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March 2010 Newsletter

Squatters Budgeree: Pipes for the Australian Market Recovered at the Homestead of a Free Black Family in Sussex County, New Jersey

By Megan E. Springate*

An archaeological data recovery was recently completed by Richard Grubb & Associates, Inc. at the Cooper-Mann House site (28-Sx-399), owned from 1862 through 1909 by a single free African-American family in Sussex Borough (formerly known as Deckertown), Sussex County, New Jersey (Figure 1). These excavations were done in advance of a New Jersey Department of Transportation (NJDOT) project to realign State Route 23 through the area; the Cooper-Mann House site was considered significant for its long association with the Mann family. Excavations were conducted in 1999 around the exterior of the house, and in 2008, in the building's interior prior to demolition (Richard Grubb & Associates 2001, 2010a). Among the artifacts recovered were two white clay stem fragments from Squatters Budgeree pipes – a design manufactured in England and perhaps in Scotland specifically for the Australian market. No other examples of these smoking pipes are known on sites outside of Australia, New Zealand, and a manufacturing site in England. This article presents background information about the Mann family and a summary of what is known about Squatters Budgeree pipes, endeavors to explain how these pipes arrived at the site, and assesses their implications.

The Mann Family Homestead

The Mann family homestead at 37 Mill Street, Sussex Borough (formerly Deckertown), New Jersey was a frame building with a dry-laid stone foundation. It was built circa 1856 of large timbers cut in the late eighteenth century, and reused from some earlier building, likely a barn or other large post and beam structure. Early documents identify the dwelling as a mill house associated with the Cooper family's grist mill, located along Clove Creek immediately to the north. In 1862, William and Harrison Mann purchased the house and associated 0.25 acre

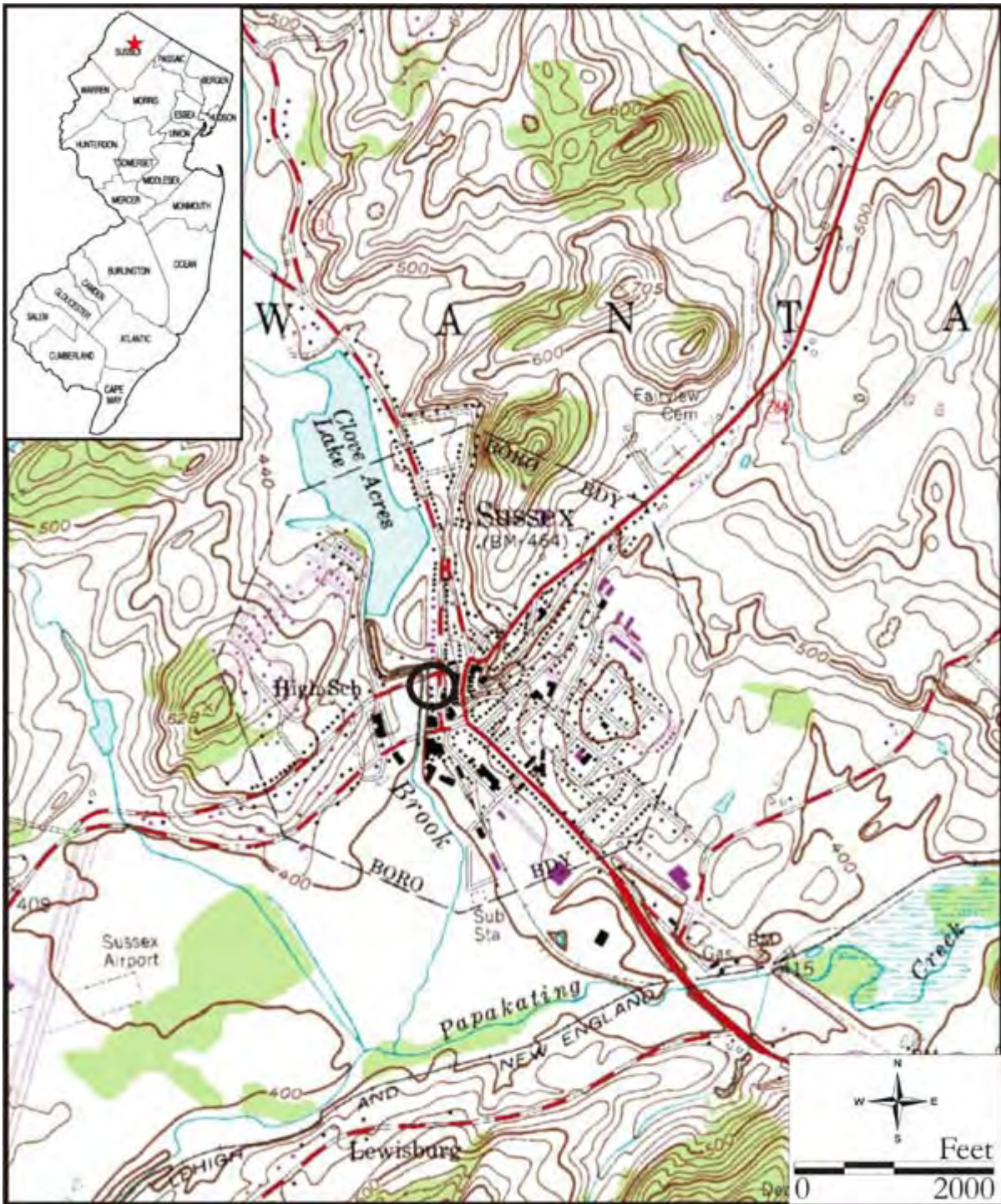


Figure 1. Site Location.

property from Mahlon Cooper for \$350. According to the deed, at least one member of the Mann family was residing in the house prior to the sale. When Harrison Mann sold his interest in the house to William the following year, William's father Benjamin was living there,

suggesting that Benjamin may have been the occupant at the time of the original sale in 1862. Benjamin, a laborer, was likely working at Cooper's grist mill. Although we know from the documentary record that William was Benjamin's son, the family relationship with Harrison Mann is unclear. Benjamin was married to Catherine Mann, born in 1810 in Wantage Township, New Jersey (Richard Grubb & Associates 2010b).

Benjamin Mann was born into slavery circa 1800 in Sussex County, New Jersey; his death certificate does not list the names of his parents (Richard Grubb & Associates 2010b; *Sussex Register* 1896). While many enslaved persons took the surnames of their masters, ex-slaves often put aside the name of their last owners, and chose names associated with previous owners, or the owners of their parents (Quinn 2003). There was, however, a Mann farmstead in nearby Vernon Township, where Benjamin may have spent time as a slave. In 1804, New Jersey passed the "Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery," which provided that women and men born to enslaved parents in 1804 or afterwards would be free on their twenty-first birthday or twenty-fifth birthday, respectively. Born four years too early, Benjamin was not eligible for emancipation under the Act, and may have remained enslaved through the late 1830s. Although slavery was not abolished in New Jersey until 1846, by 1840, Benjamin Mann was living in a ten-person free African-American household in Wantage Township, New Jersey (McManus 1973; Richard Grubb & Associates 2010b).

In 1850, at age 50, Benjamin was living in Wantage Township employed as a laborer. Members of his household included his wife, Catherine and their four children, William (age 8), Mary J. (age 6), Anna (age 3), and Emaline (age 7 months). Of the 51 blacks enumerated in the 1855 New Jersey census for Wantage Township, 12 had the surname Mann; their relationships to each other are unclear. William Mann, Benjamin and Catherine's son, was not among them – at age 13, he may have been working elsewhere at the time of the census (Richard Grubb & Associates 2010b).

In 1860, two years before purchasing the house on Mill Street, neither William nor Harrison Mann appeared to have the financial resources to pay the \$350 for the property. William, age 18, was in nearby Sparta Township working as a laborer on the farm of Michael Mackerly; Harrison, age 20, was working as a servant in Deckertown for wealthy town resident, Jacob H. Beemer. Benjamin was enumerated in 1860 living in Deckertown and working as a laborer, with a personal estate of \$10. In comparing Benjamin Mann's neighbors with an 1860

map of the area, it is possible to locate him and his family within or adjacent to Elias Cooper's 1,000 acre farm. Cooper settled in Deckertown in 1812 on the plantation of his uncle, and had owned several slaves. His son, Mahlon owned the Deckertown grist mill and the house which was to become the Mann family homestead (Richard Grubb & Associates 2010b). It is, therefore, also possible that Benjamin and/or Catherine Mann had been enslaved laborers for the Cooper family.

For whatever reason, Benjamin did not purchase the house himself; indeed, Sussex County deeds suggest that he was never a landowner. In January of 1870, Benjamin Mann died of consumption; his wife Catherine (also known as Kate or Katie) died in 1874 from palsy. At the time of the 1870 census, the Mann family living at 37 Mill Street included 73 year-old day laborer John Mann, possibly Benjamin's brother; Benjamin's widow Kate, who at age 60 was keeping house; Fillis, age 100, possibly the mother of John and Benjamin; William Mann, age 28 and working as a day laborer; William's wife Louisa, also age 28; and William's brother, Wilson, who at age 18 was working next door at the grist mill. William owned the house until his death in 1896. He died without a will, and the property was passed to his sister, Charlotte West of Middletown, New York and his brothers Joseph of New Milford, New York and Wilson of Deckertown. William had been a member of the nearby Presbyterian Church since 1873 and served as a sexton since 1886; he was praised for his conscientiousness and sobriety, and "no colored person in Deckertown and but few of its white inhabitants have ever won a more general tribute of respect" (*Wantage Recorder* 1896). The *Sussex Register* noted that William had been employed as a mason, and that his father had been a slave (*Sussex Register* 1896).

William's sister and brothers transferred the property to his widow Louisa for \$1. After his death, she lived alone in the house, working as a wash woman. She died of typhoid in 1907 at the age of 65. She named her brother, Horace Campbell of Elmira, New York as heir to her property; two years later, he sold the property out of the Mann family. The new owner, Charles G. Wilson, did extensive modifications to the house and property, including grading and levelling the property and building a new, full front porch (Richard Grubb & Associates 2010b).

The Pipes

Among the artifacts recovered from the site were two stems from Squatters Budgerees smoking pipes. These white clay pipes were made in England and possibly Scotland strictly for

the Australian market (Figure 2). The pipe stems came from temporally mixed contexts underneath the post-1947 garage. The larger of the two Squatters Budgeree fragments was recovered from a mixed fill overlying a stone box drain. Several other nineteenth century pipe

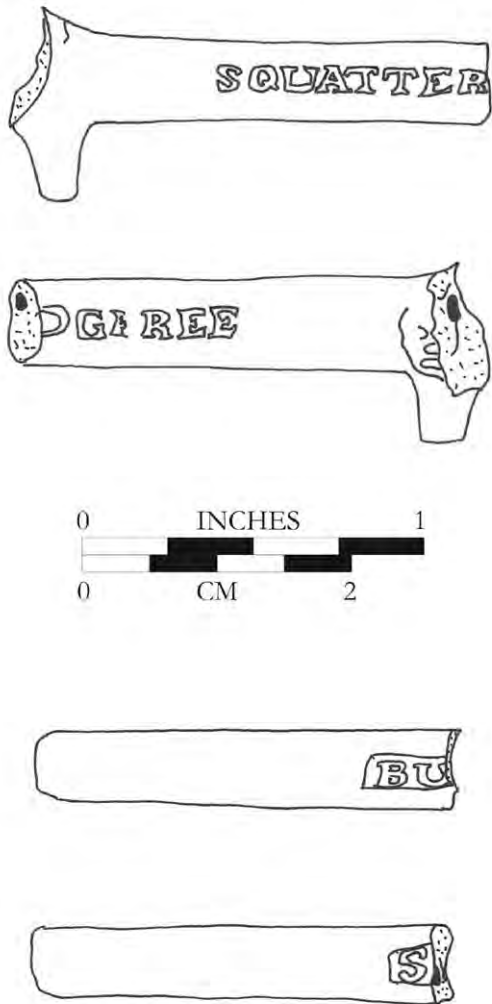


Figure 2. Squatters Budgeree pipes recovered from the Cooper-Mann House site. Drawing by David Strohmeier.

fragments were also recovered, including: one with an eagle and shield reminiscent of the Great Seal of the United States; a bowl marked T D surrounded by a circle of thirteen stars and a band of stars around the rim; ribbed and fluted bowls; several bowls with leaves along the rear mold seam; and one stem marked with what appears to be GAMBIER PARIS (manufactured between 1780 and 1926; Bradley 2000: 118). All of these, except the Gambier mark, are present in other contexts across the site. The smaller of the two Squatters Budgeree fragments was recovered from a mixed fill within a builders trench excavated for the construction of a circa 1890-1904

addition to the house. A small number of other pipe fragments were recovered from this context; all were unmarked. Site stratigraphy suggests that the mixed fill overlying the stone box drain consists of artifact-laden topsoils from elsewhere on the property deposited during the grading and levelling process undertaken by Charles Wilson following his purchase in 1909 (Richard Grubb & Associates 2010a). Although recovered from temporally mixed contexts, the association of the pipes with the Mann family occupation is clear.

Squatters Budgerie pipes are found regularly and in small numbers on sites throughout Australia and New Zealand, and have also been identified at the location of the Hill Top Pipe Works in Rainford, England. Marks on other pipes recovered at the works indicate that they were made during David Swallow's circa 1860 to 1880 ownership, and that Swallow was producing several designs specifically for export to tobacconists in Sydney, Australia. Two versions of the pipe, with variations in spacing and lettering styles, have been documented; both of these have been identified at the site of the Hill Top Pipe Works (Dagnall 2006; Gojak and Stuart 1999: 46). An advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1855 notified tobacconists, grocers, shippers, and others that the firm of Cohen and Harbottle had 432,000 "budgerie squatter pipes" (300 cases of 10 gross each) for auction (*Sydney Morning Herald* 1855). This suggests that David Swallow was not the only manufacturer of these pipes; other manufacturers may have included McDougall and Thomas White, though the evidence for these is not as clear as for the Hill Top Pipe Works (Denis Gojak, pers. comm., January 31, 2010).

An almost complete Squatters Budgerie pipe was illustrated in an article by Denis Gojak and Iain Stuart (Figure 3). The design on the bowl shows an Aboriginal man and woman fighting on one side, and a comfortable squatter's camp on the other. The term squatter in this context refers to white colonists who settled in Australia; the term budgerie was derived from Aboriginal languages around Sydney, Australia and eventually entered colonial slang, meaning good or fine (Gojak and Stuart 1999: 46). The design contrasts the wealthy and comfortable squatter and the perceived degradation of the Aborigines, who the squatters have displaced (Museum Victoria 2010). There are many examples of stem fragments marked SQUATTERS BUDGEREE found in archaeological contexts where this bowl design is absent, suggesting that other bowl patterns may have been used on Squatters Budgerie pipes.

As of 2006, no known examples of Squatters Budgerie pipes had been recorded outside of Australia, New Zealand, and the Hill Top Pipe Works in England (Denis Gojak, pers. comm.,

January 17, 2010), and an inquiry posted to the Historical Archaeology (Histarch) email list in January 2010 did not elicit any other examples. How, then, did two Squatters Budgeree pipe stems come to find their way into the artifact assemblage of a laboring-class free black family in northwestern New Jersey?

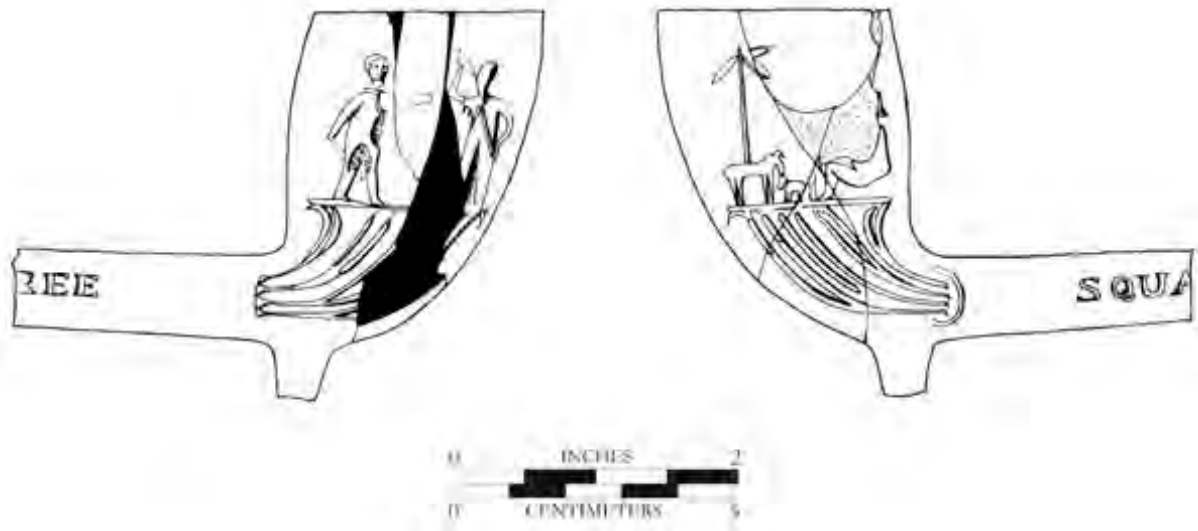


Figure 3. Squatters Budgeree pipe from Australia. Drawing by Georgia Rennie; image copyright and courtesy of Banksia Heritage & Archaeology, Australia.

Discussion

There is no documentary evidence that members of the Mann family travelled to Australia, nor was their economic situation conducive to such travelling. The pipes, therefore, must have arrived by some other means. Although not traveling themselves, the Mann family lived and worked at the nexus of several locations connecting Deckertown to the world beyond northwestern New Jersey. The grist mill, built circa 1844 on the property north of the Manns would have been the destination of many local farmers or their help bringing grain to town for processing and sale. The Sussex Inn, originally known as the Union House, was built in 1848 across the street from the Mann residence (Richard Grubb & Associates 2001). As day laborers and washwomen, members of the Mann family may well have had contact with individuals staying at the Inn.

To the north of Deckertown, the Delaware and Hudson Canal opened in 1823, connecting the anthracite coal fields of eastern Pennsylvania via Port Jervis on the Delaware River with

Rondout on the Hudson River. Port Jervis is located 12 miles northwest of Sussex Borough, as the crow flies. The canal remained in operation through 1898 (Shaughnessy 1967), when the expanding railroads finally put it out of business. One of these railroads was the New Jersey Midland Railroad, which ran its first train through Deckertown in 1861. By 1872, the line connected with tidewater at Jersey City, carrying anthracite coal from Pennsylvania to urban centers and major ports such as New York City and beyond (Bunnell 1903: 67). Both the canal boats and railroads would have carried goods and people back inland on their return trips.

The Australian connection is more tentative. Many Australians came to the United States in the late 1840s and early 1850s, drawn by the opportunities provided by the California Gold Rush. With California being closer to Australia than to Europe and even the eastern United States, thousands of Australians came both to make their fortune by mining gold and by supplying the miners (Bateson 1964; Monaghan 1966). The California Gold Rush ended in the mid-1850s, just as the Australian Gold Rush was beginning to boom. Begun in 1851, additional large gold field discoveries were made in 1865, 1877, and in the 1890s, and a small but significant number of Americans, both black and white, travelled Down Under to try to make their fortune. The population of Australia almost quadrupled, from approximately 430,000 in 1851 to 1.7 million in 1871; in 1852 alone, over 370,000 immigrants arrived in Australia (Government of Australia 2007).

The total number of Australian-born people in the United States remained relatively small in the second half of the nineteenth century, ranging from 1,419 in 1860 to 5,984 in 1890 (United States Bureau of the Census 1960: 66). Most of these individuals were located out West, but a few did make their way to New Jersey. In 1860, there were seven Australian-born people in the state, and by 1890, this number had increased to 112. There were no Australian-born people enumerated in Sussex County between 1860 and 1890 (United States Population Census 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890). These numbers do not, however, accurately reflect immigration from Australia, as the federal census records only country of birth, not country of origin. In a state census of California conducted in 1852, of the population that arrived via Australia, 44% were born in Ireland; 28% were born in Australia; 22% were born in England and Wales; and 4% were born in Scotland. Many Irish immigrated to Australia during the potato famine before travelling to California to try their fortune in the gold fields (Ricards and Blackburn 1973: 30-31). These

individuals would be enumerated in the federal census as having been born in Ireland, not Australia.

In light of this, the presence of a large number of railroad laborers in Wantage Township (which included Deckertown) in 1870 becomes more interesting. Over 160 laborers working on the Midland Railroad were enumerated; of these, the vast majority were born in Ireland, with a very few individuals born in England, Germany, and other European countries (United States Census 1870). It is possible that some of these Irish laborers had connections to Australia, perhaps having remained in the United States following the California Gold Rush or coming to America to find work building canals and railroads. These connections may have sent Squatters Budgeree pipes as a reminder of home. Both John Mann and William Mann were enumerated in the 1870 census as day laborers (United States Census 1870); perhaps they picked up occasional work on the railroad or at the grist mill, where they may well have come into contact with the owners of the Squatters Budgeree pipes.

Although the direct connection between the two Squatters Budgeree pipes and the Mann family cannot be determined, what is clear is that the family, despite their low financial status, were part of a global network of labor and exchange in the mid-to late nineteenth century, that stretched as far as Australia.

Acknowledgements

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Note

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