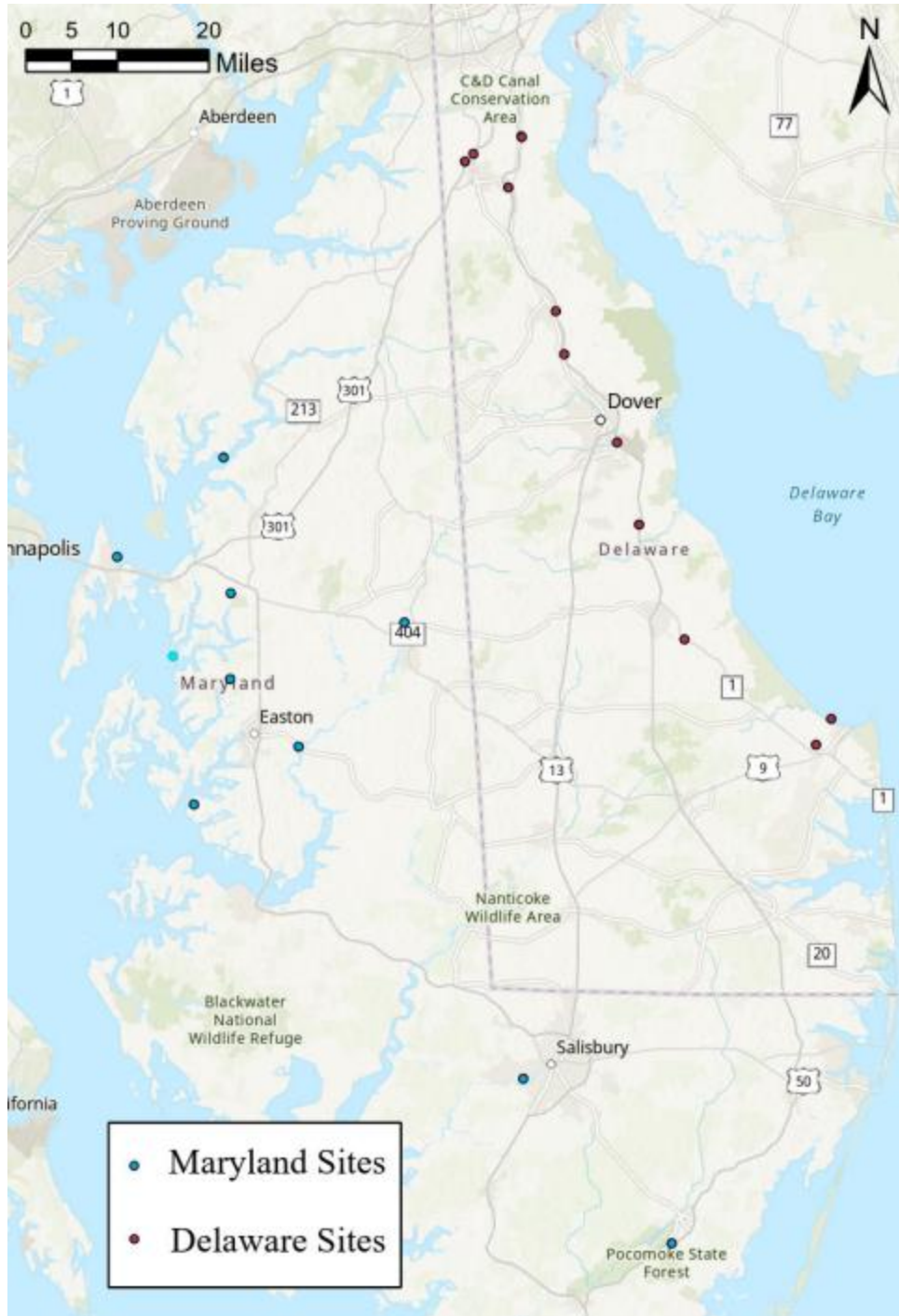


Figure 1: Locations of Selected Sites (Original work of the author)

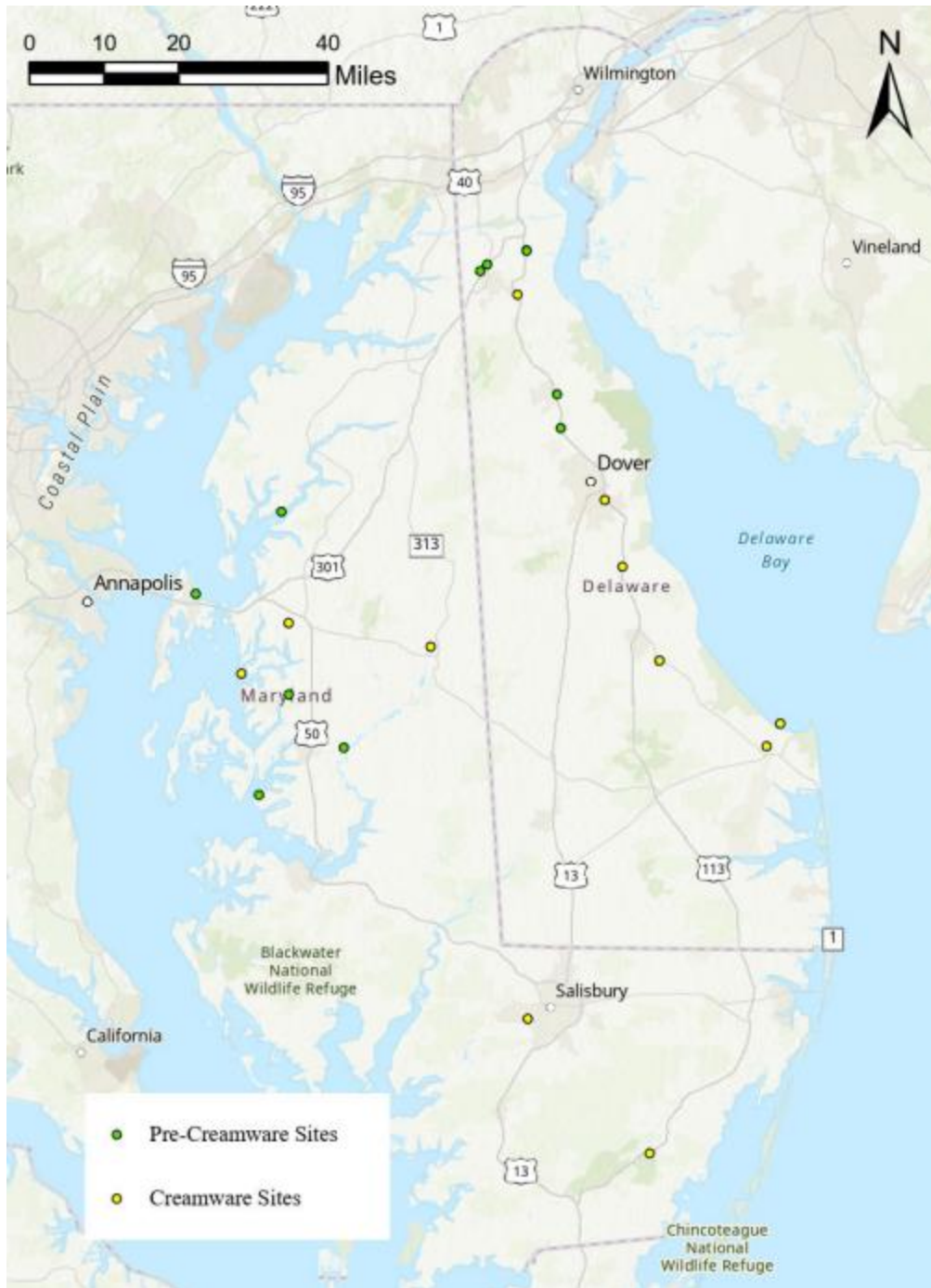


Figure 2: Locations of Selected Sites by Era (Original work of the author)

## 4.2: Research Issues

Several issues were encountered during the research process, including those related to report accessibility, collection accessibility, and overall inconsistencies across artifact identification and cataloging. Although it was relatively easy to access reports from DeIDOT and MHT, there were still several reports from possible sites of interest that I was unable to access, either because they were never published or because they were not digitally accessible. This, along with the focus on sites from DeIDOT projects, has created a discrepancy between northern sites, which are much more prevalent, and southern sites in Delaware. Not only have fewer sites been excavated in southern Delaware in the context of Section 106 consultation, but even fewer have reached Phase II, during which features are excavated to provide more information on the site and its overall integrity, or Phase III, during which the site is mitigated and much of the data recovery occurs. A majority of the sites of interest providing data for this thesis received Phase III investigation. The lack of sites seeing Phase III investigations in southern Delaware and the southern portion of the Eastern Shore of Maryland makes it difficult to comprehensively analyze the distribution of imported ceramic types across the upper Delmarva Peninsula. There is also a distinct lack of sites from urban areas, making it impossible to compare ceramic assemblages between urban and rural sites. All of the sites chosen are located in rural areas, which, while maintaining continuity across the sample, unfortunately limits discussion into differences in consumer behavior and emulation between urban and rural households. There were also instances where I was able to access the report, but the artifact catalog was not included in the appendices, and I had to rely on minimum number of vessels (MNV) analysis to assess the ceramic types that were recovered from that site. Although there is often minimal difference in

the proportions of recovered ceramics between MNV analysis and sherd count, it may still generate inconsistencies across the data.

Besides those sites I was personally involved in excavating, I encountered difficulties in accessing the collections from sites in Maryland and Delaware. The Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory, which houses many of the collections from sites in Maryland, has been undergoing renovations since the first half of 2024 and will not resume research visits until 2026, so accessing these collections for study and analysis has been difficult. Although the curator position in Delaware was vacant for much of 2023 and 2024, these collections are more accessible, but the number of collections that I would need to access would be daunting, and inconsistencies in the data may occur since collections from Maryland were not studied in person.

One of the most prevalent topics in typological theory is the inconsistencies in terminology when cataloging artifacts. Everyone, even people from the same company, identifies, catalogs, and analyzes artifacts in slightly different ways, which may lead to differences in catalog structure and descriptive terminology. In analyzing the artifact catalogs from different sites, I noticed different terms used to describe the same ceramic type. For example, Wedgwood Green could also be described as a “green-glazed earthenware,” or Whieldon-type could be described as “clouded” or “tortoiseshell.” These are just a few examples, but in some instances, I have had to extrapolate the meanings from different descriptors to determine the ceramic types identified and described. In addition, there is no such thing as a perfect artifact catalog, especially when artifacts are cataloged in many ways. Mistakes may arise in cataloging artifacts, whether in counting ceramic sherds or in the identification of a ceramic type, which creates incongruencies in site data.

### **4.3: Data Retrieval and Analysis**

For the most part, the data used for research and analysis has been extracted from technical reports detailing the excavation of the sites of interest. A majority of the reports from the sites of interest include an artifact catalog. The artifact catalog made it possible to determine the types of ceramics that were recovered from the site and the proportions of these types recovered from features. There were, however, instances where an artifact catalog was not included in the original report, but minimum number of vessels (MNV) analysis was performed on the ceramic sherds that were recovered from features. In these instances, the estimated MNV for each type was used to compare proportions of ceramic types from features. Site reports and artifact catalogs were obtained from several different sources. Several individuals were very helpful at providing information regarding possible sites of interest and providing sources and reports for those sites. Many of the reports from sites in Maryland were obtained from the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT), while many of the reports from sites in Delaware were retrieved from the Delaware Department of Transportation (DelDOT) website. A majority of the sites of interest were excavated as part of Section 106 consultation on highway modification and expansion projects, especially the Route 301 expansion project in New Castle County, DE. While the excavation of several of the sites of interest in Maryland was required under Section 106, some, including the Grieb Site and Pleasant Valley Farm Site excavations, were a result of avocational or Archaeological Society of Maryland (ASM) excavations.

Not all data used in research were retrieved solely from archaeological reports. There were instances in which the author of this thesis was either directly involved in the recovery of material from a site or was able to study the ceramics from a site in person. For example, some of the ceramics used in the analysis of the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck were recovered by Edward

Otter, Inc., for whom the author works, as part of a dredge monitoring project. In addition, the Knapp site was also excavated by Edward Otter, Inc., and many of the ceramics from that site were identified, cataloged, and photographed by the author. Due to the overall size of this thesis and difficulties in accessing collections from archaeological sites in Delaware and Maryland, only one collection, from the Barwick's Ordinary site in Caroline County, Maryland, was studied in person, besides those to which the author is personally connected, and some of the ceramics from that site were photographed during that time. Many of the resources used to compile the background research for this paper were obtained from online resources, such as JSTOR and Academic Search Ultimate. In addition, many resources, especially those full-length publications and volumes, were borrowed from the University of Maryland Library system. Some from the personal collection of the author and from Edward Otter, Inc. were also used. A majority of the figures, tables, maps, and photos, unless otherwise stated, included in this thesis are the original work of the author.

Despite the various issues encountered during regional analysis, the sites selected for study represent a relatively diverse sampling of time periods and locations and therefore should be sufficient to develop conclusions on consumer behaviors and trade on the upper Delmarva Peninsula. The distribution of imported ceramics across the Peninsula may offer glimpses into the variations in trade and ceramic accessibility in different localities as well as differences in preference and taste from household to household. In addition, comparisons of imported ceramic assemblages may present differences in consumer behavior and how taste and status in one household may have affected the consumer behaviors in another household within these localities.

## Chapter 5: Ceramics and Their Associated Sites

### 5.1: Sampled Sites Overview

The types of imported ceramics recovered from each of the twenty-two sites selected for regional analysis are detailed in this section. A summary of basic information related to each site is detailed in two tables separated into sites from Delaware and sites from Maryland. The Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck was not included in its associated table due to the uniqueness of the site. The types recovered from features are included in the chart that is provided for each site, which details the proportions of imported ceramics recovered from features from that site. Only ceramics recovered from features are included in each chart, due to the sheer size of the ceramic assemblages from many of these sites and the intrusive nature of some ceramic types recovered from disturbed contexts. However, all contemporaneous imported ceramic types, including those only recovered from disturbed contexts, will be included in intrasite and intersite/regional analysis. A brief discussion of ceramic types from each site will be included, while intersite/regional analysis will be reserved for the analysis section.

Table 5: Results Summary from Delaware Sites

Site Name	Investigating Group	Occupation Period	Number of Types	Type(s) from Disturbed Contexts
Cedar Creek	Hunter Research, Inc.	Late-17 <sup>th</sup> to early-18 <sup>th</sup> centuries	13	Chinese porcelain, Astbury-type, Jackfield-type, Manganese, Buckley
Somy	A.D. Marble	c. 1750-1770	8	Chinese porcelain, Wedgwood, Staffordshire-type
Dawson	Louis Berger Group, Inc.	c. 1740-1780	10	Wedgwood Green

Knapp	Edward Otter, Inc.	c. 1770s-1800	14	Westerwald, Nottingham, English Brown SWs
Strickland Plantation	University of Delaware (UDCAR)	1726-1764	12	None
Cardon/Holton	Hunter Research, Inc.	c. 1720-1760s	10	North Devon, Chinese porcelain, Rhenish SW
McKean/Cochran	Hunter Research, Inc.	c. 1750-1830	11	None
Noxon Tenancy	Louis Berger Group, Inc.	c. 1740-1770	9	Agateware
Augustine Creek North	Louis Berger Group, Inc.	c. 1750-1810	7	None
Augustine Creek South	Louis Berger Group, Inc.	c. 1720s-1760	11	None
John Powell	University of Delaware (UDCAR)	c. 1690-1735	4	None

Table 6: Results Summary from Maryland Sites

<b>Site Name</b>	<b>Investigating Group</b>	<b>Occupation Period</b>	<b>Number of Types</b>	<b>Type(s) from Disturbed Contexts</b>
Barwick's Ordinary	Archaeological Society of Maryland	Mid-18 <sup>th</sup> century to c. 1783	20	Astbury-type, Manganese
Bennett's Point	Archaeological Society of Delaware	Late-17 <sup>th</sup> century to c. 1760s	17	Astbury-type, Iberian, Jackfield-type, Manganese, English porcelain, Rouen Faience
Pemberton	Salisbury University, Edward Otter, Inc.	c. 1741-Present	11	Rhenish SW, Staffordshire-type, English porcelain
Pleasant Valley	Archaeological Society of Maryland	Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> to 18 <sup>th</sup> centuries	14	Agateware, North Devon, Staffordshire-type, Borderware, Manganese, Astbury-type, Nottingham SW

Cloverfields	Applied Archaeology and History	1705-Present	21	Rouen Faience, Whieldon-type, Jackfield-type, Astbury-type
18QU409	R. Christopher Goodwin	Late-17 <sup>th</sup> to early-18 <sup>th</sup> centuries	8	Astbury-type, Buckley-type, Westerwald SW
18WO183	TRC Garrow	18 <sup>th</sup> century	15	None
Grieb	William Grieb, Maryland Historical Trust	Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> to early-18 <sup>th</sup> centuries	13	None
Long Point	EAC Archaeology	18 <sup>th</sup> -century	11	Jackfield-type, Nottingham SW, Astbury-type, Chinese porcelain, Wedgwood Green
Dover Bridge	TRC Environmental	c. 1680-1740	15	Agateware, Whieldon-type

## 5.2: Delaware Sites

### Cedar Creek Road Site

The Cedar Creek Road Site (7S-C-100), located south of Milford in Sussex County, is comprised of three investigated areas. Area A was identified as a house and farmstead dating to the mid-eighteenth century, Area B was identified as a domestic building of some unknown purpose, and Area C was identified as the remains of several brick clamps. Most of the ceramics included in this research were recovered from Area A, since excavation in Area B revealed no subsurface features. During Phase II, many features were uncovered and identified, including features associated with four structures, a bloomery pit, a shell midden, and a possible privy. Most of these features were then excavated during Phase III investigations (Liebeknecht et al. 2014). Of the ceramic assemblage, domestic red-bodied earthenware was most prevalent, although several types of imported ceramics were identified (Figure 3). A majority of the imported ceramics recovered from feature contexts (Figure 3) within the site were produced in England, with Westerwald stoneware and Chinese porcelain comprising a small percentage of

the entire assemblage. Although most of the ceramics from the site were produced in multiple locales across England, it is possible that they were all produced in the area near the northern border with Wales, most probably Staffordshire and Buckley (see Table 2). These ceramics were then most probably shipped from the largest port in the region, Liverpool, to the colonies.

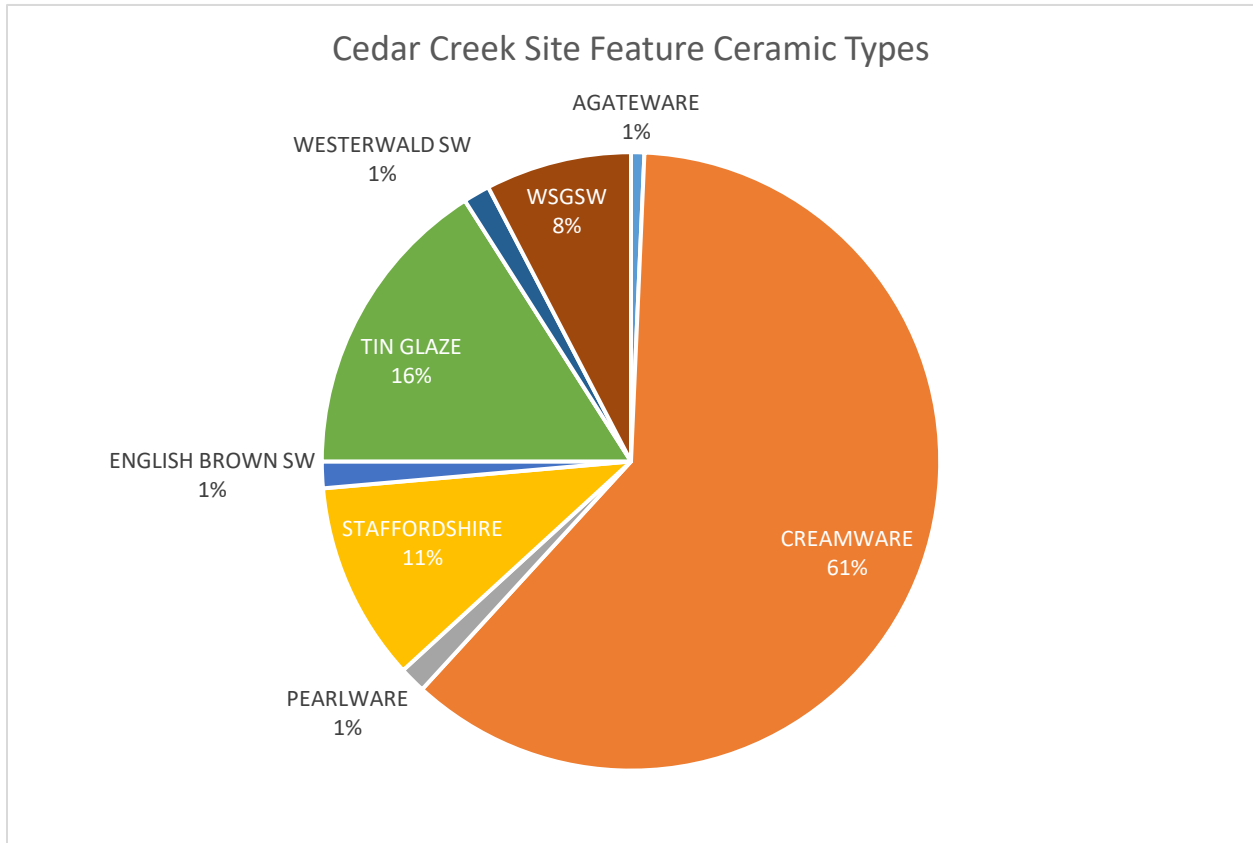


Figure 3: Cedar Creek Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### Somy Field Site

The Somy Field Site (7K-F-196B) is located near Frederica in Kent County. Material culture recovered from the site suggests that it was occupied between 1750 and 1770 and “most likely reflects the occupancy of a tenant” (A.D. Marble & Company 2016:I; Blades et al. 2016:1-3). Although domestic red earthenware dominated the ceramic assemblage, several types of

imported ceramics were recovered and identified (Figure 4). Besides Chinese porcelain, all of these types were produced in England, most probably in the Staffordshire region, and then shipped to the colonies from Liverpool. Although Chinese porcelain indicates some access to high-quality ceramics for the ritual consumption of tea, the dominance of white salt-glazed stoneware in the assemblage suggests a dependence on the type for many vessel forms, including teawares. However, the proportion of agateware recovered from the site is quite high, possibly indicating a distinct preference for that type within the household or influence from local shopkeepers carrying that ceramic type.

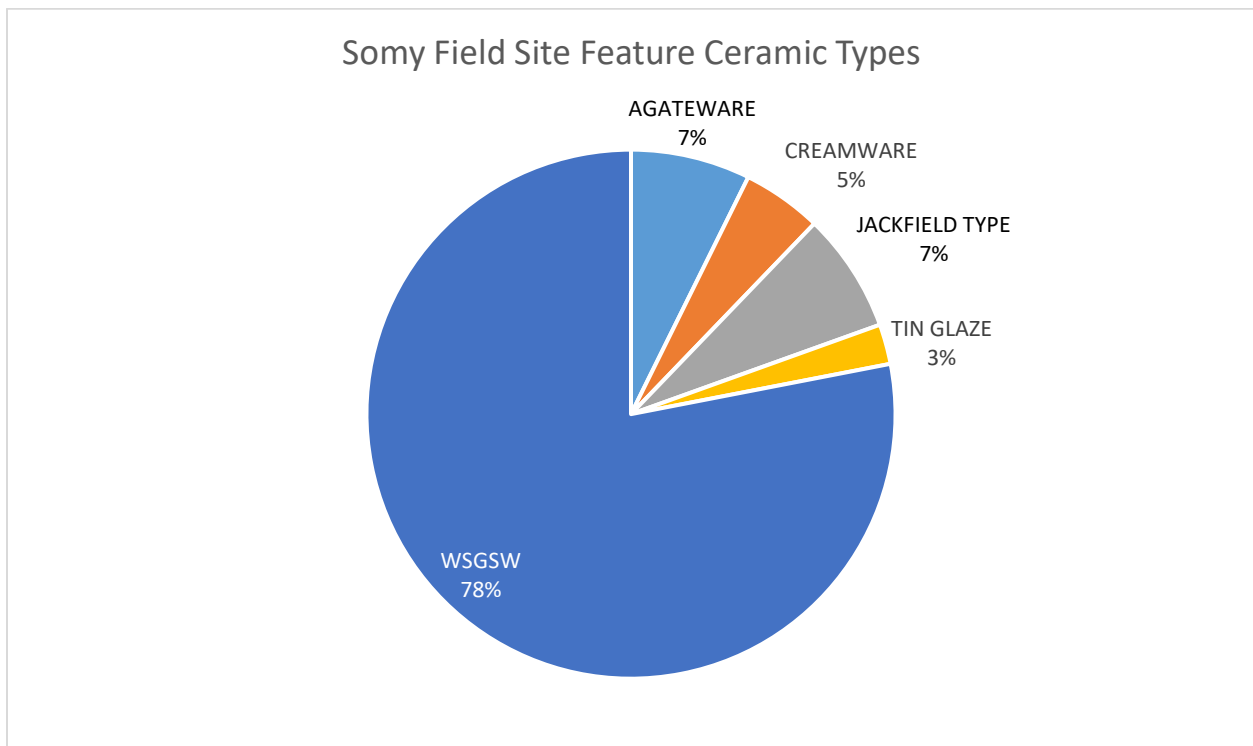


Figure 4: Somy Field Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### **Dawson Family Site**

The Dawson Family Site (7K-C-414), located just south of Dover in Kent County, is a domestic farmstead site that was occupied from 1740 until it was abandoned around 1780. - penetrating radar (GPR) and mechanical excavation were used to identify features. Several larger

pit features were identified, including a cellar hole (Bedell et al. 2002). Most of the imported ceramics recovered from the site (Figure 5) were produced in England, with Westerwald stoneware and Chinese porcelain as the two types produced outside of England. Although white salt-glazed stoneware dominates the assemblage of imported ceramics, the proportion of Chinese porcelain is remarkably high, indicating some participation in the tea ritual that burgeoned in the mid-to-late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the ceramics produced in England were most probably produced in the Staffordshire region and shipped to the colonies from Liverpool.

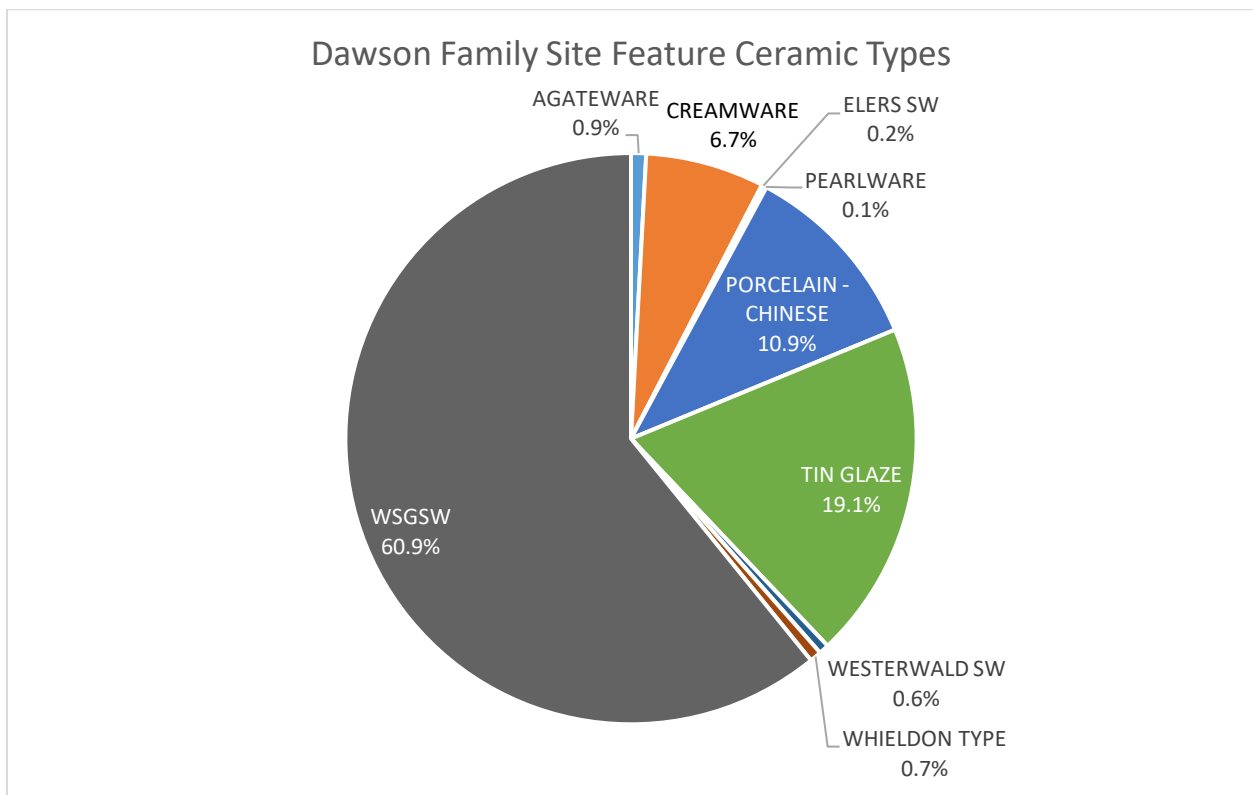


Figure 5: Dawson Family Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### Knapp Site

The Knapp Site (7S-D-109), a late-eighteenth-century domestic site, is located in Lewes in Sussex County. The ceramics from the site range from domestic coarse earthenware and slipware to imported earthenwares and stonewares from England (Otter 2023). A few dozen

features were identified and excavated during Phase II and Phase III investigations, many of which were post mold/hole features. There were, however, several pit features and two cellar/well features that contained a significant number of ceramics (Otter 2023). Although domestic red earthenware dominated the ceramic assemblage, several types of imported ceramics (Figure 6) were recovered and identified. Much like several other sites analyzed, Westerwald stoneware and Chinese porcelain are the only two types recovered from the site that were not produced in England, each comprising just a small proportion of the overall assemblage. As expected, due to the proposed date range of the site, creamware dominates the assemblage of imported ceramics, with smaller amounts of ceramics most probably produced in the Staffordshire region and exported to the colonies from Liverpool.

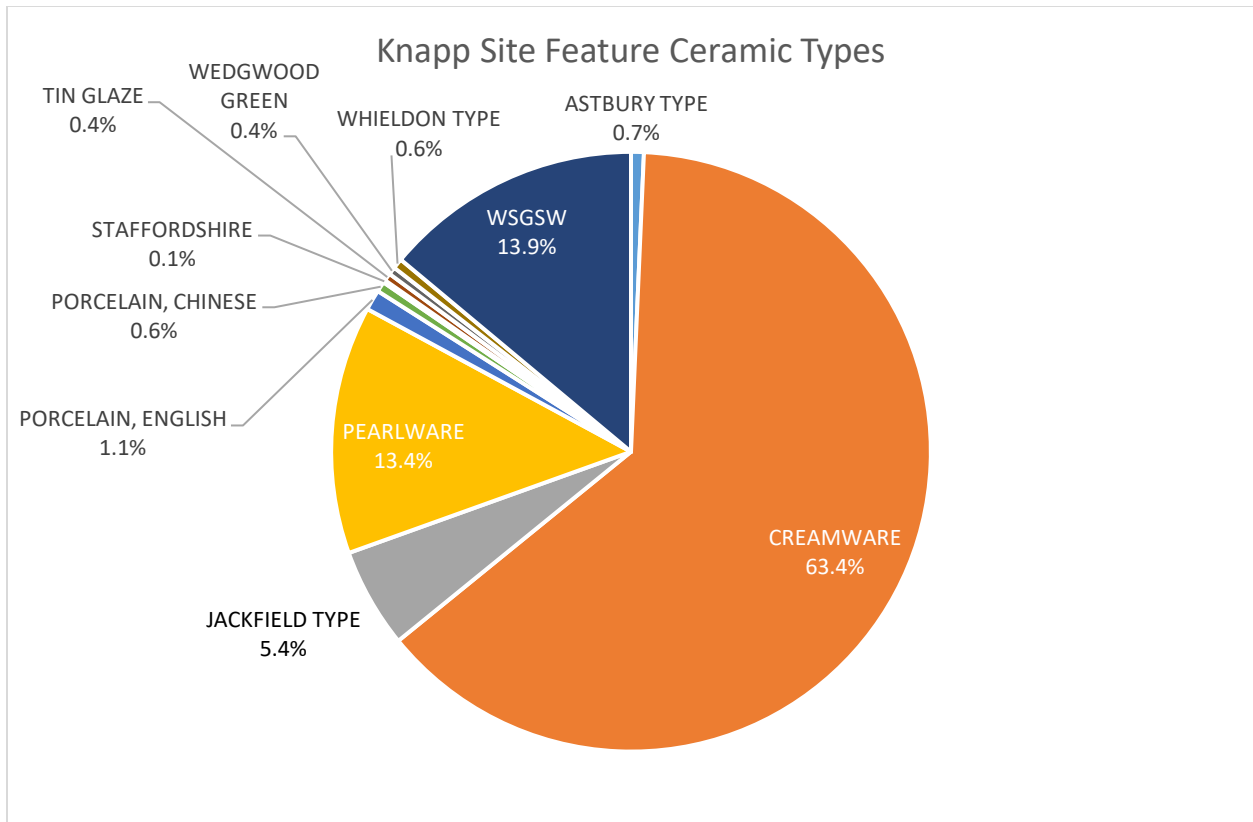


Figure 6: Knapp Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

## Strickland Plantation Site

The Strickland Plantation Site (7K-A-117), located southeast of Smyrna in Kent County, was a colonial farmstead occupied between 1726 and 1764. In total, one hundred and eighty-nine features were identified and excavated, including the remains of a smokehouse, an earthfast dwelling, a kitchen/domestic structure, a partial cellar, two wells, and refuse pit features. The earthfast dwelling identified at the site is one of the few remnants of such architecture identified in Delaware (Catts et al. 1995). No artifact catalog was included in the final report of the site, so analysis of the imported ceramics from the site is based on the MNV counts provided in the report. The use of the term “oriental” to describe the porcelain recovered from the site is due to the presence of two Imari vessels in the excavated features. Rhenish Brown stoneware and Oriental porcelain, either Chinese, Cantonese, or Japanese in origin, are the only types recovered from the site not produced in England. However, porcelain comprises a relatively high proportion of the imported ceramic vessels (Figure 7) recovered from the site, indicating a household with some refinement and participation in the tea ritual, which tends to be more uncommon from other contemporaneous sites than on late-eighteenth-century sites. This, in conjunction with documentary evidence and the overall size of the site, may indicate a household with some wealth and relatively high accessibility to the newest imported ceramics from England and the larger Anglican world. The overall number of imported ceramic types recovered from the site is quite high as well, which may indicate some variability in the locales where these types were produced. While Staffordshire may still dominate production of many of these types, the presence of several types, especially North Devon earthenware, and a high percentage of tin-glazed earthenware suggest some trade relationship between the household and several production centers in England.

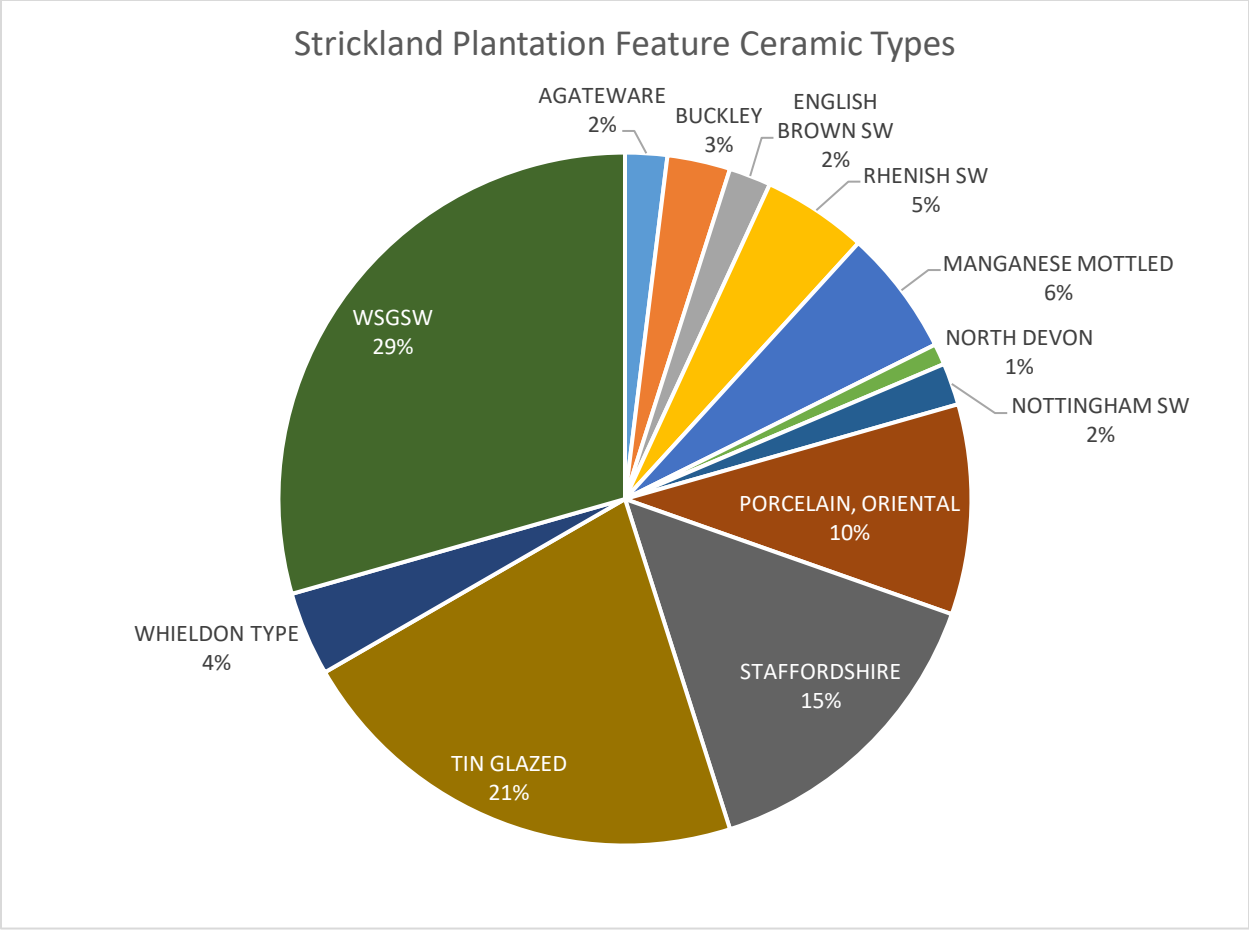


Figure 7: Strickland Plantation Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

**Cardon/Holton Site**

The Cardon/Holton Site (7NC-F-128), located in New Castle County, is a mid-eighteenth-century domestic farmstead site. The site was excavated as part of Section 106 compliance for the US Route 301 alignment project. During Phase III investigation, the feature remnants of three structures were identified. An earthfast structure measuring approximately 15 feet by 30 feet was identified, which contained two subfloor pits and the remains of a fireplace and chimney. To the east of this structure, features associated with a smokehouse were identified. A possible kitchen was identified near the domestic structure, which contained a shallow pit (Burrow et al. 2015). Rhenish Brown stoneware, Westerwald stoneware, and Chinese

porcelain are the only imported ceramic types recovered from the site (Figure 8) not produced in England, all of which comprise a small proportion of the greater assemblage. The dominance of Staffordshire-type slipware is certainly striking, indicating either some preference for that type and decoration or a lack of accessibility of other more expensive wares made of white salt-glazed stoneware, which usually dominate pre-creamware assemblages of imported ceramics. Nevertheless, it would appear that all types, besides possibly tin-glazed earthenware or Manganese Mottled earthenware, were produced in the Staffordshire region and exported to the colonies from Liverpool.

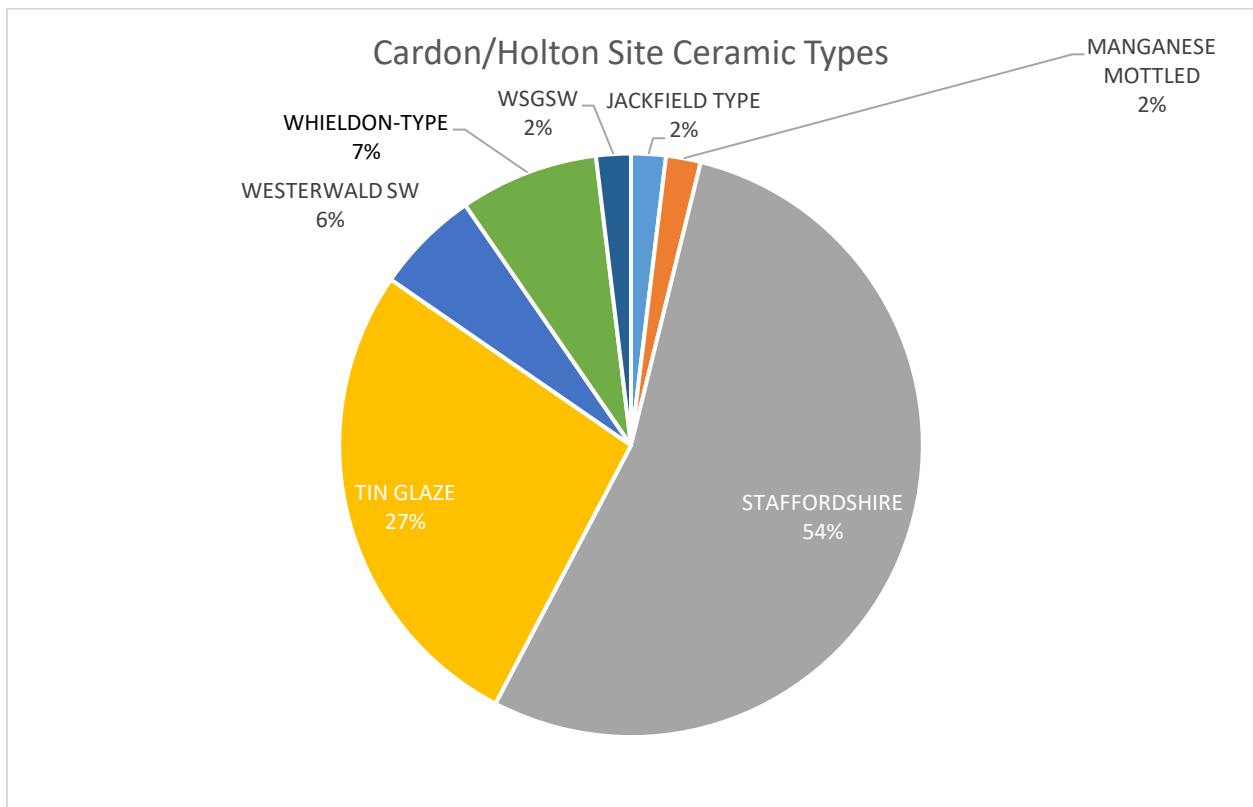


Figure 8: Cardon/Holton Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### McKean/Cochran Site

The McKean/Cochran Farm Site (7NC-F-13), located west of Odessa in New Castle County, was occupied in two periods: 1750-1800 and 1800-1830. For the purpose of this study,

only ceramics recovered from features related to the first period of occupation will be included in analysis. During Phase III investigations, over 100 features were identified. The largest of the features dating to the earlier occupation period include Features 2 and 4, both of which were identified as cellar holes, and Feature 29, a well (Bedell et al. 1999). Westerwald stoneware and Chinese porcelain are the only two imported ceramic types recovered from the site (Figure 9) not produced in England. While Westerwald stoneware only comprises a small proportion of the greater assemblage, the proportion of Chinese porcelain is remarkably high. Although this era is characterized by the increased accessibility of Chinese porcelain to all echelons of society, the proportion of this type at this site is higher than at any other site of interest, indicating some means to purchase such a large amount of this expensive type and accessibility to the merchants that carry large amounts of this type. Besides North Devon earthenware and possibly tin-glazed earthenware, the rest of these types were most probably produced in or around the Staffordshire region and exported to the colonies from Liverpool.

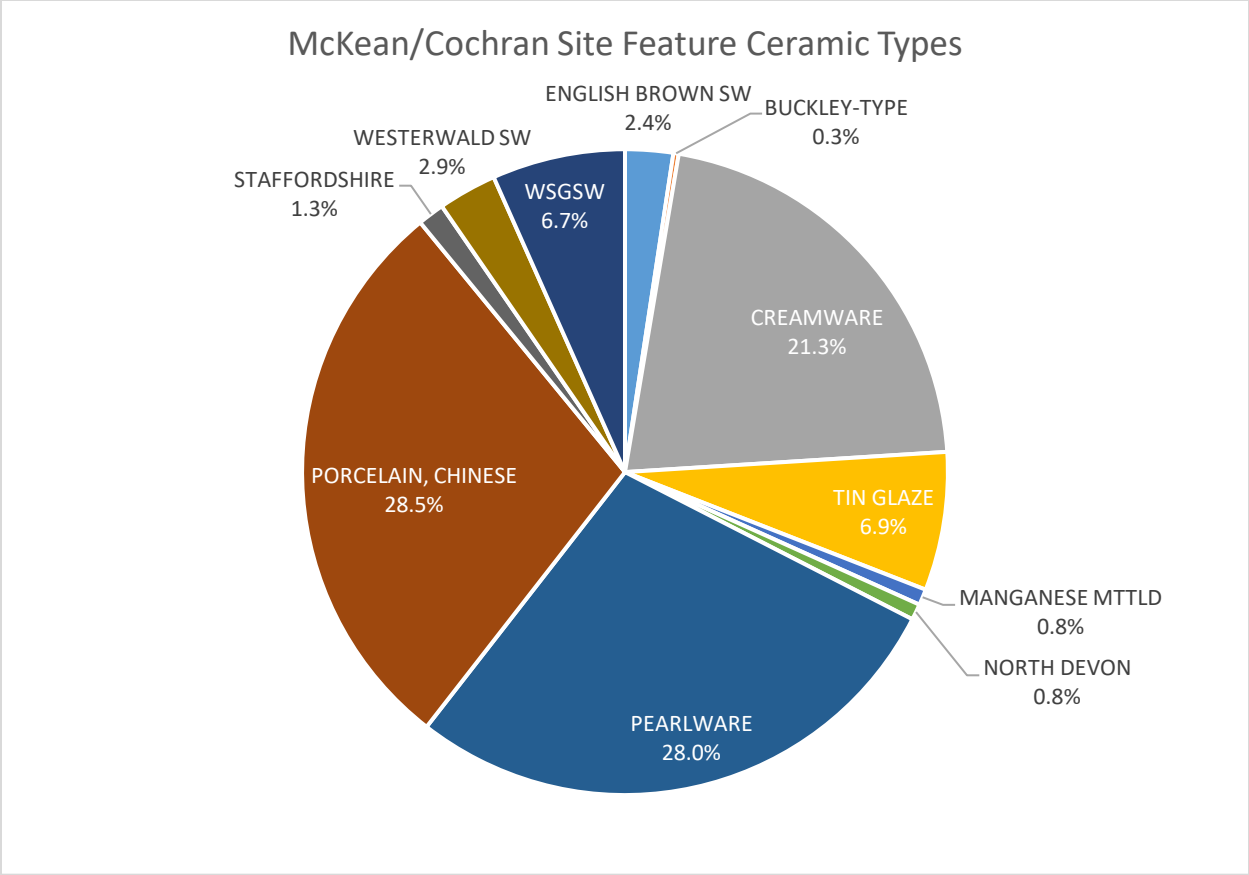


Figure 9: McKean/Cochran Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

**Noxon Tenancy Site**

The Noxon Tenancy Site (7NC-F-133), located in St. Georges Hundred in New Castle County, was excavated as part of the US Route 301 alignment project. 10 historic cultural features contained imported ceramics, including a large pit or midden (Feature 1), two well features (Features 2 and 34), a cellar (Feature 4), a sheet midden (Feature 8), three shallow pits (Features 10A, 10B, and 37), and two postholes (Features 11 and 12) (Wilkins, Shellhammer, and Bedell 2016). No ceramics produced in Germany were recovered from the site, and Chinese porcelain is the only imported ceramic type (Figure 10) that was not produced in England and comprises only a small proportion of the greater assemblage. Although large amounts of white salt-glazed stoneware and tin-glazed earthenware are common on pre-creamware sites, the

amount of Staffordshire-type slipware and Jackfield-type earthenware recovered from the site is quite high, indicating some preference for these two types for different forms and purposes. Nevertheless, all of these types were most probably produced in or around the Staffordshire region and were subsequently exported to the colonies from Liverpool.

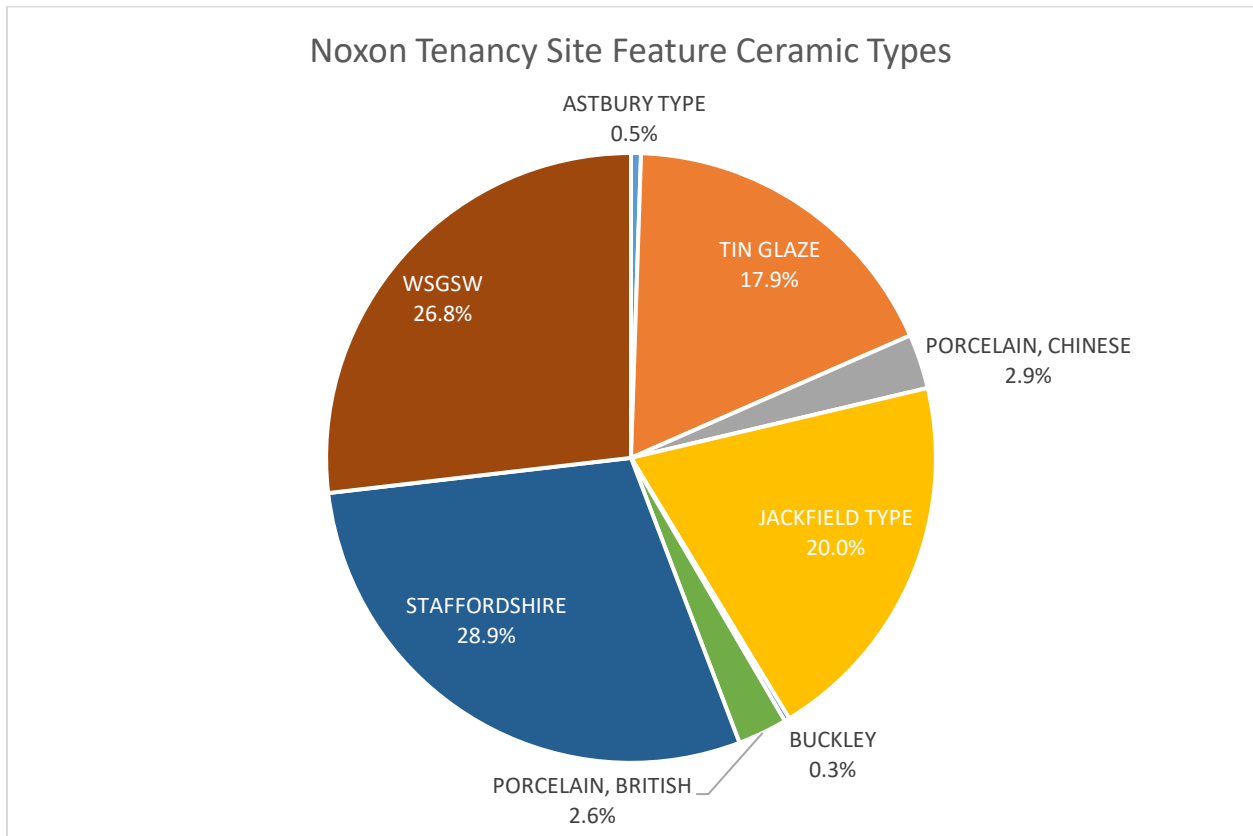


Figure 10: Noxon Tenancy Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### Augustine Creek North/South Sites

The Augustine Creek North (7NC-G-144) and South (7NC-G-145) sites, located in New Castle County, were identified as a tenant farm that was occupied from 1750 to 1810.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the site was occupied during two separate periods: once between 1750 and 1770 and again from 1790 to 1810 (Bedell et al. 2001:i, 4-5). Ceramics believed to be from the second period will not be included in analysis (Figure 11), as no features associated with this occupation were identified.

During investigation of the South site, mechanical excavation uncovered several historic cultural features, including a cellar and two postholes from a post-in-ground structure (Bedell et al. 2001:i, 4-6). Westerwald stoneware was the only imported contemporaneous ceramic type (Figure 12) recovered from the North site not produced in England. The dominance of Manganese Mottled earthenware is certainly notable, indicating some preference for the type or an unusually high accessibility to this type. The lack of white salt-glazed stoneware from the site is also unusual; it is possible that the household replaced the more expensive white salt-glazed stoneware with less expensive tin-glazed earthenwares and Manganese Mottled earthenwares, supplemented with smaller proportions of other types. Nevertheless, all English types recovered from the site were most probably produced in the Staffordshire region and imported to the colonies from Liverpool. The dominance of white salt-glazed stoneware in the greater imported ceramic assemblage from the South site is more expected for pre-creamware sites. In addition, there is some presence of Oriental porcelain in feature contexts absent at the North Site. However, it would also appear that most or all of the English ceramics were produced in or around the Staffordshire region and exported to the colonies from Liverpool.

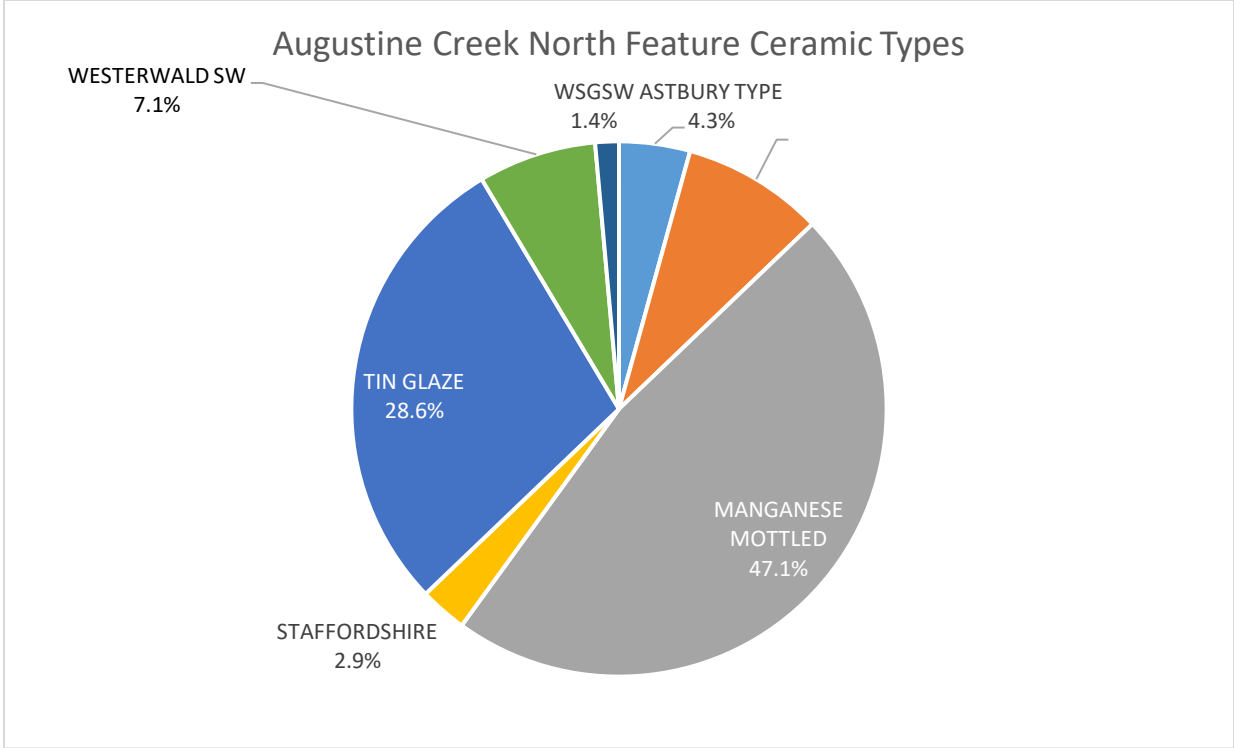


Figure 11: Augustine Creek North Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

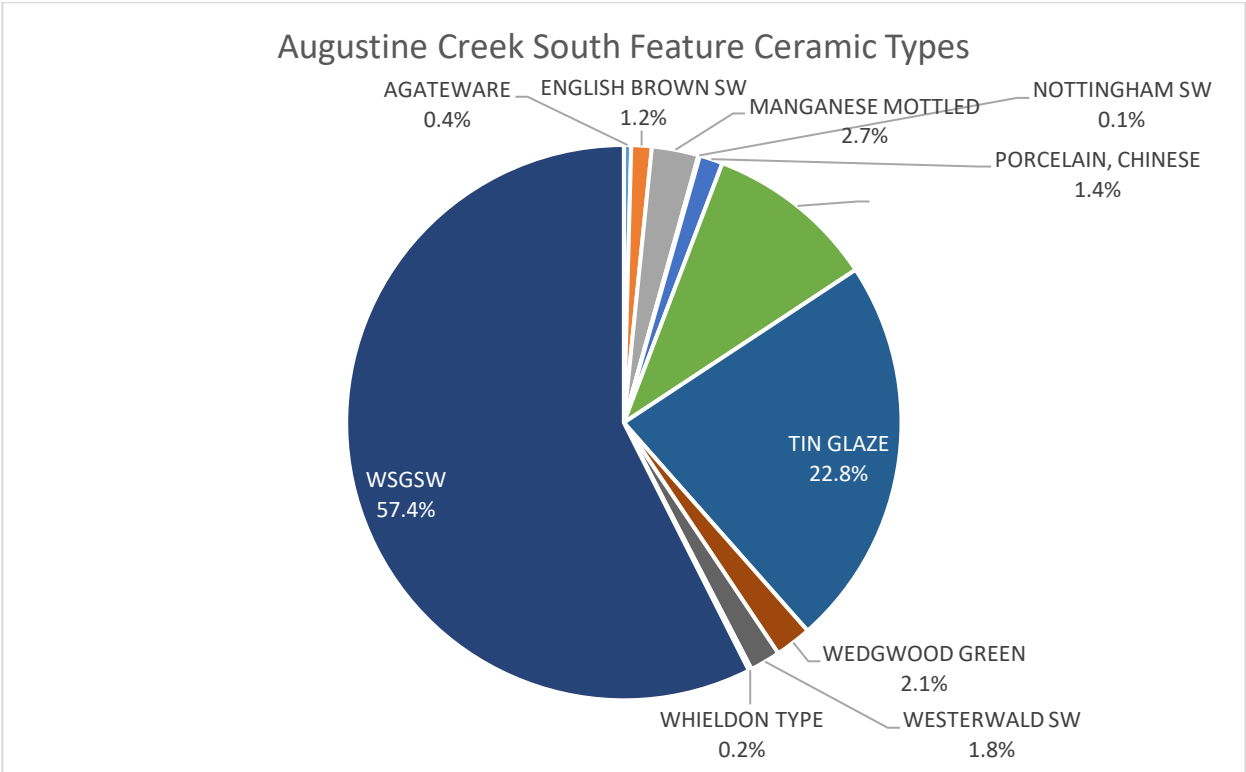


Figure 12: Augustine Creek South Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

## **John Powell Plantation Site**

The John Powell Plantation Site (7K-C-203H), located in central Kent County, is a late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth domestic farmstead site. During Phase III investigation, 117 features were identified, 82 of which were determined to be contemporaneous to the age of the site. Two domestic structures, labeled Feature H10 and Feature H11, were identified, each from different periods of occupation. Feature H10 dates to the occupation of the Powell family circa 1690-1720. Feature H11 dates to the occupation of a tenant farmer circa 1720-1735. Additional associated features were also identified, including features associated with five earthfast outbuildings, a well, and eight trash pits. Two of these outbuildings were determined to have been built after the occupation of the site by the Powell family and the tenant farmer. Domestic red earthenware (76%) dominated the ceramic assemblage, the rest comprising imported ceramics (Grettlar et al. 1995). The lack of variety in the types of ceramics recovered from the site (Figure 13) is expected from such an early site. It would appear that there was an equal dependence on stonewares from England and Germany, supplemented by Staffordshire-type slipware and tin-glazed earthenware, both of which were most probably produced in or around the Staffordshire region.

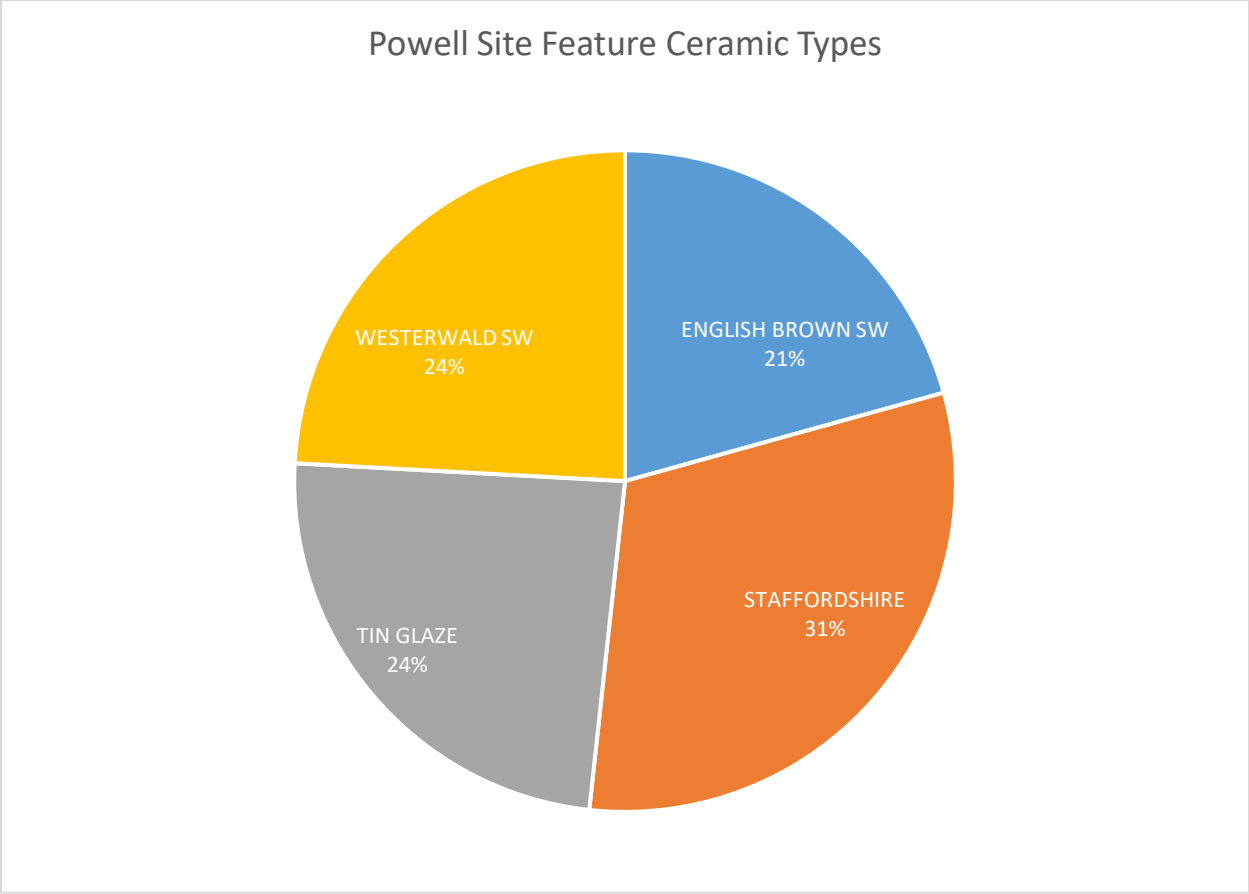


Figure 13: Powell Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

**Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck Site**

The Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck Site (7S-D-91A), located offshore of Lewes in Sussex County, is believed to be the remnants of a late-eighteenth-century merchant ship that was first discovered in 2004, when dredging from a beach replenishment project hit the shipwreck and scattered cultural material onto the beach in Lewes. Underwater archaeological investigations of the shipwreck site were conducted by Southeastern Archaeological Research, Inc. (SEARCH) in 2006 to systematically excavate and recover artifacts from the site (Krivor et al. 2010:i). A variety of ceramic types, both English and European in origin, were recovered from the site, including lead-glazed earthenwares, “slip-decorated coarse earthenwares, tin-glazed earthenwares, and refined earthenware” (Krivor et al. 2010:106). Additional dredging episodes

took place in 2011 and 2022 to further replenish the beach in Lewes (Mellin, Liebeknecht, and Burrow 2013; Otter 2024). Although these projects did not directly affect the site, additional cultural material associated with the site was recovered, most probably scattered due to tides and ocean currents. The ceramic assemblage from these two projects is consistent with what was recovered by SEARCH.

Several possible interpretations regarding the identification of the ship have been presented; however, the ball clay pipes and the ceramic assemblage suggest a ship that sank during post-1769 (Griffith and Fithian 2014:173-174; McVae 2008:14-15). The dominance of the ceramic assemblage by earthenwares and stonewares produced in mainland Europe is unusual for the eighteenth century, which may support the identification of a merchant ship that sank during the period of the American Revolution, during which America was not constrained by the Navigation Acts. Krivor et al. (2010:268) suggest that the ship may have been a Dutch merchant vessel, as the newly independent colonies traded extensively with the Netherlands during and after the American Revolution. Due to the sheer size of the ceramic assemblages from all projects and the diversity of ceramic types recovered from the shipwreck, the ceramic types are not presented in chart format. Ceramics concretely determined to be of English origin include creamware and white salt-glazed stoneware, both of which are extremely common on sites dating to this period (Krivor et al. 2010:125; McVae 2008:104; Mellin, Liebeknecht, and Burrow 2013:3-5; Griffith and Fithian 2014:173). However, the creamware and white salt-glazed stoneware recovered from the ship may only represent the place settings used by the captain and upper-level crew, especially since these types were recovered in comparably small quantities (Mellin, Liebeknecht, and Burrow 2013:3-2). Several sherds of Oriental porcelain were recovered from the site, many of which were decorated with underglaze blue paint (Krivor et al.

2010:142; Mellin, Liebeknecht, and Burrow 2013:3-5). The rest of the ceramic assemblage, however, is dominated by ceramics produced on the European mainland. Much of the decorated tin-glazed earthenware recovered from the shipwreck appears to be of Dutch or French origin. There were, however, a few types of French faience identified, including Rouen Plain, Normandy Plain, and Brittany Blue-on-White (Krivor et al. 2010:115-116; Mellin, Liebeknecht, and Burrow 2013:3-2). Some earthenware sherds with a bright green or apple green glaze have been identified as Saintonge Green earthenware produced in France (Krivor et al. 2010:106, 108). Slip-decorated earthenwares recovered from the wreck have been identified as being of French origin (Krivor et al. 2010:112-113). One of the most unusual ceramics identified from the wreck is Frankfurter earthenware, which is extremely uncommon on American sites (Griffith and Fithian 2014:173; McVae 2008:14-15, 104; Mellin, Liebeknecht, and Burrow 2013:3-2). German stoneware of Rhenish origin was extremely common, including Westerwald and Rhenish Brown stonewares. Many stoneware bottles marked with “Tolles” or “Selters” were identified as mineral water bottles also produced in the Westerwald region (Krivor et al. 2010:135, 137; McVae 2008:105; Mellin, Liebeknecht, and Burrow 2013:3-5)

### **5.3: Maryland Sites**

#### **Barwick’s Ordinary Site**

The Barwick’s Ordinary Site (18CA261), located north of Denton in Caroline County, is the site of a mid-to-late eighteenth-century ordinary. During excavations by the Archaeological Society of Maryland and Washington College, features associated with three structures were identified, one of which was presumed to be the cellar from the ordinary. The other two are a possible privy and a rectangular outbuilding, which could be a dairy (Markin and Elder 2023a:2; 68). Cultural anomalies were initially identified using a joint approach of "magnetic

susceptibility, fluxgate gradiometry, and ground penetrating radar.” Using these methods, a total of 24 features were identified (Markin and Elder 2023a:22). Markin and Elder suggest that Barwick’s household “was part of a middling class that occupied a liminal space between elites and the lower classes with whom they interacted daily,” and the ceramic assemblage from the site suggests as much (2023b:1). The variability in the types found at the site (Figure 14) would be expected for a business that served various clientele with various tastes in ceramic types as well as food and drink. Despite this variety, these ceramics were still only produced in England, Germany, and China, with ceramics from Germany and China collectively comprising less than 7% of the greater assemblage. The lack of porcelain indicates that tea service was not a large part of their business, or they used white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware tea services for public consumption and reserved porcelain services for personal or household consumption. Although ceramics from Staffordshire appear to dominate the assemblage, there is certainly some variety in the locales from which these ceramics were sourced. Therefore, James Barwick had connections to merchants or shopkeepers who received ceramics from various English ports and centers of production.

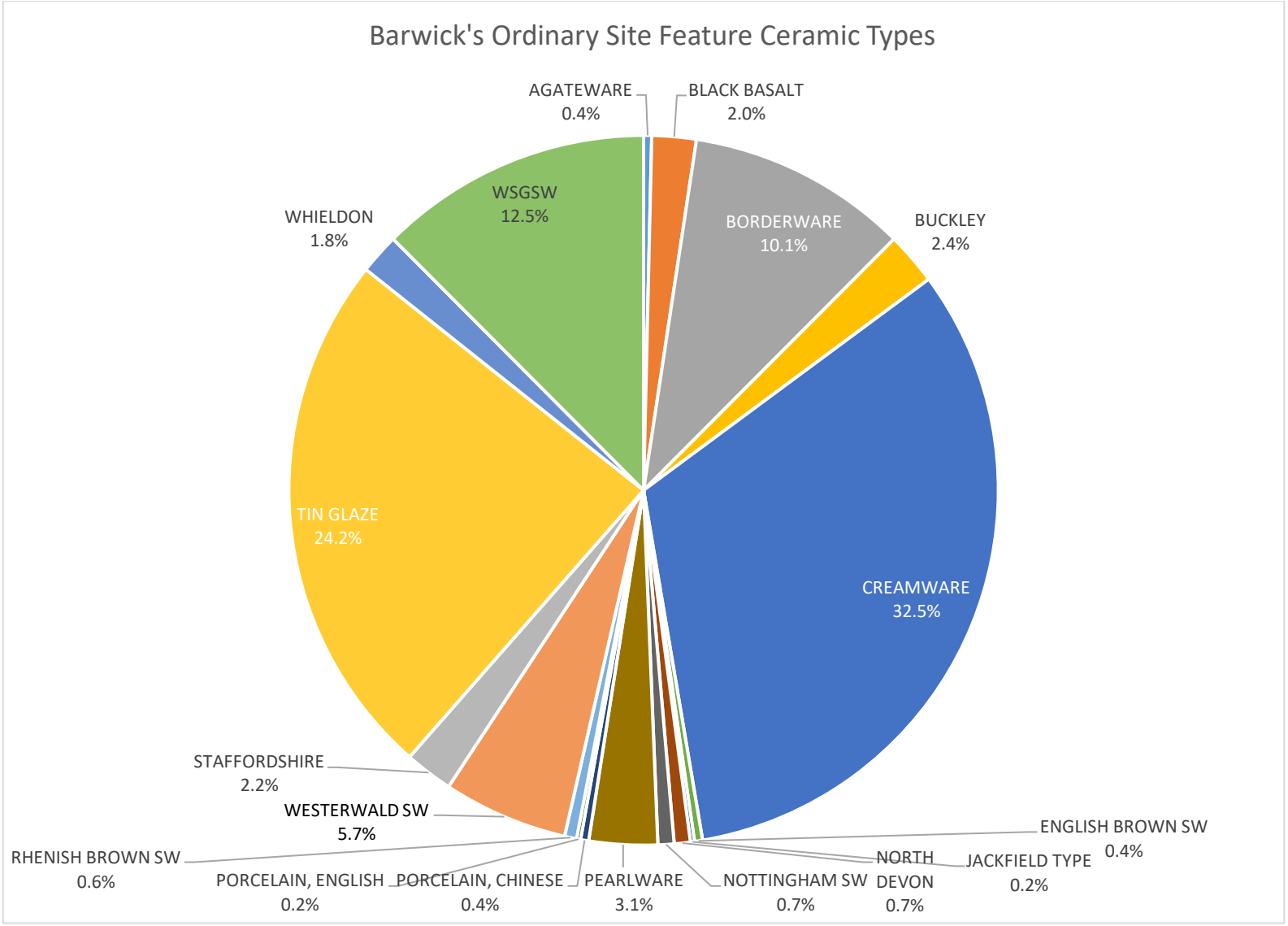


Figure 14: Barwick's Ordinary Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

## **Bennett's Point Site**

The Bennett's Point Site (18QU28), located in Queen Anne's County, is the site of a tobacco plantation and port that was occupied from the late seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century (Maryland Historical Trust 2014, Maryland Historical Trust 2022). A house foundation and trash midden were excavated, and the remains of an H-shaped hearth with two brick "cisterns" or root cellars on each side of the hearth were identified (Wesler 1984:1, 11). A cemetery was also identified at the site, with several headstones and brick vaults (Maryland Historical Trust 2014; Maryland Historical Trust 2022). Wesler (1984:15) suggests the presence of matched ceramic sets of polychrome-enameled white salt-glazed stoneware at the site (Wesler 1984:15). The size of the house, as well as other elements of the material culture of the site, including coins, imported porcelain, and decorative buttons and buckles, suggests a household of some means (Maryland Historical Trust 2014, Maryland Historical Trust 2022). There is comparatively significant variety in the locales from which these ceramics were sourced (Figure 15). Ceramics from England, China, Germany, France, and Spain were all recovered from the site, including Rouen Faience and Iberian earthenware, both of which are uncommon on English sites. Ceramics produced outside of England collectively comprise greater than 35% of the overall assemblage, a high proportion in an era dominated by tin-glazed earthenware and white salt-glazed stoneware. It is possible, with such an assortment of ceramic types and countries, that the tin-glazed earthenware was not produced just in England, but in the Netherlands as well. This would require an additional study of the decorative styles and motifs found on the tin-glazed earthenware recovered from the site. Although ceramics produced in Staffordshire appear to dominate the assemblage, even within England there appears to be some variety in the locales in which these types were produced. To access this plethora of types from several production

centers, the household would need a relationship with one or several merchants who are able to source these ceramics, some of which would be difficult to obtain and import under the suppression of the Navigation Acts.

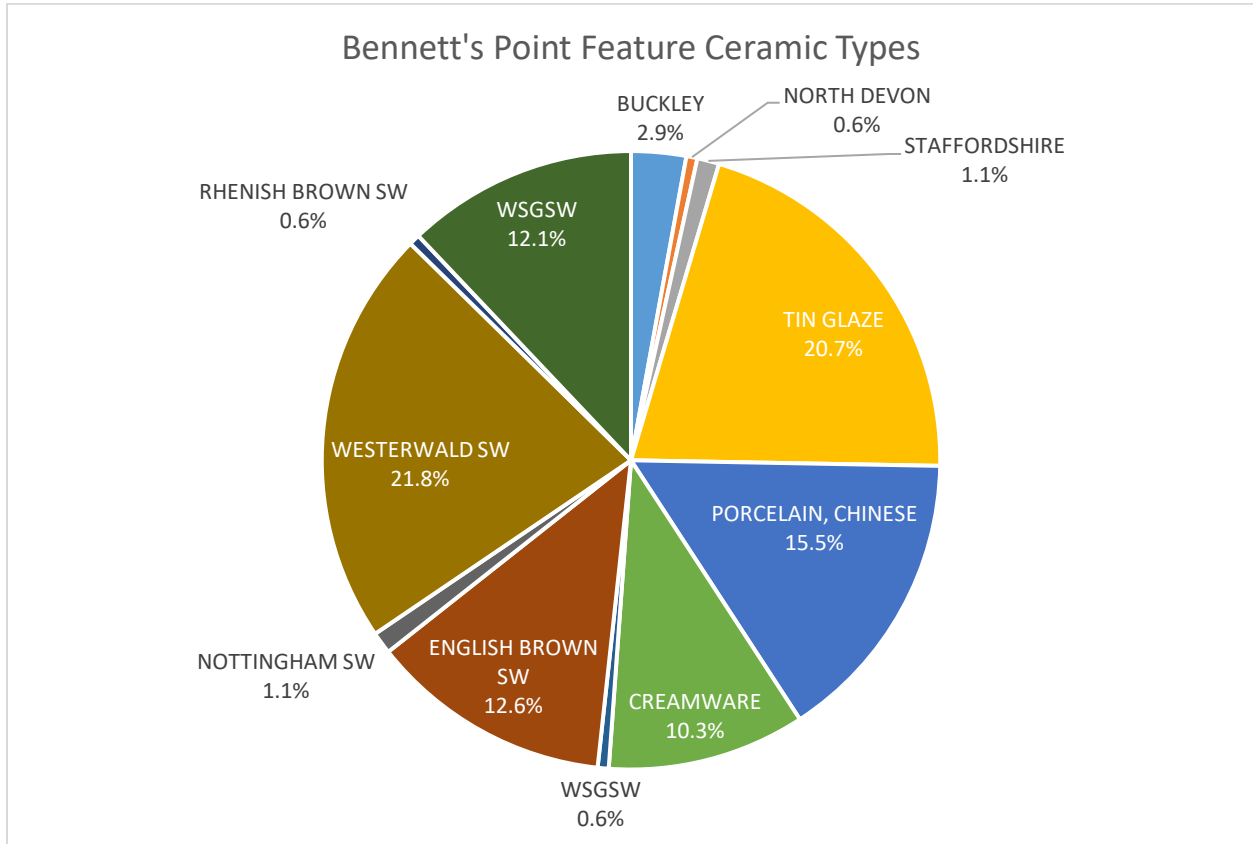


Figure 15: Bennett's Point Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### **Pemberton House Site**

The Pemberton House Site (18WC23), located north of Salisbury in Pemberton Historical Park, is comprised of a house built in 1741 and the surrounding land (Lamphear 1989:3). During excavations by Salisbury University, sixteen total features were identified in Unit 2, including brick piers and a builder's trench that are the last remnants of a back porch that was once attached to the house (Lamphear 1989:10). In addition, one rectangular pit feature (Feature 31) was identified in Unit 4, which contained brick rubble and charred wood fragments (Lamphear

1989:18). During excavations by Edward Otter, Inc., three foundations and twelve post holes were identified. Nine of these post holes are associated with a no longer extant fence (Otter 1998:10). Rhenish Brown stoneware and Chinese porcelain are the only two imported ceramic types recovered from the site (Figure 16) not produced in England. Although the site was occupied from 1740 on, the dominance of pearlware in the assemblage would be expected from a post-colonial site.

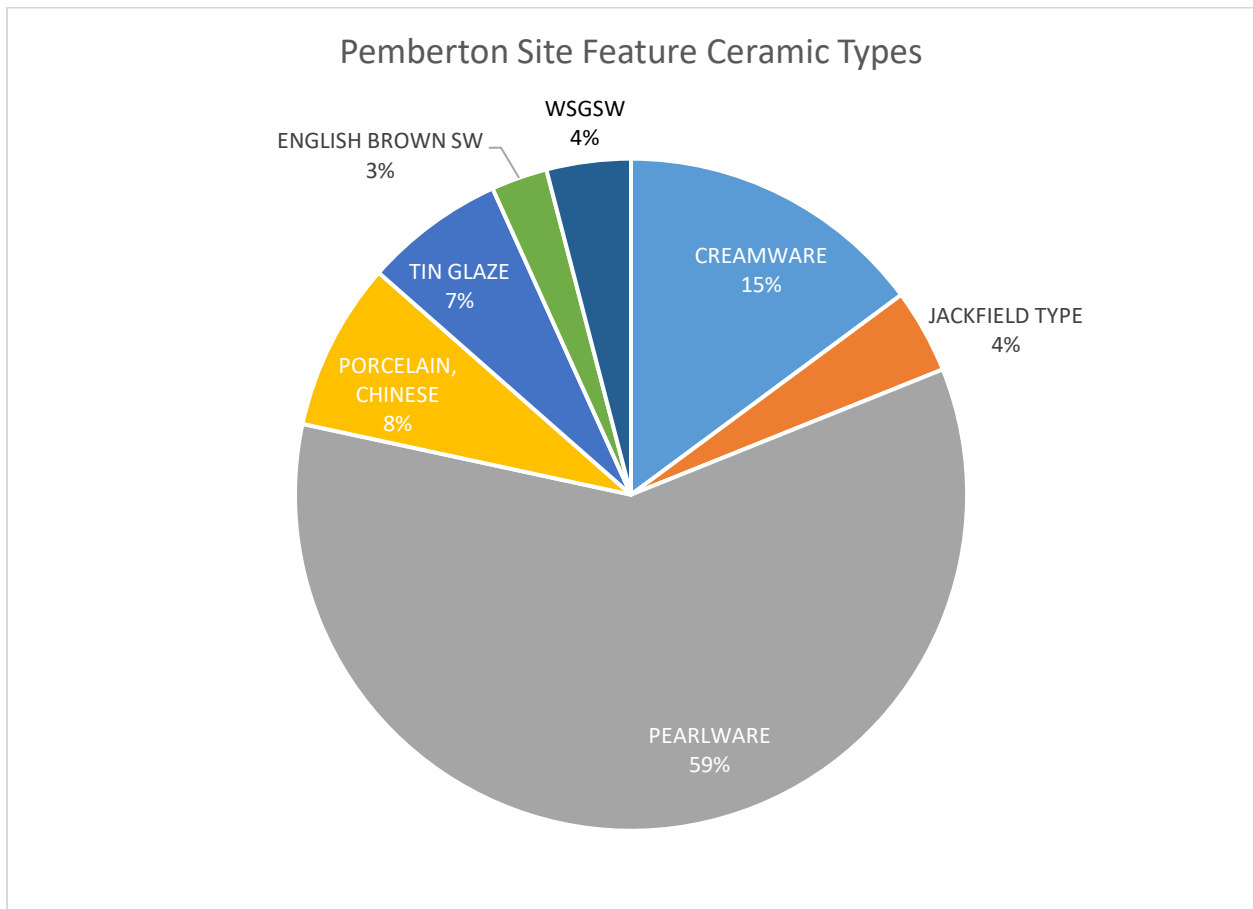


Figure 16: Pemberton Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### **Pleasant Valley Farm Site**

The Pleasant Valley Farm Site (18TA37), located near Easton in Talbot County, was excavated during the 2001 session of the Archaeological Society of Maryland. The main area

dated from the early eighteenth century; however, a site area dating to the mid-to-late seventeenth century was studied using remote sensing and limited excavation (McCarthy 2002:i). In the main excavation area, a total of nineteen features were identified, which included a brick-lined cellar (Feature 7) with associated builder's trenches and postholes (McCarthy 2002:13). In the earlier occupation area, nine features were identified using remote sensing and excavation, which include two large postholes (McCarthy 2002:19). Ceramics were widely recovered across the site, especially from Feature 7 and Feature 10, a large pit associated with an outbuilding (McCarthy 2002:34). Although there is minimal variety in the countries in which these ceramics were produced (Figure 17), there are significant variations in the types of ceramics produced in England and the locales in which these types were produced. Because Chinese porcelain was not recovered from the site, Rhenish Brown Westerwald stonewares are the only types not produced in England and comprise about 18% of the entire assemblage. Although ceramics produced in Staffordshire still dominate the assemblage, the presence of certain types like North Devon and Borderware indicates a relationship between the household and shopkeepers who have access to this level of intra-England variety or merchants who operate out of Liverpool, Bristol, and possibly other major ports from which these types were exported to the colonies.

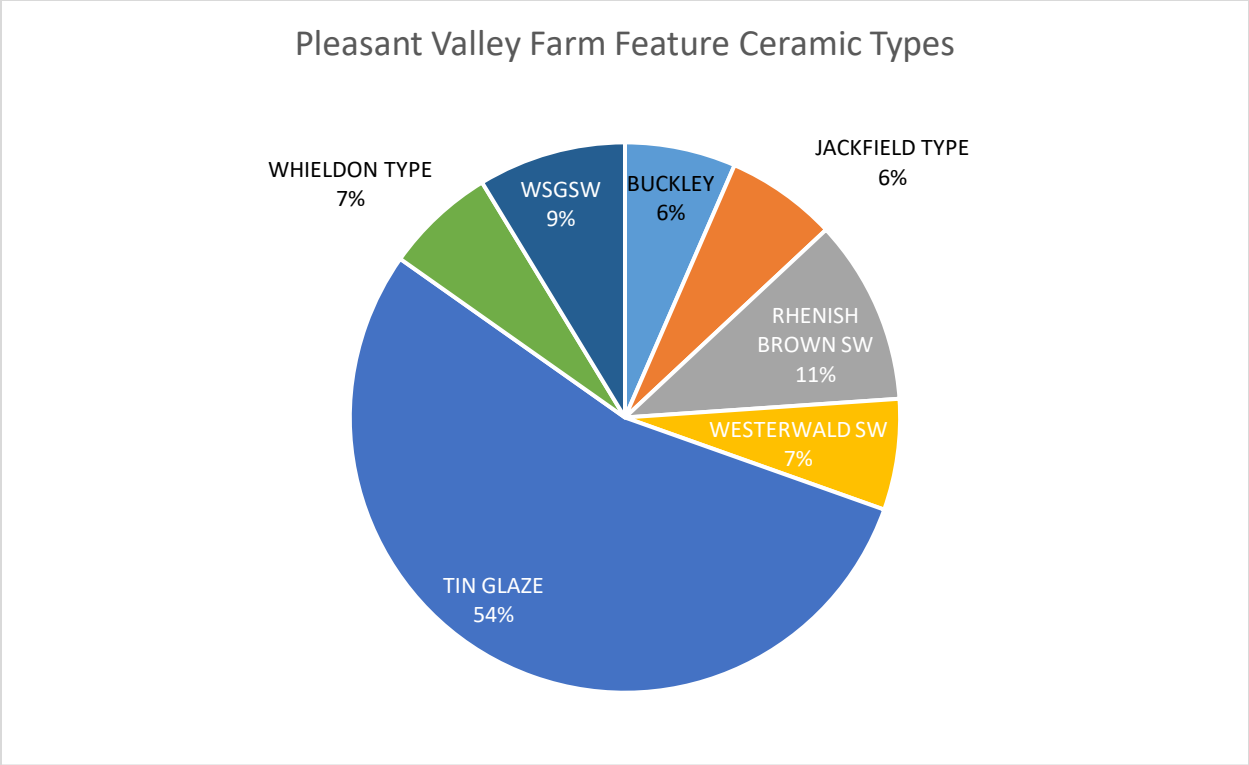


Figure 17: Pleasant Valley Farm Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

**Cloverfields Site**

The Cloverfields Site (18QU868), located in Queen Anne’s County, was built circa 1705 and has been occupied throughout its entire history. The purpose of the investigation was to further study the changes in the architecture of the house, the locations of no longer extant outbuildings, the layout of the former work yard, and the layout of the formal garden that once existed at the site. Around 400 features were identified across the entire site, many of which were excavated. Many of the ceramics used in the analysis of the site were recovered from the kitchen block excavations; nearly 3,000 sherds of various ceramic types were recovered from this area (Tyler et al. 2020:271). Excavations of the formal garden area took place in the areas east, west, and north of the house, and excavations of the former work yard took place in the area to the south of the house. Excavations in the garden area identified 63 features, and excavations in the

area of the former work yard identified 33 features (Lenik et al. 2020:i). There appears to be some variety in the centers of production from which these ceramics were sourced (Figure 18), within and outside of England. Chinese porcelain, Rhenish Brown stoneware, Westerwald stoneware, and Rouen Faience were all recovered from the site. In addition, seventeen different ceramic types from the site were produced in various locales in England, which were exported to the colonies through at least two different ports. In addition, the tin-glazed earthenware that dominates the assemblage may have been produced in both England and the Netherlands; further analysis of the decorative styles and motifs used on the sherds recovered from the site is required to confirm this hypothesis.

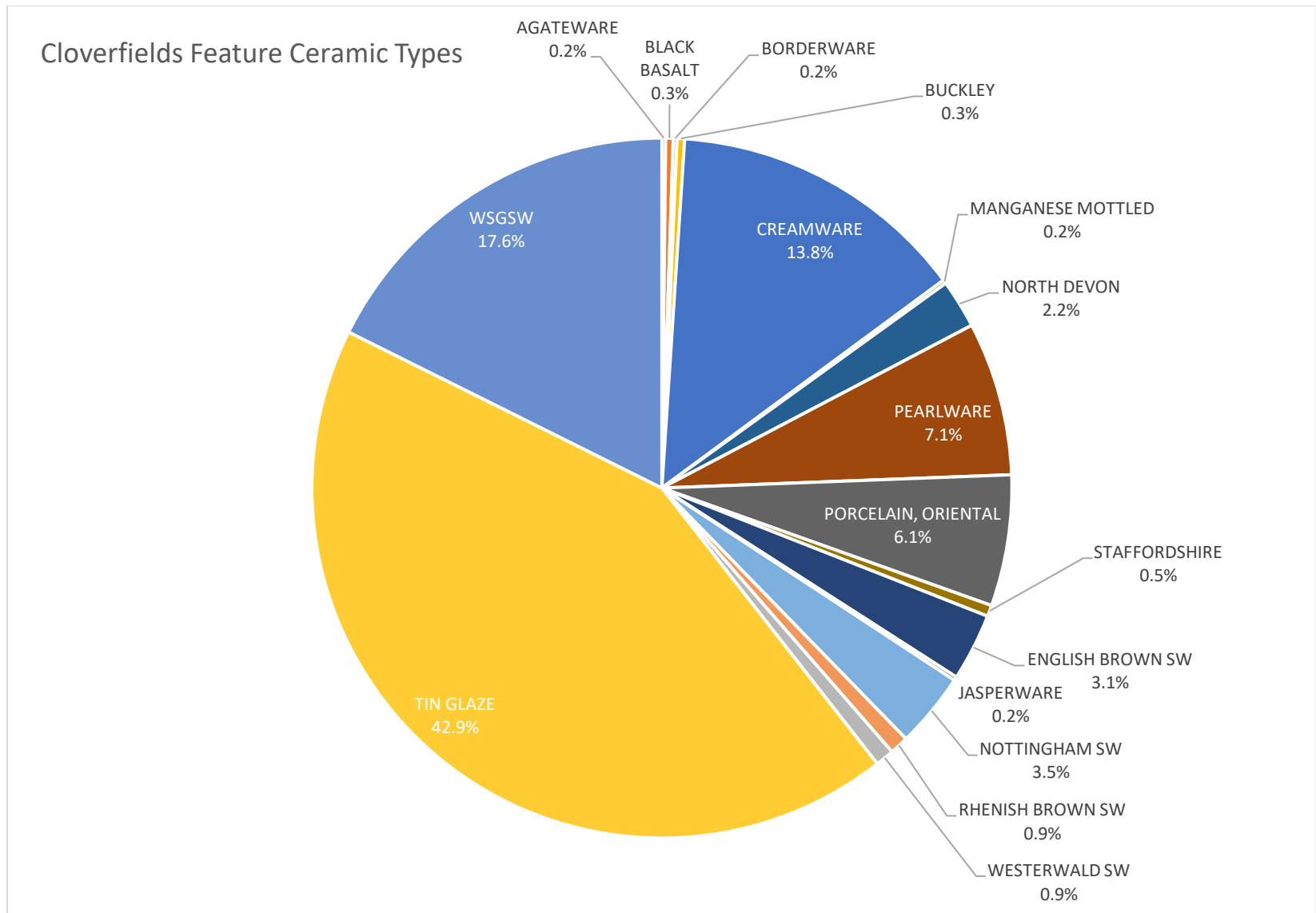


Figure 18: Cloverfields Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### Site 18QU409

Site 18QU409, located on Kent Island in Queen Anne's County, is a late-seventeenth- to early-eighteenth-century domestic site along Macum's Creek. Features identified and excavated at the site include two refuse pits and a sheet midden (Davis et al. 2002:189-190; 196). Although significant portions of the site have been destroyed due to plowing and agricultural practices, the remnants and material culture of the site are reminiscent of a late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth-century occupation. Westerwald stoneware, Rhenish Brown stoneware, and Chinese porcelain were the three types of imported ceramics recovered from the site (Figure 19) not produced in England, comprising approximately 30% of the ceramic assemblage. Like the ceramic assemblage from the Augustine Creek North Site, the ceramic assemblage is dominated by Manganese Mottled, indicating some preference for the type or an unusually high accessibility to this type. It appears that this type has nearly replaced the more expensive white salt-glazed stoneware, which usually dominates pre-creamware sites. Despite the relative lack of different types, there is still some variety in the locales of production within England, requiring at least two different ports to import these types to the colonies. Therefore, the household or local shopkeeper would have needed some relationship with merchants operating out of these different ports.

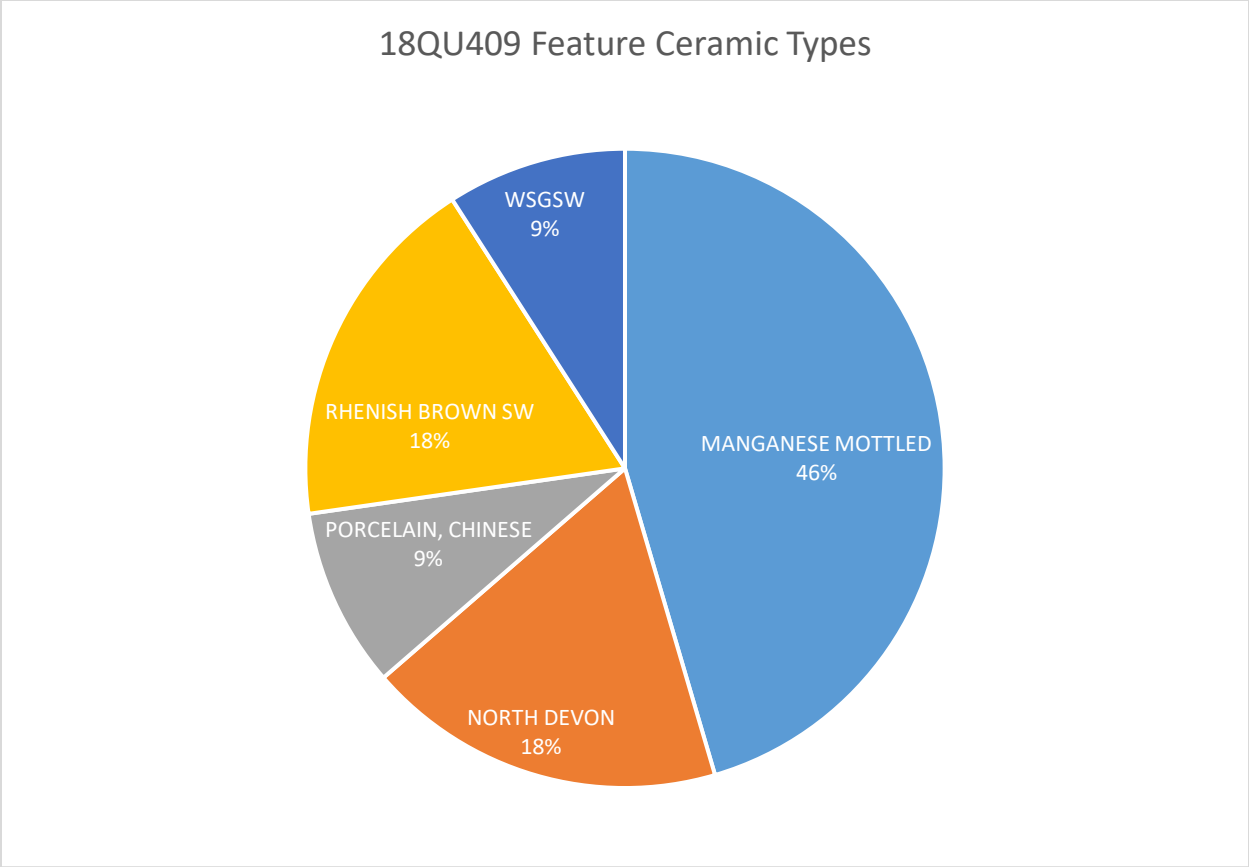


Figure 19: Site 18QU409 Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

**Site 18WO183**

Site 18WO183, located in Worcester County, is an eighteenth-century domestic site. Although 91 features were identified at the site, only 28 of these were determined to be historically cultural. These features include the brick foundation of a house, a well, a privy, refuse pits, 19 postmolds, and five pits of unidentified purpose. A majority of the material culture and ceramics utilized in site analysis were recovered from the house, privy, refuse pit, and well (Millis and Olson 2008:1). Besides the foundation, the remnants of the house included builder’s trenches and a chimney fall. The ceramic identified as Elers-type stoneware in Figure 22 is also characteristic of the Rosso Antico produced by Wedgwood in the late eighteenth century. Despite the significant number of imported ceramic types recovered from the site (Figure 20),

Westerwald stoneware and Chinese porcelain are the only two types not produced in England and comprise less than 10% of the overall assemblage. As expected for a site from this era, creamware and pearlware dominate the assemblage, supplemented with various other types most probably produced in or around the Staffordshire region and exported to the colonies from Liverpool.

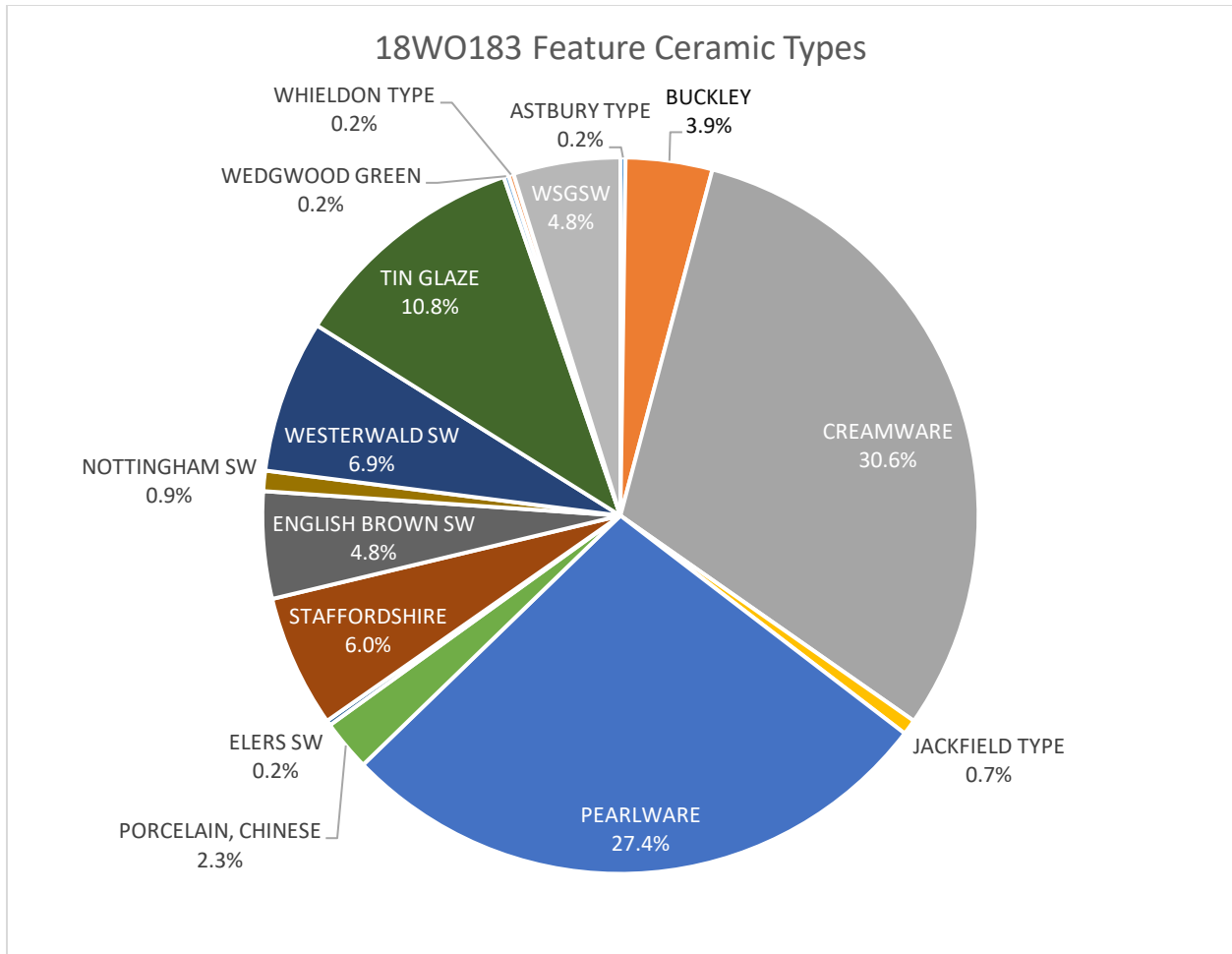


Figure 20: Site 18WO183 Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### Grieb Site

The Grieb Site (18KE83), located along the Chester River in Kent County, was most likely occupied by Cornelius Comegys, a Dutch immigrant who bought and farmed the land on which the site is located (Thompson 2010:13). During excavations by William Grieb, nearly

10,000 artifacts dating from the mid-seventeenth century to the early-eighteenth century were recovered from an earth-fast cellar and three other features. Additional excavations were conducted by the Maryland Historical Trust at the site in August 2008 to document the excavations conducted by Grieb in the original cellar (Cellar #2) as well as excavate units within to document the size of another cellar (Cellar #1) (Thompson 2010:5-6). A total of thirteen types of imported ceramics were identified, all of which were recovered from feature contexts, as presented below (Figure 21). The number of imported ceramic types recovered (Figure 21) is unusually high for a site dating to this era. Besides Chinese porcelain, Rhenish Brown stoneware, and Westerwald stoneware, ceramics from Spain and Italy were recovered, although in small proportions. In addition, the tin-glazed earthenware recovered from the site may have been produced in England or the Netherlands. This diverse assemblage suggests a trade relationship conducive to accessing ceramics from a wide area, unusual for a time in which trade is restricted by the Navigation Acts. In addition, the ceramics recovered from the site would have been produced in various regions in England and exported to the colonies from at least two different ports.

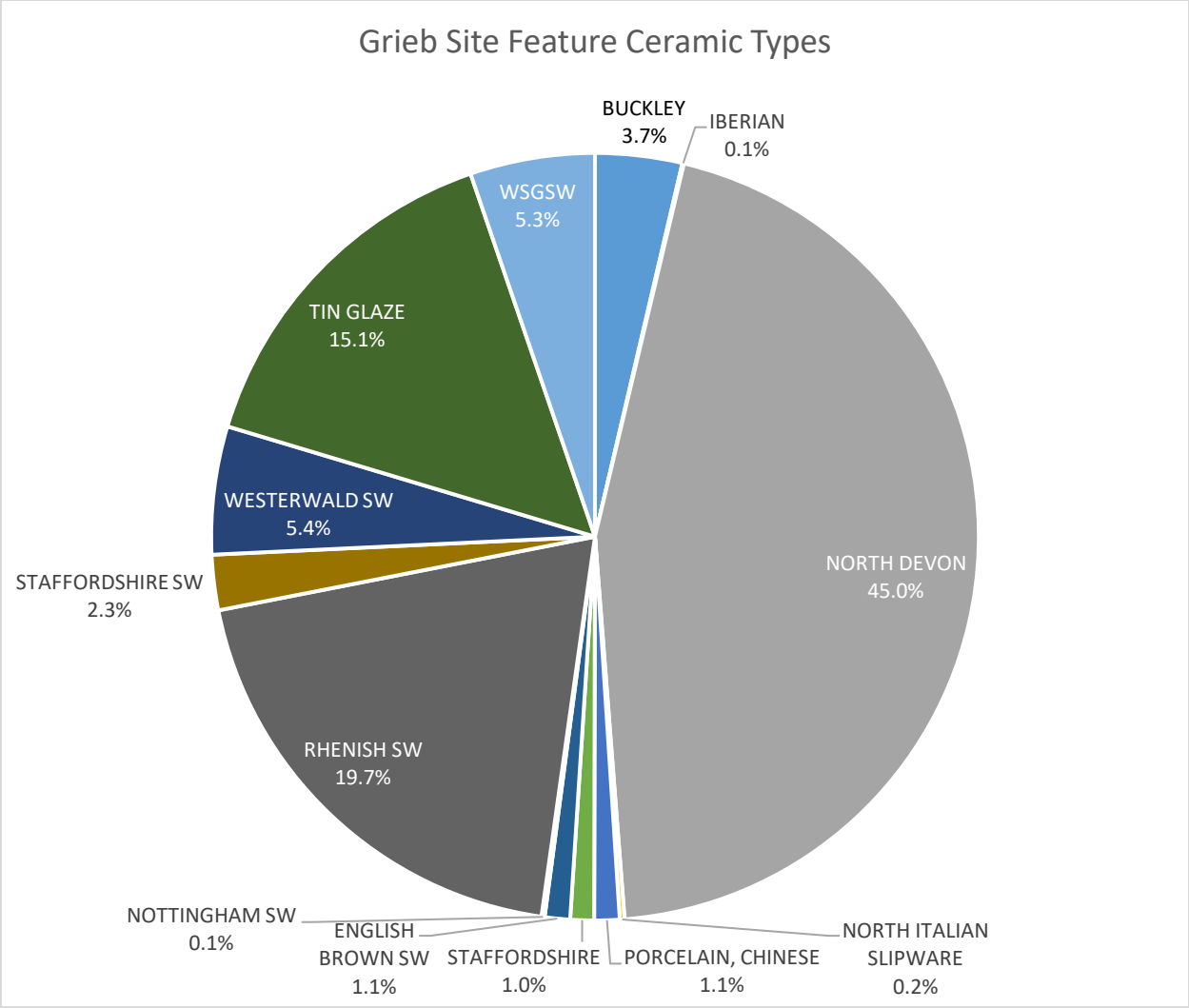


Figure 21: Grieb Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

**Long Point Site**

The Long Point Site (18TA78), located east of Oxford in Talbot County, was identified as an eighteenth-century agricultural homestead. Investigations at the site only reached Phase II during which three features were identified: two pits and a post hole (Seiter et al. 2017:2). No ceramics from Germany were recovered from the site; Chinese porcelain was the only type not produced in England (Figure 22). The dominance of Buckley-type and Manganese Mottled earthenware is noteworthy; they may have preferred Buckley for utilitarian vessel forms and

Manganese Mottled for tablewares over more expensive ceramic types, or these types were more widely advertised and carried by local shopkeepers.

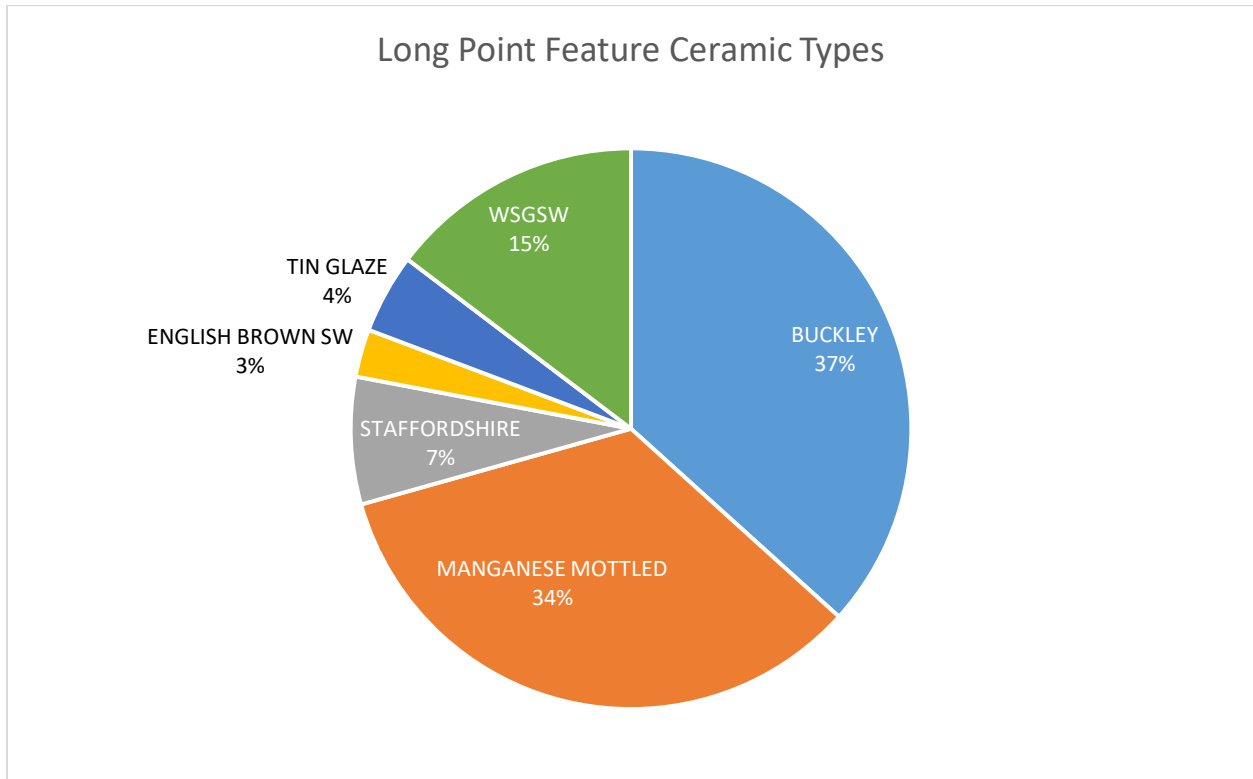


Figure 22: Long Point Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

### **Dover Bridge Site**

The Dover Bridge Site (18TA315), located in Talbot County, was occupied from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, more specifically from the 1680s to the 1740s.

During Phase III investigations, 55 culturally historic features were identified, including 31 pit features (Millis 2018:i-ii). Compared to contemporaneous Long Point Farm, there is significantly greater diversity in English and international ceramic types (Figure 23). Westerwald stoneware, Nevers Faience, Rhenish Brown stoneware, and Chinese porcelain were all recovered from the site, collectively comprising approximately 18% of the entire imported ceramic assemblage.

Even those types produced in England suggest accessibility to merchants and shopkeepers who

have access to ceramics produced in various regions and exported to the colonies from at least two different ports.

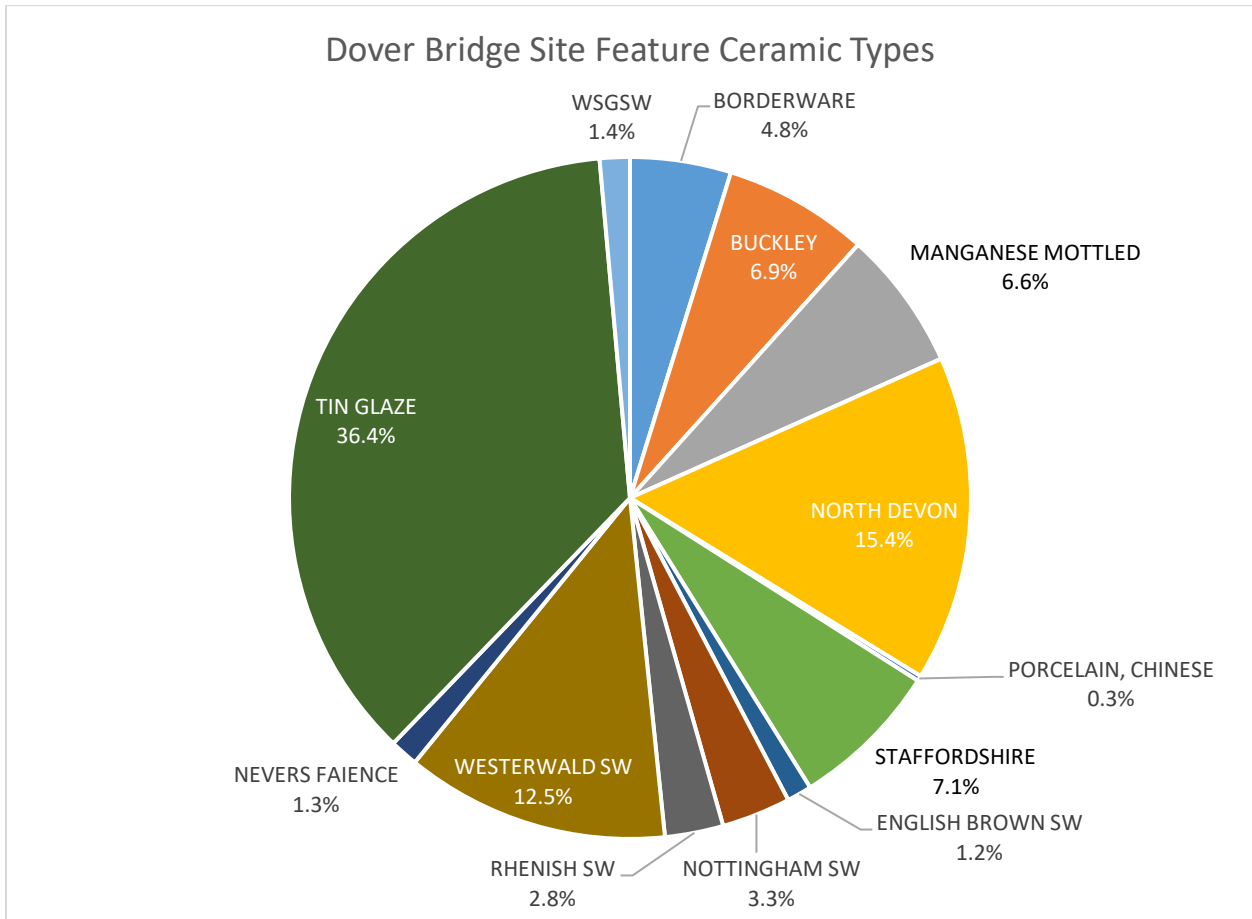


Figure 23: Dover Bridge Site Feature Ceramic Types (Original work of the author)

## Chapter 6: Eighteenth-Century Ceramic Consumerism on the Upper Delmarva Peninsula

Although analysis of the ceramics from this region has been performed at sitewide and local levels, often during investigations of individual sites, no analysis of the imported ceramics recovered from sites on the upper Delmarva Peninsula has been performed to the extent as is presented in this paper. The ceramics recovered from these sites are likely the result of trade patterns and personal, local, or regional preferences of ceramic type and form, and the patterns of ceramic types may reflect these preferences. Maps of sites from which ceramics likely to reflect these patterns were recovered are presented below. These maps present the distribution of ceramics by displaying which ceramics are present where within the region, represented by a red dot (see Chapter 4 for a map of all sites, Figures 1 and 2). Those ceramics present on nearly all sites contemporaneous to their production (creamware, pearlware, WSGSW, tin glaze) are not present below; those ceramics found on fewer than three different sites (French earthenwares, Frankfurter, Iberian, Jasperware, etc.) are not presented, but those ceramics imported from Europe will still be discussed. Patterns related to those ceramics recovered from features from these sites will also be discussed.

### **6.1: Analysis of English Ceramics**

Several types recovered from the analyzed sites were distributed relatively evenly across sites on the upper Delmarva Peninsula or are missing from sites from a specific area within the region of focus. Astbury-type (Figure 24) and Jackfield-type (Figure 25) earthenwares are all but absent from sites in central Delaware, which are all contemporaneous to the production of these types. In addition, Jackfield-type is not present in ceramic assemblages from two creamware-era

sites in Delaware but is present on all analyzed sites dating to this period on the Eastern Shore of Maryland (ESM). Astbury-type is present on 7 of 10 (70%) of ESM sites in the sample, but just 4 of 11 (36.4%) of the analyzed sites in Delaware. Jackfield-type is also present on 7 of 10 of the ESM sites in the sample, but just 5 of 11 (45.5%) of analyzed sites in Delaware. Agateware (Figure 26) is not present in ceramic assemblages from sites in the southern portion of the ESM and some contemporaneous sites in central Delaware and the western portion of the ESM. This type is present on just 4 of 10 (40%) of the ESM sites in the sample and 6 of 11 (54.5%) of analyzed sites in Delaware. While Whieldon-type (Figure 27) earthenware is missing on some contemporaneous sites, it appears to be distributed relatively consistently across the project area. This type is present on 5 of 10 (50%) of the ESM sites in the sample and 5 of 11 (45.5%) of analyzed sites in Delaware.

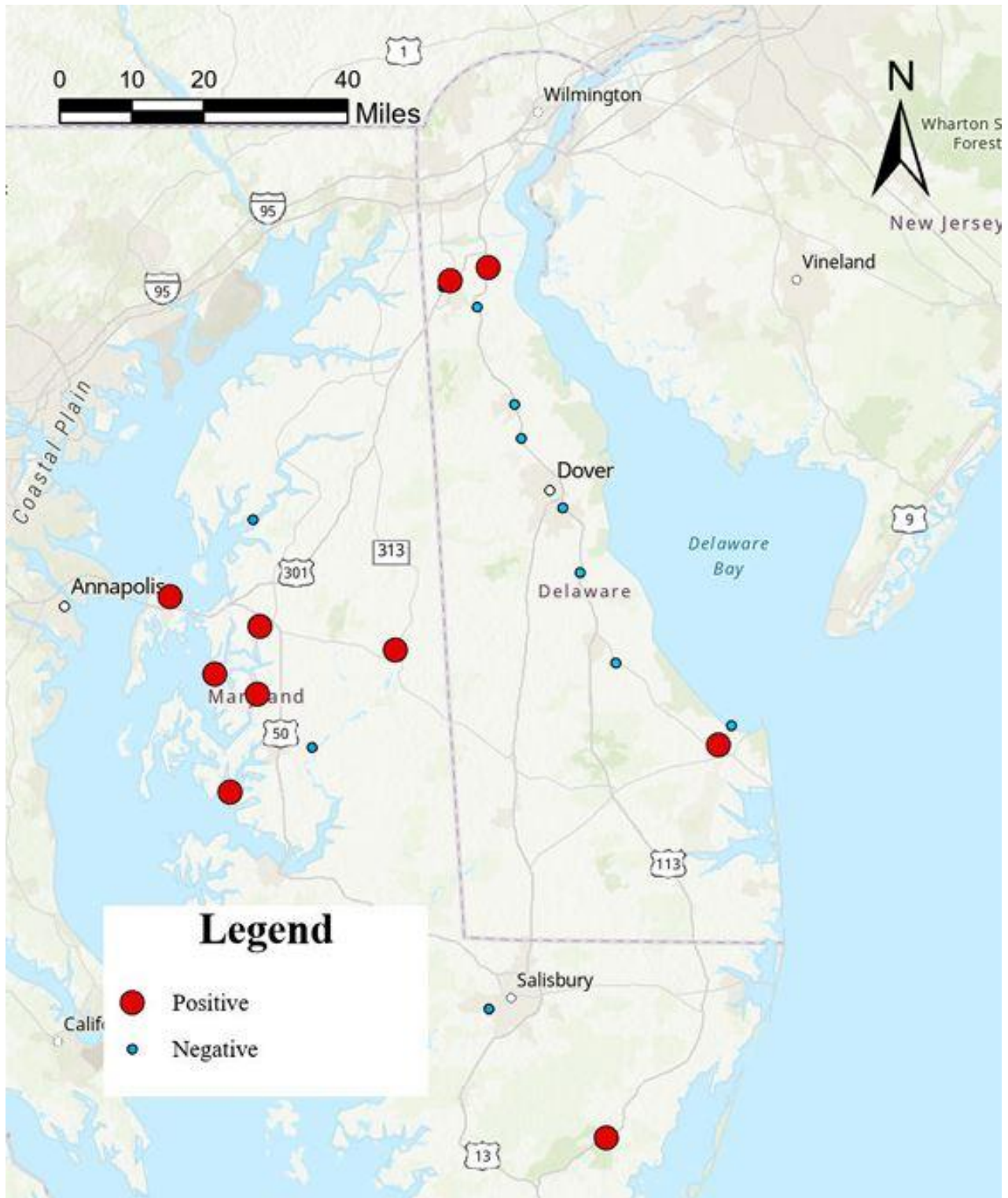


Figure 24: Sites with Astbury-type Earthenware (Original work of the author)

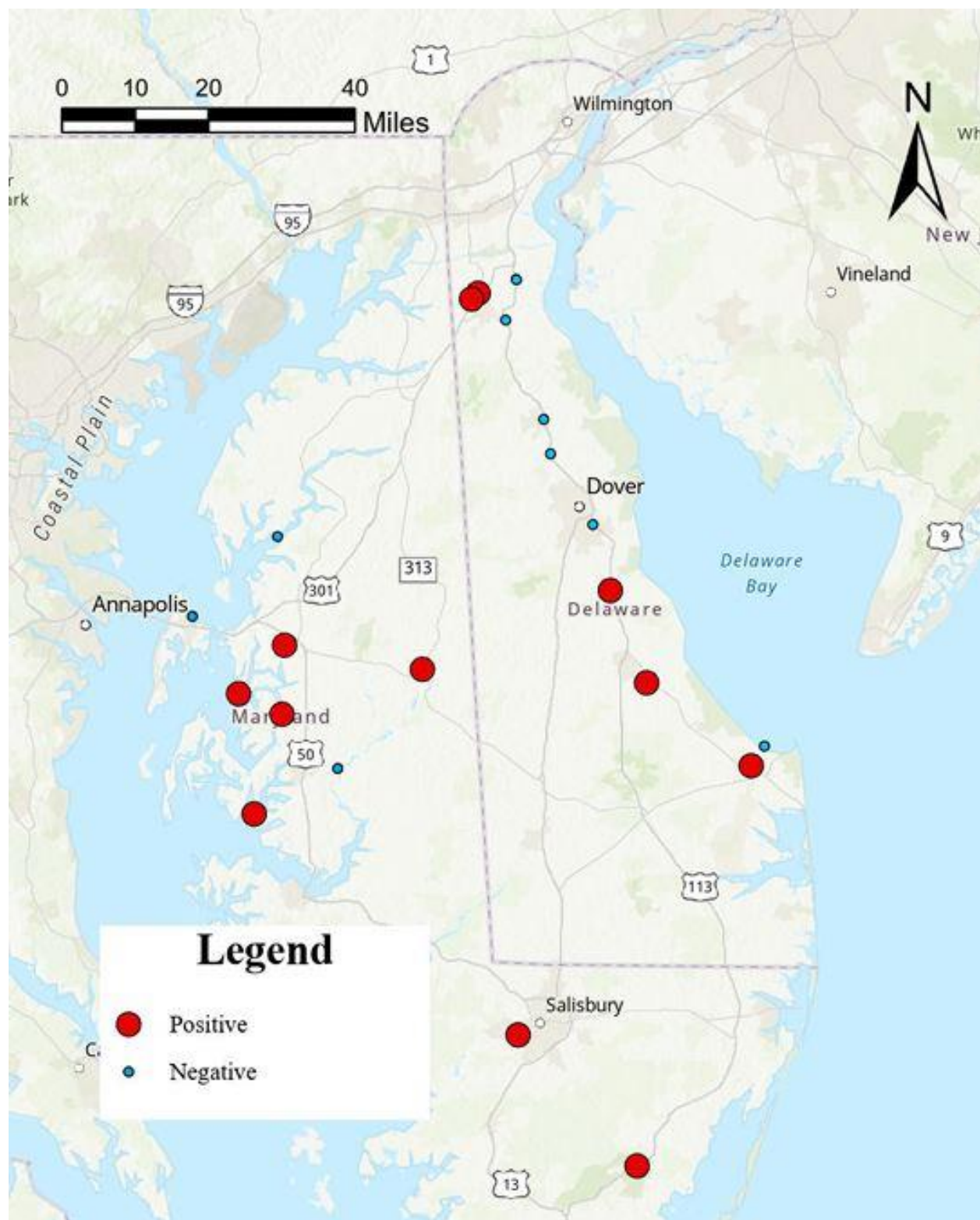


Figure 25: Sites with Jackfield-type Earthenware (Original work of the author)

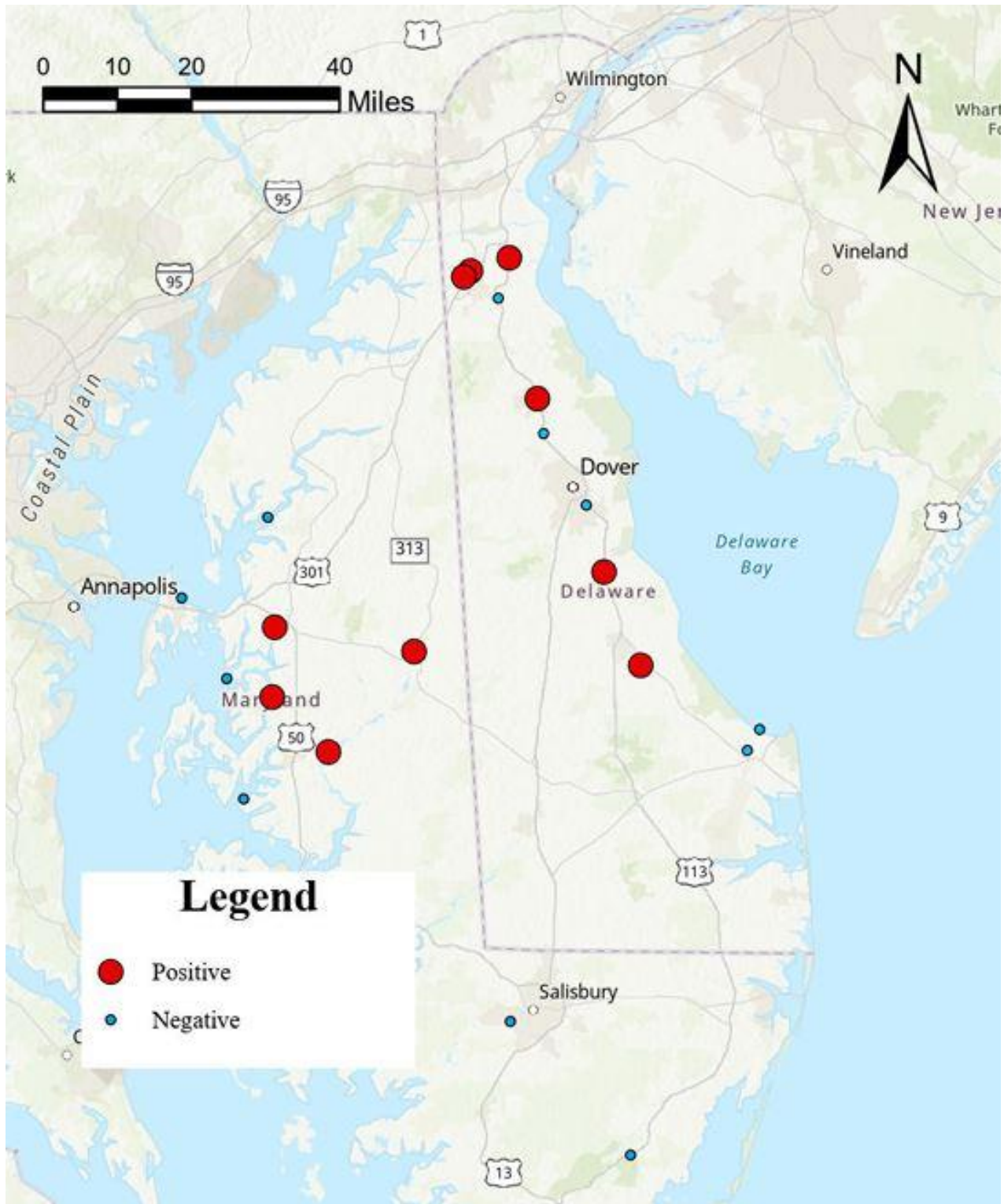


Figure 26: Sites with Agateware (Original work of the author)

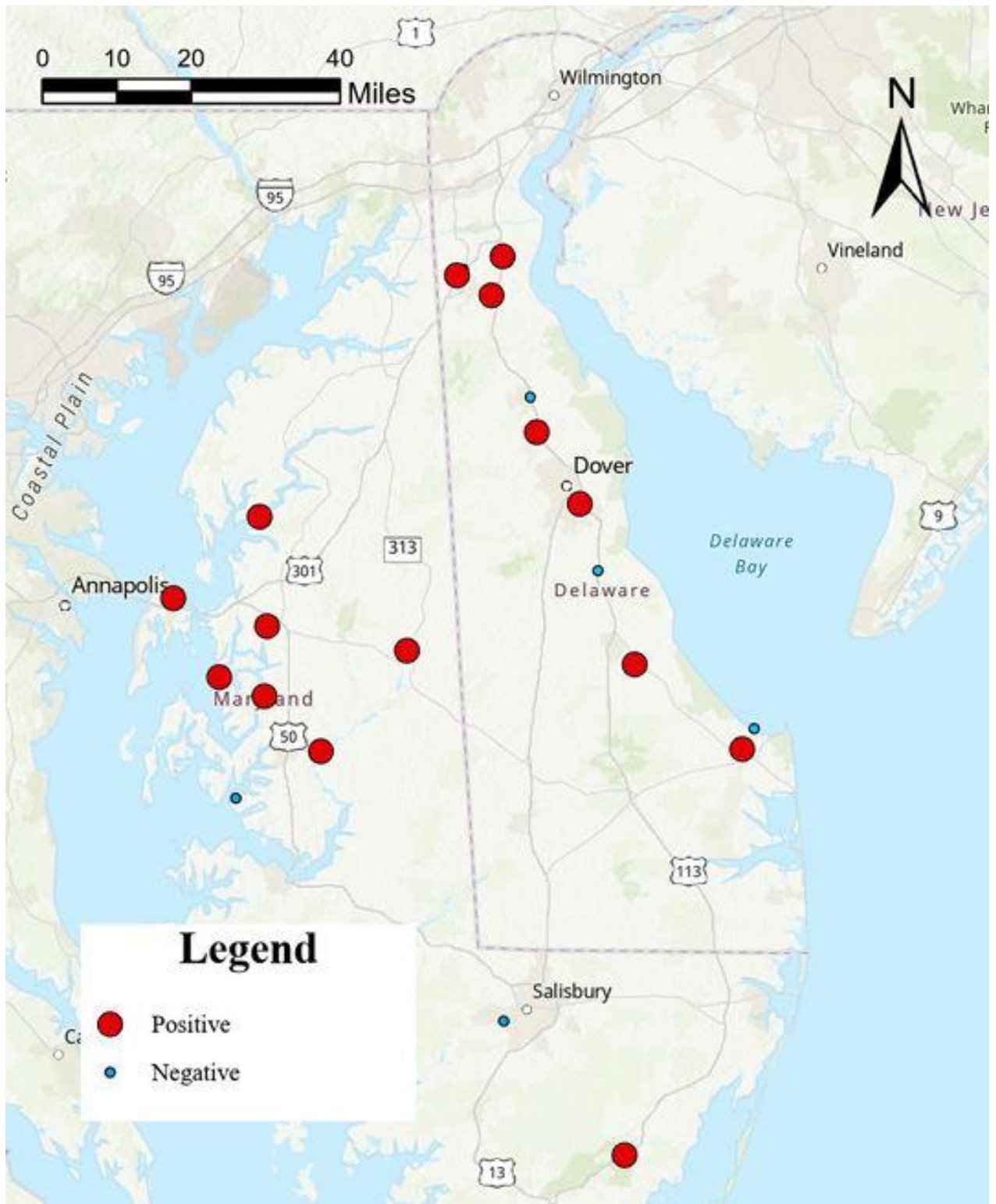


Figure 27: Sites with Whieldon-type Earthenware (Original work of the author)

There are four different ceramic types analyzed in this chapter that are certainly more prevalent on ESM sites than Delaware sites. Buckley-type (Figure 28) and North Devon (Figure 29) earthenwares are two of the types presented by Blades et al. (2016:15-16) as being more commonly found on Chesapeake sites than Delaware sites, and that certainly appears to be the case. Buckley-type is present on 9 of 10 (90%) of the ESM sites in the sample, but just 4 of 11 (36.4%) of analyzed sites in Delaware. North Devon (Figure 29) earthenware is also absent from selected sites in the southern ESM, along with sites in central Delaware. This may be due to the age of the sites in these areas, as North Devon is primarily found on sites dating to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, this type is certainly more prevalent on analyzed sites on the ESM than in Delaware. North Devon is present on 7 of 10 (70%) of the ESM sites in the sample, but just 3 of 11 (27.3%) of analyzed sites in Delaware. Although Manganese Mottled (Figure 30) earthenware is noticeably absent from selected sites in the southern ESM, it is still more prevalent on ESM sites than Delaware sites, occurring on 8 of 10 (80%) of the ESM sites in the sample, but just 6 of 11 (54.5%) of analyzed sites in Delaware. Although present on just a few sites in Delaware, the distribution of Nottingham (Figure 31) stoneware is thin but even across the entire state, certainly less concentrated than the distribution of this type across analyzed sites on the ESM. This type is present on 7 of 10 (70%) of ESM sites in the sample, but just 3 of 11 (27.3%) of analyzed sites in Delaware.

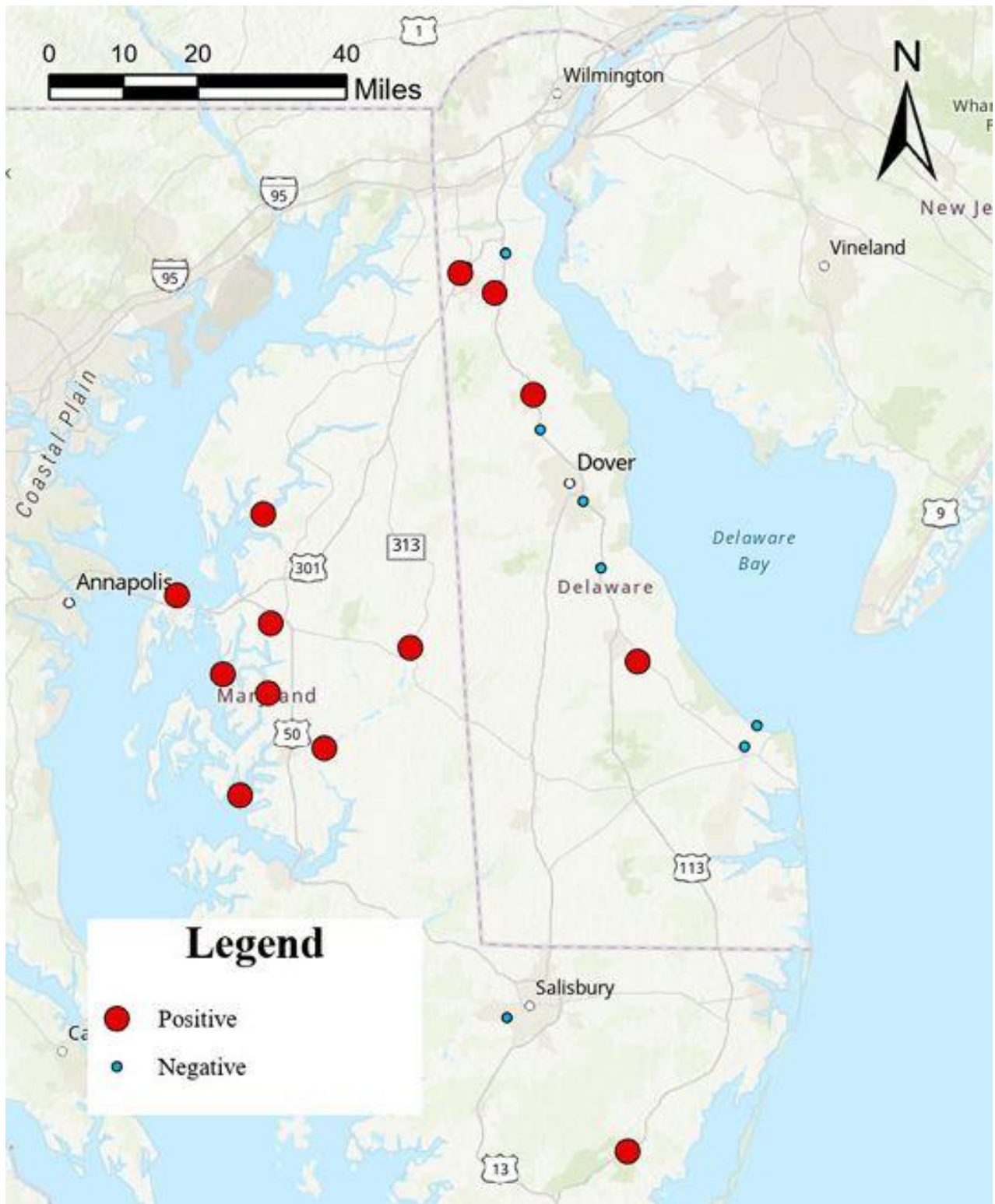


Figure 28: Sites with Buckley-type Earthenware (Original work of the author)

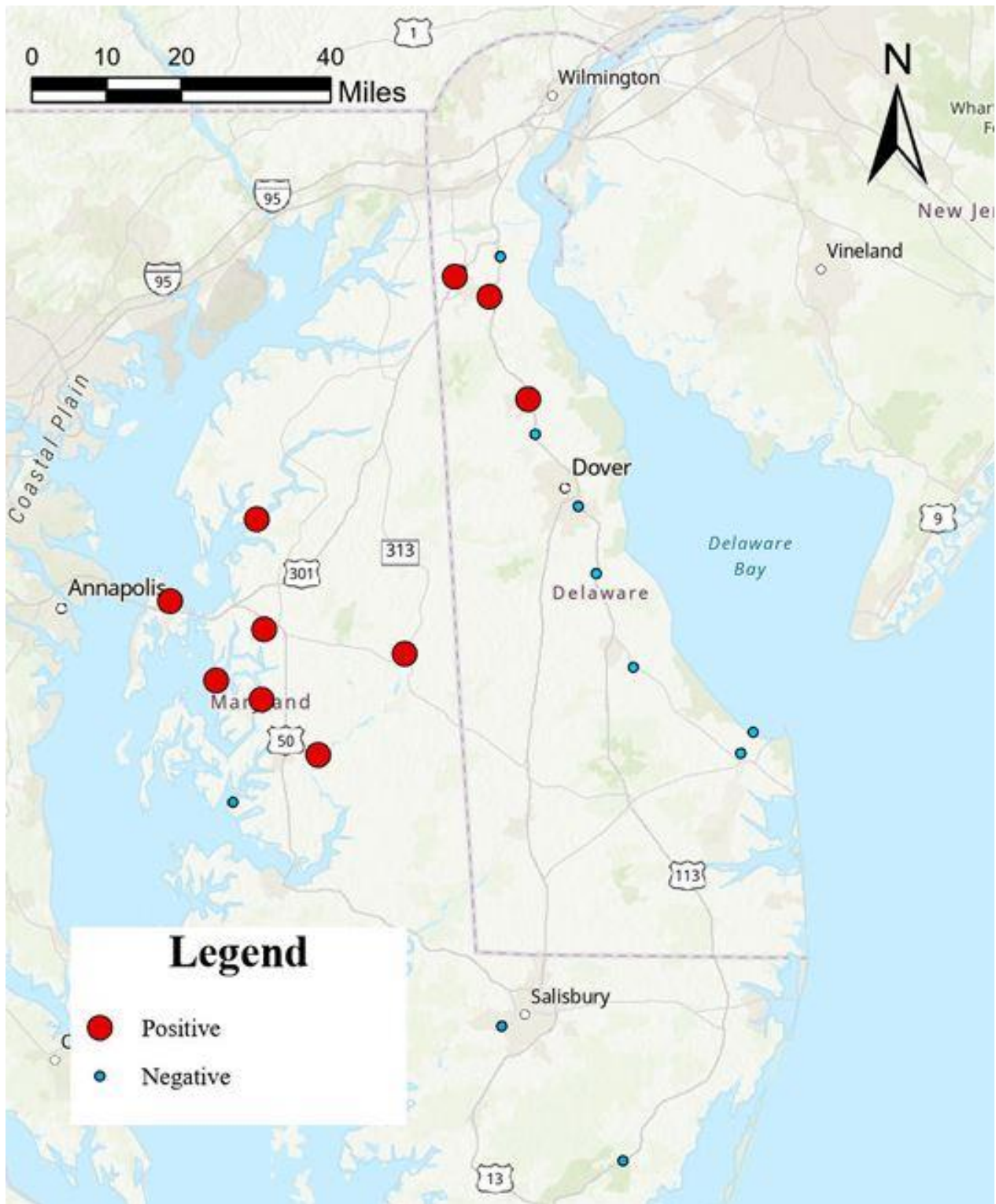


Figure 29: Sites with North Devon Earthenware (Original work of the author)

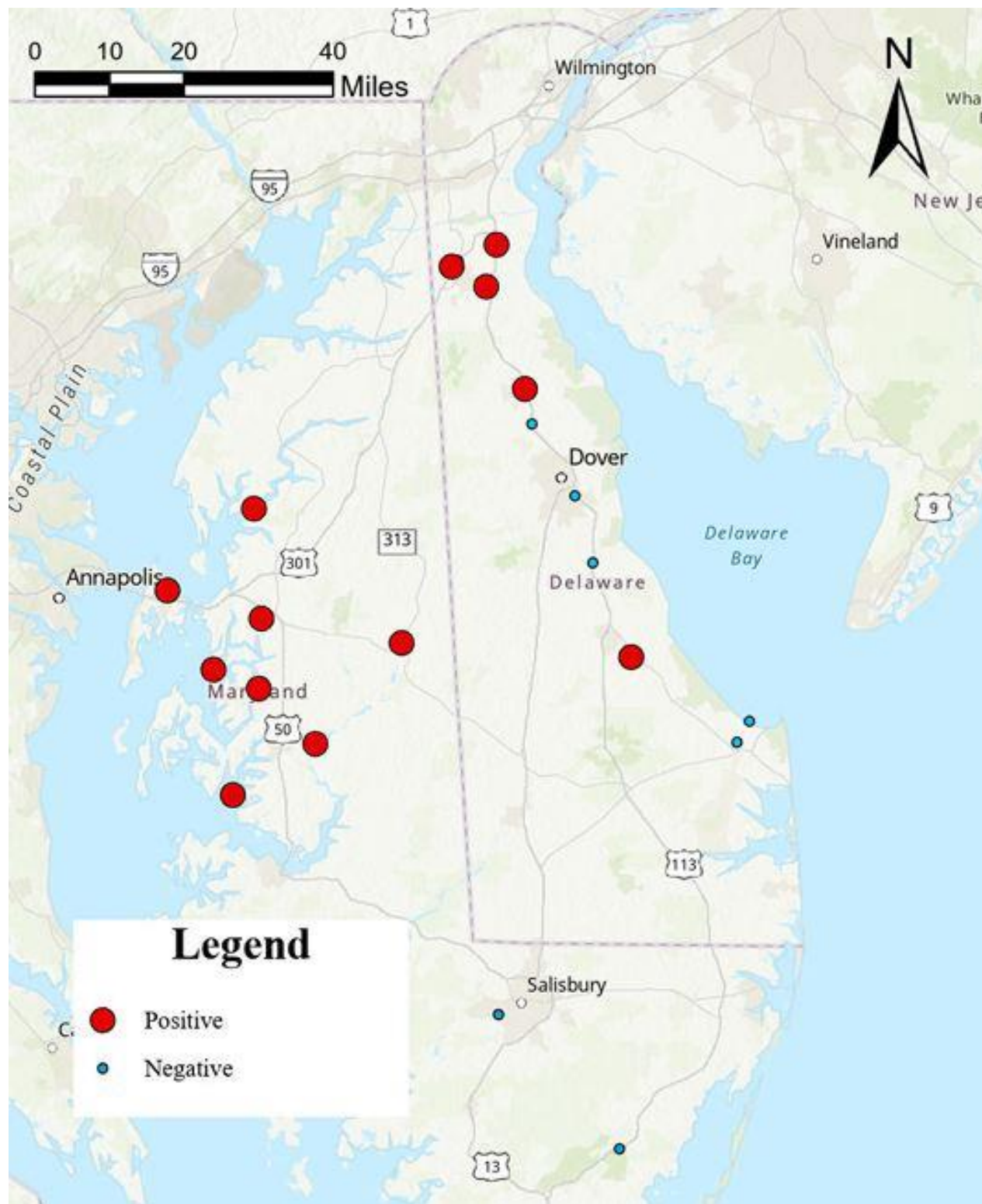


Figure 30: Sites with Manganese Mottled Earthenware (Original work of the author)

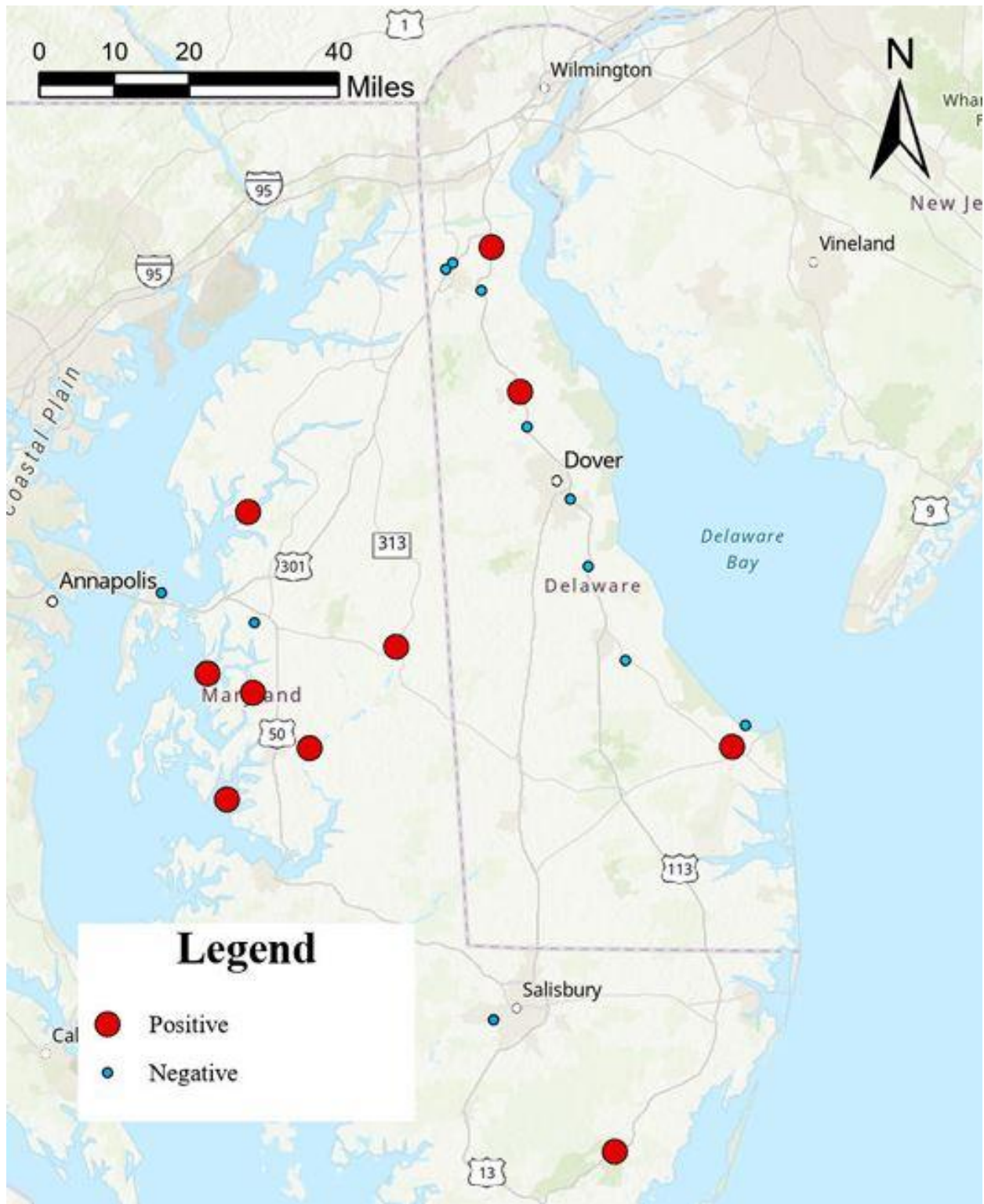


Figure 31: Sites with Nottingham Stoneware (Original work of the author)

Only one type, Wedgwood Green (Figure 32) earthenware, is more prevalent on sites in Delaware than in Maryland. This type was not very popular during its production (Noël Hume 1969:124-125), and its sparse distribution supports that notion. Its presence on sites analyzed as pre-creamware era and those analyzed as creamware era sites is unusual, since it was first produced just three years earlier than creamware. For pre-creamware sites, this may be the result of the intrusion of this type or the disturbance of the upper layer of features due to plowing, resulting in the types consumed towards the end of the occupation period ending up in disturbed contexts. Nevertheless, this distribution shows a distinct preference for this type and its associated color and decorative styles on selected sites in Delaware (n=4, or 36.4%) over selected sites in Maryland (n=2, or 20%). This appears to be the result of household or localized preference over ceramic distribution and consumption patterns since the type is distributed sparsely but evenly across the entire region of interest.



Only one type was recovered from selected sites in just one state within the region of interest. Borderware (Figure 33), produced from the seventeenth century until the third quarter of the eighteenth century, was only recovered from sites in Maryland. Even still, there were only four selected sites (40%) from which this type was recovered and several pre-creamware sites that lacked this type in their assemblage. Borderware was notably missing from ceramic assemblages from some of the earliest sites included in this study, the Grieb Site (18KE83) and the Powell Site (7K-C-203H). This type is the best evidence provided for a distinct difference in ceramic assemblages between the Chesapeake and the Delaware River. It is possible that sites in Delaware had increased access to domestic coarse earthenwares produced locally and in Philadelphia of similar form and function to Borderware. However, this suggests that consumers in Maryland had little choice in their domestic earthenware, which is unlikely. Another possible explanation may have to do with location. This type is unique because it was only produced in the region between the counties of Surrey and Hampshire in the south of England (Jefferson Patterson Park & Museum 2002d), and it was likely shipped from one or more of the southern ports, including Portsmouth or Southampton. During its peak period of production, it is likely that fewer ships from that region were transporting goods up the Delaware River, choosing instead to focus on consumers who access their goods from the Chesapeake Bay.

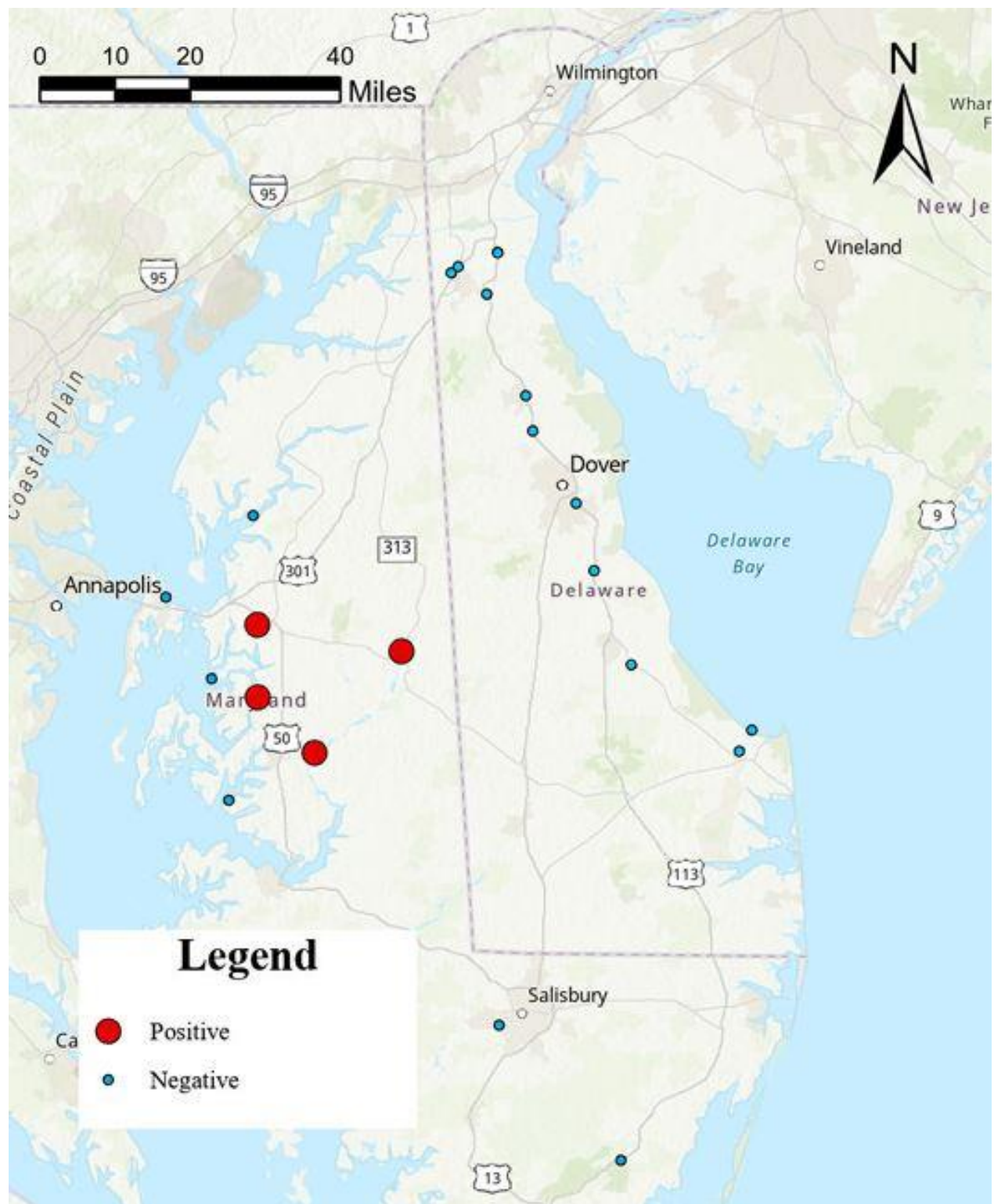


Figure 33: Sites with Borderware (Original work of the author)

There were three different types analyzed whose distribution patterns are less likely to be a result of regional trade and consumption patterns and more likely a result of the lack of popularity of these types in the region. Black Basalt stoneware was only found on two sites in Maryland; Elers-type stoneware (or Rosso Antico) was only found on one site in Maryland and one site in Delaware; and Jasperware was only found on one site in Maryland.

## **6.2: Extra-Anglican Ceramics**

Despite the assemblages from many of these sites being dominated by ceramics produced locally and in England, there is still some variety in the locales from which other ceramic types were sourced. However, there are a limited number of international ceramic types outside of Chinese porcelains and German stonewares, which are found on a majority of the selected sites in this region. Chinese porcelain (Figure 34) is present on all but three analyzed sites (n=18, or 85.7%), dominating its English counterpart (Figure 35) in its distribution (n=5, or 23.8%). English soft-paste porcelain was expensive compared to English teawares made of refined earthenware and stoneware and was more likely to chip compared to Chinese porcelains. Therefore, with Chinese porcelain being accessible to all but the poorest consumers by the mid-to-late eighteenth century (McCants 2007:20-21; Shamma 1990:183, 185; Richards 1999:99), and with the advent of creamware by the 1760s, the porcelain industry in England never flourished until the escalation of hard paste production in the 19th century (Miller 1991:11). All creamware-era sites included in analysis had Chinese porcelain in their ceramic assemblages, which evidences the increased accessibility of this type and the ascendancy of the tea ritual starting in the mid-eighteenth century.

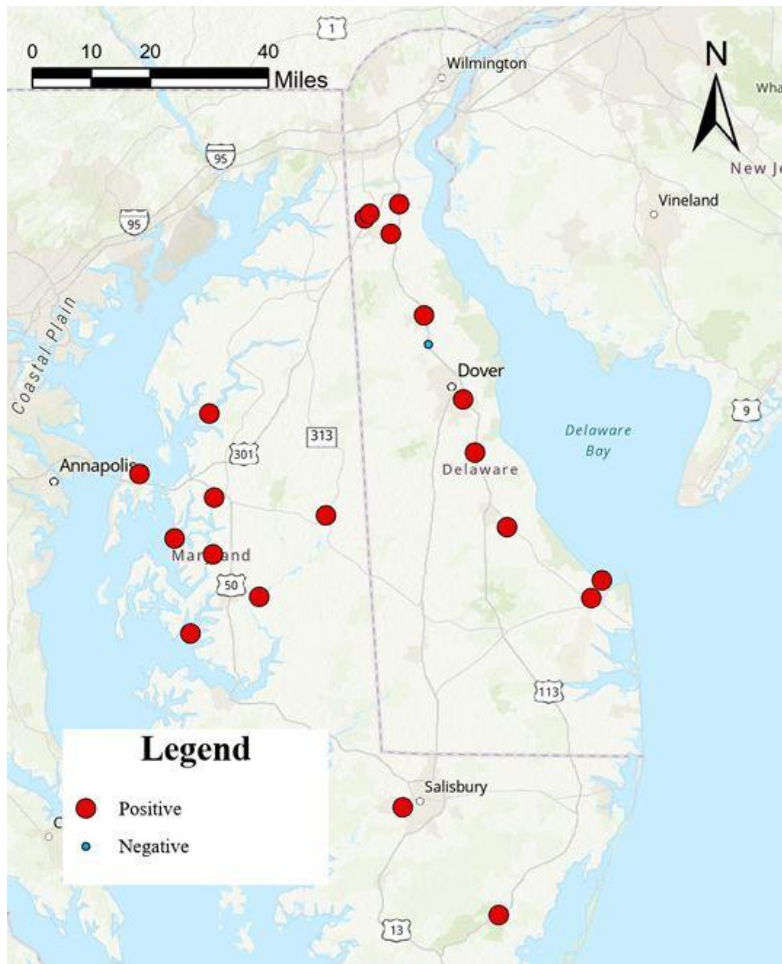


Figure 34: Sites with Chinese Porcelain (Original work of the author)

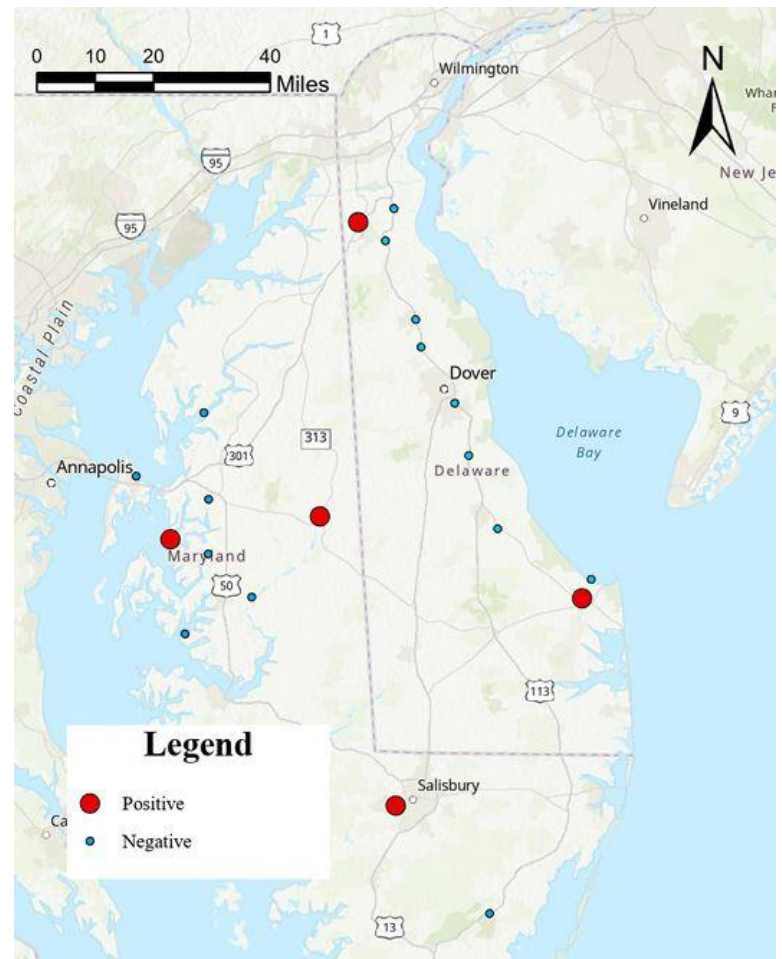


Figure 35: Sites with English Porcelain (Original work of the author)

Along with Chinese porcelains, stonewares of German origin were quite popular in colonial America. Although English Brown (Figure 36) stoneware still dominated the stoneware assemblage in the region, either Westerwald (Figure 37) stoneware or Rhenish Brown (Figure 38) stoneware was found on all but three sites within the overall sample. Westerwald was more popular in this region than Rhenish Brown due to its decorative style, which was not imitated by English manufacturers until the production of debased scratch blue on white salt-glazed stoneware (Atterbury 1980:28; Millersville 2011:46). It is surprising, however, the number of households that chose to consume both English Brown and Rhenish Brown stonewares; there were eight sites in the region where both types were recovered. Rhenish Brown would have been more expensive than its English counterpart; to be imported legally to the colonies under the Navigation Acts, Rhenish Brown would have to be transported to England first and then to the colonies (Morgan 2014:125; McCusker 1996:349), adding more time and effort, and consequently money, to transport this type than English Brown stoneware. While the importation of Westerwald stoneware to the colonies would have to proceed in a similar fashion, it was more bearable due to the lack of a similar type being produced in England until the mid-to-late eighteenth century. There were two sites in the region that had none of these three types in their respective assemblages; this could reflect a choice of domestic earthenware over imported stonewares for utilitarian and food preparation vessels.

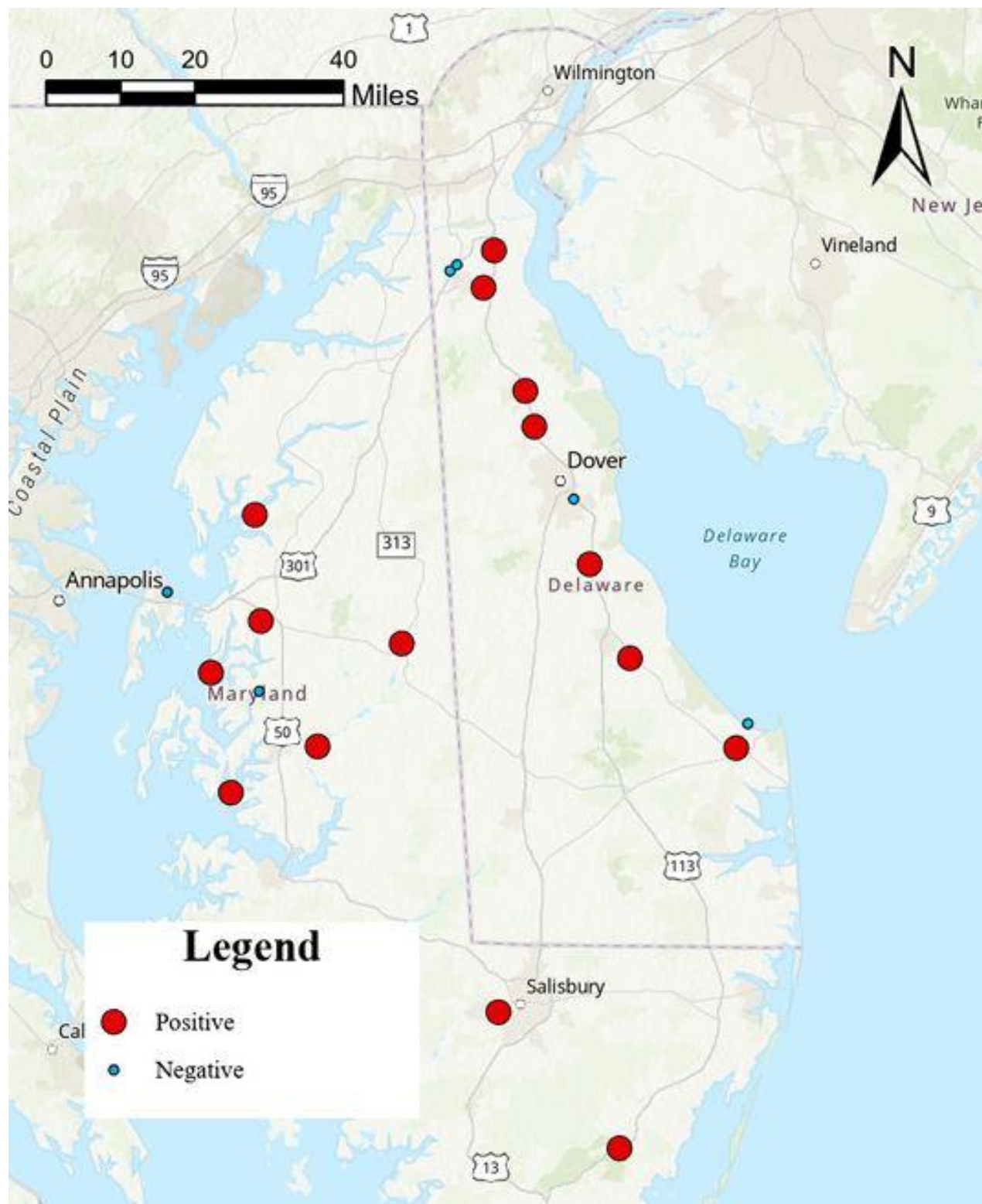


Figure 36: Sites with English Brown Stoneware (Original work of the author)

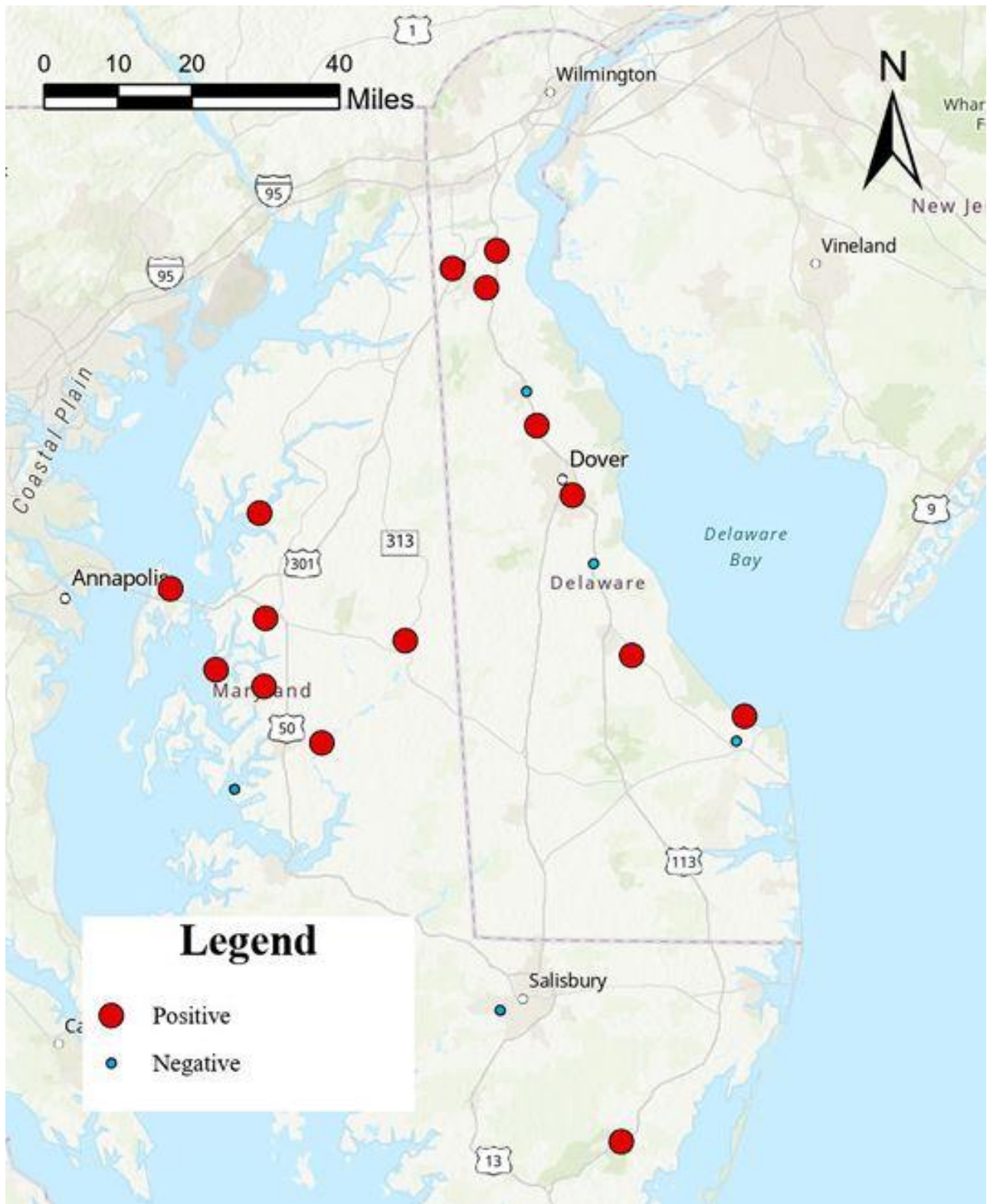


Figure 37: Sites with Westerwald Stoneware (Original work of the author)

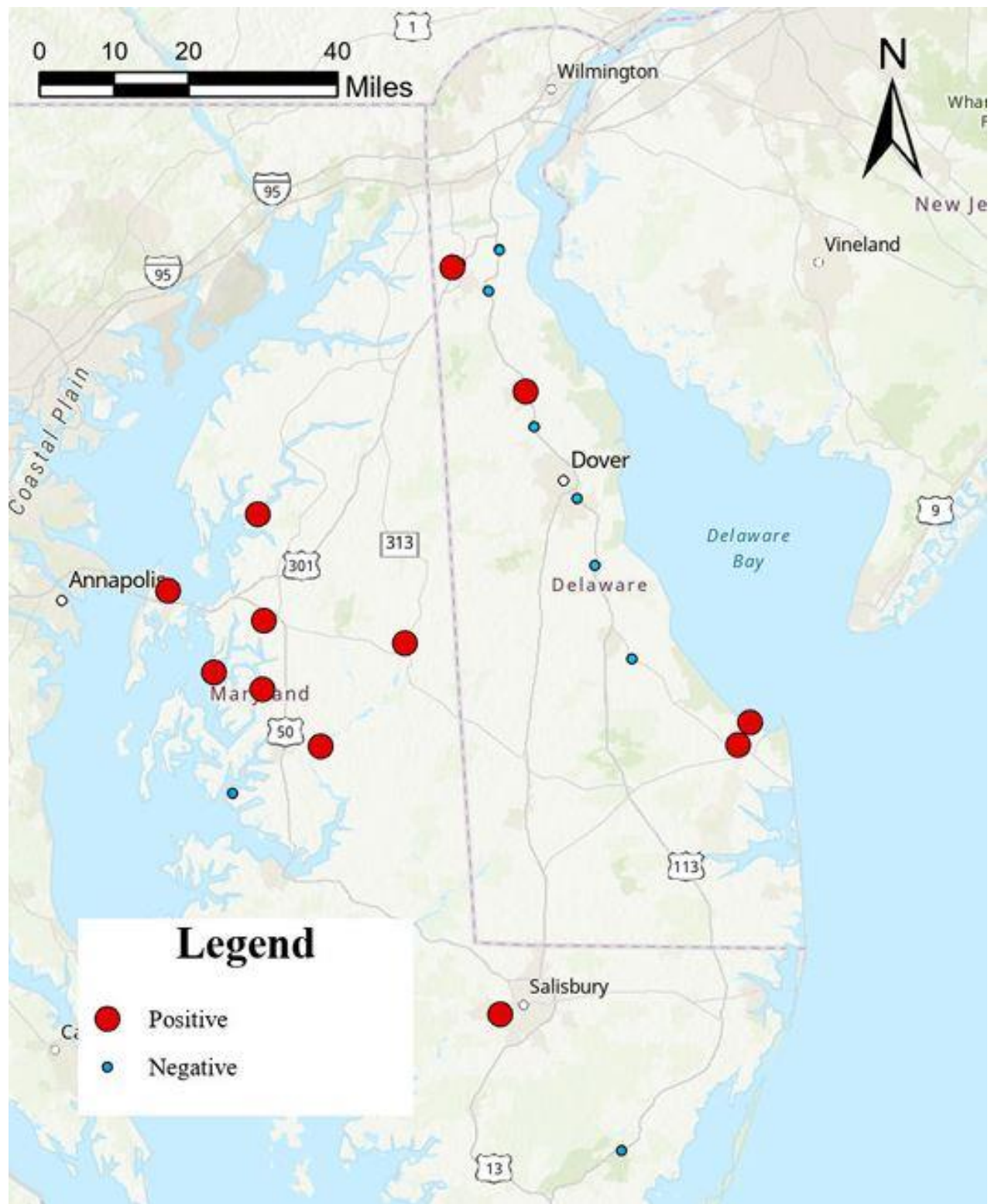


Figure 38: Sites with Rhenish Brown Stoneware (Original work of the author)

The distribution patterns of several types of European origin were not mapped due to their overall scarcity. Frankfurter earthenware, Saintonge earthenware, and North Italian slipware were each recovered from just one site. In addition, Iberian earthenware was recovered from two sites, and French faience of various types was recovered from four sites. Besides the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck, these types were only found on sites in Maryland. Did households and shopkeepers in the Chesapeake region have greater access to ceramics of European origin and therefore contribute to the richness of ceramic assemblages in this region? This may be true for pre-Revolution era sites, but the ceramics found on the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck present a contrary case. Ceramics of French, Spanish, and Italian origin are rare on all English colonial sites due to the restrictions presented in the Navigation Acts. Although bans were only placed on painted ceramics of European origin (Noël Hume 1969:140-141), similar ceramics of English origin would have been much less expensive. Due to this extra expense, these ceramics could have been explicitly preferred by the households that consumed them. Rouen faience is unique for its tin-glazed interior and lead-glazed exterior, although these sherds were often plain, so it is unlikely this type would have been chosen for any specific decorative style or technique. Vessels of these types could have been gifted to the members of these households, or they could have been willing to allocate the necessary expenses to procure ceramics of these types. The Grieb Site presents an interesting case due to the number of European ceramic types recovered from the site, but also in the way these ceramics could have been acquired. This site was occupied by Cornelius Comegys, a Dutch immigrant who became quite prosperous as a merchant and shipbuilder. While he may have had enough money to be able to import European ceramics like Iberian earthenware and North Italian slipware and even Chinese porcelain, it is also possible that, when he emigrated to Maryland, he brought ceramic vessels of types with which he was

familiar. In this scenario he would not have had to maneuver around all barriers necessary to acquire European ceramic types rare on most colonial sites.

When first encountered, the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck site revealed a menagerie of pan-European consumer goods. Along with German toys, Dutch tobacco pipes, and other imports of European origin, the diversity of ceramics recovered from the wreck revealed a merchant ship that had access to vessels manufactured across Europe (Krivor et al. 2010:267). Faience and delftware of French, Dutch, and possibly Spanish origin found at the site are rare on English sites, as most consumers chose to acquire English tin-glazed earthenware with similar motifs but at much lesser expense. Saintonge earthenware, produced in eastern France and characterized by its distinctive green glaze, is also quite rare on English sites. In addition, Frankfurter earthenware is not known to have been recovered on any colonial-era sites within the English sphere of influence (McVae 2008:14-15, 104). This diversity of unusual ceramics of European origins associated with the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck presents the question: how and why did these ceramics end up on a ship presumably bound for Philadelphia, especially under the restrictions presented by the Navigation Acts? Krivor et al. (2010:268) speculate that the ship was transporting these goods at a time when the Navigation Acts no longer applied to the American colonies, or in this case, the newly independent country. During the American Revolution, consumers were obviously quite limited in the goods of British origin that they could acquire. Therefore, they turned to different European trading partners, including France, Spain, and the Netherlands (Krivor et al. 2010:24). It is probable that this vessel is of Dutch origin, carrying goods to America to supply consumers with goods that otherwise may have been too expensive under British control. While American merchants supplied by this, and presumably other ships of European origin, may have been operating out of desperation to supply their desirous consumers

with coveted commodities, they also displayed their revolutionary spirit by sourcing goods from their newly allied producers and importers.

While Revolutionary-era merchants were freed from the constraints of the Navigation Acts and developing trading relations with other European nations, colonial merchants and consumers were heavily restricted by the Navigation Acts, and the nature of British relationships with other countries affected the accessibility of ceramic types available to colonial consumers. The prevalence of German stonewares and Chinese porcelains and the scarcity of French faience and Dutch delftware on the analyzed sites in this region are an excellent example of how “the state powerfully shapes consumption” (Strikwerda 2018:130). The increased costs of goods and the compounded time that it would take to access these goods made ceramic types from Europe less desirable than similar types already being produced in England. Studies into regions more heavily influenced by other European colonizing powers may have differing conclusions based on the material culture of those areas, but the heavy English influence and the immigration of English peoples impacted the ceramics imported to this region (Fischer 1989:462). However, the influx of German immigrants into Pennsylvania and eventually into the Delmarva Peninsula may have instigated the importation of German stoneware to the region. According to Ivor Noël Hume, the Navigation Acts imposed “no such restriction...on Rhenish stonewares,” as they only applied to “painted wares” produced in Europe, and thus “they continued to pour into England” and its colonies “until late in the eighteenth century” (Noël Hume 1969:276).

The distribution pattern of imported ceramics on the Delmarva Peninsula suggests that there are some distinct differences in the ceramic assemblages between Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland (ESM). Ceramic types like Buckley-type earthenware, North Devon earthenware, Manganese Mottled earthenware, and Nottingham stoneware are more prevalent on

ESM sites than Delaware sites, and Borderware is only found on analyzed sites located on the ESM. On the other hand, Wedgwood Green earthenware is also more prevalent on Delaware sites than ESM sites. This suggests that some ceramic types are more characteristic of Chesapeake ceramic assemblages than ceramic assemblages of sites along the Delaware River. With some exceptions, those ceramic types more common on Chesapeake sites are also more frequent at sites in northern Delaware than southern Delaware. While this may have to do with these sites' proximities to urban Philadelphia, they are also more proximal to navigable rivers connected to the Chesapeake Bay. In turn, Kent and Cecil counties in Maryland became more connected. Thus, while the ceramic assemblages of sites excavated along the US Route 301 corridor may be unique (Wilkins, Shellenhammer, and Bedell 2016:12), they are unique in the sense that they are amalgamations of ceramic assemblages from Chesapeake sites and Delaware River sites, as opposed to being distinctive from either.

All households that acquired and used the ceramics recovered from these sites undoubtedly exhibited consumer behavior in the purchase of these goods. Merchants carried these goods across the Atlantic Ocean to local merchants and shopkeepers, who displayed these goods in the hopes that their customers would purchase them. Despite the rural environment of the selected sites, which defines many of the archaeological sites from this era found on the Delmarva Peninsula, these consumers would have been dependent on the merchants from local towns and villages to access consumer goods. The rich, middling, and poor alike in the region were all involved in this process, each depending on local stores and markets to obtain goods both necessary for and desirable to their household. However, consumption goes beyond just an economic process, but these goods act as social markers for the household that purchases and conspicuously displays them.

### 6.3: Ceramic Prevalence Analysis

As the eighteenth century progressed, prestige ceramics, once available only to those of higher status and wealth, became more accessible to more middling households, who purchased these goods and, according to some scholars, emulated upper-class culture through conspicuous display and behavior (McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb 1982; D. Miller 1987; Shamma 1989; Pendery 1992; Carr and Walsh 1994; McCants 2007; Barker 2010; Scribner 2013), including the tea ritual (Stolk 2021:26; Martin 1994:172-173). This would suggest that the households of this region participated in the “consumer revolution” in a similar manner and that the material culture, more specifically the imported ceramics, of the region would support this (Carson 1994:502; McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb 1982:1; Glennie 1995:166; Hodge 2010:217).

A brief study of the most prevalent ceramics recovered from the features from the sites in this sample may suggest otherwise. The consumer behavior of the individuals from the analyzed sites may have been driven less by emulation of the elites of the region and more by the personal tastes and preferences of the household. Table 7 displays the four most prevalent imported ceramic types recovered from the features from each site and their associated proportion within the imported ceramic assemblage from those features. One might suggest that, if emulation of regional elites was fundamental to the creation of these assemblages, there would be significant correlation in the types recovered within the region. Data presented in Table 7 reveals little correlation between ceramic types between sites that are geographically proximal and contemporary to each other, besides those types that are nearly ubiquitous on contemporaneous sites (creamware, pearlware, WSGSW, etc.). These households would have purchased goods that they found aesthetically pleasing and useful for the operations that would have occurred in the home, whether that had to do with the economics of that household or their social behaviors. I

am not suggesting that there was absolutely no emulation occurring in the region; they may have emulated the behaviors of the urban elite, and a study into the ceramic assemblages from Philadelphia or Annapolis may support this hypothesis. However, emulation in a peripheral hinterland like the Delmarva Peninsula would have been more difficult than in urban areas, and these households may have been more influenced by the availability of certain ceramics at local markets and less influenced by the consumer behavior of the local and regional elite. According to Fischer (1989:465), the elites in Delaware differed “in...origin and attitudes” from those in urban areas like Philadelphia. In addition, the notion of emulation is problematic because it negates the preferences and tastes of the households involved in consumption. While eighteenth-century consumers were undeniably constricted by the British mercantilist system and influenced by the availability of goods at their local shops and markets, they could still operate with some agency in the ceramic vessels that they chose to purchase and consume, and the variety of goods presented in Table 7 supports that idea.

Table 7: Imported Ceramic Prevalence from Features by Site

Sites	1st	1st %	2nd	2nd %	3rd	3rd %	4	4th %	Remaining %
<b>Southern DE</b>									
Cedar Creek	Creamware	61	Tin Glaze	16	Staffordshire	11	WSGSW	8	4
Knapp	Creamware	63	WSGSW	14	Pearlware	13	Jackfield	5	5
<b>Central DE</b>									
Somy	WSGSW	78	Agateware	7	Jackfield	7	Creamware	5	3
Strickland	WSGSW	29	Tin Glaze	21	Staffordshire	15	Oriental Porc	10	25
Powell	Staffordshire	31	Tin Glaze	24	Westerwald	24	English Brown	21	
<b>Northern DE</b>									
Dawson Family	WSGSW	61	Tin Glaze	19	Chinese Porc	11	Creamware	7	2
Cardon-Holton	Staffordshire	54	Tin Glaze	27	Whieldon	7	Westerwald	6	6
McKean-Cochran	Chinese Porc	29	Pearlware	28	Creamware	21	Tin Glaze	7	15
Noxon Tenancy	Staffordshire	29	WSGSW	27	Jackfield	20	Tin Glaze	18	6
Augustine North	Manganese	47	Tin Glaze	29	English Brown	9	Westerwald	7	8
Augustine South	WSGSW	57	Tin Glaze	23	Staffordshire	10	Manganese	3	7
<b>Western MD</b>									

Barwick's Ordinary	Creamware	33	Tin Glaze	24	WSGSW	13	Borderware	10	20
Bennett's Point	Westerwald	22	Tin Glaze	21	Chinese Porc	16	English Brown	13	28
Pleasant Valley	Tin Glaze	54	Rhenish Brown	11	WSGSW	9	Whieldon	7	19
Cloverfields	Tin Glaze	43	WSGSW	18	Creamware	14	Pearlware	7	18
18QU409	Manganese	46	Rhenish Brown	18	North Devon	18	WSGSW	9	9
Grieb	North Devon	45	Rhenish Brown	20	Tin Glaze	15	Westerwald	5	15
Long Point	Buckley	37	Manganese	34	WSGSW	15	Staffordshire	7	7
Dover Bridge	Tin Glaze	36	North Devon	15	Westerwald	13	Staffordshire	7	29
<b>Southern MD</b>									
18WO183	Creamware	31	Pearlware	27	Tin Glaze	11	Westerwald	7	24
Pemberton	Pearlware	59	Creamware	15	Chinese Porc	8	Tin Glaze	7	11

#### **6.4: Ceramic Type Distribution Across the Upper Delmarva Peninsula**

The geographies of the two states may have had a significant impact on their assemblages, not necessarily the different types that were available, but the amount that they were exposed to and consequently consumed. Figures 39 and 40 provide the numbers of ceramic types, or the richness of the assemblage, recovered from each site separated by state into eras, before the general introduction of creamware, and after. Figure 41 provides an average number of ceramic types recovered from these sites separated by state into eras. These figures suggest that ESM sites tend to purchase and consume ceramics of more various types than contemporaneous sites in Delaware. While Baugher and Venables (1987:31) suggest that access to ceramic types was due primarily to “economic and political factors,” trade and geography of the Delmarva Peninsula may have played a role in differences in ceramic assemblages, similar to hypotheses related to hinterland and frontier access to markets (Shammas 1993:198). The rivers flowing from the Chesapeake Bay into the inland Delmarva Peninsula provide excellent routes for navigating to towns and villages located along these rivers. In addition, more prominent houses located along these routes would have had a landing so goods could be imported directly to their estate (Greene 1988:93). Less affluent households would still be able to use these

waterways to reach the nearest town or village to purchase goods from their local store or market. Nearly all the analyzed sites on the ESM are located near or along a navigable waterway. Site 18WO183, located the farthest of these sites from a navigable waterway, is still approximately a mile from the Pocomoke River and about two miles from Snow Hill. In general, Delaware has fewer navigable waterways than the ESM, and this may have impacted the amount of goods and variety of goods transported up these rivers. Several towns in Delaware, including Wilmington, Dover, Milford, and Lewes, would have been adjacent to navigable waterways, and many of the goods transported to these towns would have traveled these routes. However, while most of the analyzed sites in Delaware are located relatively close to a waterway, the navigability of some of these waterways is questionable at best. Some households would have been wholly dependent on cart roads to access goods at nearby towns and villages during a time when the road system in the region was starting to develop (De Cunzo 2004:94-95) and thus may have had more difficulty accessing the amount of goods available to their contemporaries in Maryland.

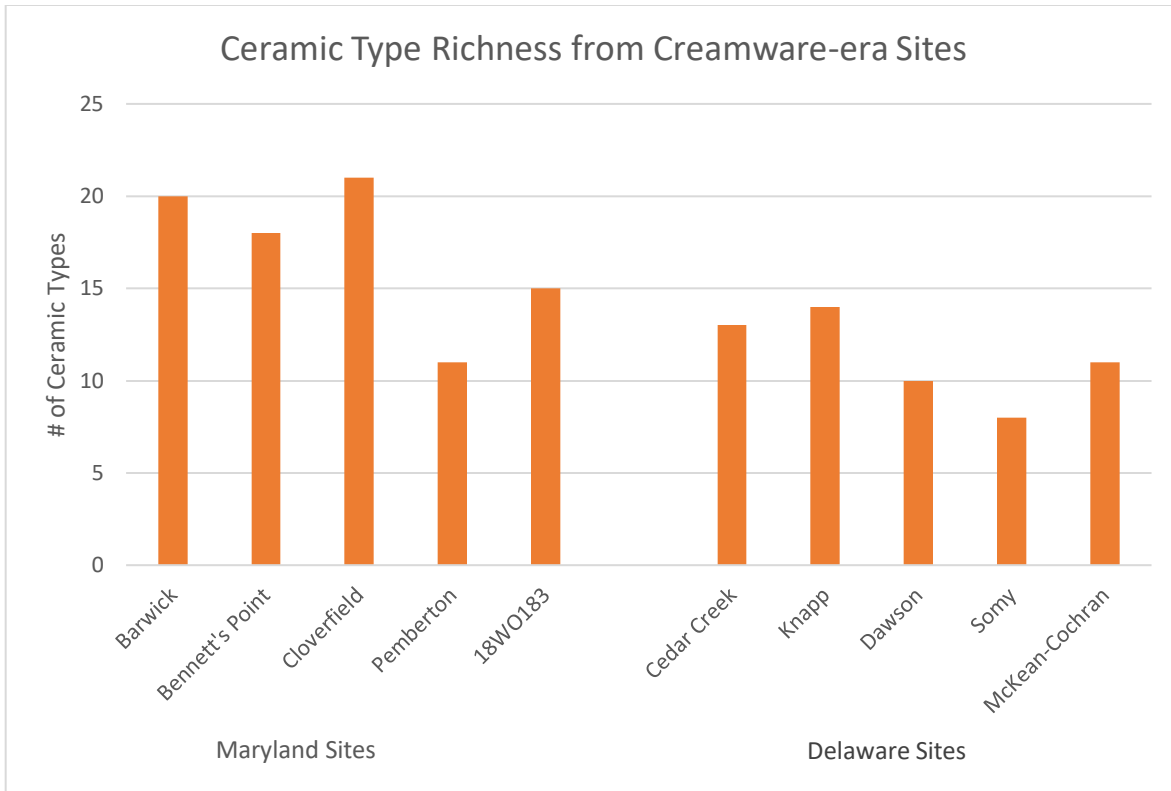


Figure 39: Ceramic Type Richness from Creamware-era Sites (Original work of the author)

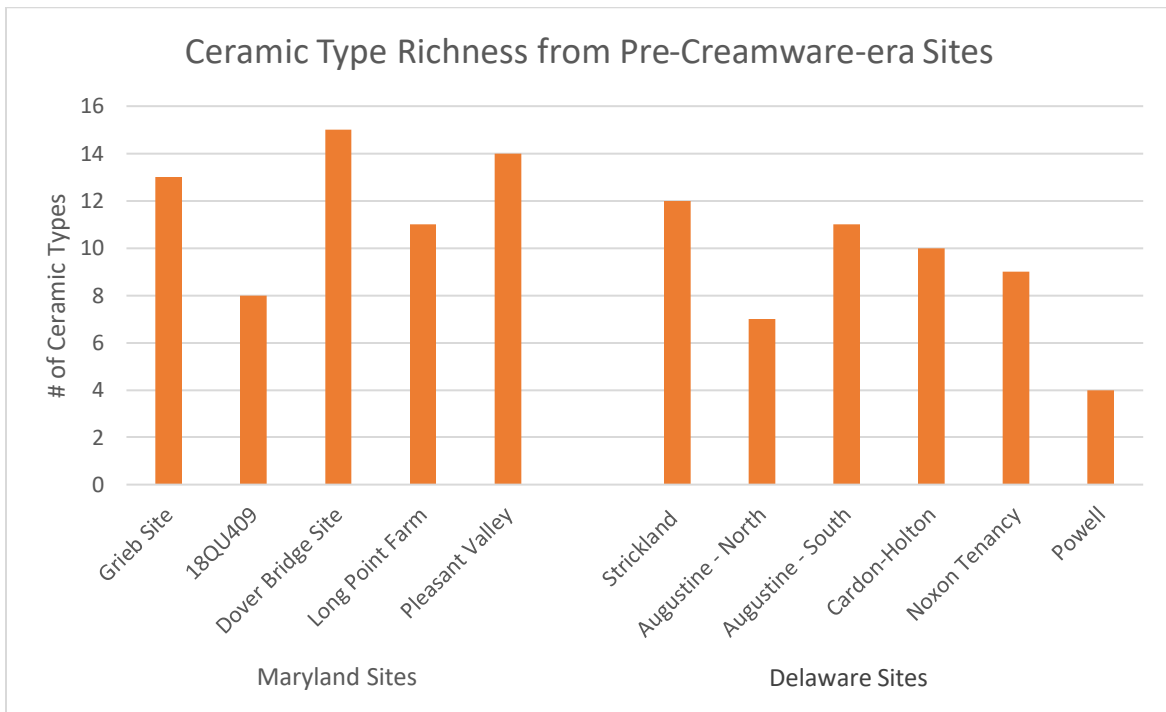


Figure 40: Ceramic Type Richness from Pre-Creamware-era Sites (Original work of the author)

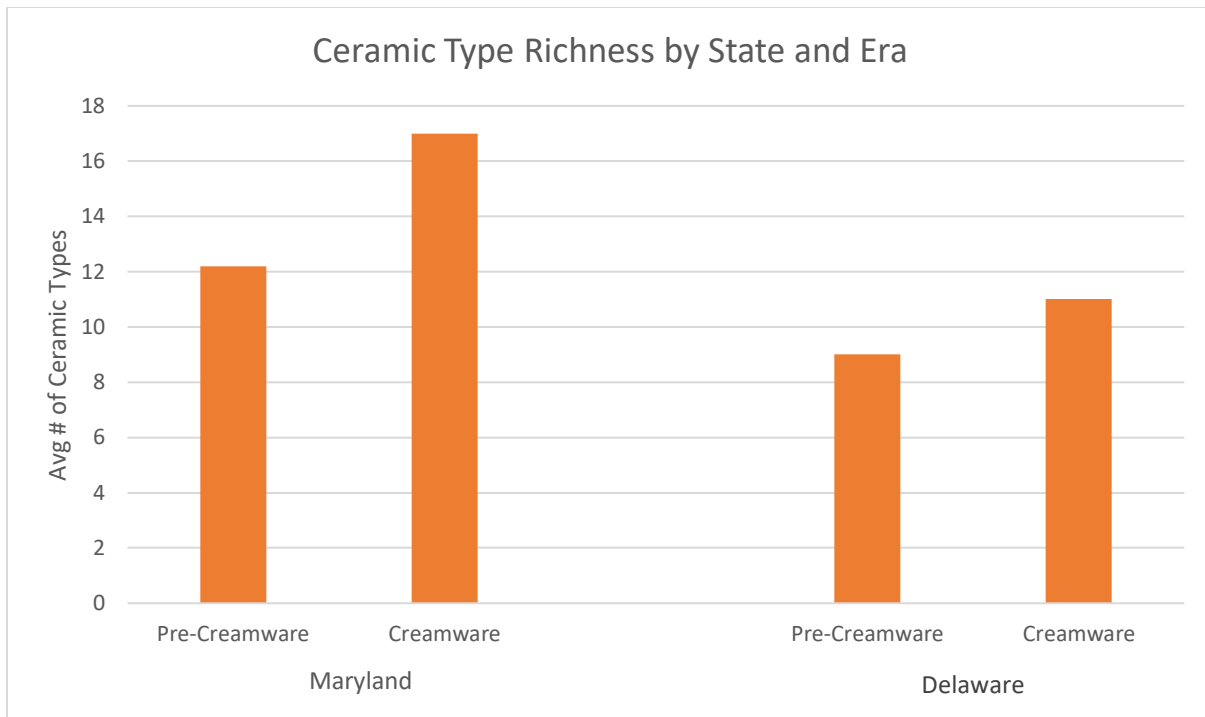


Figure 41: Ceramic Type Richness by State and Era (Original work of the author)

Figures 39 and 40 also display the changing nature of ceramic production and consumerism during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As goods became more accessible to a wider array of the population, manufacturers like Josiah Wedgwood worked hard to experiment with and develop new ceramic types, styles, and decorations to gain an edge in the industry. A proliferation of new types produced in the eighteenth century meant that colonial consumers had a wider range of styles and types from which they could choose. While more middling consumers may have emulated the consumer and social behaviors of the regional elites, they also chose different types based on their own tastes and preferences as well as the specific needs of the household. These households purchased ceramics to suit a wide range of different needs, including storage, food preparation, and food and tea consumption. Local merchants and shopkeepers were a valuable source of consumption for consumers on the Delmarva Peninsula. In the same way that it was the manufacturer's responsibility to continually develop new types

and styles, it was the merchant's responsibility to stock new fashionable goods that would be appealing to a wide range of consumers (Martin 2008:146).

As members of polite society, consumers were then responsible for purchasing goods from merchants that not only fulfilled the needs within their household but also established their identity through individual and household taste, thus characterizing the changing nature of consumption in the eighteenth century. However, accessibility to these goods seems to have played a factor. There appear to be certain types, including Buckley-type and Manganese Mottled earthenwares, that are more characteristic of Chesapeake sites than Delaware sites. For types like Borderware, which were only found on sampled sites in Maryland, this could be the result of trade differences, as some merchants may have operated more heavily in the Chesapeake Bay region than the Delaware River region. Trade may have also contributed to the popularity of different types in a region. If types are not widely accessible, then it is likely that other types would have been used to perform the same functions as vessels of the less accessible type. On the other hand, certain types may have been accessible but not preferred over other types that perform the same function but may be less expensive. Take less popular types like Jasperware, Black Basalt, or Elers-type stoneware. These types are not widely encountered on sites in the Middle Atlantic region, and their unusual manufacturing process, colors, and motifs mean that their presence on a site is related to a distinct preference for that type, as their function (most often as teawares) could be easily performed by other less expensive and more popular types. Therefore, studies into the distribution of ceramics across the upper Delmarva Peninsula have helped to explain consumer and trade behaviors that contribute to their presence on archaeological sites.

## Chapter 7: Concluding Thoughts

While artifacts are important to the interpretation of behaviors of individuals associated with eighteenth-century archaeological sites, ceramics are uniquely valuable due not only to their abundance on these sites but also the abundance of documentation and information associated with each type. The presence of ceramics on these sites is due to some deliberate decision made by household consumers that intimately connects them with wider regional and trans-Atlantic trade. Whether these individuals are influenced by the consumer behaviors of others around them or by their own tastes and preferences for specific styles, forms, and motifs, they become part of a wider consumer culture that characterizes the eighteenth-century Atlantic world.

Two distinct conclusions can be put forward as a result of the analysis of the imported ceramics from sampled sites on the Delmarva Peninsula. First, the distribution of ceramics across the Delmarva Peninsula seems to be best explained by availability as well as individual and household taste as opposed to emulation. As recent scholarship suggests (Beranek 2004; Breen 2004; Groover 2005; White 2006; Hodge 2009; Hodge 2010; Mullins 2011b; Mullins 2019), emulation is an insufficient explanation to understand motivations behind human behaviors, and analysis of the distribution of imported ceramics across the upper Delmarva Peninsula supports this conclusion. While consumers may certainly have been influenced by their more elite neighbors, the distinct variations in ceramic types and proportions recovered from features suggest limited embodiment of the behaviors associated with the local elites. The greatest influence may have been exerted by their individual preferences, tastes, and desires. Consumers on the Delmarva Peninsula were empowered by the choices that they made in the types of ceramics they purchased, and the explanation of emulation negates the agency with which these individuals actively chose these goods. Accessibility, whether economically or geographically, to

different ceramic types was certainly a factor in the types consumed by a household, but outside of any accessibility issues, it appears as though consumers were more driven by their own fancies and aesthetics as opposed to any ephemeral status they might gain by purchasing an expensive and fashionable vessel.

Second, variations in the distribution of ceramics across the Delmarva Peninsula suggest differences in the ceramic trade between the Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware River as well as differences in the accessibility of ceramics. Mapping distribution patterns of imported ceramic types indicates that certain ceramic types may be more common on the Eastern Shore of Maryland than in Delaware and are often characteristic of ceramic assemblages from the Chesapeake region. Several ceramic types, including Buckley, North Devon, and Manganese Mottled earthenwares, along with Nottingham stoneware, are more common on selected sites on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and Borderware is not found on any of the selected sites in Delaware. This may suggest variations in the ceramic trade between the Delaware River and the Chesapeake Bay, as merchants carrying goods originating from different production centers operate in different regions. The comparative lack of type diversity may be due to the variability in fashionability across the region. While the landed gentry of Chesapeake society may have been more desperate to remain fashionable and maintain their social status, Quaker influence in Delaware may have contributed to the lack of ostentation, preferring more plain forms and not necessarily eager to receive the latest elaborations in ceramics. It is also interesting to note how some sites, especially those investigated during the US Route 301 project, are impacted by trade from both the Delaware River and Chesapeake Bay. Both sites (Noxon Tenancy and Dawson Family) have a unique assemblage that combines those ceramics commonly found on Delaware sites with those ceramics more characteristic of Chesapeake sites. These sites are proximal to

tributaries from the Delaware River and Chesapeake Bay, as well as the cart road from Philadelphia, and can take advantage of trade from both directions. While analysis of the distribution of ceramics imported from England may suggest increased access to certain ceramic types for Chesapeake sites, it would appear as though both Delaware and Eastern Shore of Maryland sites have a similar access to foreign ceramics, especially Chinese porcelain and German stoneware, despite restrictions placed by the enactment of the Navigation Acts on the importation of ceramics manufactured outside of England.

This distribution of ceramics across the Peninsula may suggest connections to important ports in England, but further study would be required to confirm this hypothesis. Borderware is only produced in the south of England (Jefferson Patterson Park & Museum 2002d), which makes it unique in the sense that it is one of the few ceramics that was only produced in that region and hence exported from one of the southern ports, such as Portsmouth. It cannot be said with utmost confidence that any ceramics found in Delaware were shipped from this region; therefore, without evidence that might suggest otherwise, it appears as though the Chesapeake Bay is more intimately connected than Delaware to ports in southern England. Most other ceramics were produced in or around Staffordshire and consequently exported from Liverpool; although these ceramics may have been produced in other locales in England, more intensive study into the minute differences between ceramics of the same type produced in different locales is needed to determine whether ports used in the exportation of ceramics are more intimately connected to Delaware River trade or Chesapeake Bay trade.

An analysis solely focused on the distribution of imported ceramics across the upper Delmarva Peninsula, while beneficial to understanding trade and consumerism in this often-overlooked region, is certainly not the ultimate conclusion. Further related studies can take this

topic in multitudinous directions and consequently solidify or alter the arguments made in this paper. One of my greatest disappointments in conducting this research is the lack of sites in southern Delaware and Maryland and in northern Delaware and Maryland I was able to include in this study. Inclusion of more sites on the Eastern Shore of Maryland that are more proximal to the Atlantic Ocean may reveal ceramic assemblages more closely related to those in Delaware than in the western portion of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In the same manner, ceramic assemblages from sites in western Sussex County in Delaware may be more closely related to those from Chesapeake sites due to trade up the Nanticoke River. In addition, it may be revealed that more sites in northern Delaware and Maryland may be impacted by trade from both the Delaware River and the Chesapeake Bay. Nevertheless, this thesis shows the conclusions that can be made when material culture from previously excavated sites is analyzed.

Syntheses and intersite analyses of already collected data are lacking in the archaeological literature; these studies can reveal interesting patterns of past behaviors related to the paradigm of choice. More regional studies of trade and consumer behavior may reveal patterns similar to those identified here. Such an approach requires both consistency and diversity; ceramic terminology and the process in sampling sites should remain consistent, but the diversity should come in the locations of the sites. As shown here, the types of sampled sites may not be diverse; with some exceptions, many of the sites sampled in this thesis are rural domestic farmsteads. However, the entire region, to the extent possible, should be represented in the sample of sites. As I stated earlier, it would have been nice to include additional sites in various other areas of the region, but accessibility issues, whether related to the lack of sites in an area or to the ability to access reports and collections from select sites, may arise. While much of the fun of archaeology is found in excavating undisturbed sites and completing intrasite analysis

to understand behaviors related to the household, we should not neglect the material culture that has already been recovered, sitting in repositories waiting for someone to study them. Many important sites remain understudied, and more peripheral regions like the Delmarva Peninsula are often overlooked compared to sites in urban areas.

When I first thought of this topic, I had originally wanted to include sites from western Maryland and from southeastern Pennsylvania to compare ceramic assemblages to sites on the Delmarva Peninsula, and that may still prove to be a fruitful pursuit. The scope of this study may be grand and difficult to tackle, but it may further refine the ceramic types that characterize each of these regions. In addition, urban sites, or even sites located within landing towns and villages, are blatantly missing from this study. While I claim that emulation was not a major factor in the consumption of ceramics, more intensive study into the ceramic assemblages from urban sites, including those from Annapolis, Philadelphia, or even Wilmington, may indicate emulation of urban elites that is absent from the current data. Any additional study into this topic should also include a more intensive study into the primary documentation associated with any selected sites to gain additional insight into the socioeconomic status of the analyzed households.

Nevertheless, this thesis shows the value of regional material culture studies in understanding not only consumer behaviors but also associated socioeconomic behaviors. Despite the extensive research and analysis involved in such a study, the information that may be gleaned from such a study can be beneficial to understanding regional trade networks and behaviors. Further opportunities for study into this topic abound, and it remains to be seen how this study can be expanded upon.

The Delmarva Peninsula presents a unique case to study the impacts that regional and trans-Atlantic trade has on artifact assemblages, more specifically ceramic assemblages, on

colonial-era archaeological sites. There are few regions that can attribute the source of trade to two distinct routes, in this case the Chesapeake Bay to the west and the Delaware Bay, Delaware River, and Atlantic Ocean to the east. The eighteenth century saw the emergence and rise of port settlements along these waterways, including Philadelphia, Wilmington, Annapolis, and eventually Baltimore. These cities were vital ports of trade for the surrounding regions, and each of these regions has differentiated themselves through their artifact assemblages. While the ceramic assemblages for the Chesapeake Bay and Delaware River may not be unique, there are certainly imported ceramic types that are more readily attributed to one trade route over another, and the accessibility of these types in each region may have led to differences in consumption. Many sites on the Delmarva Peninsula are impacted by trade from both directions, and their ceramic assemblages reflect that. While cities are often the focus of material studies, it is easy to overlook the importance of port towns and landing villages to the local consumers, who depended on the transportation of goods to these localities so they could purchase increasing amounts of goods of comfort that would have been less accessible in previous decades. The region's unique geography as a peninsula has established it as an amalgamation of two conduits of commerce, thus forming an unusual material culture on the Delmarva Peninsula.

## Appendices: Selected Ceramic Photos

### Appendix 1: Selected Ceramic Photos from the Knapp Site



Figure 42: English Brown Stoneware (Original work of the author)

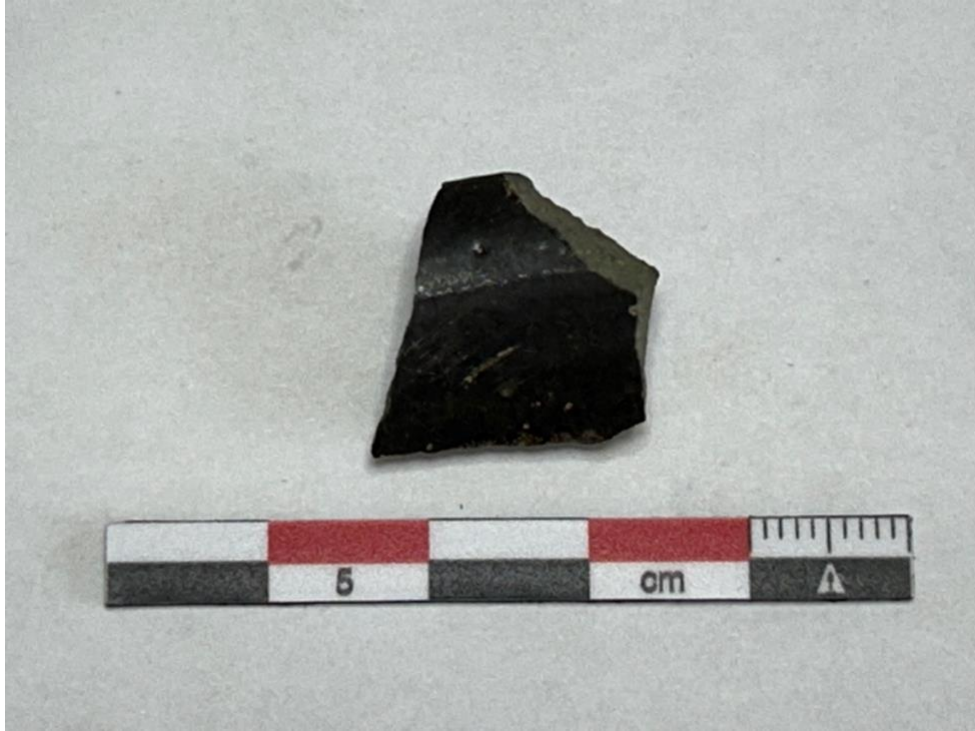


Figure 43: Jackfield-type Earthenware (Original work of the author)



Figure 44: White Salt-glazed Stoneware (Original work of the author)



Figure 45: Chinese Porcelain (Original work of the author)



Figure 46: Astbury-type Earthenware (Original work of the author)



Figure 47: Whieldon-type Earthenware (Original work of the author)



Figure 48: Creamware (Original work of the author)



Figure 49: Tin-Glazed Earthenware (Original work of the author)



Figure 50: Wedgwood Green Earthenware (Pineapple Ware) (Original work of the author)



Figure 51: Nottingham Stoneware (Original work of the author)



Figure 52: Creamware (Overglaze Paint) (Original work of the author)

**Appendix 2: Selected Ceramic Photos from the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck**



Figure 53: Frankfurter Earthenware (Courtesy of Jill Showell)

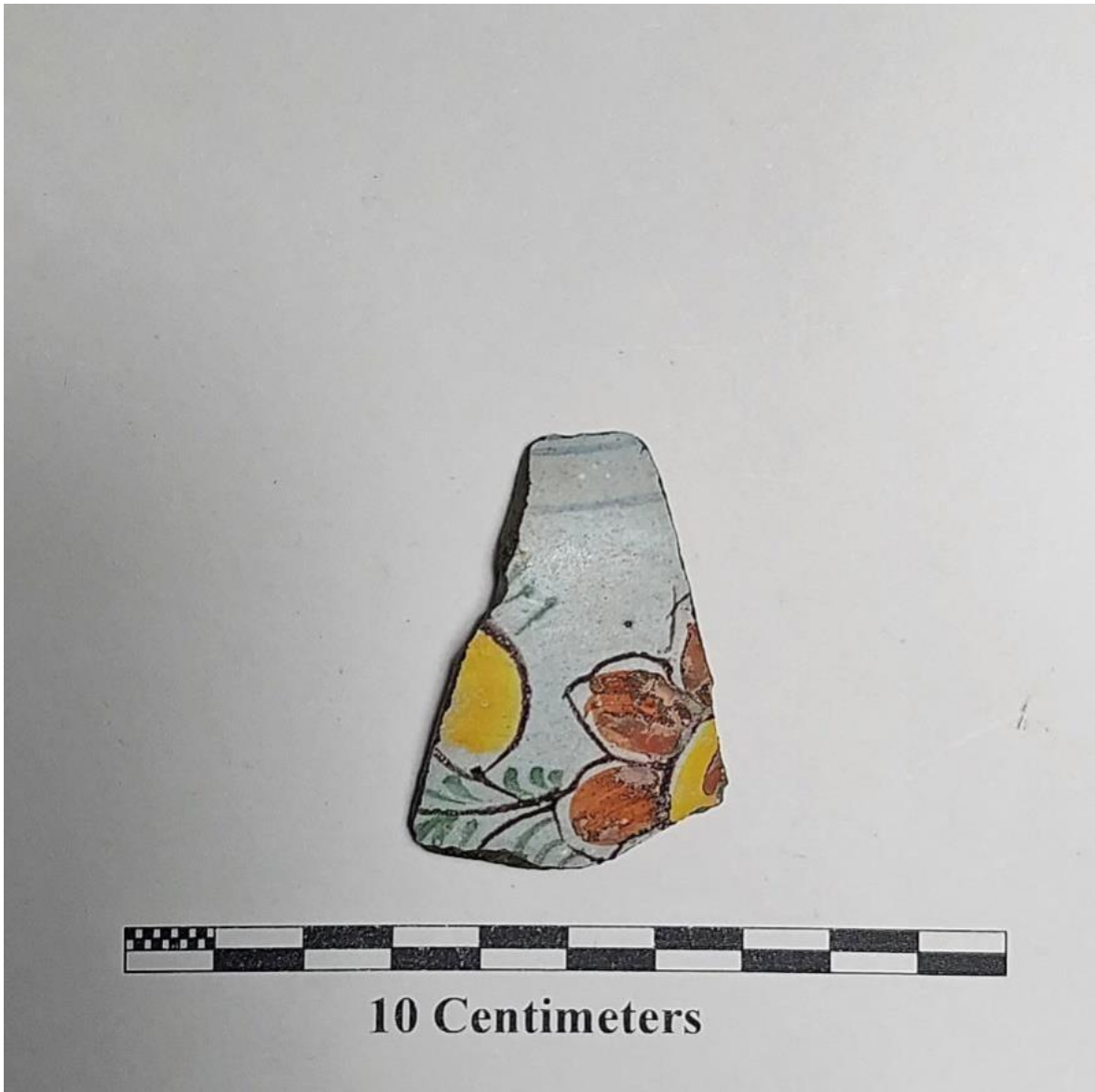


Figure 54: Tin-Glazed Earthenware (Courtesy of Jill Showell)



Figure 55: Rhenish Brown Stoneware (Courtesy of Jill Showell)



Figure 56: Saintonge Earthenware (Courtesy of Jill Showell)



Figure 57: Westerwald Stoneware (Courtesy of Jill Showell)



Figure 58: Rouen Faience (Interior) (Original work of the author)



Figure 59: Rouen Faience (Exterior) (Original work of the author)

Appendix 3: Selected Ceramic Photos from the Barwick's Ordinary Site



Figure 60: Staffordshire-type Earthenware (Original work of the author)



Figure 61: Whieldon-type Earthenware (Original work of the author)

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