THE APTUCXET TRADING POST:

FACT, FICTION, AND A STUDY IN 20TH CENTURY MYTH CREATION

Craig S. Chartier

Plymouth Archaeological Rediscovery Project

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INTRODUCTION

This work seeks to comprehend and investigate the significance of a certain site, the Aptucxet Trading Post Museum Site in Bourne, Massachusetts. Specifically, the historical interpretation of the site as being the structure built by the English colonists from Plymouth in 1627 is being examined. The site was investigated from three historical viewpoints to understand the importance of the trading house in its 1627, 1926, and 1995 cultural systems. First: How was the Aptucxet Trading Post viewed at the time of its construction in 1627? Second: What was role of the 1920's excavations and subsequent interpretation of the site influenced by the cultural mindset of the time? Third: How, with the archaeological knowledge since the 1920s, can the site be interpreted today?

The first viewpoint is that of the actual history of the Aptucxet Trading Post and the role that it played in Plymouth Colony's trading history from 1620 to 1640. The economic reasons for its creation, including the items that were traded and the successes and failures of the trading ventures during this period were investigated first. Next, by looking at its role until 1635, its destruction in that year, and the reasons why it was not rebuilt help to clarify its position within Plymouth Colony's trading sphere. Finally, in order to be able to determine if this is truly the site or not, the archaeological assemblage which would be expected to be encountered on an early seventeenth century site was hypothesized. This study bore a great deal of relevance when the actual artifacts that were recovered were analyzed. All of the proceeding background information is necessary because it will allow an investigation of why the Aptucxet Trading Post was only a minor cog in the wheel of Plymouth's trading world. Except for one reference in 1663, the site faded out of memory after 1635, until the middle of the nineteenth century when there was a surge in America of ancestor worship and the creation of cultural mytho-history. This is where the second focus of inquiry will begin, in 1852 when the site was first gained prominence.

The second phase of this work looks at how the interpretation and significance of the site was created with regards to the role it played in the mytho-history concerning the Plymouth colonists and the history of the United States as a whole. During the period of 1852 and again in 1928 when large-scale excavation at the site was conducted, that period's historians enlarged its history and role. This was the result of two factors. The first was the fact that the knowledge of closely dating artifacts was in its infancy. Secondly, from the start, the investigators wanted the site to be the trading post and they made their data fit their interpretation. From the start of the project, the entire investigation was inductive. They believed, before excavations had begun, that this was the site of the trading post. As a result of this a priori thinking, any materials found were automatically artifacts from the trading post.

The site continued to be viewed as the Aptucxet Trading Post site until 1994 when the 1920s excavation data was reevaluated for a practicum project by the author at the University of Massachusetts at Boston. Following the initial practicum work, serious doubts were raised in my mind about whether this was truly the site. Fortunately, Dr. Barbara Luedtke of the Anthropology department agreed to conduct the university's 1995 summer field school at the site. The artifacts that were recovered from this field school were analyzed and the results of our testing and analysis are presented and compared with the material from the 1920s excavation. The final result was that we had found no evidence to support the notion that a 1627 structure ever stood at this site. What we had found were the extensive and well-preserved remains of a remarkable late seventieth century homesite. Once we were

confident that the trading house had not stood on this site, the question became, why had it originally been interpreted as such.

This section forms the most interesting portion of my investigation of the site. It delves into how myth and local history often combine with the result being the creation of a "mytho-history" surrounding many sites. The anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski said, "myth is a story about the past that has the function of justifying the present and thereby contributing to social stability." (Kammen 1991:17). The French Structuralist Claude Levi-Strauss supported this idea when he stated that "myths may be activated or reactivated in order to legitimize a version of history that is useful or attractive." (Kammen 1991:17). This is the process that has occurred with many town or even national events in the past. They have been enlarged as a means of furthering the ends of individuals, towns or the nation. The period between the 1850s and 1926 represents one that exhibited a plethora of enlargement legends in the form of hero-worshipping and the creation of mytho-history. Both were created out of the Victorian mindset that sought to justify America's history in the eyes of the people of England.

Recent research into Myth-history creation has been conducted by a number of researchers cited in this work, but the research of Ann Yentsch and Michael Kammen will be focused on. Anne Yentsch in her 1993 work on the relationships between material culture and American Ideology stated that "Material culture, the core of archaeology, is thus an active agent through which a people's mytho-history is held and told to succeeding generations." (Yentsch 1993:5). Included within the category of oral history would be houses and sites that were believed to be ones connected with the mytho-history of the town or country. The real history of these houses and sites are forgotten over time and they become mnemonic devices which stimulate the imagination of local inhabitants when connected with actual or imagined events from the area's past. In Yentsch's words: "... oral tradition indisputably embodies folk history. If legends about old houses are an expression of American mythology, then encoded within them is ethnographic information on social values and folk ideas about kinship, community identity, society, history, culture, and nature."(Yentsch 1993:5).

Michael Kammen's work on the power of mythology in the creation of American history and culture states that "societies reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them, and that they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind,... manipulating the past to mold the present" (Kammen 1991:3). As a corollary to Kammen's statement, it is important to know that societies also fill in the gaps of their history that is missing with a "pseudo-history" that is not necessarily correct but which also is a reflection of the society that created it.

The final phase of investigation focuses the discovery that the site dates from 1673 to 1736. The questions of who possibly lived at the site and where the original trading house site probably are investigated. This section will allow the study of the site to be rounded out and in one sense create a sense of completion. The old interpretation of the site as being the Aptucxet Trading Post has been explained as pertaining to why this is not the 1627 site, and the factors which created the idea and the perpetuation of the belief that it was the site has been discussed, and what is now required is to outline and begin to investigate what the site truly represents.

In light of the Victorian Era's creation of historical heroes, Aptucxet can be seen from an enlightened viewpoint. The site was first identified in 1852 because of the new interest that people in the town of

Bourne's had in discovering their past. Later in 1928 a few years after the 300 anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, 300 years after the house at Manamet was built, a new excavation was conducted at the site. As a result of the excavation and reconstruction, the Aptucxet trading post became a new focus of interest for early American enthusiasts and especially for Bourne. This small town on Cape Cod as reason to be proud, it was just as important as Plymouth. The town was also closely connected to Plymouth by the fact that Bourne had the foundation of American Commerce while Plymouth was the Foundation of American Democracy. The correct age of the artifacts was not really important, everyone agreed they were old. The architectural style of the house was not important, it was very similar to a number of other old houses, although it is now known those houses also dated to the late seventeenth century. The architecture looked similar to old houses from other countries where the Pilgrims were so it would make sense that it was contemporaneous, even though as early as 1934 an architectural historian came forward and said that the style was late seventeenth century. What were important were the values that the site stood for. It was where the foundation for free enterprise was started since it was a privately owned company. It was begun to free the Pilgrims from their shackles of debt inflicted on them by their backers. The men who lived here at the house were brave men living in the wilderness 20 miles from the nearest civilization and were surrounded by Indians, but they did their job so the colony could be free.

The truth is never as exciting as the past that can be created, but is more, important. The house is a late seventeenth century home site of one of the earliest settlers in the town. It represents a relatively short period of occupancy, about 60 years and contains extensive remains that will yield valuable evidence on the period of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in New England.

PART ONE: Background to Aptucxet

CHAPTER ONE: Trading and the role of the area called Manamet in the early seventeenth century

Previous European Trading in New England

A brief look at the previous trading ventures and the items which were traded to the native people in New England, and especially in southeastern Massachusetts is necessary to understand the trading situation which was being entered into by the Plimoth colonists. Once previous trading voyages are understood, the choice of Manamet for the first trading house of the Colony can be more fully understood.

The first recorded trading encounter in New England occurred in 1524 and involved the Florentine sailor Giovanni da Verrazano who was sailing for France. Verrazanno arrived in Narragansett Bay in April of 1524 and traded with the natives (Parker1968f:14). He stated that the people were apparently unfamiliar with Europeans and were very willing to trade and host the visitors. The natives were first enticed to trade by tossing "some little bells, and glasses and many toys" (Parker1968f:14) to them as they came to Verrazano's ship in their own boats. The Europeans remained in the harbor until early May and Verrazanno stated that of all of the goods they traded to the natives "...they prized most highly the bells, azure (blue) crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks; they do not value or care to have silk or gold stuffs, or other kinds of cloth, nor implements of steel or iron." (Parker 1968f: 16). It was also noted that the natives here possessed ornaments of wrought copper which they prized greater than gold. The copper may have come indirectly through trade with natives to the north who traded them from European fishermen or it may have been native copper from the Great Lakes or Bay of Fundy regions.

Leaving Narragansett Bay and traveling to the north, they came to a land where the people did not grow crops, this most likely was around the present area of the Saco River in Maine. Here the crew found that the natives were much more reluctant to have intimate trade with the explorers. "If we wished at any time to traffic with them, they came to the sea shore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord to our boats beneath whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us that which was to be given in exchange; and they took from us only knives, fish hooks and sharpened steel." (Parker1968f:22).

Obviously at this time, the natives in Narragansett Bay accepted trade items from Verrazanno which through European eyes were merely toys and baubles. They had no use for metal knives and appear to have been accepting European objects that enhanced the culture from decorative and probably spiritual aspects. Verrazanno himself writes that they did not want the gold because it was the color that was considered very ordinary, whereas blue (azure) and red were those held in the highest esteem. There was the extra attraction that these items were alien to them and came from strangers from unknown parts. The natives further to the north appear to have had more sustained relations with Europeans and they had moved past the phase where the Europeans instilled a certain sense of wonder. They now appreciated not items that spiritually or decoratively enhanced the culture but rather ones that were of a more functional nature, metal knives and fish hooks.

The next major explorer to visit New England was Bartholomew Gosnold who arrived in Maine in May of 1602. He immediately saw six natives "...in a Basque shallop with mast and saile, an iron grapple, and a kettle of copper...one apparelled with a waistecoat and breeches of black serdge...hose and shoes on his feet..." (Parker1968b:34). It would appear that between the time when Verrazanno had visited Maine and Gosnold's arrival, the natives in the area continued to be outfitted with European merchandise either through trade or other means. Later that month Gosnold arrived at the Elizabeth Islands off Martha's Vinyard. They traded with the first natives they encountered, giving them "certain trifles, as knives, points, and such like, which they much esteemed." (Parker1968b:38). Gosnold's crew, in return for the "trifles" received many different types of furs from animals such as beavers, luzernes, martens, otters, wild-cats, black foxes, conie (rabbitt) skins, deer and seals as well as cedar and sassafras which was much prized as a cure-all in Europe. Of particular note is his description of the great store of copper artifacts which he saw people wearing and using. He said that all of them had

> " chaines, earrings or collars of this metall; they head some of their arrows here with (it), much like our broad arrowheads, very workmanly made. Their chaines are many hollow pieces semented together, ech piece of the bignesse of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they wear about their necks; their collars they weare about their bodies like bandoliers a handful broad, all hollow pieces, like the other but shorter, foure hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these they have large drinking cups, made like sculles, and other thinne plates of copper, made much like our boar head speares, all of which they little esteem, as they offered their fairest collars or chaines for a knife or trifle....I was desirous to understand where they had such store of this metall, and made signes to one of them....who taking a piece of copper in his hand, made a hole with his finger in the ground, and withall, pointed to the maine from whence they came." (Parker1968b:44).

The native informant asked by Gosnold as to where they received the copper from was probably either signing that it came from the mainland, possibly he meant through trade with natives or Europeans or he may have been referring to a native historical tale as to the origin of the copper. What is interesting is the great store of copper possessed by the natives and the desire that was present to trade for metal knives. It would appear that between 1524 and 1602 they had begun to see a value in steel knives and they had expanded their use of copper to create beads and arrowheads, whereas in 1524 they were noted as having only breastplates of copper.

Samuel de Champlain, sailing for France, visited the area from Maine to Cape Cod in 1605 and 1606 and while his observations on native hairstyles and dress are invaluable, he says precious little about trade with them. He does state that they traded food such as biscuits and bagatelles as well as knives, paternosters (a religious medal), and trifles to the natives and received furs and tobacco in return (Parker 1968a: 80).

He also reports that he noticed that they were in the habit of stealing what they wanted. This is interesting since it is not noted by any of the other earlier explorers to the area. This may have been a result of failing relations between the southeastern New England natives and the Europeans. It appears that relations truly started to become strained when Martin Pring visited in 1603. At this time he stated that they brought along two mastiffs which they would release upon the natives if the English felt threatened (Parker 1968d57). It can be observed that after this rather negative experience with the Europeans only a few years before, the natives in 1605 would feel indifferent about stealing from them. This would symbolize a lack of respect towards the Europeans on the part of the natives, and previous feelings of wonder associated with the Europeans may have become strained by the time of Champlain's voyage.

Captain George Waymouth, in 1605, visited the northern regions of New England, fished and traded for furs. In return for the furs, they gave away many knives, combs, glasses (mirrors), bracelets, brooches, rings, chaines, peacock feathers, a shirt, tobacco pipes, biscuits and sugar candy (Parker1968g:113). Waymouth's visit appears to have gone better than Verrazanno's in 1524 and it also appears that he was well suited to trade with the natives, being stocked with many "trifles" to trade.

The final major trading venture that is recorded for the New England area was the voyage of Captain John Smith in 1614. Smith chronicles his travels in New England and stated the success that he had in fishing and trading. Relating his trading activities in Maine, Smith stated that ".wee got for trifles neer 1100 Bever skinnes, 100 Martins, and neer as many Otters; and most of them within the distance of twenty leagues....but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they (the natives) were so neare the French who affords them better..." (Parker1968e:214). Looking back at the previous traders and explorers to New England, Smith's account strengthens the notion that there are riches in furs and fish to be taken in New England and these can be traded for what was seen as mere "trifles" and "baubles" in the European's eyes.

Generally, trading with New England natives in the century prior to the 1620 colonization initially took the form of a ceremonial exchange of gifts by explorers and the natives contacted. The Europeans with “trifles” and “baubles” consisting of bells and crystals reciprocated gifts of tobacco and skins to early explorers in the southern New England area. The natives in the Maine region were more interested in trading for less symbolic items. Their desire for knives and hatchets would soon come to characterize native to European exchange in New England. Smith states that the natives were shrewd traders favoring whatever trader could offer the best and most desirable merchandise to the natives. If the French had the materials most desired, then the natives would easily leave the English to trade with them and vice versa. This was the situation that would be encountered by the Plimoth colonists upon their arrival and throughout their trading relations with the natives whom they traded.

Trading Agreement in England

The Plymouth colonists needed to find financial backing for the emigration to the New World. Since most of them were not members of the upper class of English society, they needed someone or some group to provide them funding for ships and supplies. Thomas Weston, a trader in the Low Countries of Europe, eventually became interested in the colonists possibly, as McIntyre believes, to settle and provide a permanent post for fishermen in Northern Virginia (McIntyre 1963: 13). He introduced them

to the Merchant Adventurers, a group of wealthy London investors in the New World trade. As the agreement was originally stated, the company the colonists formed with the Adventurers was to be a joint stock fund. Each person over the age of 16 was rated at 10 pounds, this was one share and each colonist who furnished himself with 10 pounds of provisions was worth 20 pounds or two shares. The joint stock company would continue for a period of seven years and all profits from " trade, traffick, trucking, working, fishing or an other means...remain in the company until the division." (Morsion 1984:40). By the time of the August 5, 1620 sailing of the Mayflower and the Speedwell, the colonists were already between 1200 and 1600 pounds in debt. Upon reaching the New World, the colony initially attempted to repay their debts by fishing but they found that they could not compete with the fishermen to the north. It was soon decided that trade with the natives would prove to be the means of repayment of the debts to the Merchant Adventurers.

The colonist's attempts at trade began with their first face to face meeting with the native inhabitants in March 1621. On Saturday March 16, 1621, the colonists presented to Samoset, the first native to speak to them, a knife, bracelet, and ring and he promised to .."bring with him some of our neighbors, with such beaver skins as the had to truck with us." (Heath 1963:53). When the treaty was affirmed between Massasoit and the English later in the month, Massasoit was given a pair of knives and a copper chain with a "jewel" in it and his brother Quadaquina was given a knife and a "jewel" to hang in his ear (Heath 1963: 192). The colony continued throughout the early months of 1621 to encourage Massasoit and other natives whom they met with, to trade furs to them for what the colonists referred to as trifles; beads, knives, and bracelets.

The colonists made their fist voyage to actively seek out trade, on September 18, 1621, to the Massachusett, around present day Boston (Heath 1963:77). Here they only received a few skins. They sent their first shipment to repay their loan to the backers in November aboard the Fortune. This was a full store of clapboard and two hogsheads of beaver and otter skins. Bradford states that they were at a disadvantage when they initially began their trading here because "neither was their any amongst them that ever saw a beaver skin until they came here and were informed by Squanto." (Morsion 1984:94). The estimated that this first shipment was worth 500 pounds. Unfortunately, a French ship stole the shipment on its way to England (Morsion 1984:107).

Trading continued the next year with a return voyage planned to the Massachusetts Bay natives. It appears that in these early years of the colony, the settlers sphere of trading was limited to the areas around them that could be easily reached in a day or two of sailing. The years 1622 saw the settlers receive their first shipment of trading goods, although it was by somewhat surreptitious means.. The colony was able to dearly purchase a "...store of English-beads (which were then good trade) and some knives..." from an exploration and trading ship that was charting the harbors between Virginia and Cape Cod (Morsion 1984:112). The goods were purchased for the few beaver skins they had in their stores.

The Plymouth settlers soon realized that European goods were not the only items sought for by the natives far to their north. They learned that the natives on the "maine" desired corn and beans as well as European items. As a way of entering into trade with these natives, they began to purchase corn and beans from the native people around Plymouth and Cape Cod. . During one voyage to Cape Cod in 1622 the were able to trade for 26 or 28 hogsheads of corn and beans (Morsion 1984:114). These were

to be used by the colonists for their own provisions and also were sometimes traded to the natives to the north for furs that would be sent back to England.

A second, more extended, trading visit to Cape Cod began in October of 1622. At this time Myles Standish and Tisquantum were to lead a party of men on a trading mission to Cape Cod, but Standish fell sick and Bradford took his place. They desired to round the south end of Cape Cod and trade for corn on the south side, possibly down into Narragansett Bay (Young 1974:299). Tisquantum was brought along as a guide because he said that he had "twice passed the shoals of Cape Cod, both with English and French." (Young 1974:300). As a result he would have known how to get by the dangerous shoals. Unfortunately, Tisquantum fell sick and died and with no one else able to navigate the shoals, they decided to trade on the northern side of the Cape at Manamet. There he traded for corn and left it there in the charge of the leader, or sachem, of the community, Canacum (Young 1974:305).

Standish and some others went to fetch the corn from Canacum in March of 1623 after he was fully recovered. This party probably traveled as far up the Manoscusset river, at the northern entrance to the present day Cape Cod Canal, as they could and then walked overland to Manamet. It was here that Standish found out that the natives of Cape Cod were in confederacy with those of Wessagusset (Weymouth, Massachusetts) where some other English colonists were abusing natives and provoking them. Later that March, Standish led a force against the natives at Wessagussett and slew several. Those natives on Cape Cod, fearful due to the fact that the English knew that they were in a confederacy with Wessagussett:

> "… forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselves, where of very many are dead; as Canacum, the sachim of Manamet, Aspinet, the sachim of Nauset, and Iyanough, sachim of Mattachiest...certainly it is strange how many of late have, and still daily die amongst them....because the fear they set little or no corn, which is the staff of life, and without which the cannot long preserve health and strength.... none of them dare to come amongst us." (Young 1974: 345)

This incident would have seriously affected the native people on Cape Cod. The native economy would have been impacted by the fact that families were not planting corn and they would not have had enough to sustain themselves through the winter, let alone trade with the English. As a result, the English began searching elsewhere for trade.

The spring of 1622 marked the colonists first voyage to the coast of Maine, where they discovered that a vast quantity of furs were to be traded from the natives there (Heath 1963: 293). Eventually, they began using native trade routes that had been established among the Wampanoag and their Abneaki neighbors to bring native corn to those natives who lived north of the Saco River in Maine. These natives had acquired a taste for corn and readily traded for it. When it could not be traded for, they organized raiding parties to travel south to steal it. As early as 1622 some English noted the desire of

the natives to acquire the corn for their winter stores (James 1963:19). After this initial foray into Maine, the colonists were not able to further prosecute the trade until 1625.

What they did do was to begin to explore to the south of Cape Cod for the possibility of trade there. Emanuel Altham led their first trading voyage there in 1623 (Altham 1622:99). Altham sailed around Cape Cod into the Narragansett's territory but returned saying that "...that they made a poor voyage of it. Some corne and beaver they got, but the Dutch used to furnish them with clothe and better commodities, having only a few beads and knives, which were not ther much esteemed." (Morsion 1984:139). The western shore of Narragansett Bay appears to have been the furthest south that the English had explored in their search for furs. It would still be a few years until they reached the Connecticut River's rich supply.

By the time of the arrival of the colonists, it appears that the natives in southern New England differed from those encountered by Verrazano with regards to trading. The items traded from Europeans may have no longer held the same mystical, spiritual quality which it did one hundred years earlier. The southeastern New England natives whom the Plymouth colonists encountered were now more like those whom Verrazano traded with in Maine. They knew which types of items they desired from the Europeans and no longer were satisfied with baubles. They now desired metal tools and “useful” items more often with beads and bracelets remaining as trade items of lesser value. Some natives also appear to felt it was acceptable to take what they wanted from the colonists, if they could get away with it. In 1623, Winslow recorded that while Standish was on a trading mission at Cape Cod, beads, scissors and other "trifels" were stolen out of his ship (Heath 1963: 304). This incident shows the types of items that the colonists had to trade. The natives were in the position to trade with whomever they desired and often times this meant the Dutch. This was due to the fact that the Dutch were better supplied for trade. The colonists often complained to their backers in England that they were not being supplied with any good items to trade to the natives, and how could they expect to repay their debts without them (Morsion 1984:99).

The first big break for the colonists in their search for furs appears to have occurred in 1625 with a very successful trading voyage to the Kennebec River in Maine:

> "After harvest this year, they sent out a boat's load of corn 40 or 50 leagues to the eastward, up a river called Kennebec.....God preserved them and gave them good success, for they brought home 700 pounds of beaver, besides some other furs, having little or nothing else but this corn which themselves had raised...." (Morsion 1984:178).

Also in 1625, the Merchant Adventurers in England broke up because they did not see any profit to be made in the colony (Morsion 1984:165). This left the Plantation without any financial backing from England. The reasons why the colony was not turning a profit at this time had to do with the losses they encountered when sending goods back to England. Bradford stated that " the many losses and crosses at sea, and abuses of seamen, which have caused us to run into so much charge, debts, and engagements as our estates and means were not able to go on without impoverishing ourselves." (Morsion 1984: 173). The Adventurers were charging the colonists 40% interest to carry goods to the

colony and 30% interest to return to England, in total the colony was paying 70% interest on the goods they received and sent (Morsion 1984: 175).

The losses and crosses cited by Bradford included two ships that were lost in 1625. One had been fishing and was ordered to go to Bilboa or Sebastians to sell their fish. It was stated that the haul of fish from the two ships would have brought them 1800 pounds sterling, but the largest of the ships put in at Plymouth, England for fear of the French war and they made hardly anything on the venture (Morison 1984:176). The smaller ship, which carried fish and 800 pounds of beaver and other furs, was taken off of Plymouth, England by a Turkish pirate ship and lost (Morsion 1984: 176).

The next year Allerton was sent to the few remaining Adventurers to secure a deal that would ensure the colony would not be lost by their lack of support in England. This was a continuation of the negotiations that were begun there by Standish the previous year (Morsion 1984:177). Allerton was commissioned with securing much needed provisions and trade goods for the colony at the same time. While he was away, the colony received word that a plantation at Mohegan was breaking up and that they were selling off their goods. The colony saw this as an opportunity to purchase trade goods and Bradford, Winslow and David Thompson of Piscataqua traveled there (Morsion 1984: 181). The total cost for the goods came to 400 pounds sterling. It is not known what was purchased from this plantation. The colony also discovered that a French ship had been cast away at Sagadahoc (Kennebec River) in which were many Biscay rugs and other goods that had fallen into the hands of some fishermen at Damariscove. These were bought with Thompson for 500 pounds sterling, and was mostly paid with beaver furs and goods which were trade the winter before (Morsion 1984: 182). Bradford states that "With these goods and their corn after harvest, they got good store of trade, so as they were enabled to pay their engagements against the time, and to get some clothing for the people." (Morsion 1984: 182).

1627 Trading

The year 1627 represented a pivotal year in the colonists trading ventures in New England. The colony's seven-year contract with their London backers, the Adventurers, came to an end in this year. The settlers were to have paid back their backers by this time and would have been free from their debts. But, because of Isaac Allerton's unscrupulous business tactics, the colonists no longer owed several hundred pounds, they now owed 1800 pounds to the Adventurers. Bradford, Standish and Allerton decided to become Undertakers of the Plymouth colony in order to undertake the payment of this debt. The management of trade was no new matter to the Pilgrims. They had decided when they first landed that they would pursue trade for the purpose of paying off the debts. To this end, in 1623 when the Anne landed with more colonists, those in Plymouth told the newcomers what the rules were for living there. The fourth rule stated was "That (according to the agreement the marchants made with them before the came) they are to be wholy debared from all trade with the Indeans for all sorts of furrs, and such like commodities, till the time of the communallitie be ended." (Morsion 1984:129).

Allerton returned in 1627 with trade goods and a new agreement from the Adventurers (Morsion 1984: 185). The Adventurers responsibilities to the colony were to cease and the colony needed to only pay the 1800 pounds sterling owed to them and their debt would be considered paid. The chief men of the colony and eight others who had joined together for the discharge of the debt, supported the

proposition. These men were William Bradford, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Howland, John Alden, and Thomas Prence and they were known as the Undertakers (McIntyre 1963:47).

These Undertakers then reorganized the colony so that all free men would have a single share in the undertaking and every father was able to purchase as many shares as there were people in his family (Morsion 1984: 187). This essentially meant that all of the settlers in the colony could not leave until the debt was paid off, although many of them had hoped that after their seven years together the would have been now free to strike out on their own and leave the palisaded village. This trading partnership was to last for six full years beginning in September of 1627.

Once it was agreed that trade would be pursued the next problem was where to locate the site for the pinass to be built. They did state that " The chief places aimed at (for trade) were to the southward of Cape Cod." (Heath 1963: 299). The problem was that the shoals of Cape Cod did not allow them to pass easily to their south. The fact that they were not having a great deal of luck with their trading thus far, leads to the question of where to build a trading house. A strategic location was selected at the southern mouth of what is now the Cape Cod Canal on the Manomet River and :

> "They resolved to build a small pinass at Manamet, a place 20. mile from the plantation, standing on the sea to the southward of them, unto which by another creeke on this side, they could cary their goods, with 4. or 5 miles, and then transport them overland to their vessell: and so avoyd the compasing of the Cap-Codd, and those dangerous shoulds, and so make the voyage to the southward in much shorter time, and with farr less danger. Also for the saftie of their vessell & goods, they builte a house their, and kept some servants, who also planted corne, and reared some swine, and were always ready to goe out with the barke when ther was occassion." (Morsion 1984:193).

One of the problems with the location of the house at Manamet is the actual boundaries of Manamet in the 1600s. What the Pilgrims referred to as “Manamet” was a large tract of land that was utilized by the native people of that village. The location of what the natives knew as Manamet and what the English recognized as such is important to note. Wampanoag village names seem to have referred to specific features of the natural environment to identify them. The name Manamet has been interpreted to mean" the place of the burden carriers", “the place of the watch tower”, and “the place where there is a way between”. The most likely interpretation may refer to a place where there is a watchtower or high promontory. This is believed because the area of White Horse Beach in present-day Plymouth, was also called Manamet. White Horse beach is at the bottom of a high cliff that in past times may have been used by the natives to watch for European ships. There is no reason why this area would have a name associated with carrying burdens or ways between.

On Cape Cod, Manamet referred to “Frenchman’s Point” in present day Bourne. The village itself probably stretched from Buzzard’s Bay possibly to Cape Cod Bay. This would have encompassed both the Manamet river, which empties into Buzzard’s Bay, and the Monoscusset River, which empties into Cape Cod Bay. The principle summer quarters may have been at Frenchman’s Point and the winter quarters at Herring Pond and Bournedale. This would have been an ideal place for a village, located

between two navigable rivers, they could control access across to Cape Cod from the mainland. The main seat of the village that the colonist visited was probably in present day Bournedale.

The first reference that the Plimoth colonists make to Manamet was near the end of July in 1621. At this time a young boy by the name of John Billington became lost in the woods outside of the plantation and eventually ended up at Manamet. Both Bradford and Winslow relate these events (Morsion 1984: 87, Young 1974: 217). Canacum, the sachem of Manamet, sent the boy to Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset (present day Eastham). From this trip, Winslow described Manamet as thus:

> "This town lieth from us south, well near twenty miles and stands upon a fresh river...It will bear a boat of eight or ten tons to this place. Hither the Dutch or French or both use to come. It is from hence to the bay of Cape Cod eight miles out of which bay it floweth into a creek some six miles almost direct to the town. The heads of the river and the creek are not far distant." (Young 1974:307).

This report fully supports the idea that the town lay between the two rivers at Bournedale. If the distances given by Winslow are compared to a modern map, then the present location is very near the present day Sagamore Bridge and Bournedale. The fresh river referred to by Winslow was the Manamet River and the creek that flowed to the town was the Monoscusset (Scusset). Support for the translation of Manamet as the place of the watchtower comes from Winslow's statement that the French and Dutch would come there to trade. The natives may have either erected a watchtower, or more likely used the a high point to watch for them in the spring.

Post-1627 Expansion of Trade

The situation concerning the colony's trade after 1627 was a very complicated matter. During the next ten years, various scandals involving Isaac Allerton's designs and an increased number of trading posts, created a complicated story. It was one that focused on Maine and Connecticut and left out the trading house at Aptucxet. This was probably due to the fact that the trading house at Manamet ceased to exist shortly after its creation.

The year 1628 saw a large shipment of otter skins being shipped out of Plymouth and bound for England. This shipment was made up of 220 otter skins, a few mink and a few muskrat with a total value of 78 pounds 12 shillings (Morsion 1984:197). This was one of the largest shipments of furs to actually make it to England in the 1620s. Allerton traveled to England again this year to prevail upon Mr. James Sherley to lessen the interest rates which the colony was being charged and it was agreed upon that if Sherley, Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Beauchamp were allowed to be stock holders in the company, they would eliminate the interest owed to them (Morsion 1984: 198). The Undertakers, who were willing to do almost anything to lessen the interest, readily agreed to this. They now felt that with Sherley as their London agent they could be guaranteed fair rates.

When Allerton returned to the colony in the spring he brought with him their supplies and goods for trade. The supplies he brought this time offer a glimpse into the needs of the plantation: shoes, leather, cloth and Irish stockings, pitch, tar, ropes, twine, knives, scissors, rowel (sic), rudge (coarse thick

woolen cloth), lead, shot, powder, hatchets, hoes, axes, scythes, reaphooks, shovels, spades, saws, files, nails, iron pots, drugs and spices all amounting to 232 pounds sterling (Morsion 1984:200).

Allerton returned to England a second time this year and this time he returned with such a great deal of personal goods which were mixed with the colony's that Bradford stated that they truly began to dislike the course he was following (Morsion 1984:211). Most importantly for the plantation, Allerton brought the patent that the colony desired to set up a trading house on the Kennebec. Allerton had to return to England many times to enlarge and finalize it. The colony now erected a trading house on the Kennebec at the site of present day Augusta, Maine called Cushnoc. They "furnished the same with commodities as the fishermen had traded with them as coats, shirts, rugs and blankets, biscuit, peas, prunes, etc. And what they could not have out of England, they bought of the fishing ships..." (Morsion 1984:221). The expansion of the trade away from the colony to Maine was a pivotal step for the colonists. They recognized the vast potential for obtaining furs in this area and appeared to have focused all of their trading energies in Maine. The house at Aptucxet may have been abandoned at this time as it truly served no real purpose. The only use the house may have served is to obtain the wampumpeag beads from the Pequots and Narragansetts, or the colony may have obtained them from the Dutch. As Bradford stated when de Rasiere visited in 1627, it took them two years to trade away the wampumpeag they had been given by the Dutch, they did not view it as a hot commodity at the time. At the end of the year, Allerton returned to England to enlarge the patent because it was so poorly bound.

The year 1629 began with the colonists still not knowing about their patent to the Kennebec. It appears that Allerton was using his position as a go between with the backers, primarily Mr. Sherley, in England, as a means to further his own ends. The second installment on the Undertaker's debt was paid in this year (Morsion 1984:214). Allerton's dealing with the colony became even bolder in 1629, as he pushed the limits of the plantation's patience to extremes. He brought back Thomas Morton who the colonists had rousted out of his settlement at Merry Mount (Quincy) the previous year because he was instructing the natives in the use of firearms (Morsion 1984:204). Allerton went so far as to use Morton as his scribe within his house in the Plymouth (Morsion 1984:216). Allerton again brought many goods back from England which he sold for his own profit, charging the freight cost to the colony.

One of the most heinous actions on Allerton's part was to bring a Mr. Ashley who was " ...a very profane young man, and he had for some time lived among the Indians as a savage and went naked amongst them and used their manners, in which time he got their language." (Morsion 1984: 219). It appears that Allerton and Ashley desired to establish a trading house on the Kennebec further up the river from the plantation's trading house and cut off the trade from the colony (Morsion 1984: 220). After landing at Penobscot, in Maine, Ashley had the audacity to ask the colony for a store of wampumpeag and corn to establish himself and even asked the colony if they would join with him in the trading. The colony felt that the whole idea was Allerton's and, so as not to offend Mr. Sherley, who liked Ashley, they joined with him and sent Thomas Willet to look after Ashley (Morsion 1984:219). Allerton's intentions to make this trading house prosper over the colony's became obvious when, instead of delivering the trading goods he had brought back from England to the colony, he delivered them to Ashley (Morsion 1984: 220). The colony was forced to buy goods from fishermen and to buy cotton and Kerseys, because they had no trading cloth, from Allerton. Allerton's final deal

of the year was to procure a bargain load of salt from some fishermen in Maine, which he wanted to sell the salt immediately for approximately 113 pounds sterling (Morsion 1984:221). Winslow came up with the idea of storing the salt in Maine and building drying stages there. What they would then do was to hire a fishing ship from the West Country of England to come fishing there, fill the hold with trade goods such as bread, peas and cloth and have them come to the salt (Morsion 1984: 221). This would save them the freight charges. It seemed to be a worthwhile idea that would profit the colony. Unfortunately Allerton had other plans which again undermined them.

Allerton was sent back to England at the end of the year to secure a fishing ship to implement the plan. He sent the ship the Friendship back to utilize the salt but the ship was filled with two packs of Barnstaple rugs and two hogshead of metheglin (a fermented herb drink) when it arrived at Plymouth (Morsion 1984: 228). It seems that the captain was given instructions by Allerton to land at Saco and in Boston and unload most of the cargo on the ship (Morsion 1984:230). Allerton had purchased these goods for settler's in the Massachusetts Bay colony. Allerton also purchased a fishing ship called the White Angel with the Colony's funds which he desired to use to pursue bass fishing (Morsion 1984:229). Bradford responded to this by stating that "Bass fishing was never looked at by them....they looked at it as a vain thing, that would certainly turn a loss." (Morison 1984:229). The Colony directly told Allerton this when they saw him next. Allerton responded by selling off many of the goods on the White Angel for beaver and bought linen, cloth, bed ticks, stockings, tape, pins, rugs, and other goods for the colony presumably at higher rates that if he had purchased these goods in England (Morsion 1984:231). At the same time Allerton said that if the Colony felt these goods were not sufficient compensation, he would take them.

Mr. Sherley in England saw nothing amiss with Allerton's behavior and he even wrote to the Colony and told them that Allerton had fulfilled and even superseded his obligations by not just hiring a fishing ship, but buying a fishing and trading ship for the Colony's use (Morsion 1984:230). The Colony now saw "..plainly that Mr. Allerton played his own game and ran a course not only to the great wrong and detriment of the Plantation who employed and trusted him, but abused them in England also in possessing them with prejudice against the Plantation, as that they would never be able to repay their moneys, in regard to their great charge." (Morsion 1984:232). Debate would now have begun in Plymouth as to what shall be finally done with Allerton. Winslow had been told the previous year that if he felt that Allerton was not prosecuting their cause that he had the power to fire him, and now, serious solutions were sought.

Meanwhile, Allerton went bass fishing and had a new plan to make the Colony money. He felt that he could load the White Angel with fish and then travel to Oporto, Portugal and sell the whole thing (Morsion 1984: 232). The Colony said no, but it shows how far reaching connections with European countries could be.

Allerton's associate Ashley in Maine had been undermining the Colony's position there. Early in the year he had gathered together his first load of beaver, half of which belonged to the Colony, and shipped it to England for his own profit. He was furnished with more and better trade goods in England by Sherley at Allerton's insistence and was better stocked than Plymouth (Morsion 1984:233). Late that year, Plymouth's man Willet arrested Ashley for selling powder and shot to the natives (Morsion 1984:232). Ashley was sent back to England and then went to Russia to follow the beaver

trade there, and died on a trip back to England from Russia (Morison 1984: 233). Plymouth now had control over the trading houses in Maine. This is very suggestive that they, now more than ever, would focus their attention north rather than south and west for trade. If one considers that fact that they knew that they could make a profit in Maine but were hampered from doing so by a lack of trade goods from 1628-1630, then it would be logical that they would have taken their goods and labor from Aptucxet and sent it to Maine . This would have allowed them to initially battle Allerton and Sherley for the trade and to attempt to turn a profit where it was obvious more profits were to be made.

1631 opened with Allerton being discharged from his employment for the Colony (Morsion 1984:237). Edward Winslow initially filled the position, and his younger brother Josiah later took over. Allerton's commission was now demanded of him as it had been in 1629, when he was initially suspected (Morsion 1984: 238). Allerton first said that it was among his papers and he would give it to them before he went, he then said that he would send it by boat from the eastward (from the north), but he could not find it and would find it while he was on a ship to England. It somehow ended up in England in the hands of Sherley who would not release it (Morsion 1984: 238).

The trouble with Allerton was far from over. It was determined that Allerton owned the White Angel and the whole story with this ship and the Friendship was finally straitened out (Morsion 1984: 241). Business now turned to Allerton's account books. It took two to three years to disentangle the logic of the books and it found that he had also "screwed up" his father-in-law Elder Brewster's accounts (Morison 1984 :242). Once all was said and done the Colony determined that it owed 4770 pounds 19 shillings 2 pence sterling and 1000 pounds for purchases yet unpaid (Morsion 1984: 243). This was up from the 400 pounds sterling they owed in 1628. The Colony realized that Sherley was also to blame, for it was found that he had charged some things twice, once in the Colony and once in England. They also realized that the situation concerning the obtaining of the patent was just a ruse between Allerton and Sherley to have a pretense for Allerton coming to England (Morsion 1984: 243). Allerton had now wholly deserted them and was selling goods to any that would buy from him. Concurrently he established a trading house further up the Penobscot river from the Colony's other trading houses to supplant the trade there (Morsion 1984: 244). The French attacked this house with two traders being killed and the goods and the rest of the men being carried to France. The French then moved further down the Penobscot and attacked the Colony's trading house and carried away 300 pounds sterling in beaver and 100-200 pounds sterling in trading goods such as coats, rugs, blankets and biscuit (Morsion 1984: 246). It is interesting to note that wampumpeag was not listed among the lists of trade goods stolen.

After Allerton had been dismissed, the Colony's trading future and the prospect of paying off their debts seemed very hopeful. Bradford echoed these sentiments when he stated "Though the partners were thus plunged into great engagements and oppressed with unjust debts, yet the Lord prospered their trading, that they made yearly large returns and had soon wound themselves out of all if yet they had otherwise been well dealt withal..." (Morsion 1984:252). Plymouth grew and with the founding and prosperity of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Plymouth prospered by the trade in corn and cattle to them. Towns were founded to the north of Plymouth; Duxbury, Marshfield and Kingston. The Colony had one of their first large shipments of beaver to England this year as well with 800 pounds of beaver and some otter skins shipped out on the Lyon which arrived in Boston in September (Morsion 1984:254).

The following year, 1633, Plymouth Colony ventured upon a trading house on the Connecticut River. "Having had formerly converse and familiarity with the Dutch ...they seeing them seated here in a barren quarter (for trade), told them of a river called by them the Fresh River, but is now known by the name of the Connecticut River, which they often commended unto them for a fine place both for a plantation and trade, and wished them to make use of it." (Morsion 1984:257). The colony viewed the land and met with the Mohegan who wished them to settle and trade there to be allies against the Pequot. They seated themselves in such a way as to be able to receive the trade from the inland since there was no great trade on the coast.

Trade continued for the next two years but was not commented on to any extent by Bradford and the next year we have details of the trading ventures is 1636. This year it was decided that no more beaver was to be sent to England until they had come to a final agreement with their partners in London (Morsion 1984:288). They had sent 1150 pounds of beaver, 200 otter skins, 55 minks, and 2 black foxes at the end of the 1635 but this was to the last shipment for a while (Morsion 1984: 286). Presumably they had continued to be unfairly treated by their merchants and desired to have the matter settled. Bradford also states that there was a great sickness in London at the time and the merchants there could not deal with a great influx of skins (Morison 1984:288).

Trade between the Dutch and the Colony continued through this time. A Dutchman came to the colony from the Dutch West Indies Company in New Netherlands and gave them a good store of trading goods such as Dutch roll (tobacco), kettles and other goods totaling 500 pounds sterling (Morsion 1984: 286). Later in the year it appears that they were able to resume sending shipments to England. They sent 1809 pounds of Beaver, 10 otter skins at one time and 719 pounds of beaver and 199 otter skins at another time (Morsion 1984: 286). The magnitude of the number of skins sent back to England between the years of 1631 and 1636 can be seen in Bradford's tallying of their shipments:

Date sent	Beaver (lbs)	Otter skins
November 18, 1631	400 lbs	20
July 13, 1632	348 lbs	147
1633	3366 lbs	346
1634	3738 lbs	234
1635	1150 lbs	200
June 24, 1636	1809 lbs	10
1636	719 lbs	199
Total	12,150 lbs	1156 skins

The prices for the various skins fluctuated throughout those years, but Bradford calculated that they had sent close to 10,000 pounds sterling worth of beaver and the otter skins were used to pay the freight costs for shipping (Morsion 1984: 289). By the end of the year, the Colony felt that their debts were paid off. The main reason this was accomplished was that they had a new accountant without selfish interests (Morsion 1984:289).

The formal end of the trade was acknowledged by Bradford to have occurred in 1638. At this time cattle and corn were selling for high rates and Plymouth Colony was supplying Massachusetts Bay Colony with much of their needs "...so as other trading began to be neglected, and the old partners

(having now forbidden Mr. Sherley to send them anymore goods) broke off their trade at Kennebec and, as things stood, would follow it no longer. But some of them, with other they joined with, being loath it should be lost by discontinuance, agreed with the company for it and gave them about a sixth part of their gains for it..." (Morsion 1984: 302).

Synopsis of the Aptucxet House's Position 1621-1638

The position of the trading house at Aptucxet within the scheme of the trading ventures of the colony between 1621 and 1638 can be summarized as follows. Early in the Colony's trading experience they were limited by their uncertainty of the country and of the natives of other areas amiability for trade to remain with fairly close proximity of their Plantation. Ventures were fairly frequent into Massachusetts Bay and down to Cape Cod and occasionally they traveled to present day Maine, but they remained within the safety of a day or twos journey from the Plantation. The increase of interaction with the natives and their mounting debts encouraged them to formalize their trade relations.

As a result of this they constructed their first trading house in an area fairly familiar to them, in Manamet on Cape Cod. This house was established to go into Narragansett Bay to search for the source of wampumpeag and suckahock, which they had learned over the first few years was very valued by the natives in these southern parts, and that the Pequot and Narragansett were the primary makers of it. They desired to take these beads and bring them to the north to trade with the natives in the fur rich regions. The Aptucxet house was to act as a station to trade the beads from the southern natives and supply them to Plymouth. It does not appear that trade in furs with the natives in their immediate area was considered a profitable venture.

The arrival of the Dutch in 1627 may have supplanted their utilization of the Aptucxet house. The Dutch desired to be the suppliers of the beads to the Colony, there by eliminating the need for exploration into the southern regions. The Colony appears to have reacted to this arrangement favorably, although it took them two years to trade away the beads. With the need for the Aptucxet house supplanted by the Dutch, the house may have been abandoned within a year or two of its erection. Trading now focused on the northern regions and they began to turn a profit. Trading did not begin to be considered in the southern regions again until 1633 when the settlement of the Connecticut region began. Two years later the house which is referred to as having "belonged" to the Plantation at Aptucxet was destroyed by a hurricane.

The thoroughness which Bradford recorded details in his journal causes one to wonder why, after the house at Aptucxet was erected, do we not hear anything of it until it was destroyed. One reason may be that the events just described would have caused it to have been of no importance long before it was destroyed and as a result there was no need to speak of it.

CHAPTER TWO
1627: The House at Manamet

It is easy enough to state that the site is not the true site of the Aptucxet trading house, but the real question is, why is it not the site. What would the original trading house have looked like and what traces would it have left? More importantly in qualifying a site as having been occupied from 1627-1635 (at the latest): What types of ceramics, pipe bowl styles and percentages of stem bores, would one expect to occur at such a site? By establishing the criteria which would identify a site a having dated from this early period, the fact that the site in question does not date from the 1620s-1630s will become clear, and preliminary work will be done to further the search for the original site.

Architecture: The documentary record

The question of what the structure that was constructed by the colonists at Manamet, can be investigated through the use of two sources. The first is period sources relating to structures in the colony and the second is the archaeological evidence in Plymouth colony relating to those early years. Bradford stated that when they first erected houses in 1620-1621 "..our purpose is to build for the present such houses as, if need be, we may with litle greefe set a fire, and run away by the light.. But if it be on all men resolved to build mean houses, the Governor's labor be spared." (Morsion 1984:363). The houses within the palisade were not meant to be permanent fine, fair houses. They were meant as temporary lodging until each family was able to strike out on their own and build substantial houses. Bradford goes on to say that the first house built at the Plymouth site was a common house 20 feet square in which to store their goods (Morsion 1984:79). Twenty feet on a side seems a good approximation of the size of a modest house in the colony.

Lombard utilized documentary evidence in his investigation as well, although he focused only on those that related directly to the trading house. Descriptions of the structure are given by Secretary de Rasiere when he visited the site in 1627, and by Bradford when the site was destroyed during the 1635 hurricane. Soon after the house was built and the decision made to go into Narragansett Bay in search of the trade in wampumpeag and suckahock, the Dutch sent an ambassador to dissway the colonists from their venture. De Rasiere arrived at Manamet late in 1627 and described the house as being constructed of "...hewn oak planks." (James 1963a: 74). This translation of the original Dutch appears to have created a problem in the interpretation of the description.

Lombard received a letter from an architectural historian named Norman Isham in 1929. When Lombard replied to the letter he stated that "The three words, 'hewn oak planks', have caused us much discussion. I have asked three different Dutch authorities on 16th/17th century Dutch, about these words, and they all said that Prof. Hull has translated them correctly.....I note that the last letter of the word which Prof. Hull translates as 'planks', namely 'planken' is not n but s. If this is so, then the word is 'planches', and means the plancher, or the timbers of the frame....which of course, in those days were all hewn." (Lombard 1929:1). Isham confirms, in the same letter, the incorrect interpretation of the word on the part of Prof. Hull and goes on to state that the k in 'planken' is actually h, confirming Lombard's interpretation. From this description, we now know that the frame of the house was hewn, as one would expect in the seventeenth century.

Continuing with his visit, de Rasiere was then brought to Plimoth where he described the houses as being covered with clapboards (James 1963a: 76). De Rasiere's description of the house at Aptucxet shows us that the framework of the house was of hewn oak and it may have been covered with clapboard like those at the Plantation. It would seem logical though that he would have noted if the house at Aptucxet was clapboard. The house had been constructed only the previous year and as a result, it may not yet have been covered with clapboard, if it was ever to be covered, when de Rasiere saw the house. When a house is built in this way, the "plancher" or framework of the structure is exposed with daub between the beams. This would have been the most significant fact de Rasiere could have noticed about it, and he could easily determine what type of wood was used. Upon his arrival in Plymouth, he may have found it noteworthy that the houses here were covered with clapboard and the plancher were not exposed.

The fact that the house at Aptucxet was not clapboarded is another illustration of the brevity of its existence The houses in Plimoth were clapboarded because it was noted in the first winter that the daub would wash away with the strong rains if it was not boarded. The house at Aptucxet, on the other hand, may have been meant to be more temporary. It was probably of a construction that the colonists would have been even less troubled to "set a fire, and run away by the light".

The temporary nature of the initial buildings erected by the colonists, especially trading houses can also be noted when the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop, reported in 1633 of Allerton's establishment of a trading "wigwam" at Machais in Maine (Dunn 1996:113). Winthrop often used the word wigwam when describing houses that were not constructed as well, by his standards, as an English house. Many of the early setters were noted as building, living in, and having their wigwams burned down. The term does not refer to a native constructed or even native style home, but is a sub-standard English home. Christopher Levett reinforced this definition of wigwam, in the English sense, at the Saco River in Maine. Here he says that "We built us our wigwam, or house, in one houres space, it had no frame, but was without forme or fashion, onely a few poles set up together, and covered with our boates sailes which kept forth but a little winde and lesse raigne and snow." (Parker 1968c: 264). This of course is not to say that the house at Aptucxet was a "wigwam" or was as insubstantial as Levette's but it is possible that it was not as substantial as the houses in Plymouth.

Bradford's description of the 1635 hurricane illuminates another aspect of the construction of the house. William Bradford and Edward Winslow both record the 1635 hurricane: "It took the boarded roof of a house which belonged to the plantation at Manamet and floated it to another place leaving the posts still standing in the ground..." (Morsion 1984: 279). This statement is completely consistent with the post-medieval construction techniques known of the period and the archaeological evidence from the other sites. The roof of the house was not of thatch like many of the roofs which were built in the early years in the plantation but was of split boards probably placed on clapboard style. Thatch was outlawed as a roofing material within the plantation in 1627 as a result of the numerous fires that resulted from its use (RCNP 1855: XI-4). While this law covered only the houses within and close to the palisade of the plantation, it apparently also was applied at the Aptucxet house. This may indicate that the construction of the trading house was more substantial than is suggested by de Rasiere. It may have had a boarded roof but no clapboards on the walls. The other clue to the construction techniques at the house that can be gleaned from the 1635 hurricane is that the storm left the posts of the house standing in the ground. Obviously the structure was of post-in-ground construction which appears to

have been the most common form for the first houses in Plymouth, as will be confirmed when the archaeological evidence is looked at.

Architecture: The archaeological record

The archaeological signature that would be left at the site of the Aptucxet house, if constructed as has been hypothesized, would be difficult to discover. James Deetz, in 1977, stated that the focus of a site is the "degree to which the pattern of postholes, cellars, and hearths can be 'read' clearly as to how it represents the structure which once stood over it." (Deetz 1977:94). The other aspect is the sites visibility "the actual amount of physical remains, however clearly or ambiguously they may be perceived." (Deetz 1977:94). It is here predicted that the Aptucxet house, because of its short duration of occupation (assuming that the site has not been occupied since) will, when discovered, have a high degree of focus. On the other hand, because of its short duration of occupation, possibly as little as 2 years, it will have a low visibility. These two points will become clearer when the Allerton site is compared to what would be expected at the Aptucxet site.

Archaeologically, the earliest houses that have been excavated within the former colony have had a twenty-foot floor plan similar to the plantation's first common house. Three sites in particular will be discussed: the site of the Cushnoc trading house in Augusta, Maine (1628-1676); the Isaac Allerton homesite in Kingston, Massachusetts (c. 1632-1634); and finally the Thomas Clarke homesite in Plymouth, Massachusetts (c. 1635-1676).

The site of the Cushnoc trading house in Augusta, Maine was 20 feet by 44 feet. (Figure1a). This site was built as the second trading post erected by the colony in the year following the establishment of Aptucxet. Its founding may have lead to the abandonment of Aptucxet the year after it was built, since the trade appears to have been focused on Maine after 1628. The style of the house appears to have been a cross-passage with a hearth located on the west wall. The chimney was probably constructed of wattle and daub with no bricks used. The doorways were located on the north and south sides (Cranmer 1990:61). There were no footings stones at the site, its construction was essentially the same as that described by Bradford when the Aptucxet house was swept away in 1635. Posts were set in the ground, evenly spaced about 15' apart on all of the sides. There was a 12' x 16' x 8' deep wood lined cellar located in the eastern portion of the house. Surrounding the site on at least the north and west sides was an approximately 3' wide palisade trench.

The second site to be discussed is the homesite of the financial planner of the Plimoth colony, Isaac Allerton in Kingston, Massachusetts. It appears that Allerton and his family moved to the site probably around 1632 and lived there until 1634 at the latest when it was known that he had left the colony. Allerton's daughter Mary and her family, beginning in 1656 until circa 1699, later occupied the site. As a result of the two occupations, it is difficult to distinguish the focus of the Allerton period at the site, but the visibility is high (Figure 1b).

Allerton's house was of a simple 20' x 22' square structure with one large post hole in each corner, possible stains from the floor joists in the north western corner of the house and a fieldstone hearth along the eastern wall measuring approximately five feet long and wide. The entrance to the house is believed to have been located on the south wall perpendicular to hearth, so that the hearth wall would

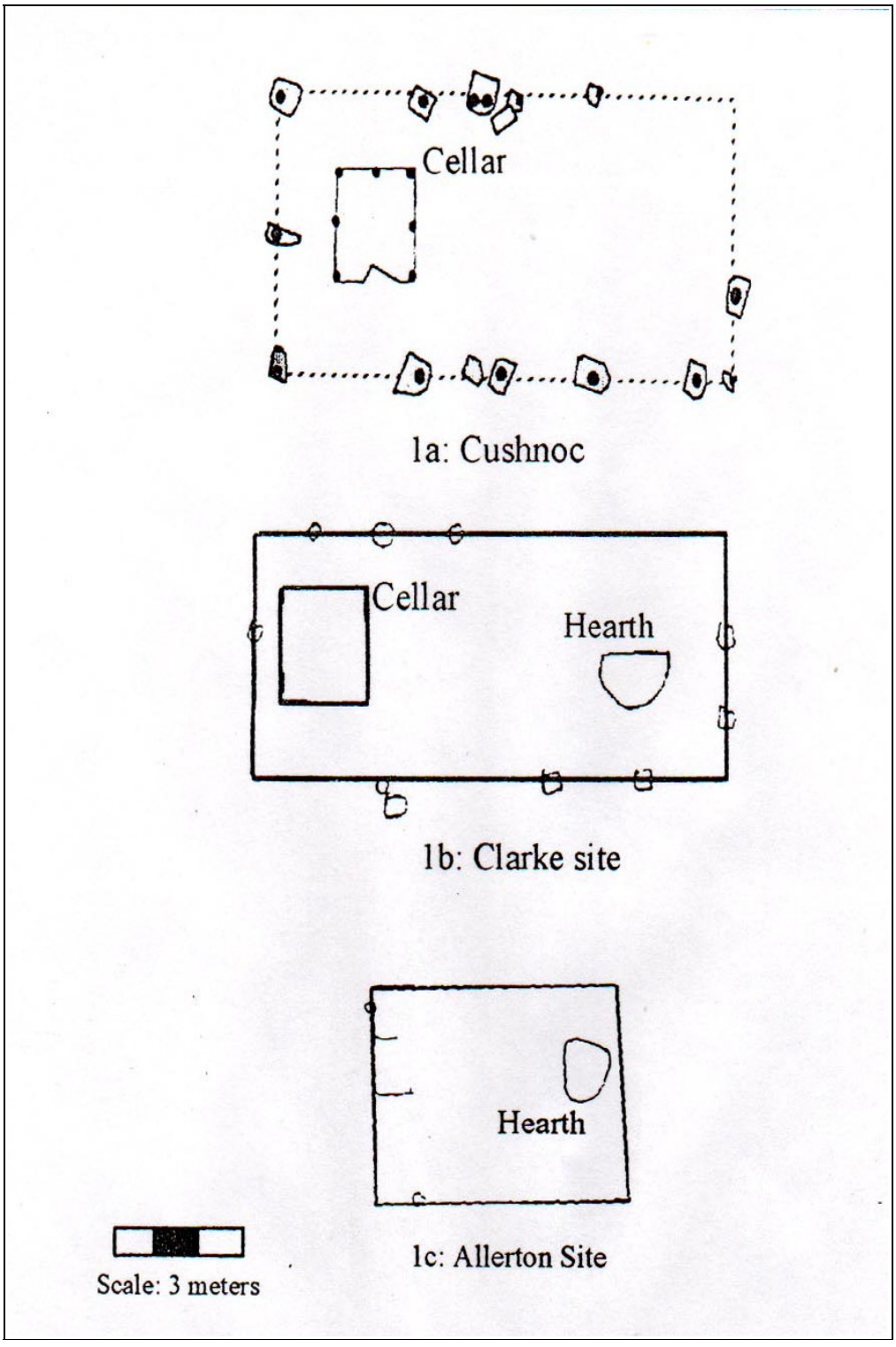

Figure 1. Archaeological evidence of early Plymouth Colony architecture

act as a baffle for the wind into the house. A palisade trench was dug to the immediate west of the house but never completed, possibly because Allerton left before he finished it. It is important to note that there was no cellarhole associated with the early house. It is believed that this little house would have been very similar to those first houses erected by the colonists at Plimoth and in fact has been used as a model for houses constructed at the present day Plimoth Plantation Museum.

This house size and style probably represents one that was built by settlers initially until they had the time or means to enlarge it. Allerton, one of the wealthiest men in the colony, surly would have enlarged his house if he had continued to reside within the colony. This pattern of beginning with a small 20 x 20' house and enlarging it over time can be seen more clearly at the Thomas Clarke site.

Thomas Clarke built his home circa 1635-1640 along the north bank of the Eel River in Plymouth (Figure 1c). The initial house constructed at the site is believed to have been an approximately 21 x 24' structure with a hearth on its east wall and the entrance to the south similar to the situation at the Allerton site. This early house is outlined by several postholes on west and north sides of the house.

It is believed that the house was enlarged to a 24 x 44' structure later in the century by means of stone sills on the eastern portion of the house. The hearth remained on the eastern side of the house and the house either became a cross passage similar to the Cushnoc site or may have had an entrance on the south side only. The 8' square cellarhole appears to have originally been wood-lined, but at some later time was stone lined possibly when the wood rotted. It is not believed at this time that the cellarhole was constructed during the first phase of construction at the site.

From the archaeological and documentary evidence the following reconstruction of the house at Aptucxet has been attempted. The structure was most likely a roughly 20' square structure with the hearth located along the east wall and the entrance into it located on the south side. The oak-hewn framework was set in postholes located at the four corners of the structure. The hearth was of wattle construction and the roof, conforming to the 1627 law, was, as Bradford stated, boarded. The walls were not clapboarded, as were the walls in the plantation, but were left exposed as they were in England. There may have been a palisade surrounding the house for protection here on the frontier, or they may have planned one and it was never constructed before the site was abandoned.

The Artifact Assemblage

Looking at the assemblages from some of the early colony sites, we can hypothesize about the type of artifact assemblage that would be diagnostic as having come from a site occupied from 1627-1635. The sites looked at were Cushnoc, the Thomas Clarke homesite, the Isaac Allerton Homesite and the Edward Winslow homesite (1632-1650) in Marshfield, Massachusetts. Essentially two classes of artifacts were believed to be highly temporally diagnostic to identify site that was occupied during the first half of the seventeenth century. Because of the relative ease with which ceramics and clay tobacco pipes can be dated, these were selected as the two artifact classes to be discussed in this work. Both of these classes are relatively utilitarian and were fairly indiscriminately disposed of by their users. Both classes of artifacts were recovered from the two field seasons of work at the site and should indicate if there was even a limited amount of early seventeenth century presence at the site.

Clay Tobacco Pipes

Clay tobacco pipes are, to the archaeologist, two things, one of the most commonly occurring objects on colonial sites and easily dated by their makers marks and bowl styles. The stem bores of tobacco pipes gradually became smaller over the centuries since they were first produced in England. The stems of the pipes were slowly lengthened over time and as a result the bore of the stems became smaller. The stems from the 1580-1620 period are predominantly of a 9/64" bore while those of 1650-1680 are predominantly of a 7/64" bore. J.C. Harrington discovered this reduction sequence when he worked with clay pipes from Jamestown in the 1950s and it has been refined over the years:

9/64" 1580-1620 8/64" 1620-1650 7/64" 1650-1680 6/64" 1680-1710

5/64" 1710-1750 4/64" 1750-1800

This dating by stem bores was initially believed to be the answer to the problem of dating sites. This theory in decreasing stem size was based on the fact that pipe stem lengths were of an increasingly longer length over time. This resulted in a smaller stem bore as the length increased. Of course, dating artifacts is never as easy as Harrington and Binford felt that it could be. In reality, the dates for the different pipe stem bores represent the specific periods of greatest popularity for those sizes, so there is a degree of over lap with all of these sizes. When the 7/64" were in their greatest popularity, there were still 8/64" being made, and later in their period of popularity there were 6/64" being made. For example, Hume shows a chart on which he estimates the percentages of production at different time periods for different bore diameters:

Date range	9/64"	8/64"	7/64"	6/64"	5/64"	4/64"
1620-1650	20%	59%	21%			
1650-1680		25%	57%	18%		
1680-1710			16%	72%	12%	
1710-1750				15%	72%	13%
1750-1800				3%	20%	74%

These percentages all represent the popularity of the sizes at the median date of production. In the early years of the different size's production there would have been a greater percentage of the earlier sizes bores. As one moves through the production period the earlier sizes would be phased out and the next smaller size would begin towards the middle to end of the period, moving into the next period. But one can assume that there was never any regularity to the production outputs by various producers in the different times for the different bores.

Bearing in mind the imprecision of stem bores as an absolute dating tool, what can be accomplished using these stem bores is to see when the range of activity at the site occurred. Sites with small percentages of 9/64" stems, large percentages of 8/64" stems and a small percentage of 7/64" stems can be assumed to have their maximum period of occupation between the 1620 to 1650 period. Different features on the site can also be looked at individually to see if the percentage of stem bores within them varies between them. If a palisade trench has a greater percentage of 8/64" stems than a cellar hole that

has more 7/64" stems, then possibly the palisade was filled before the cellar. This needs to be compared with the other artifacts to see if it support that hypothesis.

Another method that can be used to help to date a site is the establishment of median dates. By taking the median dates for each of the pipe stem bores, multiplying this by the number of fragments of each bore, adding all of the resultant answers together and finally dividing them by the total number of measurable fragments, the median date of occupation at the site can be hypothesized. This will result in a median date based on the assumption of pipe makers strictly adhering to the changes in pipe length in a given period.

Median dates such as these do help somewhat when attempting to determine if the site dates to a specific possible owner's period of occupation. For example, if one believes that the site is that of a farmer who the documents say lived at his home from 1645-1695, the median occupation date of the site based on the documents is 1670. If one looks at the pipe stems and uses the formula and the median date is 1740, then the researcher becomes suspicious of the plausibility of the site being that specific farmer's house. Of course, a good archaeologist is not merely going to look only at the clay pipes to interpret or date a site, they will look at all the artifacts from the site and then be more confident in assigning a specific site to a specific occupant.

The bowl styles which would date to this period are outlined by Hume (Hume 1969:302) **(Figure 2).** The styles from England have been studied extensively by Adrian Oswald in his monumental work on the Bristol pipemakers (Oswald 1975). The pipe bowls from this period would be characterized by a diminutive size, but not as small as those from the 1580-1620 period. Their bowls tilt forward away from the smoker and they usually have rather larger heels which are the portions of the bowls on the underside. Later bowls became larger and the heels shrunk until late in the seventeenth century they sometimes have disappeared altogether. The clay pipes from a site dating from 1627-1635 would be expected to be composed of large bored stems mainly of the 8/64" variety and small sized bowls similar to those shown in Hume's work. Using his work, the various bowls and many bowl fragments found at a site can be used to support or refute the chronology of the site or features based on the stem bore diameters. In it most basic sense, clay pipe bowl sizes increased throughout the seventeenth century. Along with the increased bowl size went a change in shape. The earliest bowls are small bulbous "belly" bowls with relatively narrow bowl openings. Over time the bowls remained bulbous but the grew larger and the diameter of their bowl openings increased **(Figure 2)**.

Tobacco pipes can also bear maker marks in the form of a specific symbol used by a specific maker or the actual maker’s name on the bowl or stem. Along with these makers' marks, certain styles that appear to indicative of specific countries of origin.

At the Aptucxet Trading Post site in Bourne Massachusetts, the excavator, Percival Hall Lombard, in 1926, used clay pipes as one of his forms of evidence to prove that the site was the original 1627 trading house. He merely assumed that the pipes dated to the early seventeenth century and followed with the natural conclusion that since he felt they looked early then the must be from the trading house. He also assumed that they were Dutch and found corroborating evidence in paintings of the Dutch using clay tobacco pipes.

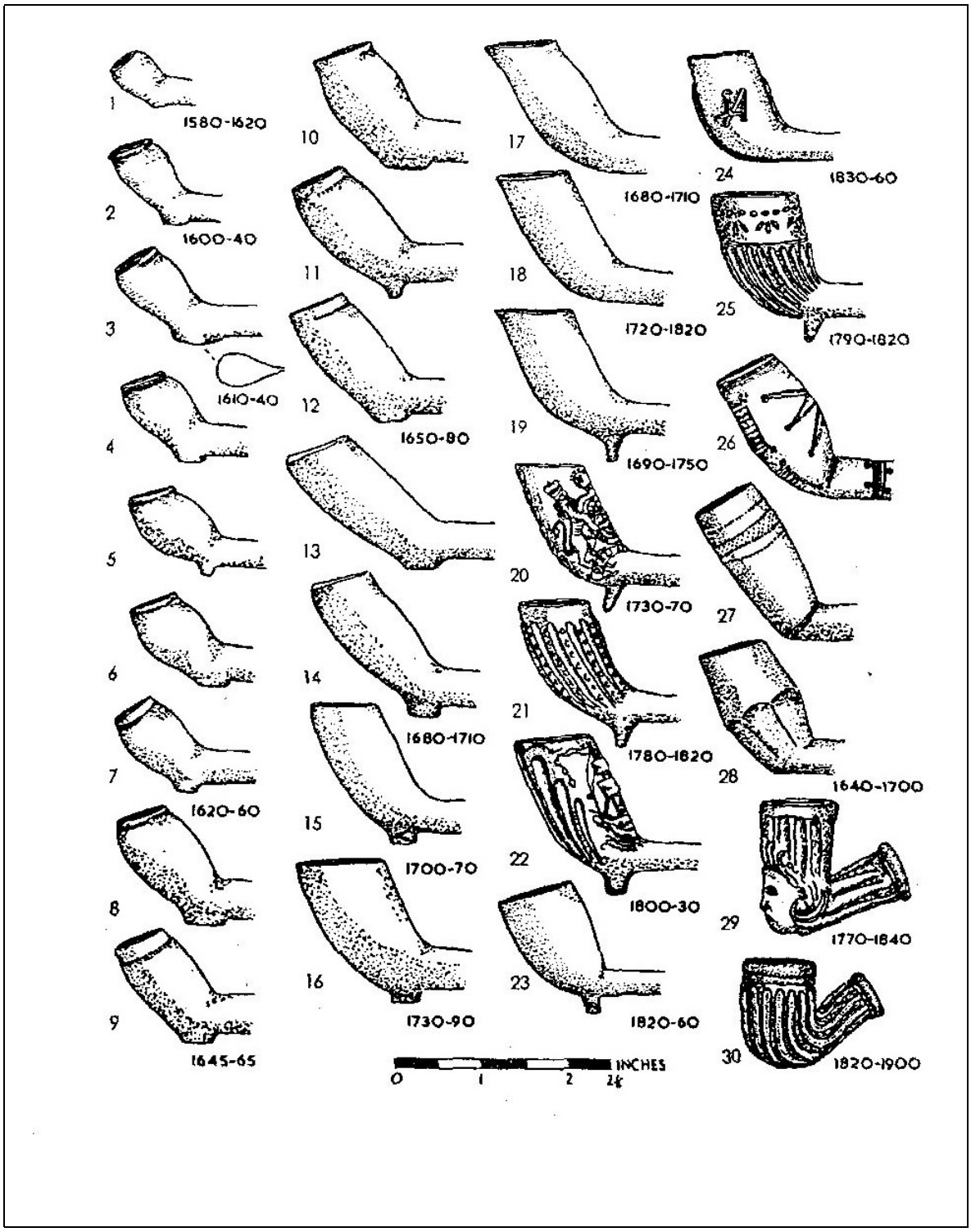

Figure 2. Changing tobacco pipes styles (Hume 1969)

Ceramics

The ceramic types that would prove to be very diagnostic to the early seventeenth century can be ascertained by looking at the assemblages from the Allerton, Clarke, Edward Winslow and Cushnoc sites. James Deetz, in 1972, used many of the sites excavated by Plimoth Plantation Inc. to create a serration of the use of ceramics in Plymouth Colony from 1635-1685 **(Figure 3)**. As can be observed by looking at this chart, from the two earliest sites listed, the Edward Winslow site (C-14) and the Thomas Clarke homesite (C-01), redwares predominate followed by what he called "white sandy wares", North Devon scraffito and brown German stoneware. While in its most basic sense, Deetz's work is correct, careful reexamination of the collections and more secure identifications of materials have produced a more refined view of the ceramics of the early colony. This chart shows the early seventeenth century ceramics from three of the sites used in this study.

Redware

At the sites being used in this discussion, redwares dominate the assemblages **(Figure 4)**. Redware is the broadest variety within the ceramic class of earthenwares. Earthenwares can be characterizes as being a ceramic class composed of glacial or alluvial clays that have been fired in a kiln at temperatures not exceeding 1200 degrees Celsius. Before the firing, the body may be, but was not always, covered with a powdered or later, a liquid lead oxide glaze. This glaze fused to the body and created a waterproof, glasslike surface. Different paste textures, decorative techniques, and glazes produced different types of earthenware identified by the distinctions: redware; tin-enameled; slipware; North Devon gravel tempered and gravel free wares; and refined earthenwares. Some of these varieties have distinct temporal ranges, while others continued in production virtually unchanged for centuries. Redware is the largest and most commonly occurring type of earthenware encountered on European Colonial sites.

Redware itself has not received a great deal of careful and scholarly work to tightly date them. Apart from Laura Watkins' paramount work and Sarah Turnbaugh's 1985 treatise on the subject, there has not been much follow up work done to continue the scholarship. As a result, while redware makes up the greatest percentage of the assemblages looked at, they can not be closely dated, and must be given limited weight to the amount they can contribute to the identification of an early seventeenth century site. What can be said about them relates primarily to their glaze colors.

Studying the English ceramic traditions which formed the precedent for colonial potters work, Turnbaugh identified 12 redware traditions in England which she felt were perpetuated by New England potters (Turnbaugh 1985:216-217). Her date ranges for wares made in England date from ca. 1200 to 1795, and those in New England from ca. 1650 to 1815. Unfortunately Turnbaugh's work suffers from several serious drawbacks. English and Colonial wares are virtually indistinguishable from each other, unless one performs complex trace mineral tests to determine the source location of the clays used. As a result, unless one knows that the redwares present at a site are definitely of colonial manufacture, they can not be used to reliably date a site. Turnbaugh also sets beginning date of manufacture for the colonial potters much too late. She herself notes that potters were established in Charlestown Massachusetts by 1635 and it is known that potters were at work in Virginia by 1622 at the latest (Turnbaugh 1985:209). I feel that, unless the date range for the habitation of a site has been

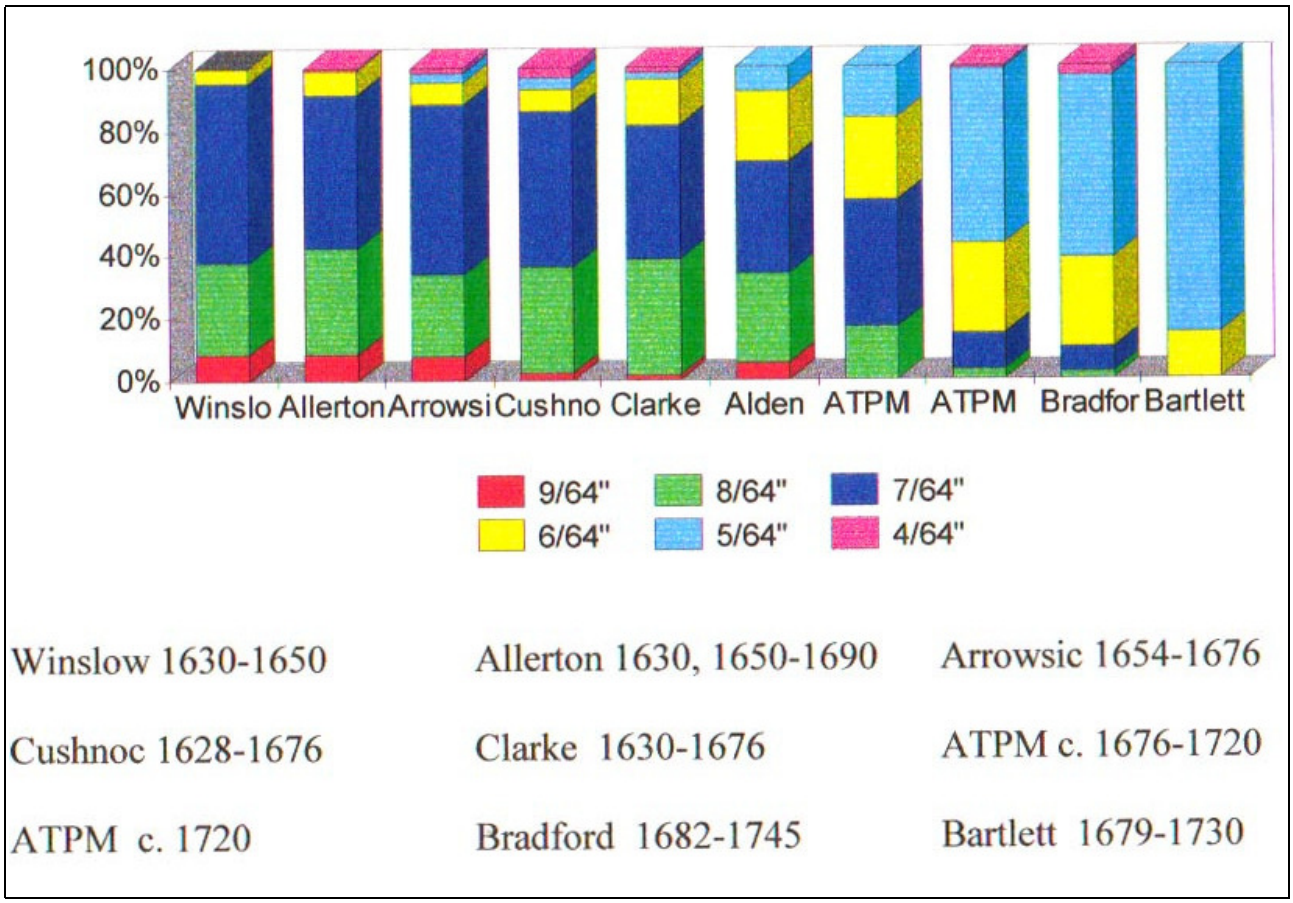

Figure 3. Tobacco pipe distribution at Plymouth Colony sites

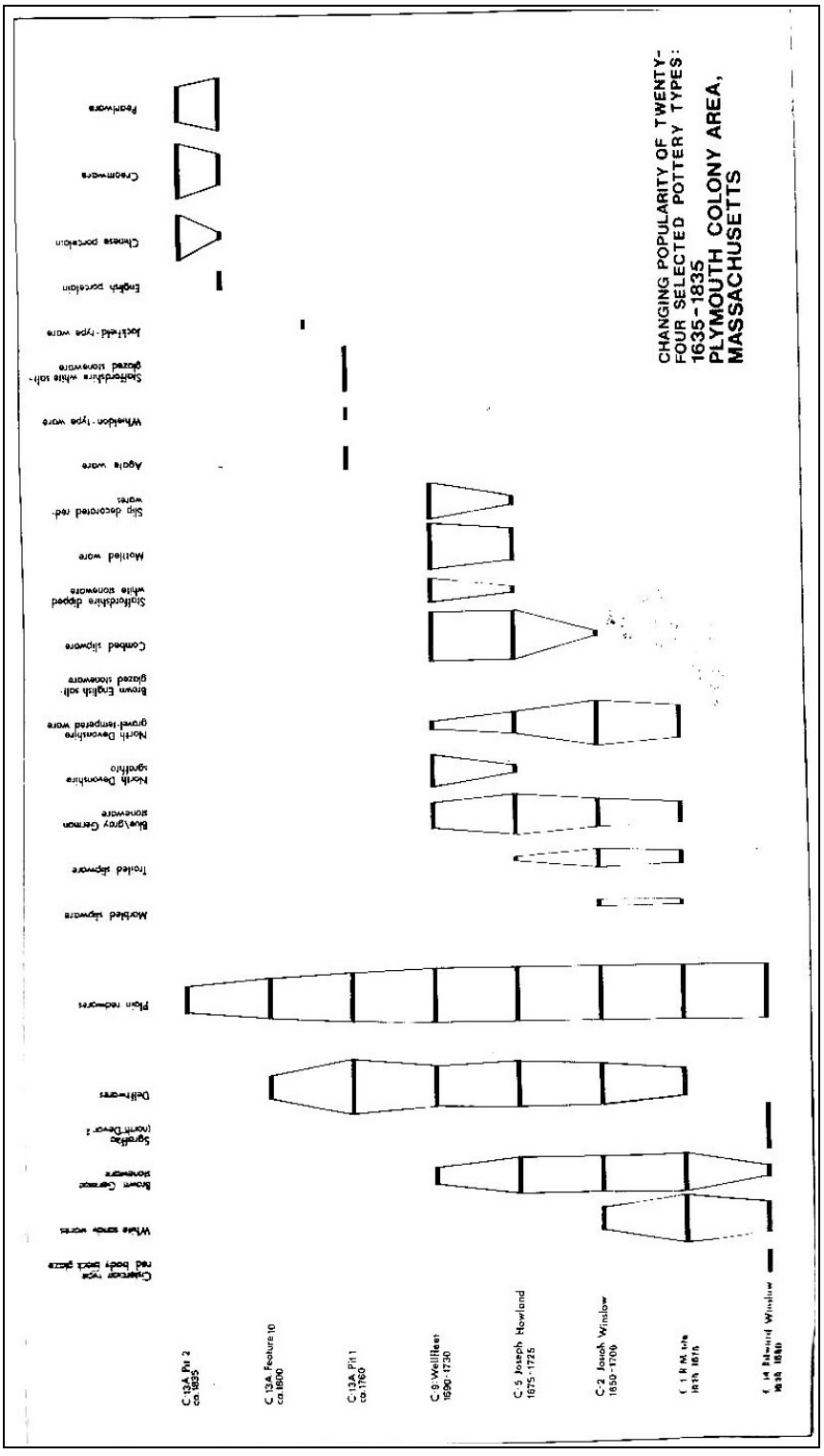

Figure 4. Occurrences of ceramic type sin Plymouth Colony (Deetz xx).

set prior to the use of Turnbaugh's dates, they can not be considered a reliable means of identifying a site as dating to the early or late seventeenth century when no other artifacts are present.

My own research with Plimoth Plantation's collections indicates that there was some general change in the frequency of occurrence of glaze colors throughout the seventeenth century. It appears that from the early seventeenth century until approximately the third quarter of the century, olive and dark black glazes reminiscent of the glazes used on wares from the North Devon region of England predominated. After the third quarter and into the 18th and 19th centuries yellow-red glazes of various shades became ever more popular while the dark and olive glazes lost favor.

As can be seen in **Figure 5**, which graphs the occurrence of redware glaze colors at various sites in Plymouth colony, this generally holds true. The brown glazes remain present throughout the century

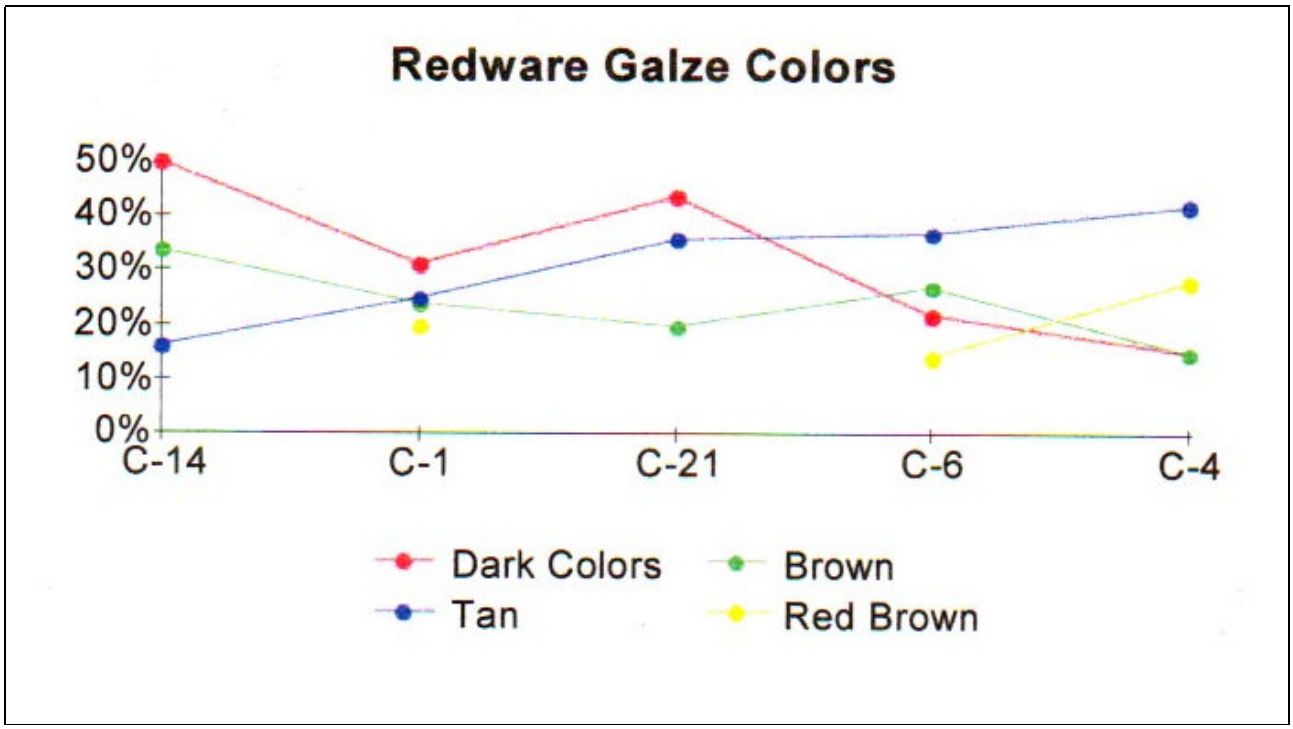

Figure 5. Distribution of redware glaze colors at Plymouth Colony sites

while the dark glazes decrease and light glazes increase. Red brown glazes appear rather sporadic in their occurrence. This may indicate that the occurrence of red-brown glazed vessels is a later seventeenth into eighteenth century occurrence, although it is interesting that they were not found at the Allerton site that was occupied until circa 1690. On an early seventeenth century site, one would expect there to be a high percentage of dark brown glazes and a lower percentage of light brown/ tan glazes.

More temporally diagnostic of the early seventeenth century than redwares are the wares produced in the various border areas of north-east Hampshire and West Surrey from the 16th and 17th century. These are called borderware (Pearce 1992:1). Borderware was the second most common utilitarian cooking and serving ware in the early seventeenth century after redware. The body of the borderware is a fine sandy off-white earthenware and the interior and often the exterior is glazed with yellow, brown, green, or olive glazes. The fabric and colors are very similar to the products of Holland and France but the shapes of the vessels are easily identifiable to England. There are a huge number of forms that the Borderware took from three legged cooking pipkins to candlesticks, but it is interesting that in the Plimoth Plantation collections, only pipkins and bowls have been identified thus far. Borderware have been recovered from North American colonial sites that had occupations prior to the English Civil War in 1660. The war severely disrupted trade patterns with the New World and during this time many utilitarian ceramic forms that had formerly come from England were replaced by the developing New World colonial pottery industry. As a result, wares such as Borderware and many Raeren and Frenchen stoneware types (see below) appear to have ceased being imported to the New England. The recovery of Borderware at a site is very temporally diagnostic to the early seventeenth century, at least it points to an occupation prior to 1660. This is also true to a degree for some of the varieties of stoneware produced in the Rhineland.

Many of the red bodied earthenwares which reached New England came from the southeast of England in the West Country (Devonshire and perhaps Dorset) (Hume 1970:102). These included tall black glazed mugs with two or more handles called tygs which were produced from the 1400s to ca. 1650 and slipwares produced at Wrotham in Kent from 1612 to 1700 (Hume 1970:102). Wrotham slipware had a glaze that was darkened and a thinned clay solution, called a slip, was applied in sprig molded pads containing initials and dates (Hume 1970:103).

Tin-enameled wares (also called tin-glazed, or delftware) were produced in Spain, France, Portugal, Holland and England. At present it seems that wares from England comprise the vast majority of these wares found on early seventeenth century English colonial sites. Tin-enameled wares are semi-soft bodied earthenwares which were decorated with blue, orange, green and yellow painted glaze and were covered with a tin glaze or a lead glaze with tin added. This gave a white glaze to the vessel reminiscent of oriental porcelain, which they appear to have imitated. The most common vessels for the early seventeenth century are chargers, flat broad platters, with floral or pomegranate decorations in the center and blue dash decoration along the rims (Hume 1970:108). These were made from ca.1620 to 1720. As with other ceramic types that lasted for a long period, the decoration of these ware degraded throughout the century as demand and availability of them increased. Apothecary or drug pots were also made in England. These were rather tall and narrow vessels painted in bands on the exterior, often in blue, orange and purple (Hume 1970:205). These were produced from ca. 1580 to 1640. They were replaced by plain white pots of a squatter shape later in the century.

The West Country of England, mainly around the towns of Barnstable, Biddeford and Great Torrington produced a type of earthenware that has come to be known as North Devon gravel free ware. This ware is easily distinguished by the color of the exterior versus the interior. The exterior was fired in an oxidizing atmosphere in the kiln and as a result it attains an orange or red. These vessels were fired upside-down in the kilns, with result being the interior having been fired in a reducing atmosphere, free from oxygen. As a result the interior are often or a gray fired body with a mottled yellow to olive

brown glaze (Cranmer 1992:85). These vessels have long been thought to have only been produced during the late seventeenth century, but their recovery from sites such as the Plymouth trading post at Pentagoet (ca. 1629), Martin's Hundred in Virginia (1622) and from the wreck of the Sea Venture (1609) pushes their dates of manufacture back into the first quarter of the century (Cranmer 1992:85). Their recovery from sites throughout the century shows that they were produced for a long time range. Most of the vessels take the form of baluster jars. These vessels have a constricted neck on which a paper or cloth cover could be tied. It is theorized that these vessels were shipped either empty or filled with pickled fish to the colonies.

Not all of the earthenware varieties recovered from early seventeenth century colonial sites originated in England. This is true for a common type of ceramic known as North Italian red marbleized slipware that generally dates from 1610 to 1660. The decoration of these red bodied earthenwares was executed by mixing white and green slip to created a marbleized slip (Hume 1970:77). Common vessel forms of this ware appear to be "costrels", which were used much like canteens, and dishes. Italian marbleized slipware occurs at numerous seventeenth century sites in the Northeast (Wilcoxen 1987:77).

The other varieties of earthenware, such as slipware, sgraffito and North Devon gravel tempered ware were not produced until after 1650 and will not be considered here. These will be discussed in the section of this report covering the ceramics recovered from the Aptucxet Trading Post Museum Site.

Stoneware can be described as a ceramic type that is made of alluvial or glacial clays which is fired in a kiln at temperatures of 1200 to 1400 degrees Celsius. Firing the clays at these temperatures produces a dense, vitrified, waterproof body of a gray, brown or buff color. Vessels were often glazed by throwing handfuls of salt into the kiln at the peak of firing. This imparted a salt glaze, giving the exterior surface a waterproof glaze with an orange peel like texture.

Brown slip covered salt glazed stoneware had been produced in eastern Europe since at least the 1400s and was used chiefly for shipping and storing commodities (Turnbaugh 1985:16). Primarily these were produced in two centers in the Rhineland of Germany; Frenchen and Westerwald. The Frenchen region mainly produced wares with a distinctive iron oxide stained slip with a salt glaze on a brown stoneware body. The best known of these was the Baartmannkrug or Bellarmine bulbous jugs produced since the early 16th century.

The Baartmannkrugs are noted for the medallions on their bodies, often with a coat of arms identifying where they were produced, and a molded bearded mask on the neck. Over time the medallions became completely abstract, no longer referring to any region but being merely decorative and the masks became grotesque charicatures of their original selves. A site dating to the early seventeenth century would contain Baartmannkrugs with well-molded medallions of specific cities and naturalistic masks. This region also produced plain globular jugs of various capacities. No well-molded masks or medallions were found at any of the sites in this study but the Allerton site did produce a variety of plain jugs, some of which may date to the Allerton occupation.

The second type of German ceramics were those produced in the Westerwald region. These were most commonly made in the form of jugs that were decorated with cobalt blue and a salt glaze on a gray stoneware body. Over time the finely executed decorations and lines on Westerwald vessels became

degraded, much in the same way that the Bellarmine's decoration deteriorated. By the late seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century, they were distinctly debased. After approximately 1660 manganese was also used in conjunction with cobalt in the decoration of these vessels (Hume 1970:281).

The final category of ceramics is those produced in France that appear on early colonial sites in Plymouth colony. The Edward Winslow site produced many fragments of a Martincamp costrel of unglazed, high fired redware. The town of Martincamp is situated between Dieppe and Beauvais in France. Hurst stated that Martincamp vessels are "...so common in Britain that they may be regarded as much as a chronological type-fossil of the 16th and 17th centuries..." (Hurst 1992:102). The flask from the Winslow site is termed a type III. These were produced from 1625-1650 with a height of 328 mm. Examples of this type have been found in Virginia at the site of the Roanoke colony (Hurst 1992:104).

The second French ceramic is from the Allerton site and is a product of Normandy. This dark purple brown-bodied stoneware is possibly a narrow necked jar. This form was produced from the early to late seventeenth century (Hurst 1992:101). Fragments of other vessels of this type have been found at Champlain's 1604 habitation at Sainte-Croix in Maine. Since Allerton had dealings with the trading and fishing ventures in Maine, it is possible that he received the vessel there.

The ceramic assemblage that would be expected at a site dating from 1627-1635 can now be ascertained with a fair degree of certainty. Redware vessels would comprise the majority of the assemblage with dark or olive glazed drinking, storage, and cooking vessels present. Borderware would be present representing cooking and serving vessels. Black glazed tygs (1400s-1650) and Wrotham slipware mugs (1612-1700) may be present. Tin-enameled vessels may be present, but would not be common. These would most likely take the form of "blue-dash" chargers (1620-1720) and polychrome apothecary pots (1580-1640). Baluster jars from the North Devon region of England (ca. 1620 to c. 1675) would probably be present. North Italian marbleized earthenware (1610-1660) and French Martincamp costrels would round off the earthenwares.

Frenchen stoneware jugs with well-molded faces and medallions would be present to hold liquids. There is the possibility that stoneware from Normandy, France would be present in limited quantity from Plimoth Colony's interaction with traders and fishermen in Maine. Finally it must be noted that there may be Dutch wares similar in fabric to Borderware present as a result of the known interaction with New Holland.

PART TWO: Earlier Excavations
CHAPTER THREE:
Excavation History

Batchelder 1852

The initial 1852 excavations at the site believed to be the "Aptucxet Trading Post" by Dr. William Batchelder and William Russell were carried out with the intent of discovering artifacts that the Pilgrim forefathers used. Russel stated in 1855 when his Pilgrim Memorials was published that "...no tradition exists as to the trading house of the colony; it having been generally a matter of conjecture only that some kind of defense was erected there against the Indians , though previous to the year 1685."(Russell 1855:149). By the middle of the nineteenth century, interest in the Pilgrims and their history was increasing and sites connected to them were sought out. Myles Standish's house was excavated in 1856 by James Hall, but Batchelder's 1852 work at the Aptucxet site marks it as the first historical archaeological investigation in Massachusetts that is known of at this time. But it should be noted that before Batchelder and Russell began their work, no one remembered that the trading house was even in the area.

The Aptucxet Trading Post Museum site is located 1 1/4 miles from the mouth of the Manamet River on the its south side **(Figure 6)**. It contained two cellar holes located 100 yards from the high water mark of the river where an excellent fresh water spring issues from the bank of the river, which Batchelder stated was the first spring from the mouth of the river. Prior to any work at the site, it was assumed by the inhabitants of the town to be some type of blockhouse probably dating to the years of King Philip's War 1675-1676. Batchelder and Russel assumed from the start that it was the location of the trading house. Modern archaeological control was of course not in practice yet so the exact location of all except one of the three "major finds" is not known, but they all generally were found in the northwest corner of the western cellar hole.

Batchelder described the excavation in 1857 in a letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society:

> "Five years ago, myself and an accomplice exhumed the eastern wall of the western pit. It was built of small flat stones, with natural faces, neatly laid in shell-lime cement, which still preserves considerable cohesion. Near the northern corner, there is a little cuddy cut through the wall and in the blank behind, lined all around with the same material, and in the same neat, workmanlike manner...The most notable relics we found were two fragments,-the one, of a knife blade, about two inches in length and half an inch in breadth, resembling a broken shoe knife blade; the other, of a hoe, which must have been of ample dimensions and weight. This may be seen in Pilgrim Hall, at Plymouth. The length of the cellar-wall was about eighteen feet...Knowing that the Plymouth Trading-house must have been established somewhere in the vicinity, and having received some documents from the ancient records, through the aid of William Russell Esq., of Plymouth who was searching for the same object, I was able to identify the site beyond a doubt. " (MHC 1857:253).

Figure 6. Location of the project area

All of the artifacts recovered by Batchelder were assumed to be ancient and therefore belonged to the trading house.

Along with the assumption went documentary evidence compiled by Russel, which appeared to confirm the identification. The main document cited in Russell's work was a land deed from the Plymouth court to James Skiffe in 1655. In this description the land is described as being where the Company formerly had a trading house (PCR 1655:84).

Lombard 1920s

It is not known when Percival Hall Lombard became interested in finding the location of the trading house. He may have come across the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1857 when Batchelder reported what he found or he may have heard from other residents about the excavations or the legend. Most likely it seems from some of the references which he uses in his works, he read William S. Russell's work "Pilgrim Memorials" which details Batchelder's work and the history of Manamet. Lombard did report that in 1920 he contacted Arthur Lord who was the President of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth "the able first Chairman of the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission" (Lombard 1953:16) with the idea that an excavation of the site should be attempted before it is lost "rescuing from oblivion the site of this ancient landmark where was laid one of the corner stones in the foundation of the nation's commerce."(Lombard 1968:16). What is recorded below is based on Lombard's notes that are in the possession of the Bourne Historical Society.

Lombard began his excavations on Monday October 11, 1926 (**Figure 7**). The team that worked on the site varied day by day, and on this day H. A. Whitney, a farm handyman, N. B. Hartford and his brother-in-law Keven were present. The team brought with them the tools which the would use in their work: a large box for tools, two spades, 1 fork, 6 1/2" X 8 1/2" camera, one 5 X 7" Graftex camera, 1 scythe and smath, one garden rake, one spading fork, and one potato fork. By no means what we would call a standard archaeological field kit, but the fact that he brought and subsequently used the two cameras gives some insight into how Lombard cared about keeping a good record of what he found.

Excavation then began in the southwest corner of the western pit and then proceeded in an easterly direction **(Figure 8)**. The first level encountered was mainly of rough fieldstones which Lombard initially interpreted as having been dumped into the open pit. Scattered amongst and below these stones were quahog, oyster and clamshells and also the thigh (femur ?) of a horse or cow. By noon the excavators had proceeded easterly and had completely excavated the southeast corner of the cellar hole. The entire area of the excavation was approximately 4' X 2' and was approximately 2' deep to the floor **(Figure 8)**. At noon, measurements were taken between the two cellar holes. These measurements included their distance from each other, their sizes, and distances from the edge of the canal **(Figures 9 and 10).**

The October 12 excavations began in much the same way as the previous day except that Charles Whitmore accompanied Lombard and Mr. Hartford arrived later with his potato hook/ clam digger rake. It was decided that the length of the walls should be determined, so excavation proceeded along the south wall. The total area excavated on this day was approximately eight feet three inches in length and varying in width from about four feet to a few inches **(Figure 8)**. As in the previous day's digging,

Figure 7. Lombard and Whitney at the start of the excavation

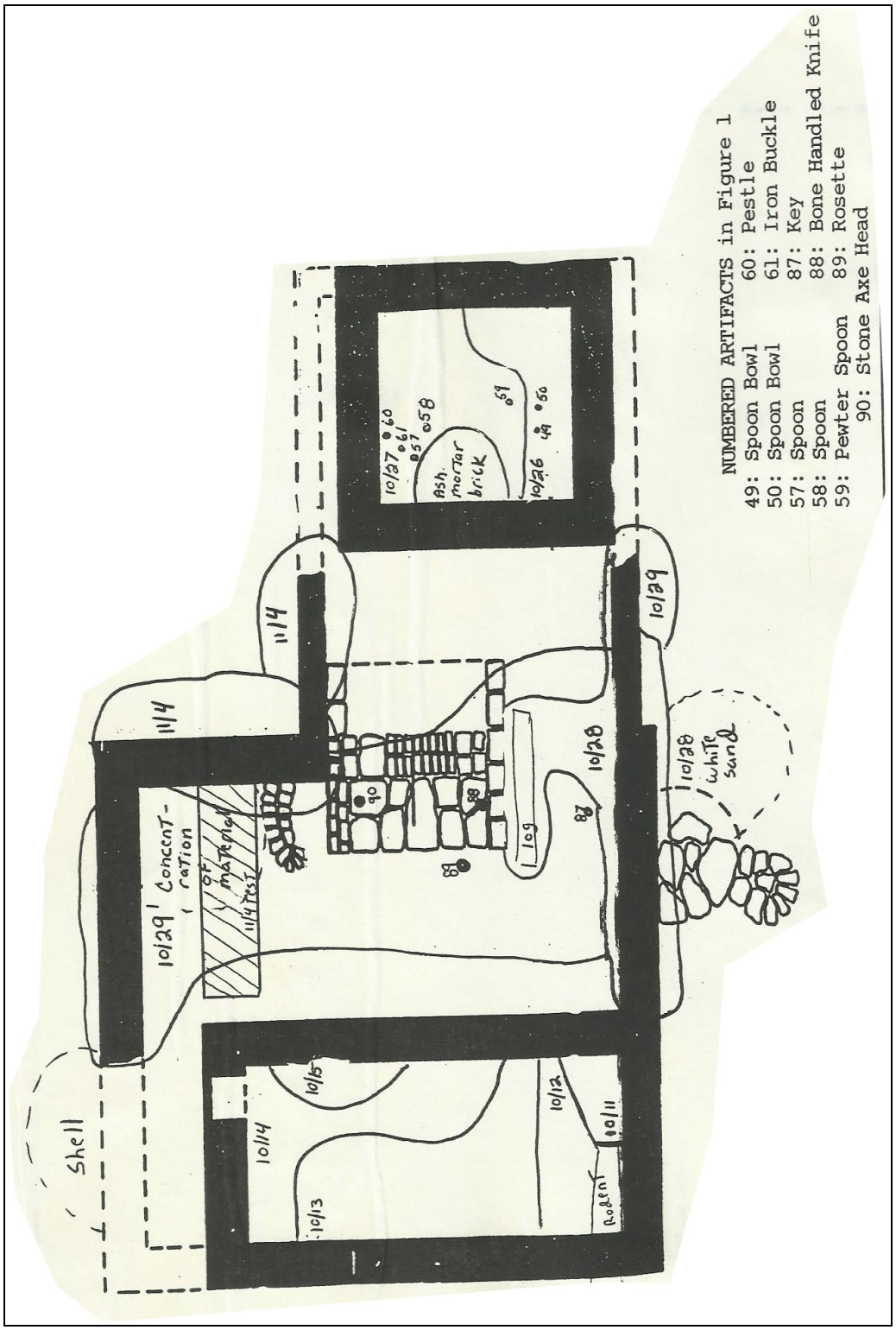

Figure 8. Reconstruction of Lombard's daily excavation

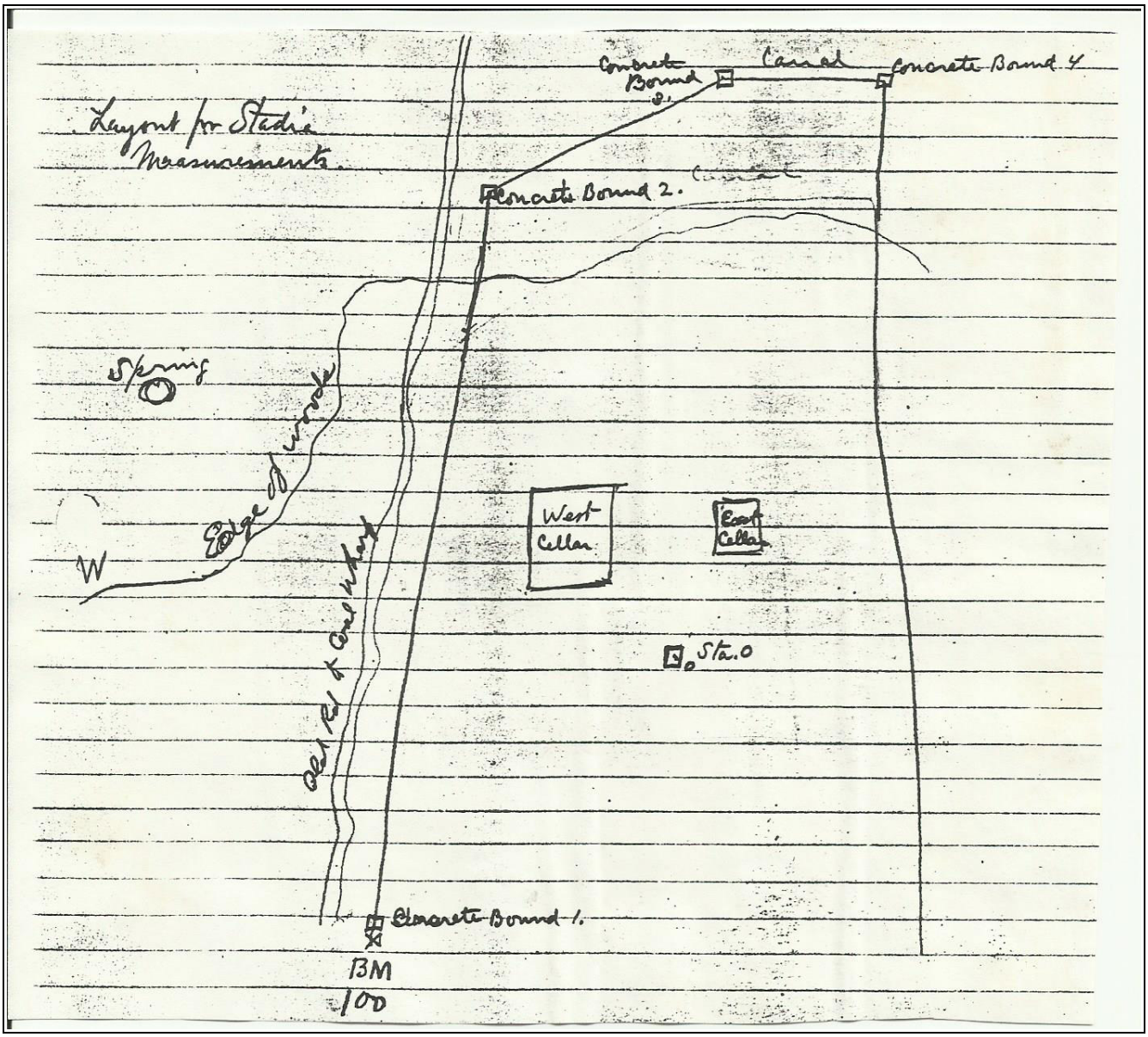

Figure 9. Lombard's measurements at the site

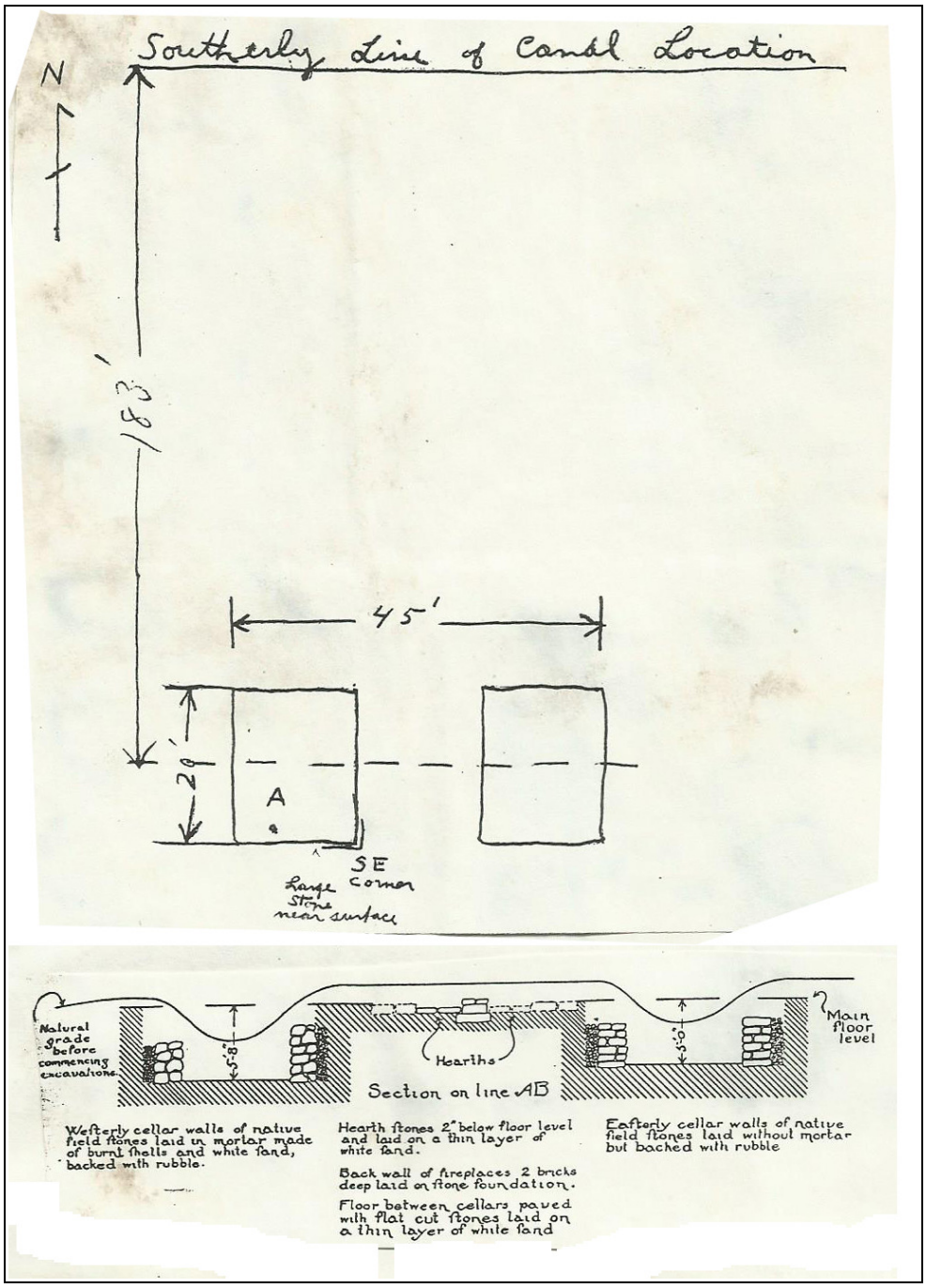

Figure 10. Lombard's measurements of the cellar holes

a layer of shell mixed with cobbles was found first. This was initially interpreted as being dumped recently by someone to fill the open hole. This was the primary interpretation until it was discovered that the west wall was one foot lower than south wall. Probably the stones were from the upper courses of the west wall and the fell into the hole or were pushed in to fill it.

The artifacts found (numbers 6-9) were very similar to those found on the previous day; three more pieces of blue wine bottle glass, clay pipe stems and the lower portion of a bowl, two jaw bones of the same animal as that found before, window glass, and pieces of slate stone chips from the doorstep. The slate chips found were determined to be exactly the same as a doorstep, locally called the Trading Post Doorstep, which was in the possession of the Monzer family in Bourne. The local legend behind the doorstep tells of the stone being taken from the site some years before. The positions of the stone chips near the middle of the south wall seem to support that the stone did come from here. Several pieces of "glazed" brick were found and two whole bricks were found covered with "soot" near the center of the north wall.

This lead to Lombard's interpretation that the chimney and fireplace were placed at the center of the north wall. This was believed because 1) the soot covered bricks were near the top of the chimney and it fell inward, 2) the door chips were in the center of the south wall where the door would be with the chimney opposite it, 3) it would make sense to place the chimney opposite the door. So with this theory proposed, Lombard planned to continue testing it. The final occurrence of note that was found on this day was a fine mixture of ash, lime, charcoal and brick with a large pile in the southeast corner. Lombard interpreted this to mean that there was the possibility that the house burned, but he saw that this theory also needed further testing.

Excavations continued on October 13 along the western wall. This portion of the foundation was described as being in much poorer condition than either of the other two walls uncovered thus far. The poorer condition refers to the fact that it appeared that the upper two feet of the wall were missing and the rest of the wall was slumped inward. There was also evidence of rodent or fox disturbance on the outside of the wall in the form of a burrow or run that ran northward parallel to the wall **(Figure 8)**. The total area excavated on this day was approximately 11 feet long by four to eight feet three inches wide.

Lombard stated that there was less material in this area than in the areas previously worked on and the fact that bricks do not seem to be as prevalent. Artifact numbers 10 through 15 were uncovered in this area; 2 pieces of gray bowl with a raised blue design (Lombard states that it is similar to Dutch "slipware"), 2 pieces of blue bottle glass, the neck of a bottle of the same glass, broken thin window glass, 4 pieces of brown earthenware glazed on the interior, one almost complete bowl of a pipe, 2 pieces of a clay pipe stem one of which has a zig-zag design, 4 nails, 2 pieces of greenish glazed ceramic with yellow wavy designs, a "queer stone" which later was found to be nothing. The ash, lime, charcoal, and brick mixture continued to be found near the floor.

Lombard now realized that his chimney theory would not completely explain the occurrence of the brick in the cellars. He felt that since it was known that a Mr. Perry had taken the doorstep, then the same person may have dismantled the chimney and filled the cellar holes with trash, especially the window glass and the earthenware. This new theory was prompted by the fact that bricks and slate

chips were being found at no specific depth. The fact that Lombard had noticed this fact indicates that he was carefully excavating the cellars, noting the position of artifacts and the stratigraphy present in the cellars. The concepts of stratigraphy and superposition, the occurrence of more recent artifacts closer to the surface and older artifacts deeper down, form the basis of archaeological methods today. Lombard was definitely ahead of his time in the amount of care that he gave to his excavations.

Digging along the northerly edge of the western wall was finished on October 15, and the northeast corner was located at about 11:30 that morning. Again the north wall was about the same height as the western one with the top two feet of the wall missing. The total area excavated on this day ranged from approximately two feet to eight feet three inches wide by approximately 12 feet long **(Figure 8)**. Artifact numbers 16 through 24 were recovered: mortar from the western and eastern walls, a large piece of doorstep slate, a pig tusk found along the middle of the north wall, 2 pieces of green glass, two pieces of pipe stem, two pieces of earthenware, 1 broken stone pestle, several bricks with the "glazed" surface, and two pieces of wood knots.

The theory was advanced that the bricks were glazed as a result of the burning of driftwood that would produce a characteristic salt glaze such as is found on pottery. Close to the bottom of the cellar hole, the mixture of ash, charcoal, lime and brick continued and Lombard states on this day that it was about two inches thick. He interpreted this as growing evidence that the building was burned.

Test excavations were also conducted on this day in the middle of the space between the two pits. In the area just inside the northerly line about eight inches below the surface, a flat surface of a floor or chimney base was encountered above which was the thin layer of ash, lime, charcoal, and brick. Digging further inside the northerly line a paved floor was uncovered. This area was covered up again to be excavated when the excavation of the two cellar holes was completed.

On October 15, the western cellar was completely excavated. The conclusion of the excavation focused on an area around the cherry tree growing in the northeastern corner of the pit. The final area excavated measured approximately seven feet long by four feet wide. Artifact numbers 26 through 34 were recovered: a spoon bowl stamped with RE... within a circle (initially identified as a possible Paul Revere spoon) found close to the tree about six inches above the ash, lime, charcoal layer, one acorn top spoon, one hoe blade was found directly under the cherry tree just above the ash mixture, stone skinning knife, several hand-wrought nails, horse tooth very near the bottom under the tree, one piece of gray stoneware, two pieces of blue glass, one blue glass bottle neck These last four items were recovered near the bottom of the cellar about six inches from the floor near the center of the pit.

During the earlier nineteenth century excavation, a small "cuddy" or storage space was found in the northern wall. The only evidence of such a space found by Lombard was in the north wall near the northeast corner **(Figure 11)**. Lombard then goes on to summarize the findings in the western cellar. The final dimensions of the cellar were 8' 3" wide and 18 ½' long with a probable height of 5'. There was no chimney in this cellar. The initial sequence of use was a as follows: the structure burned years after its use by the Pilgrims as seen by the mixture of ash, charcoal, lime and brick, in some places this mixture was piled up quite high. The slope of the ground around the cellar hole and the number of stones

Figure 11. The “cuddy” space in the cellar wall

missing from the walls indicate that the stones present were from the wall. Lombard considered that the discovery of the hoe, blue glass bottles, spoons and slate were good evidence that this was the trading post.

Excavations resumed on October 26, and were focused on the eastern cellar. Lombard returned to his work feeling thus far justified that the site was the trading post. There appears to have been some discussion between himself and a Judge E. S. Ellis as to whether this was the original site or not. To these questions, Lombard responded that since his boyhood he had known that it was and he had never heard of any other site associated with it. It appears also that Ellis put forth the possibility that an old cellar hole on the Grover Cleveland property was the trading Post, but Lombard believed that it was a house of one of the early Perry's.

Armed with his findings from the excavation of the western cellar, Lombard began excavating the eastern cellar with the presumption that he would find more material to support the fact that this was the trading post. The excavation began by extending a line forty feet from the southwest corner of the western cellar to the depression to the east. Excavation then proceeded until the south wall of the eastern cellar was encountered two feet below the natural grade. The total remaining height of this wall was three feet. The total area excavated this day was approximately eight feet nine inches east to west and between two feet six inches and six feet six inches north to south **(Figure 8)**. The eastern cellar was constructed differently than the western. It was smaller and the walls appeared to be fieldstones laid up dry without mortar. The mixture of ash, lime, bricks and charcoal that was found in the western cellar was absent in this cellar and very few bricks were found.

Artifact numbers 35 through 56 were recovered from this cellar hole: 21 pieces of redware, five pieces of thick blue glass, one piece of flint, one piece of slip decorated redware, three pieces of blue and white delft, six pieces of white undecorated delft, three pieces of clear glass, 1 iron knife blade, five pieces of corroded iron, 1 riding spur, five pieces of brown pottery with a buff colored design, three almost complete pipe bowls, many pipe stems, many nails, one spoon bowl with a three spoon hallmark, one spoon bowl with "1670" above a makers mark consisting of a D then a shield then a B, one circular object (possible weight), half of a stone pestle, one needle like piece of iron, one blue bottle glass fragment, two teeth and several pieces of bone, and two pieces of buff glaze earthenware. Most of the above material was found near the bottom of the day's excavation area near the center of the cellar. As well as the above mentioned material, several pieces of window glass were found scattered throughout the excavation with some being found near the surface.

Alonzo Booth visited the site on this day. He said that there was absolutely no doubt that this was the site of the trading post, and he had known it all of his life. This is the first day that mention of a spring near by is given as well. Booth says that he had drunk from it and that it was located just beyond the shore line, visible at low tide very near to a coal wharf which was in the area at the time. He also stated that there was an old water hole located in a marsh area to the west of the site and he said that the previous owner, Eldridge, had brought his cattle there to drink. This water hole is still present at the site today. Local legend also told that there was another stone in the neighborhood, besides the trading post doorstep, which had come from the site. It was reported to have the date of the building of the trading post inscribed upon it and was in the possession of the previous owner, Eldridge. Lombard stated that it was now covering the well at Eldridge's house. No evidence was ever found to verify this story.

The excavation of the eastern cellar was completed on October 27, when the remaining portion of the fill was removed. The area of excavation on this day was approximately eight feet nine inches long and between two feet four inches and seven feet wide from the north to the south. The mixture of ash, etc., encountered in the other cellar continued to be absent from this one. One anomaly of note was a mixture of broken brick and mortar found opposite the middle of the western wall of the eastern cellar. This deposit was six inches thick above the floor and extended about three feet into the cellar **(Figure 8)**. Lombard felt that this represented chimney fall from the area between the two cellars where the chimney was located.

Lombard also measured the two eastern cellar on this day and found the following measurements: northern wall 8' 7" long with a 3' high, eastern wall 8' 5" long with a 3' 2" high wall, southern wall 8' 6" long and 3' 3" high, and the western wall was 9' 5" long and 3' 3" high. All of the walls were 2' thick. The top two feet of the walls were missing or were knocked into the cellar hole. Lombard also used a transit to find that the floors of both of the cellars were at the same depth and he found that the southern walls of the two cellars are not in an exact line.

Most of the artifacts found were noted as having been recovered from close to the floor near the western wall. These included numbers 62 through 75: the handle and pieces of a redware jug, three pieces of a lavender colored delft cup, three pieces of thick blue bottle glass, five pieces of delft with a blue, yellow and gray background decoration, one possible button, one piece of frosted cut glass, one piece of gray stoneware with deep blue bands, much broken window glass, four pieces of iron, two whole pipe bowls and many pipe stem fragments, one piece of metal which looks like a shutter latch, and three pieces of a clear glass bottle. Numbers 57 through 61 were found in specific locations which Lombard recorded on the plan view of the cellar **(Figure 8)** these were: two seal top spoons, one rattail spoon, a large pestle, and an iron buckle.

Either on October 27 or 28, Lombard placed the first of two exploratory units at the site. This one was placed about 10' north of the north wall of the western cellar. **(Figure 12).** Two item numbers were recovered from this unit, numbers 83 and 84. These were, first, the neck of a "Dutch squat bottle" similar to an earlier bottleneck found before. Three pieces of window glass, heavily patinated, were also found, similar to that found in the western cellar on October 12. Another test pit was placed north of the eastern cellar. This unit began approximately in the middle of the north wall and extended six feet north. As far as was recorded, the first two feet were rubble and the rest was "virgin" soil.

Excavation work on October 28 began with the cleaning up of the western cellar to facilitate better drainage in the open cellar hole. The remaining two to four inches of ash and cinders were removed. In the process two "important things" were recovered at the very bottom. These were artifact numbers 76 and 77. The first was two pieces of rusted iron, thin and corroded, found in the southwest corner. Lombard felt that these could be the remains of another hoe. The second was a bowl of a spoon that was found in the dirt that had previously been thrown out of the hole.

Excavation then proceeded to uncover what was in the area between the two cellars. The first feature of note was a paved path leading up to the south side of the structure **(Figures 8 and 13)**. This path was approximately four feet wide, the areas on both sides of the walk were tested and nothing was found on any of the three sides. On the eastern side of the path, Lombard also found a layer of white beach sand at 12" below the ground surface about 1-2" thick which he believed was used to mix in with the lime to make the mortar used in the house. He felt that this was the area where the mortar was mixed **(Figure 8).** He states that the sand is similar to that found in some of the local ponds in the area. As the central portion was begun to be excavated, the southern foundation wall was found connecting the east and west cellars as well as some paved areas in the central portion **(Figure 8)**.

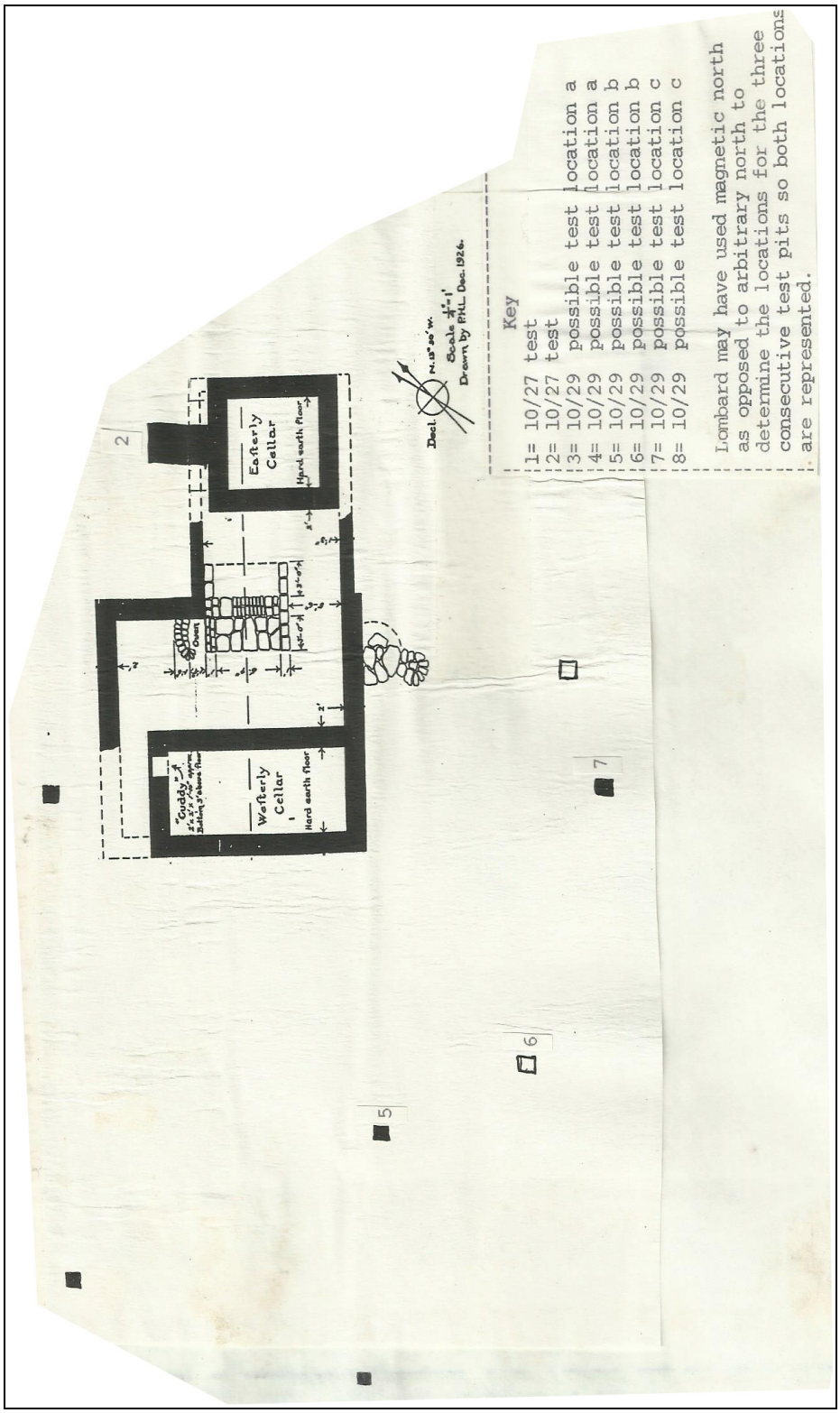

Figure 12. Test pits excavated by Lombard

Figure 13. View of the path leading to the front door during Lombard's excavation

Artifact numbers 78 through 82 and 85 were recovered from this area. These included: many nails, 2 pieces of gray, blue decorated stoneware; 1 large oyster shell; 1 piece of blue bottle glass; 1 iron ring which he felt was used for keeping buttons on coats; 1 spoon handle; clay pipe stem fragments; one broken clay pipe bowl; and one piece of thin iron, possibly a knife blade.

Three test pits were dug on October 29, as a way of testing what lay beyond the immediate bounds of the site. The first was placed about 40' west of the southwest corner of the western cellar. Lombard described the soil in this test pit as consisting of "two feet of black soil" (Lombard 1926:24). This may represent a plowzone created during the years that the land was used as fields following the abandonment of the house. Within this soil were found bone, shell, brick and one piece of pottery. Test pit number two was placed about 20' southwest of the south west corner of the western cellar. This test pit yielded bone, shell and brick. The final test pit was placed about 20' south east of the southeast corner of the western cellar. The artifacts from this pit consisted of bone, shells, clay pipe stems, and a

large tooth similar to one found earlier in the excavations only smaller. The locations of these three test pits are shown in **Figure 12.**

After the test pits were dug, work resumed on the central portion of the house. The front wall was uncovered and it was described as bending towards the eastern cellar. This may have been a result of the shifting of the foundation stones over the years when the material was buried or when the land was plowed. As the excavation of the central portion progressed, Lombard discovered that part of this area was paved. This paving was found only to cover a small area of the total area **(Figure 8).** He also uncovered the back and south walls of the western hearth **(Figure 8).** He also uncovered an area near the northern wall which he identified as a paved area for a fireplace flue, but when he later reconstructed the building, he reinterpreted it as an oven and later a brewing copper **(Figure 14)**.

Figure 14. South wall at the entrance (1. east hearth; 2. west hearth; 3. oven; 4. east wall; 5. north wall) (Lombard 1953).

One of the larger pieces of architectural evidence recovered from the entire excavation was a log with approximate dimensions of 12" wide 8" thick and up to 8' long **(Figure 15)**. This was found five to

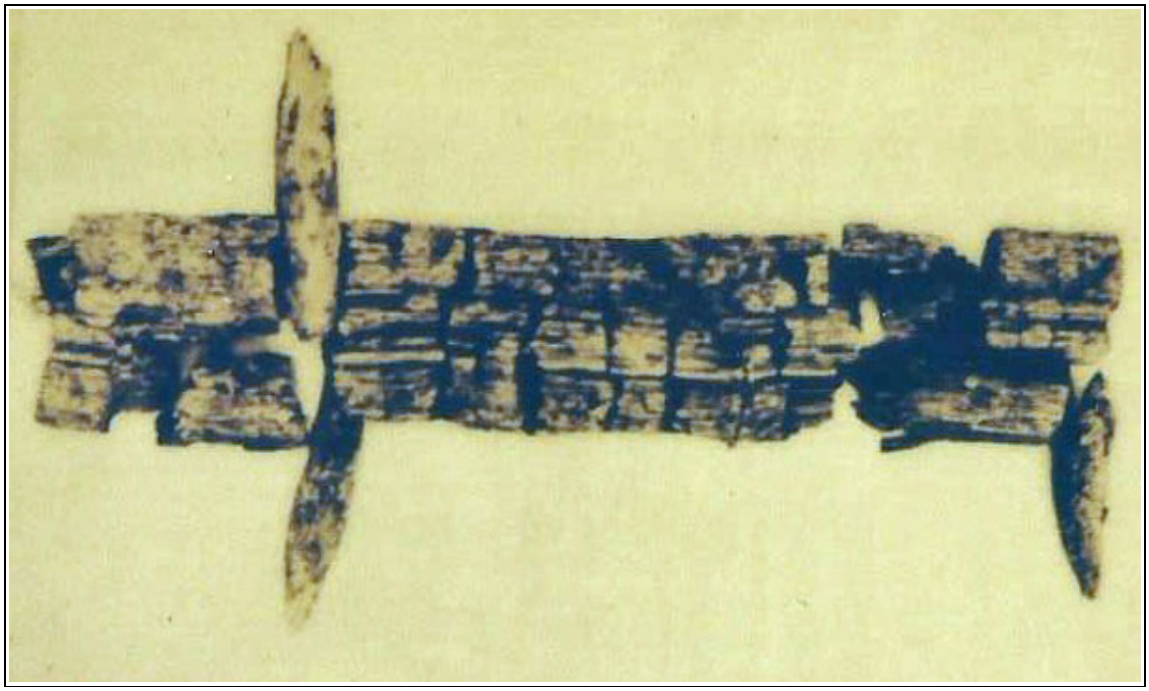

Figure 15. Piece of architectural wood recovered by Lombard

seven feet inside the front doorway and was laying parallel to the south wall. This log could have come from anywhere in the house but Lombard chose to interpret it as being from above the fireplace. Artifacts numbered 87 through 96 were found on this day. These were: a door key found about 1' inside the front wall near where the front door would have been; a table knife with a bone handle which was found on top of the chimney foundation; a rosette, possibly for a horse, which was found near the first two artifacts; one axe blade, found within the western hearth, along with several pieces of glass; four thin pieces of iron; one piece of brown slipware; two pieces of gray stoneware; two pieces of redware; and two pieces of redware with a trailed slip design.

On October 30, several artifacts were found on the site during routine cleaning and preparation of the site to be covered over with tar paper and dirt for a few days. These artifacts were numbers 97 to 104: three boxes of hard brick; two boxes of soft brick; one box of mixed brick; one box of bone and slate; one box of lime cement and plaster; one box of slate; and two pieces of large slate stone. Lombard hoped that the whole bricks could be used in a possible future reconstruction.

The excavation of the western side of the central portion of the house was completed on November fourth. A wall running north from the fireplace was discovered and followed until the corner was reached. At this point, it turned west and continued. The northern wall of the western portion of the house was uncovered and was found to be composed of a heavy foundation similar to that, which composed the southern and eastern walls. The north and south walls end abruptly to the west at the

edge of the cellar where the ground sloped acutely downward into the cellar. An exploratory trench was placed approximately halfway along the eastern wall to determine if there were any interior walls or foundations. Nothing but sterile soil was uncovered **(Figure 12).** A short segment of the northern wall of the eastern side of the structure was also encountered. This wall was described as being composed of a very light foundation made up of a double row of small fieldstones, laid dry with no visible mortar. There was also no footing under these stones.

All of the artifacts found on this day were uncovered in the northwestern corner of the western half of the house **(Figure 8).** These were artifact numbers 107 to 126 and 130 to 145: a stirrup; one spoon bowl; one large piece of flint; 28 pieces of gray stoneware; six earthenware fragments; two small flat slate pebbles; four small pieces of delft; one piece of slipware; six pieces of dark broken glass; six pieces of blue wine bottle glass; one piece of thin copper; one piece of stone with a partially drilled hole; one piece of a jug handle; one iron hook; one heavy iron piece; one piece of a broken pestle; one boar's tusk; one piece of a widely flaring bowl; two pieces of slipware with a trailed design; three "stone counters"; one round iron rod; four pieces of wood; bits of iron and several nails found on the western hearth; and eight pieces of mortar from the "oven". Along with these artifacts were four shells: one moon snail; two quahogs; and one oyster, artifact numbers 127 to 129 all of which were found in the western cellar.

November 12 and 14 were spent cleaning up at the site and verifying angles taken before, relating to the orientation of the structure. Nine loads of earth were removed from outside of the north and south walls and were placed approximately 50' south of the foundations, where, today the parking lot is located. Artifact numbers 146 and 147 were found on these two days. These were a spoon bowl with a three-spoon touch mark and five pieces of shell mortar from the western cellar.

Work began on the eastern portion of the structure on November 15 with the discovery of the foundation stones for the southern wall of a fireplace. Only one foundation stone was found for the northerly fireplace wall. None of the original bricks that would have rested on top of these foundation stones were present on the eastern side, but the area in the center of the fireplace contained a paving of several burned and crumbling flooring stones. Atop these stones was the layer of ash found in the other half of the structure. Below these chimney stones was a one to two inch thick layer of light gray sand. A deposit of oyster shells was found outside of the central portion's north wall, approximately five feet from the end, close to the wall **(Figure 8)**. Lombard takes this as evidence that there was a door near this location. Excavation next focused on the northern wall of the western half. The foundation stones of the northern wall ended just before coming in line with the eastern wall of the western cellar hole **(Figure 8)**. The remaining stones that were missing from the northern wall probably ended up in the western cellar hole.

Lombard next turned his attention to the east and western sides of the paved path leading to the door. A good accumulation of material was uncovered on the western side. These included artifact numbers 148 through 151: two redware fragments; one knife blade; two pieces of flint, one of which was found near the northern wall in the central portion; and three pieces of gray stoneware. Artifact number 152 was one piece of gray stoneware and five pieces of window glass, both found near the north wall of the central portion. Near the entrance, to the right and the left were found nails, pipe stems, two pieces of slate from the doorstep, and artifact number 153, a spoon. Artifact number 154 was found east of the

eastern fireplace, this was a tin candle stick holder. By this point in the excavation, Lombard felt that he had a good understanding of the design of the house. He felt that the western half was constructed of heavier foundation stones to support a larger structure. Whereas the eastern portion supported a lighter structure. He came up with the following reconstruction (**Figure 16).**

The excavations for 1926 came to a close on November 16. This day began with examination of the final portion of the central area. In this area, artifact number 155 through 159 were found. These included: one spoon bowl; two pieces of flint; 12 pieces of glazed earthenware, very fragile; and one piece of heavy iron, which was found just outside of the front door and may be a strap hinge. The foundation stones for what Lombard believed was an oven were again mentioned as being uncovered on this day **(Figure 8).** Two of the stones were lifted and gray sand was found beneath them. Ashes were found within the "oven" area. Testing was done to the north and west sides but nothing was recovered.

A circular paved walk was also found in front of the front door with the stones on the eastern side having been removed. Artifact numbers 160 through 173 were found within the central portion. These include: two stone "counters"; one piece of thin copper; one piece of iron; six pieces of earthenware; five pieces of blue glass, one with a neck; one piece of bone; one steel needle; one deer tooth; one wood fragment; one broken stone axe; "glazed" brick; and pieces of slate.

An interesting story was recounted to Lombard on this day as well. Lombard had gone to the adjacent property to find out an more information on the "doorstep". He talked to Mr. Eldridge and was told that the ruins of the H.L. Perry house that was located at the sharp left east of the site, were not the foundations of the earliest house in Bourne. He said that the earliest Perry house was on the site of the Eldridge house just east of the cemetery. The ruins at “our” corner were those of Hiram Perry, the son, and were built much later. So if the stone was over a well, it would be over the well at the Eldridge house. These foundations which are mentioned as being at the corner, are the same ones which we tested during the 1995 field school.

Excavations at the site were suspended after November 17, 1926 and were not resumed until 1929. The three years between the excavations were used by Lombard and others interested in reconstructing the Trading Post, to gather financial and vocal support from well-known individuals. This will be taken up further in the next section. On June 22, 1929, Lombard records the first finds for that year. These were artifact numbers 174 and 175, the front tooth of a deer(?) and the tip end to a pair of Hames(?). He

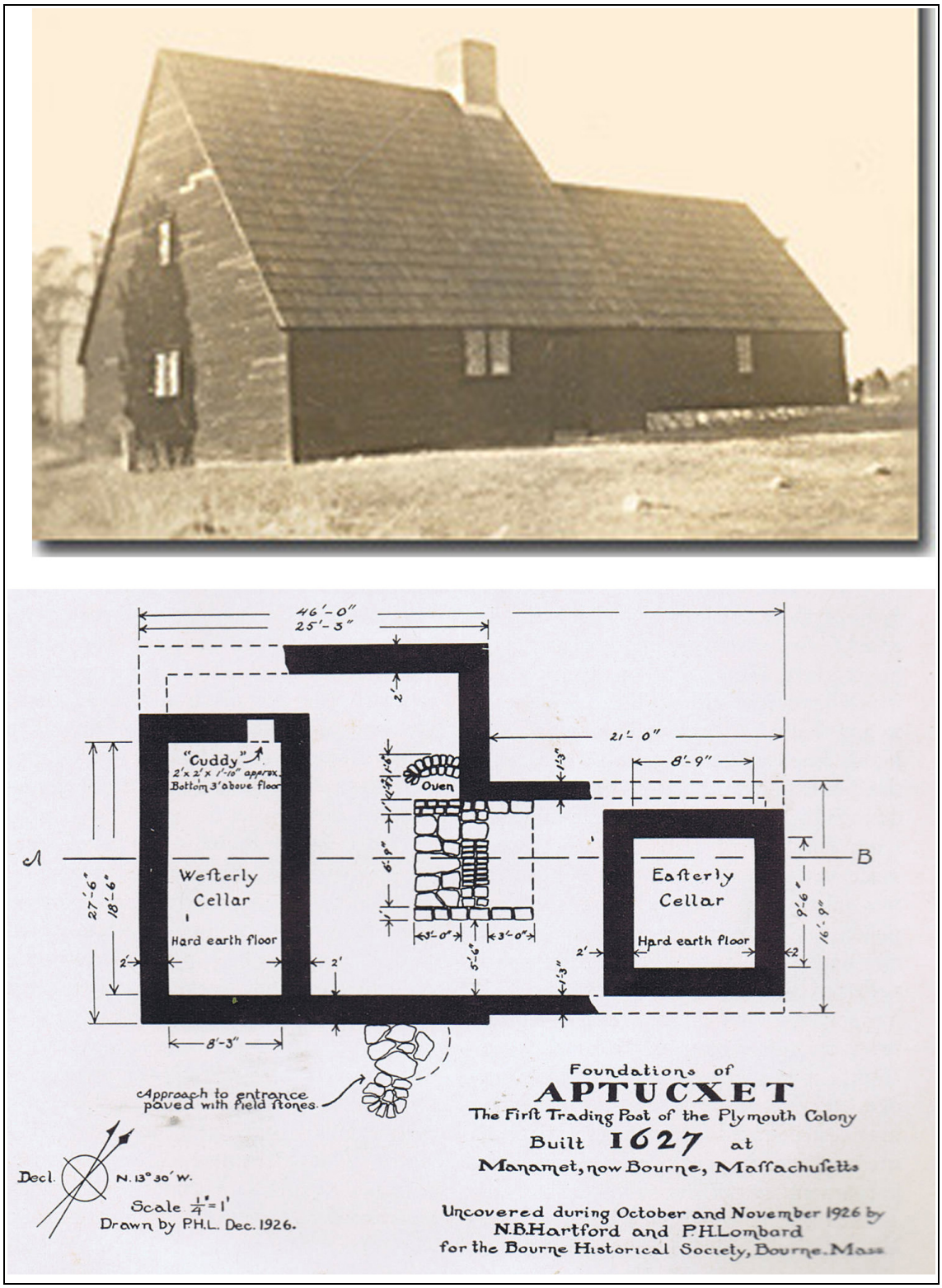

Figure 16. The results of Lombard's excavations

states that these were actually found by Mr. Hartford on April eighth 1927. The extent of the excavations that followed for 1929 amounted to a monitoring of the construction of the replica and the recovery of any objects that the workmen unearthed, and a more haphazard search for the full extent of the foundation stones that were missed.

On August 8, the foundation was unearthed after almost three years and Lombard stated that the workers found a large, 4 1/2' wide by 4 1/2' in diameter stone walkway in the rear of the structure on the western half. Artifact numbers 176 through 189 were uncovered, most likely from around the front door area. These included: one spoon bowl with a heart shaped touch mark; one pipe bowl with R. Tippet embossed on it; one pipe stem stamped W L Evans; three pieces of the delft bowl found in 1926; the rim of a gray stoneware vessel; one piece of iron with two holes on one end, possibly a shaft hole for a spinning wheel; a large flat curved shaped stone; a circular piece of iron with a large hole in the center; part of a horse/ ox shoe; a large piece of purple glazed delft; pieces of bone and clay pipe stems; and pieces of a blue glass bottle.

The uncovering and interpretation of the appearance of the structure continued on August 14. On this day, the southern side of the western hearth was examined to determine if the foundation stones of the two hearths overlap. It was found that they did not. This indicated to Lombard two things: First that the two hearths were built at separate times. If they had been built at the same time, then the foundations stones would have overlapped. Second, that there were two distinct portions; the western and the less substantial eastern portion. Lombard also excavated beyond, presumably in an easterly direction, the northeastern portion of the western half to be sure that the north wall did not continue. He found that it did not. The pile of oyster shells located at the right of the northern entrance was also excavated with nothing of note being found.

Lombard now wondered which portion of the structure was older. He stated that either could be the older one, but he favored the western portion for a number of reasons. First, the location of the chimney on one end of the building and not outside at one corner, as he saw the case being when each portion was considered separately. He stated that in older buildings, the chimney was never in a corner but was always near, or at the center, of one side of the house. Second, there was no evidence of an outside door on the eastern portion. Lombard felt that the eastern portion could be the older portion if a temporary chimney of clay and wood was made and then the entire structure, chimney and all were torn down and a larger structure was built because of increased trading. Finally, he cited a letter written by Writer that describes a trading post at Richmond Island, Maine. It stated that "I have built a house at Richmond Island that is 40 foot in length and 18 foot broad within the sides...we can brew and bake and bole our kettle all at once in here with the help of another house that I have built under the side of our house where we set our (indecipherable) and (indecipherable) and mortar." Lombard interprets this as meaning that there was an ell just as he found at Aptucxet built on the main portion of the house.

The eastern portion of the structure was explored further on August 27, when a Mr. Dow, the mason in charge of rebuilding the fireplaces and foundation, probed along the southern and eastern walls. He uncovered an offset continuation of the foundation stones along the southern side. These stones were found to be nine inches further north than those unearthed in 1926. As a result the total amount of offset for the eastern side was 18 inches. But when the structure was reconstructed, the nine inch offset was used. Dow also found the south east corner of the eastern portion of the house. Lombard had been

previously unable to locate this corner. In regards to the "oven" found in the western half, Dow felt that it opened directly into the western fireplace, and that the oval foundation showed it.

Finally on October 8, the last artifacts were recovered and catalogued by Lombard. These came from the leveling of the area by the workmen. These were artifact numbers 190 through 214. These included: one chain link; one modern clay pipe bowl; three pieces of slate; one stone with a drill hole in one side; five pieces of window glass; one half of the top of a blue glass bottle; one stone pebble covered with clear lead glaze; two fragments of earthenware; one window lead; two hand wrought nails; and 17 plaster fragments.

Aside from the notes in Lombard's excavation diary, he also kept scattered notes concerning various correspondence and interpretations. Of particular importance are two descriptions of finds from the site. The first was a silver coin which was found on the waterside of the replica about 10" below the surface. This was found close to the path to the canal from the back door of the Trading Post. This coin is less than one half inch in diameter and has possible Arabic writing on both sides. It was tentatively identified by an unidentified coin dealer in New York as a coin of the Sultans of Atjih in Sumatra, although he had seen these only in gold. Lombard felt that this was hard evidence of the presence of the Dutch East Indies Company at the trading post. The second find was a stone feature located 100' northwest of the structure. It appeared to be a large well-laid pavement of stones with many indications of ash, iron, charcoal and brick being found (see below). Test holes were placed around it and no foundations were found, only oyster shell and debris at eight inches below the ground surface. Lombard also stated that a test trench was also dug at a right angle to the eastern wall of the post. Undisturbed soil was found for the entire 50’ length of this trench with the dark soil (plow zone) extending to approximately 24" below surface.

CHAPTER FOUR:
Lombard's Interpretations

This concludes the description of the excavations that were recorded by Lombard. His interpretations of the findings will be discussed next. By looking at the conclusions that were drawn by Lombard, a glimpse into the mind of a careful excavator is able to be drawn.

Lombard brought a selection of the artifacts recovered to Harvard University's Peabody Museum to be examined by Professor Willoughby. Willoughby was well known for his illustrations of artifacts and his description of native history in New England. A total of 12 objects were presented on October 20, 1926. These were: 1)"cement chinking" taken from the west wall about 1' from the floor, 2)"cement chinking" taken from the south wall 1' from the floor, 3) a piece of brick with the glaze on it, 4) the stone "skinning" knife, 5) the "English" hoe, 6) and 7) fragments of the wood knots, 8) the oral bowl of the spoon with the RE mark, 9) the spoon handle with the strawberry acorn finial, 10) the oral bowl of the spoon with a thistle hallmark, 11) and 12) blue glass bottle necks.

The first two items were identified by Willoughby as being composed of burned shell lime and stated that the "North American Indians knew nothing of the art of obtaining lime from the burning of shells..., but the Central American Aztecs did..." (Lombard 1926:11). This statement by Willoughby highlights where his expertise lay, with the native people and not with European practices. Concerning the next item, the brick, Willoughby could not identify the source of the "glaze" and he recommended that the brick and "cement" be brought to Appleton at New England Antiquities Society. Willoughby identified the stone skinning knife as not being such an object at all but said that it was an axe or hatchet head. The English hoe was "undoubtedly" one, and the wood knots may be pine because of the coarseness of the grain. The spoons were believed by Willoughby to be of Dutch origin and were brought in as articles of trade. He advised Lombard to ask Appleton about them. This point of a Dutch origin will be seen as important later in Lombard's interpretation. Finally, concerning the bottles, he again advised Lombard to seek Appleton's advise.

On October 22, 1926 Lombard brought the material to The New England Antiquities Society. Lombard took the 12 items which he showed to Willoughby along with 2 others, a piece of earthenware and some window glass, to F. G. H. Dow and W. S. Appleton for their interpretation and input. The "cement Chinking" was "undoubtedly contemporaneous with the Pilgrims" because of the burnt shells (Lombard 1926: 13). The stone axe was agreed upon. The "English hoe" was agreed upon and it was stated that they were very rare. The wood knots were believed to be oak or chestnut more likely. The first two of the spoons were believed to be later in the seventeenth century but the third was believed to be of an early type. The bottles were believed to be "very old Dutch bottles" similar to types seen in paintings by Rembrandt and Hals. They further identified them as not being in use after 1670. The identification of the objects as being Dutch will be seen as being of importance later. The final two items were only identified as what they were, earthenware of no specific age and window glass. Both were of types that could have been used by the Pilgrims. Lombard also examined an article in The Connoisseur from 1920 concerning Apostle spoons. Here he discovered that they were of Dutch origin and dated to 1536- 1665. The article also illustrated one with a shape similar to the "Strawberry topped" one Lombard recovered.

Several of the artifacts found were again brought to Professor Willoughby at Harvard. Many metal objects were brought but he could only identify one, and that one was identified as a spur. A possible button that was found turned out to be a clay concretion, a large tooth that was found was a horse's, and the celt that was found was in actuality the blade of a stone axe.

One of the points that the trading house was famous for was the fact that the Dutch visited it in 1627. Throughout the excavations, Lombard assumed many items were a product of the Dutch interaction, these included the gray stoneware (Dutch Slipware) and the bottles, such as the one found on October 27 or 28 (Dutch Squat bottle). It can be assumed that Lombard entered upon the excavations with the presupposition that he would find items which showed the trade which went on between the Dutch of the New Netherlands and English colonists. Influential people such as Willoughby at the Peabody supported Lombard's idea that these items were Dutch. It can further be assumed that Lombard probably felt that since Willoughby was a professor and was at Harvard that he would know exactly what these items were and that his analysis should not be questioned.

Willoughby had stated that the spoons found were Dutch and that the were brought as items of trade with the English. At the same time, Willoughby emphasized to Lombard that his expertise was in Native materials and not European . Lombard then took his material to Dow and Appleton, who seemed very sure of what they saw. They encouraged Lombard even more, because to them, the mortar was undoubtedly associated with the early 17th century, the bottles were very old Dutch ones like those shown by Rembrandt and Hals and according to them the window glass and earthenware were types used by the English. Lombard even found an article in a magazine that said that the spoons were Dutch.

Lombard cannot be faulted for what he believed. He was not an archaeologist although he had at least read Willoughby's classic on the New England Natives. He was not a material culture expert, he realized this and allowed people with more experience to view the objects and they supported his beliefs. He felt that he had excavated an early 17th century site with an appreciable amount of Dutch material, which meant that it had to be the trading house. He then went back out in the field and continued to find "Dutch" material and evidence from, what he presumed to be, the early 17th century.

Aside from the artifacts, he also had support of people in the town that this was the site. Local historians such as Alonzo Booth came out and said that it definitely was the site and everyone in the town knew that the trading post doorstep was taken from the site and was somewhere in town. Th. 1852 excavations conducted by Batchelder, who was a doctor, also confirmed that this was the site. The final piece of evidence that convinced him that it was the Trading Post, was a coin which was found on the path leading down to the river, just where the Dutch would have come up to trade with the Pilgrims in the 17th century.

Lombard further clarified his beliefs in the articles that he wrote. He felt that the importance of the trading house was that it was the place where the foundation of the nation's commerce was laid. The agreement that created the house was the first business contract written and signed in the New World (Lombard 1953:1). He also frames the early days of the English in patriotic terms. Those days were ones of "untold suffering" and the were being oppressed beyond all reason by the Merchant

Adventurers by means of high rates of interest on their loan (almost reminiscent of the what most people think was the reason for the American Revolution, taxation without representation).

Lombard also seems to be trying to give some justification to the importance of the town of Sandwich in the history of this country. They were the home of the Keith Car Works that produced many of the prairie schooners which continued the exploration which the Pilgrims began, it had the Indian Church which was the first in Plymouth Colony, and of course it had the seat of American commerce, Aptucxet (it appears that he did not think that the trading done by the Dutch or the Europeans in Virginia had anything to do with the "foundation of commerce" in America).

Lombard also emphasized the great influence that the Dutch had on the founding of this country. They gave haven to those English outcasts in Holland, more importantly, they introduced them to wampum, which created such financial success for the English. Many things were seen at the post as exemplifying the Dutch influence. The slipware, and of course the Delft (tin-glazed ceramic) found was not just any delft, but in his view, had to have come from Holland. The final object that was seen as being Dutch was a candlestick that he stated was exactly like one in a painting by Dutch master Pieter de Hooch from 1650.

What all of this tells us about Lombard and about the mindset of the time is that he felt that this was a very important site. Aptucxet was as important as Plymouth and Plymouth Rock, which were receiving so much attention at this time, being the 300th anniversary of the landing. He seems, to me, to have done much of what he did as a way of rebelling against the tercentenary commission and attempting to show that this little town on the Cape was just as important, if not more important, than Plymouth. Lombard again can not be faulted for his interpretations, they were as sophisticated as they could be at the time, but once that material was reexamined, insights that are even more interesting are beginning to come to light.

PART THREE: 1994 Reinterpretation
CHAPTER FIVE:
Artifacts

When the material excavated by Lombard in the 1920s was reexamined in 1994 it was being stored in two wooden crates in the attic of the Aptucxet Trading Post Museum with the more important finds being on display in the east room of the reconstructed house. Since the main focus of the 1920s excavations had been the house structure itself, that the artifacts most likely represent those which were deposited at the time when the site was no longer inhabited, they represent the terminal date of the site. This would prove valuable later when the actual inhabitants of the sites were being determined. During the reanalysis, the site was examined without any prejudice regarding what should be expected, but with the intention of determining what artifact classes were present, when does the material date from, and what does it represent.

Many archaeological collections, some of which had been excavated over 100 years ago, are currently being analyzed or re-analyzed. Often in the past excavators have been content with excavating a site, publishing a limited account of their findings and storing the materials away for the future. Plimoth Plantation in the 1960s and 70s was a prime example of this. The Plantation holds the material recovered from over fourteen historical sites ranging from circa 1630 to the twentieth century. These were excavated in the 1960s and 70s and as much as at least a third of the material is unwashed. Douglas George and Mary Beudry, in 1987, published the most in depth findings from three of the sites held by Plantation (Beudry 1987).

Reanalysis of old collections with new interpretative techniques allow a fuller comprehension of the sites themselves and adds to the archaeological database available to other researchers. As fewer and fewer sites are able to be excavated, old collections will one-day form the backbone of the archaeologist's job. The assemblage from the Aptucxet museum site was re-analyzed with the presumption that this site, excavated over 70 years ago has something to communicate to us about its inhabitants. On the basis of the findings from the 1994 reanalysis, fieldwork was carried out in 1995 at the site to gain a fuller understanding of the cultural context within which these artifacts were used.

Methodology

When the collection was initially viewed, no catalog of the material was present but all artifact classes were in good condition with some spalling of iron artifacts. Some of the more diagnostic artifacts were on display on the main floor of the museum, and these are in very poor condition. The objective of this reanalysis was to determine if there was any evidence that any portion of this assemblage dated to the early seventeenth century.

The collection was cataloged, every artifact class was analyzed and every attempt possible was made to date them. An unabridged analysis of the collection was compiled for a practicum report in 1994. The ceramics and clay pipes will be discussed first, to place the site temporally. These two artifact classes have been shown to be the best indicators with which to date an archaeological site. The fact that the collection was excavated from the cellar holes and that it represents material probably used at the end of the habitation of the structure, was born in mind as the analysis began. The potential bias of this collection was noted, but as will be seen when the 1995 field school analysis is discussed, the cellar

hole in fact contained limited evidence for the entire occupation of the site. The ceramics and clay tobacco pipes from the 1995 field season were compared with those recovered from Lombard's excavation and were found to complement one another quite well.

The objectives of this reevaluation were two fold. First, the artifacts were reexamined to determine what classes are represented and when they date to. Second, the architectural evidence that Lombard uncovered was reevaluated. Since the architecture that would be expected at an early seventeenth century site was reviewed in a previous chapter, the architecture that was actually present needs to be reviewed. This was done to see how well it fit with the expected architectural profile. This too will help to place the site temporally.

Artifact Analysis

The artifacts which were recovered from the excavations represent a group of materials which all seem to date to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century. Although some loss of a few fish bones and metal has occurred over the past 70 years, the materials is generally in a stable condition and matched up to Lombard's catalog accurately (Appendix 1).

Ceramics

Ceramics make up the largest single grouping of materials recovered from the site, (32.7%) of the 488 pieces in the collection. There is a minimum of 43 vessels present in the assemblage, most of them redware, as is very typical of colonial assemblages in New England. Tin-glazed ceramics make up the second largest type of ceramic, followed by slipware and mottled ware, with stoneware surprisingly coming in last (Table 1).

Table 1. Ceramics recovered by Lombard

Form	Redware	Tin-glazed	Slipware	Mottled	Stoneware	Total
Tall pan	6					6
Milk Pan	3					3
Mug	6			2	2	10
Cup			2			2
Chamber Pot	2					2
Jar	8					8
Plate	2	2				4
Punch Bowl		2				2
Basin		1				1
Med. pot		1				1
Jug				1		1
Unknown			1		1	2
TOTAL	27	6	3	3	3	43

The ceramic forms in the above table follow Beudry's Potomac Typological System (Beaudry 1988). The tall pan, also called a pan/ pudding, pastry, or patty, is a "coarse earthenware cooking vessel, roughly the shape of an inverted, truncated cone, less than 10" in diameter" (Beaudry 1988:65). The vessels from the site are of redware with a clear to brown glaze on the interior and a thick rolled rim. The range in size (measured on the exterior rim) from 7" (n=1) to 7 1/2 (n=1) to 8 1/2" (n=2) to 10 1/2" (n=1) and one unknown size. Although one of the vessels is just over 10" in diameter, based on other characteristics, it is believed to be a pan.

Milk pans are over 10" in diameter and are similar in shape to the pans and were used for cooling milk, as wash basins and probably for cooking (Beaudry 1988:65). The three vessels from the site are redware and two are glazed on the interior only with a dark honey colored glaze while one is glazed on the interior and exterior with a dark matte brown glaze. The exterior rim diameters of the vessels are 11 1/2" (n=2) and one was two fragmentary to measure.

Mugs are single handled, strait sided drinking vessels, taller than wide, and ranging from 1 gill (1/4 pint) to over 2 quarts (Beaudry1988:60). The assemblage contains 10 vessels of three different types of ceramics. Six redware mugs glazed on the interior and exterior in colors ranging from a clear to a dark brown and with only one rim measurable to 3 1/2" exterior diameter. The two stoneware mugs are of a type produced in the Westerwald region of Germany from 1700-1775 **(Figure 17)**. One mug has a rim

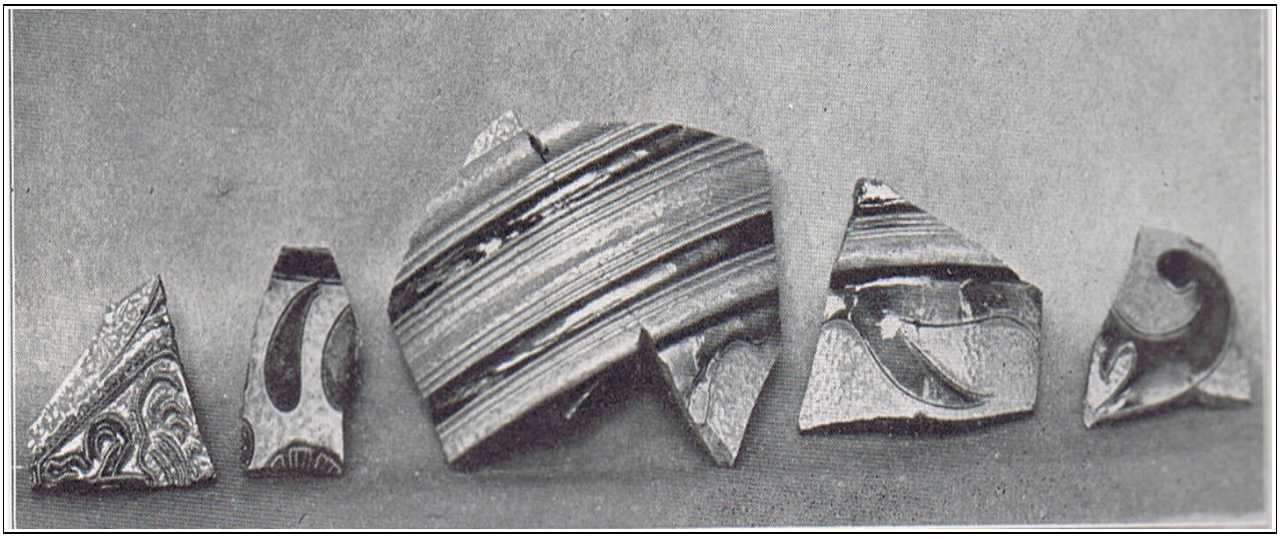

Figure 17. Westerwald stoneware recovered by Lombard

diameter of 4" and bears the coat of arms of Queen Anne of England, which dates it to 1702-1714 when she reigned. The other bears the coat of arms of possibly George I which would date it 1714-1720. The final two mugs are of English mottled ware which is which is a buff bodied English earthenware with a mottled colored exterior glaze and a light colored interior glaze. The diameter at the rim of one vessel is 2" and this is similar to a vessel found at Pemaquid, Maine (Bradley 1994:147). Mottled ware dates to the early eighteenth century.

Two cups are in the collection, both of which are of English slipware with a yellow exterior and interior glaze and brown combed and/or dotted patterns on the exterior. Cups differ from mugs mainly in their size, being only of a pint in capacity. Both of the cups were probably produced in the Staffordshire region of England. One is 2 1/2" tall and is of a type called "dotware" produced from 1685-1720 (Heritage Plantation 1994:50) **(Figure 18)**. The other bears a combed design and dates from 1670-1795.

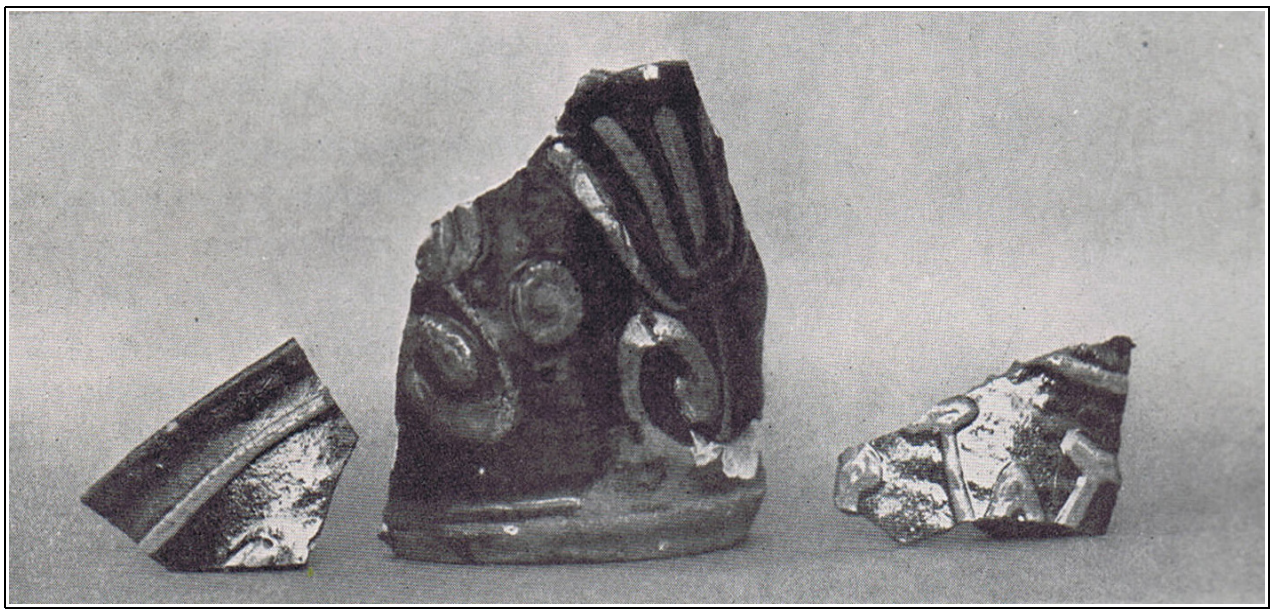

Figure 18. Dotted slipware recovered by Lombard

Two redware vessels are identified as chamber pots because they are glazed on the interior and exterior and they of the correct thickness for a chamber pot. One is glazed on the interior and exterior with a red brown glaze while the other has a clear glaze on the interior and a clear glaze with a brushed slip decoration on the exterior. Brushed slip decoration is very characteristic of vessels produced around Boston, Massachusetts in the late seventeenth century.

The largest numbers of vessels from the site are in the form of pots. Pots, also called butter pots, are large cylindrical or slightly convex-sided vessels, taller than wide, with some of their possible uses being for souring cream, storing butter and lard (Beaudry 1988:66). The glaze colors for the eight vessels, all redware, range from clear to a dark red brown but they are only glazed on the interior. Their rim sizes range from 4 1/2" (N=1), 5 1/2" (N=1), 6 1/2" (N=2), 7 " (N=1), 7 1/2" (N=1), with two vessels being unmeasurable.

Plates are represented at the site by four vessels of two ceramic types. Two of the plates are of redware. One is glazed on the interior and exterior with a dark brown glaze and is very thermally deformed, presumably from the fire that destroyed the house. The other has a light olive green glaze on the interior with a trailed slip design containing green flecks of copper. Green copper flecking was noted as being a common decorative technique used by New England potters such as James Kettle of

Salem from 1687-1709/10 (Watkins 1950:15). The other two plates are tin-glazed. One has a blue and white design on the interior. The other has a blue smudge design on the interior.

Two "punch" bowls, both of tin-glazed earthenware, are represented in the assemblage. According to Beaudry, punch bowls were "hemispherical vessels with a plain rim....They range in capacity from 1/2 pint to several gallons. The smallest sizes were used by individuals for drinking punch and perhaps eating semi-solid foods..." (Beaudry 1985:63). One of the bowls has a purple speckled interior and exterior glaze. A similar colored vessel was found at the Major John Bradford site in Kingston, Massachusetts that dates from 1675-1725. The other bowl has a turquoise colored glaze and black design on the interior and exterior **(Figure 19)**. Sherds of a vessel with a similar shape and color were found at the Joseph Howland site at Rock Nook that dates from 1675 to 1725-30. It may be Spanish or Portuguese.

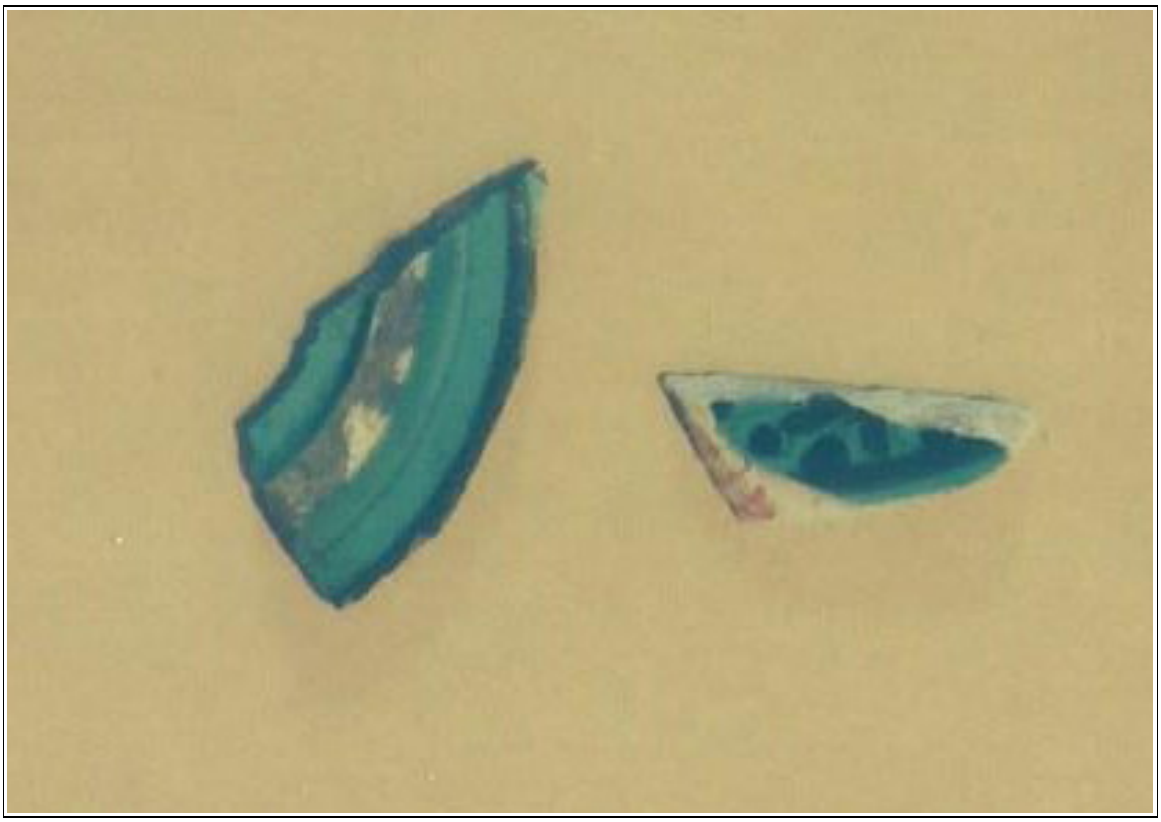

Figure 19. Possible Portuguese tin-glazed vessel

One basin, which is defined as an open vessel with convex sides of greater width than depth, having a brim or everted lip and used for washing, shaving and dining, was found almost complete (Beaudry 1985:63). This vessel has a blue dash design on the rim and a debased large floral design on the interior **(Figure 20)**. The height is 3 3/4" and the diameter is 10" at the rim and 5" at the base. Heritage Plantation (1994:63) dates this vessel from 1660 to 1690. The general stylistic traits of the central floral design and the blue dashes along the rim appear to be reminiscent of the famous blue dash chargers produced in England and Holland. This form and the decoration appear to be a debased version of this

Figure 20. Tin-glazed basin

earlier finer form. The flowers and fruit are abstract and the form itself, a basin, does not appear to have been as common during the earlier period of production for the blue dash chargers.

One tin-glazed medicine pot, also called a galley pot, was found. These vessels were used to store drugs, condiments, ointments, cosmetics and condiments. The vessel from the excavations is of a shape that dates from 1690-1780, by Hume's dating (Hume 1969:205, Figure 67 4 or 5).

One jug or pitcher possibly of English mottled ware was found. The interior is coated with an olive glaze while the exterior has the same glaze with a trailed slip design on top of it. The diameter at the

rim is 4 1/2" and appears to be similar to an example from Pemaquid, Maine where it is dated to the early eighteenth century (Bradley 1994:147).

Two vessels were unidentified, one being of slipware and one of stoneware. A more concise description of the vessels that were identified and their profiles is presented in Appendix 2. A number of vessels were burned and warped. Initially it was thought that these might be the wasters from pottery production. Some loss is always incurred when making pottery and often times some vessels are over fired and some are under fired. When a redware vessel has been in very hot fire, the body tends to warp and twist. This is exactly what these vessels exhibit. Very likely, they were in the house when it burned and this would result in their deformation.

Clay Tobacco Pipes

The various ways that tobacco pipes are used by archaeologists to date sites has been outlined above and will not be repeated here. The fragments of clay pipe stems from the Lombard's excavation of the cellar holes are strongly biased towards the small stem bores **(Figure 21)**. Particularly to the 5/64" bores (N=140) as compared to the second most common type, 6/64" (N=73). This bias towards the pipes dating to the 1710-1750 period is reflected also in the pipe bowls. The few maker's marks found on some of the stems support this date range although they are a little earlier.

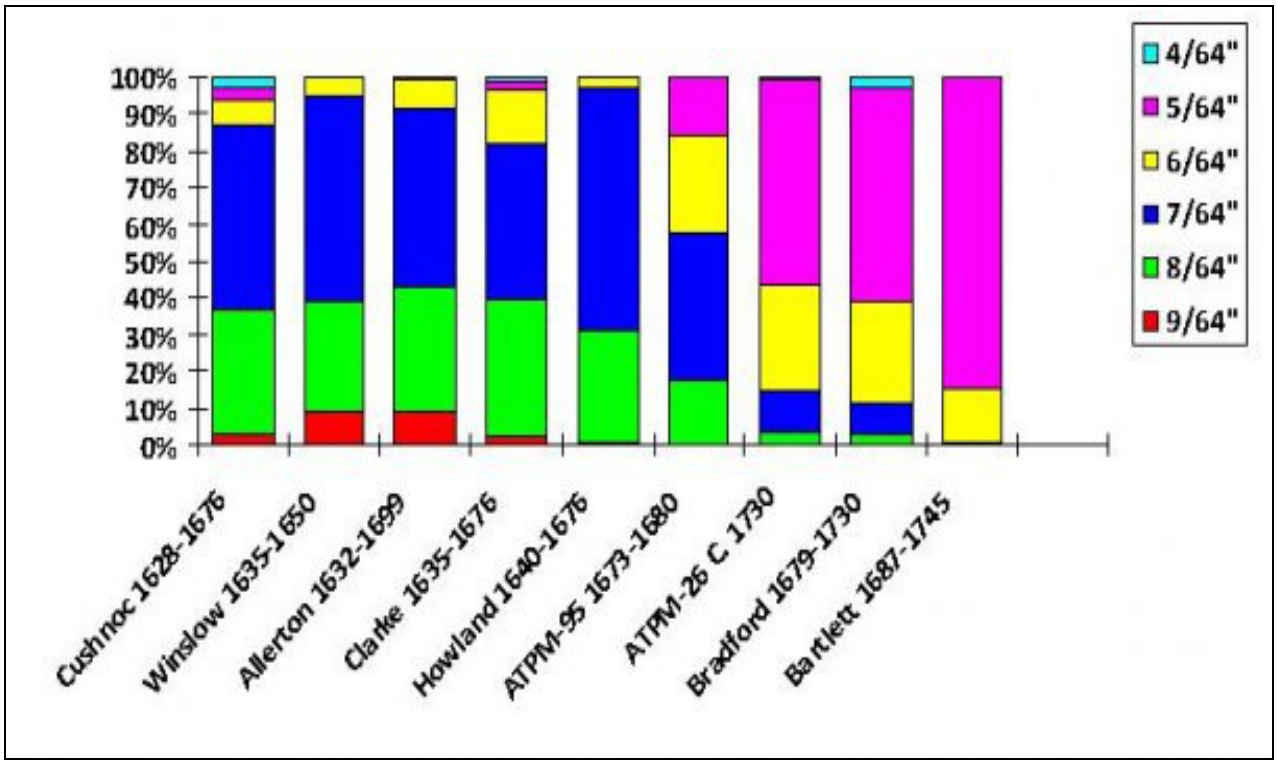

Figure 21. Seration of pipe stem bores

The pipe bowl shapes of the 5/64" size are of a type that was common from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century (Faulkner 1987:167).

The 6/64" bowls are represented by three styles **(Figure 22)**. The first was common from the middle to late seventeenth century and the maker's mark on the stem are from the manufacturer Llewelyn Evans

Figure 22. Representative tobacco pipe bowl styles

of Bristol, England who was making pipes from 1661 to 1688/9 (Walker 1977:1131-1132). The second type may represent the earlier work of Robert Tippett since it has the same form as the ones above with 5/64" bore diameters. This final shape was noted by Faulkner as being a heelless funnel shape which became popular after 1660 and remained so through the next century (Faulkner 1987: 171).

The 7/64" bowls are of a shape that was common in the middle of the seventeenth century and has been found at Cushnoc, Pemaquid, and Pentagoet. Faulkner reports that this form was common from 1650 to 1680 (Faulkner 1987:168). Several of the stems bear the mark of Llewelyn Evans (1661-1688/9).

Two marked bowls whose stem bores can not be determined have the mark on the sides of their bowls. It belongs to Robert Tippet who was manufacturing pipes in Bristol, England from 1660 to 1720. These type of pipes have been reported from a number of sites including Pemaquid, Maine (Walker 1977: 1498-1501).

The marked stems found all have maker's marks that can be attributed to William Evans who may have taken over the manufacture of the Evans factory after 1688/9.

Glass

The glass from the site is of six main types with subdivisions within them. The first and most common type is the wine bottle. There are at least four wine bottles present, all of them represented by fragments of the rims and/ or bases **(Figure 23).**

Figure 23. Representative examples of wine bottle glass

The first type is one that is dated by Hume as to have occurred from 1698 to 1700. This bottle is a squat bulbous bodied bottle which would have been approximately 5 1/2 inches high when it was whole. Three of the bottles are of this type. The second type is possibly of a similar shape but is made of a dark blue colored glass. Only basal and body sherds represent this vessel. A similar colored bottle is in the collection at the Pilgrim Hall Museum in Plymouth, Massachusetts (Goldstein 1995).

One bottle is present which may represent a small medicine vial. It is made up of dark green glass and is represented by artifact number 135. Hume states that this color glass in vials and in bottles in general

did not appear until the mid seventeenth and continued through the eighteenth century (Hume 1969: 74).The next bottle shape is a light green, thin, possible vial with a very symmetrical rim and flat lip. This bottle may be a later addition to the assemblage, possibly from when Batchelder was digging at the site. The neck shape does not fit any of the seventeenth and eighteenth century forms.

Vials and in bottles in general did not appear until the mid- seventeenth and continued through the eighteenth century (Hume 1969: 74).

One nineteenth century patent medicine bottle was found. This bottle was made of solarized glass and is represented by artifact numbers 73 and 44. This too may be a later addition by Batchelder or someone else in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries.

One other patent medicine bottle may have come from an area to the east of the main house. This may have been uncovered in 1971 when a new herb garden was dug. This bottle is of solarized glass, has a mold seam 3/4 of the way up the neck and bears the following embossing on it: HARTSHORN AND SONS EST 1850/ BOSTON. The mold seam 3/4 the way up the neck roughly dates the bottle to between 1890 and 1900 (Cleveland 1988: V). This bottle, if found on the site, may date to the time of Batchelder's excavations.

Two drinking glasses are represented in the collection. One is a base with a scalloped basal edge. Made out of clear glass this may be a nineteenth or twentieth century molded form. The other is an enameled drinking glass fragment with a design consisting of a white scalloped band on the exterior of the glass followed by a red band followed by a yellow band that is finally followed by a white design. The earliest reference to enameled glass found at a site is from the Ambler House in Jamestown, Virginia that was occupied from 1710 to 1898 (Cotter 1958:80). Hume attributes many of the examples of enameled glass to the Henry William Steigel glasshouse at Manheim, Pennsylvania (1763-1774). It is not even known if this piece was found on the Aptucxet property although it is likely, since this piece exhibits many attributes which appear to identify it as Steigel like, similar to those pictured in American Glass (McKearin 1989:plate 30).

The final class of glass from the site is the diamond shaped window quarrels **(Figure 24)**. One hundred sixty-one fragments are represented in the collection with only three being numbered. Window quarrels are first noted in the Plymouth Colony records in 1641 (Demos 1970:29). It seems that after about 1640 or 1650 that these windows were commonplace.

Metal

The metal artifacts from the excavation can be divided into six main groupings. These are architecturally related materials, horse equipment, tools, kitchenware, personal material and other. These artifacts are illustrated in Figure 17.

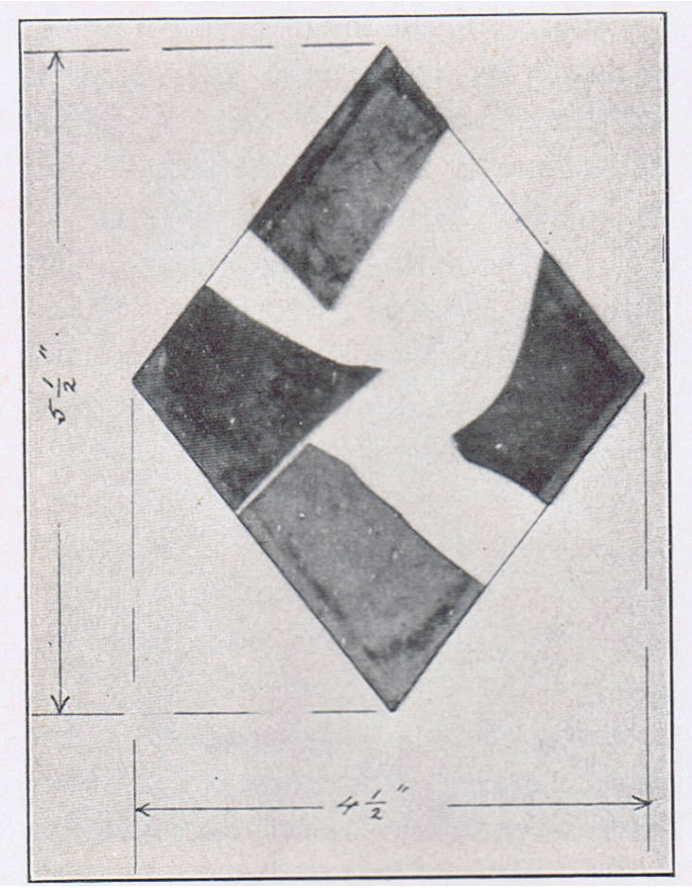

Figure 24. Reconstructed diamond quarrel

Architectural

The architectural material includes the subdivisions of nails, keys, and window kame lead. The nails from the site can be divided into four categories. These are summarized in the table below:

Table 2. Measurable nails recovered by Lombard

Size	Count
4 ¼"	12
2 ½"	54
1 ½"	35
Unknown	35

The nails were found throughout the excavations but the only ones listed in Lombard's inventory are artifact numbers 13, 29, 48, 142, 153, and 198. All are hand wrought. The very low amount of nails on the site supports the notion that the structure was dismantled or moved and all that could be removed and reused was. The paucity of nails could also be the result of Lombard not consistently using a screen in his excavations, so that many of the nails were merely missed.

There is one key present at the site (artifact number 87). It is 6" long, 2 14" wide at the ring end and 1 1/2" wide at the tip end. The key is of a type, which would be called a plain stock-lock key (Hume 1969:248). The fact that on the inside of the bow there is not much of projection, may mean that it dates to the eighteenth century as opposed to the seventeenth when there was a projection on the inside of the bow (Hume 196: 245, Bradley 191994:204). Keys similar to this one were found at the French site of Pentagoet and date from contexts of 1692 to 1729.

The lead from the windows is the final architectural item. Only one lead is recorded by Lombard this is number 198. Five other leads are now in the collection. All of them are of the standard H shape and at least 2 have the following printed on the interior :"W.M. 1675 I.P.". This is the manufacturers printing to insure quality control. These turned leads in generally date from the seventeenth into the first half of the eighteenth century (Hume 1969:233). Obviously, one with a date such as this indicates that at least this lead dated to the late seventeenth century. In fact, this lead may actually date the construction of the house itself.

Horses

Six objects relating to the use of horses at the site were recovered from Lombard's excavations. The first object (47) is an iron spur over 4" long and 4" wide and 5/8' thick at the heel end. This spur is very similar to one recovered from the Clarke and Lake Company site in Maine (1654-1676) except that the example from Aptucxet is somewhat smaller (Baker 1985:46).

The second object is a brass rosette boss with tinning to make it look almost silver (89) used on the cheekpiece of a horse that was anchored by 2 brass rivets to the cheekpiece **(Figure 25)**. These bosses were used to hide the juncture of the mouthpiece with the cheekpiece. These bosses were used mostly

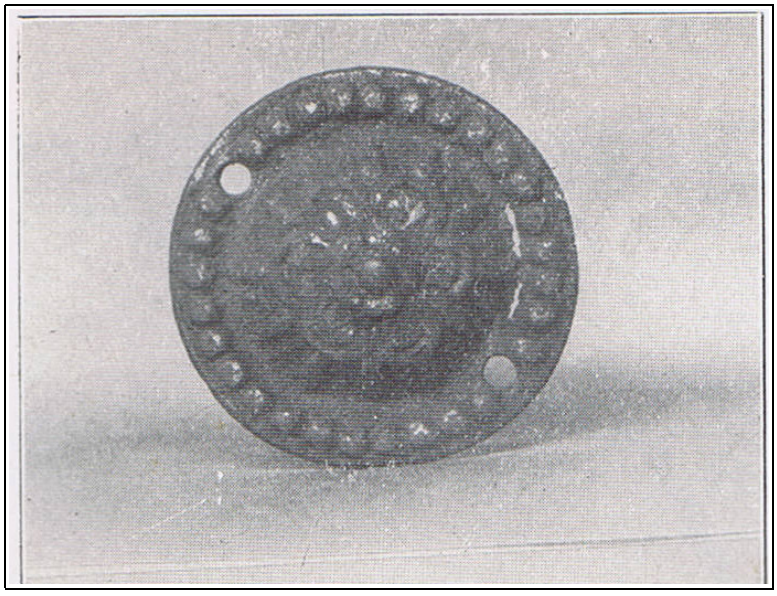

Figure 25. Horse cheekpiece boss

on curb bits (Hume 1969:240). Bosses of the seventeenth century appear to have been very decorated while those of the eighteenth century were plainer. The typical boss of the eighteenth century was tinned (Hume 1969:240). Similar examples have been found in Virginia at Jamestown, but their contexts are unknown (Cotter 1958:176). The fact that the example from Aptucxet is fairly fancy and is tinned may place it in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century period. It may be sort of a transitional form to the later plainer forms of the eighteenth century.

One piece of metal (72) that was described by Lombard as looking like a "shutter hinge". This object is one of the two curb bits found in the collection. The curb bit would go along with the boss described above. The two pieces found are from two separate bits, each slightly different. The curb bit differs from the other type of bit, the snaffle, in that the curb has a long ckeekpiece on either side of the bit. The examples from Aptucxet are 4 ½" long and the other is 6 ½" long. The longer one is almost identical to one illustrated by Hume as dating to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (Hume 1969:241). Interestingly enough the boss described above fits this piece. The other curb bit, the shorter one, appears to have broken just below the bit and probably would have been very similar to the longer example.

Artifact number 107 is a very plain stirrup. It has rounded sides, a solid rectangular platform, and a rectangular anchor for the strap loop. Hume describes this type and dates it to the late seventeenth to eighteenth century.

The final artifact relating to horses is a fragment of a horse or oxen shoe. It is 2 3/4" long and 1 3/16" wide with one hole.

Tools

The next category is that of tools. The first is a hoe, artifact number 28. It appears to be a grubbing hoe or a hoe that was used for preparing the soil for planting by drawing the soil towards the user (Hume1969:241). This hoe exhibits a spiny reinforcement ridge on the blade that typifies hoes of the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century. The other hoe was the one found by Batchelder in 1865 in the western cellar in the "cuddy". It is a broad hoe that was used primarily for weeding after the soil had been broken up (Hume 1969:275). This hoe also seems to exhibit the reinforcement spine on the blade that would date it to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century.

The next tool is a fragment of an ax head (90). Its condition does not lend itself to an further identification. There are also 2 scythe blade fragments (6), one rattail file, and a 7 3/4" long iron punch (number 140) which would have been used in metal working. None of these artifacts can be tightly dated.

Kitchenware

The kitchenware entails one of the largest categories of material from the site and one on which Lombard had placed a great deal of emphasis when dating the site. This category includes knives and spoons and kettle hardware. The first piece appears to be a hook and a link of chain. The hook is 3" long and the link is 4' long. These two items (124 and 190) may have been used in the kitchen but that is just a possibility. The hook is very similar in size and shape to one illustrated from Pemaquid as being a kitchen pot hook (Bradley 1994:177 and Hume 1974:76).

The next items are two brass kettle ears and several brass fragments probably from a kettle. One ear (190) was found in the cellar the other was recovered from somewhere at the site by Stephen Hayes Jr. of Bourne at sometime. This style of ear was recovered from Charleston Island and Fort Albany (ca. 1674) in James Bay (1681-1682) (Kenyon 1986:149) and at the William Bradford II house (1675-1725) in Kingston, Massachusetts. The brass fragments (120 and 161) may represent the reuse of a burned out or cracked kettle similar to that which is discussed by Faulkner in his work at Pentagoet (1987:156-158).

Two styles of table knives are present in the Aptucxet assemblage. The first consists of 2 pieces of bone riveted to a metal tang. The handle has a series of criss-crossed lines on it and a very similar example was found at Pemaquid and dates to the early to mid eighteenth century (Bradley 1994:180). This knife may have been found in the herb garden area. The other type of knife has a pointed tang on it that would have been inserted into a bone handle (45, 149, 85). The style is what Faulkner calls rat-tail which have oval and round balusters. These date from Pentagoet I and III (1635-1654 and 1670-1674) (Faulkner 1987: 242). One knife still maintains its bone handle (88) that is plainly undecorated.

There are 23 spoons present in the assemblage which appears to be a large number for a household, but actually does not seem to represent spoons which were used for eating but may have had other purposes as seen by the modifications present on them. Nine of the spoons have fig shaped bowls (50, 57, 58, 108, 177, 4 no numbers) and 10 have more oval bowls (26, 49, 59, 77, 146, 153, 155, and 5 no numbers). There are also two seal and baluster top handles, one trifid handle, one Puritan handle and one acorn top handle (3 no numbers, 82, 27) **(Figure 26)**. Two of the more oval bowls are made of pewter and were probably originally very similar (59 and one no number found in the herb garden). All of the spoons except the pewter ones have been tin washed.

Twelve of the spoon bowls are stamped with makers marks all of which occur on the upper surface of the bowl close to the stem juncture **(Figure 27)**. The first mark is one single spoon in a circle, this occurs on an fig shaped bowl (1 no number). The second mark consists of three spoons within a circle, this mark occurs on four oval bowls (2 no numbers, 49, 77,) and 2 fig shaped bowls (58, 108). The third mark occurs on a fig bowl and is the three spoons with the words "DOUBLE WHITED" surrounding them within the circle (1 no number). The fourth mark occurs on an oval bowl and consists of a heart with the letters GP within it and the words "WHITED COVERED" surrounding the heart (177). The fifth mark occurs on a fig bowl is a thistle within a circle with the letters WW around it (4).The sixth mark occurs on an oval bowl and is the letters RP on the bowl (26). The seventh mark occurs on an oval bowl and is the letters IC on either side of a cross (155). The final mark is the date 1670 and the letters IB below it, this occurs on a fig shaped bowl (50).

The dating of these spoons is somewhat problematic because it seems that early seventeenth century spoon molds were still being used in the late seventeenth century. All of the dating done in this section comes from an article by Percy Raymond (1949). The fact that the spoon bowls are all tinned does help in dating though. Tinning was a technique which was introduced in middle of the seventeenth century, that is what the word whitened means in the makers mark on some of the spoons. The simple handle that is a flat stalk characterizes the Puritan spoon. Finally, the trifid, Pied de biche handle dates from 1663 to 1700. The two pewter spoon probably both looked similar to the one complete example found

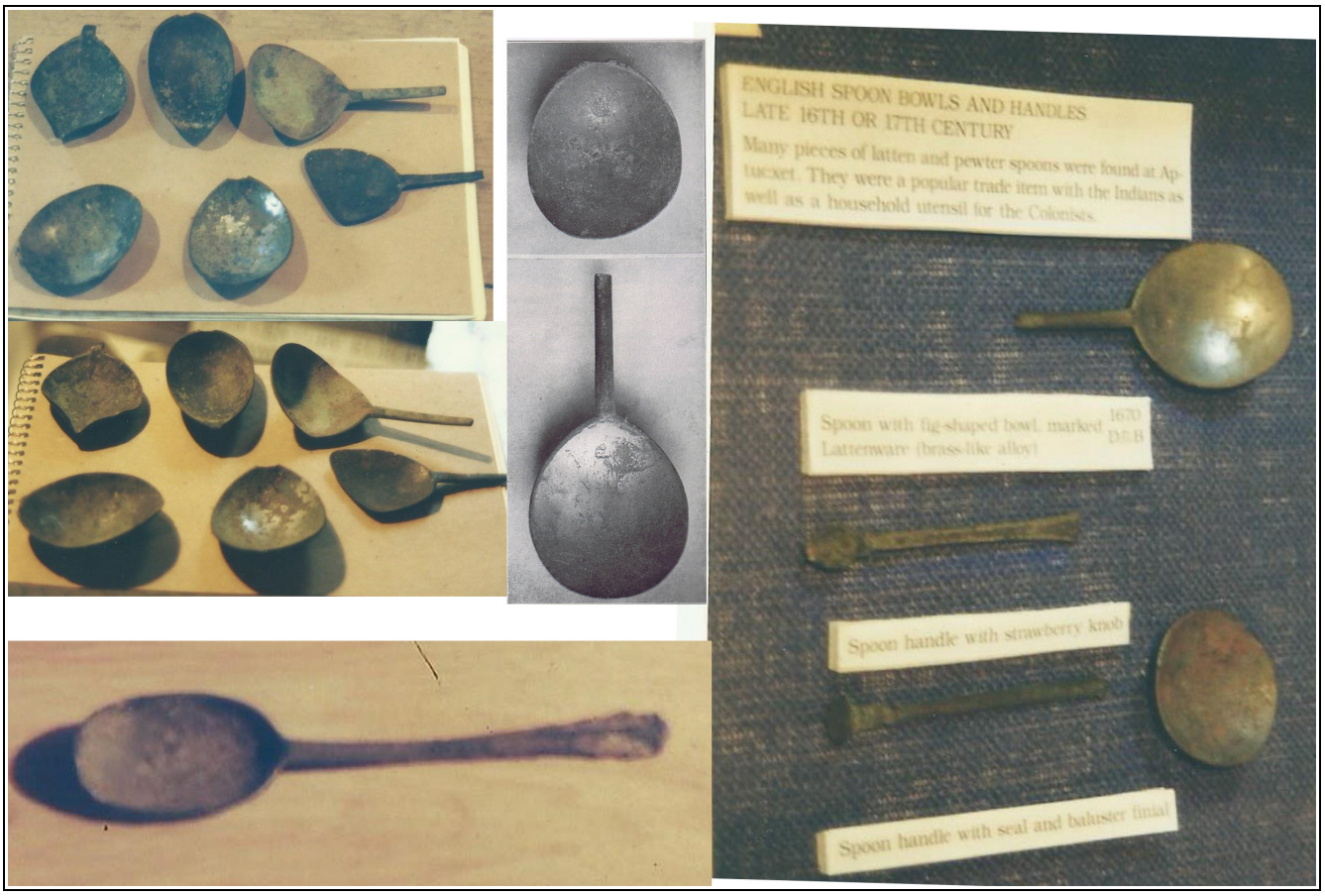

Figure 26. Spoons recovered by Lombard (Left top: modified spoon bowls; Left bottom: pewter spoon reportedly found in the herb Garden; Center: spoons photographed by Lombard; Right: spoons on exhibit at the Aptucxet Trading Post Museum)

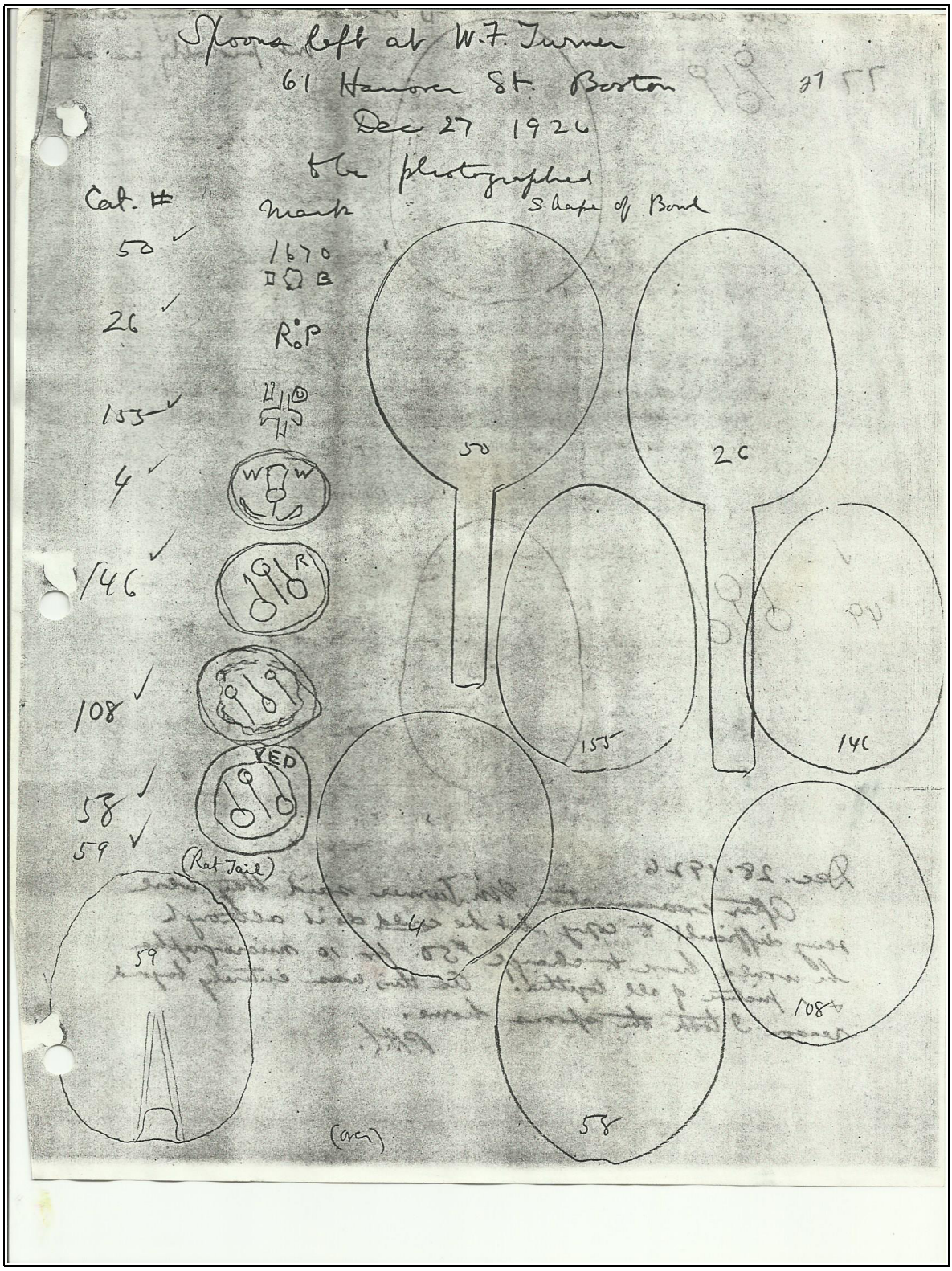

Figure 27. Page from Lombard's notes showing spoon bowls and marks

in the herb garden area. It can be called a wavy end spoon, which would date from 1690-1750. It is very similar to ones found on the Whydah (Heritage 1994:97) and at Pemaquid (Bradley 1994 185).

Seven of the spoons exhibit excessive wear and/or modifications. Two spoons (1 no number and 58) are worn at their distal ends, the no number one excessively. The seconds wear is consistent with its possible use in stirring by a right-handed person. Three of the other five spoons (57, 153, 177) have had their bowls bent into a funnel shape and bowl 108 has excessive burning evident on the exterior surface. What these spoons were probably used for was to heat up metal which have a low melting point such as pewter or lead to be poured into molds. As will be seen later, one of the buckles from the site appears to have been a roughcast in lead and was not smoothed. The final bowl (1 no number) had its handle bent in such a way that it would serve nicely as a ladle. So the fact that there are so many spoons at the site can be rectified by the fact that some of them have been modified to serve a different purpose than originally intended. In the late seventeenth and especially the early eighteenth centuries, these types of spoons may have been loosing their popularity and someone at the site may have purchased a number of them cheaply to use for metalworking.

Personal Items

The next category are items of a more personal nature. The first artifact is a lead cloth seal. These are relatively common finds on sites of the 17th and 18th century (Bradley 1994:212). The fact that this seal is from the site of what is being called the possible location of the Plimoth colon's first trading post raises the question of whether or not this item may relate to the Plimoth period of occupation 1627-1635. Bale seals are not uncommonly found on sites which are not directly related to trade or commerce, they do occur at homesites. Hume states that merchant seals of the eighteenth century were made only in two sections (Hume 1969:270). This is the type that is present at the structure. On one side there some numbers are scratched, although they are very hard to make out. They probably relate to lot numbers or clothe length. Many of the seals used specifically on cloth had this type of scratched marking (Adams 1989:22). It is also known that some of the women in Sandwich in the seventeenth century had large amounts of cloth and even Holland cloth in their homes which was presumably for making clothing. So it does not seem surprising to find a seal at a homesite.

Another item recovered from the site is a small silver coin bearing strange writing on both sides. It was identified as being an East Indian coin. Lombard stated that the writing on the coin is Arabic from the 17th to the 19th century. It is also possible that it is a coin of the Sultans in Atjih in Sumatra. There is a number on one side which is either 93 or 95 and this may date it to 1693/ 1695. A coin dealer in New York did both of these identifications. Lombard cites this as evidence of a link with the Dutch East Indies Company and thus a link to Aptucxet. A very similar coin is present at Plimoth Plantation and it is identified as having been produced in Yemen in 1691 (Davidson 1967:7). Any silver coin could be used as currency in the colonies because the value could be determined by the weight of the silver. As a result, tavern owners and other people dealing with many different types of specie owned scales to weigh the silver or gold no matter where it was from.

There are fragments from one chest lock in the collection (76). This type of lock was common in the seventeenth century and although it is in a fragmentary condition, it's shape is still discernible.

The next item of personal interest is a complete candle stand. It is made of brass and was probably made in either Holland or England (Hume 1969:240) and dates from the middle to late seventeenth century **(Figure 28)**. The handle is 3 1/4" long and the base diameter is 4 3/4". There is a stamped

Figure 28. Sheet metal candlestick found by Lombard

design around the candleholder and on the handle and is stated to probably have been a fairly expensive item (Hume 1969:240). Lombard stated that he saw one in a Dutch genre painting by De Hooch that was dated to around 1650 (Lombard 1953: 14). Hume states that candlesticks with actual holes to hold the candle were not readily made until the middle seventeenth century (1970:91). This sheet brass candlestick would seem to me to be one of the less expensive forms that would have been available. There were much finer forms of solid metal that would have been more expensive, still, at this time such an item was probably considered a luxury item.

A brass scarab tip is recorded as having been found by Dr. Batchelder in 1852 when he excavated at the site. The scarab tip went on the end of leather scarabs and acted as a reinforcement. The one found at the site is very similar to one recovered from Pemaquid in a post 1729 fill (Bradley 1994:80). Swords were very common in 17th century Sandwich inventories.

Two buckles and one possible buckle were recovered from the site **(Figure 29)**. It is not known where they were found but , they presently reside in the collection. The first is made of pewter and is a form

Figure 29. Buckles

that is very similar to one in brass recovered from the Edward Winslow house in Marshfield, Ma (1650-1700) (Heritage 1994: 86). It is also illustrated by Hume and dates from the second half of the 17th century and was used on belts (Hume 1969:85). Hume also states that those at the lower end of the social ladder would be wearing pewter buckles while those higher up had brass ones and higher still would be silver (Hume 1969:86). The types of belts on which these were used were either sword or harnesses for horses.

The second buckle is similar to the first except that it is made of brass. It is similar to examples unearthed at Jamestown and probably dates to the same time period as the first (Cotter 1958:190).

The third possible buckle is a roughly cast lead, buckle half. There is much left over mold sprue on it and it appears to either have broken in half or was half cast. The fact that it has a small nipple in the center of the loop suggests that it is not a buckle as it would be difficult to put a tang on it, and is also very thick at the midpoint. It may be some sort of decorative item. It is interesting that this item was found along with the spoons that appear to have been modified to serve as ladles for metalworking. This may represent a home industry of metal making.

The next class of items is buttons. Three were in the collection and only one is known to have come from the site, although the other two also may have. The first two are cast brass with a tinning applied to their entire surface. This was often done as it was on spoons to make them look like silver. This seems to have been common in the late seventeenth century (Hume 1969:90). Both buttons appear to be solid example merely poured into molds and then their wire was applied while they dried, they were then tinned. The third button (67) is a tinned example which is very flat and is missing the rear of it. Also recovered, while it is not metal, was what appears to be a buttonmold made of steatite into which has been carved a circular depression. The steatite may have been found locally and was probably a fragment of a native Late Archaic steatite bowl, reworked by a colonial craftsman into the mold. From the marks on the inside of the hole it appears that it was carved with a metal knife. Interestingly enough, if this possible mold had been completed, it would have had the same diameter and a very similar depth to the two complete buttons described above. Examples of buttonmolds have been recovered from other 17th century houses such as the Edward Winslow site (1650-1700). It would seem that colonial farmers could have used simple technology such as melting pewter with modified latten spoons and stone molds to cheaply replace buttons or buckles, instead of buying them.

Stone

The next group of material is that of stone items which were recovered. These are divided into 4 classes: pestles; "stone counters"; sharpening stones; and flint. There are 3 pestles and broken pestles in the collection (22, 52, 60). Two are broken and one is whole. It is not too strange to find stone pestles at a colonial site. Mortars and pestles were commonly used by both natives and colonists for grinding native corn or herbs. They have also been recovered from other sites of the late 17th century such as the Edward Winslow site in Marshfield (1650-1700) and the Major Thomas Bradford site in Kingston (1675-1725). There is also one on display at the Jabez Howland house in downtown Plymouth. It would not seem unreasonable that if someone happened upon a native pestle they would keep it and use it. There is also no report by Lombard of an other native material being recovered from the excavations, except for an axe head found in the western cellar (29) and another two partially formed (176).

The second class is called stone "counters" by Lombard (138, 139). These are smooth pebbles averaging 2" in diameter and the appear quite natural.

The third class of stone material are sharpening stones, two of the pestles (52) which is broken lengthwise and 126 and the other four (113, 137, (2)160) are approximately five inches long, rectangular and smooth on all sides. The two represented by Number 160 were both called stone counters. These are not uncommon items to find on sites, at least one was found at the William Bradford II site in Kingston.

The final classes of stone items are fragments of light gray flint (39, 75, 109, 150). This may have come from the East Anglican mines in England (Hume 1970:220).

Architectural Stone

The final group of materials recovered are those which relate directly to the architecture of the site. The classes of this group are Brick, Plaster, and Doorstep/ Slate.

There were many bricks recovered from the site (3, 4, 8, 97-1 02, Box 10, Box 11, 195) and most of those which were suitable to be used for the reconstruction, were used to reconstruct the fireplace in the western room. The only complete brick which was measured was 8" x 4" x 2 1/2".

The plaster and mortar which was recovered (16, 17, 103, 143, 147, 199-214) is not separated in the notes as to which is plaster and which is mortar. The mortar is all shell tempered and was used to put up the foundations. The plaster would have come from the interior plastering of the walls. Some fragments show evidence of marsh grass being used as insulation between the exterior and the interior walls (Heritage 1994:22) **(Figure 30)**. According to Lombard, the building was studded, covered with lathes (pine) which were nailed to oak studding (Lombard 1953:28). One fragment of plaster also shows that

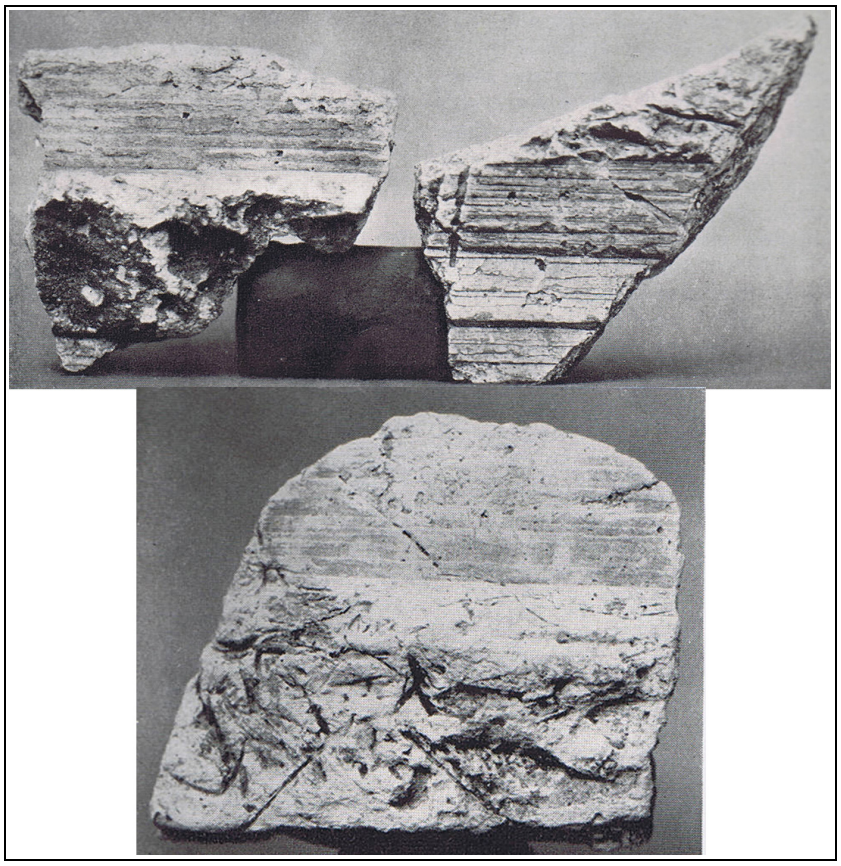

Figure 30. Wall plaster

the rooms were possible covered with pine sheathing which was beaded along one edge with an "ogee" beading. Since the beading was impressed on the plaster, it has to be assumed that the lathing was placed on the walls very soon after the plaster was placed on the walls. It is also possible that the plaster was placed over the board and this would account for the impression on the plaster.

The final type of architectural stonework are the pieces of the infamous "Trading Post Door Step" (18, 71, 104, 105, 153, 192). These are all gray slate and may represent a doorstep either inside or outside of the north or south door.

Faunal Material

The recovery and curation of faunal material by Lombard is another example of how he was ahead of his times. It is all but unheard of for faunal remains to have been saved from an excavation this early. All too often, archaeologists would dispose of the faunal remains just as they would the left over dirt or stones. Very, very few of them ever saved the bones. The faunal material in the collection came from two sources. The first was Lombard's excavation and the second was a box labeled "Material from the Old Herb Garden".

Lombard's material is outlined in more detail in appendix 3. Suffice it to say that he recovered evidence of cattle, swine, sheep, horses, deer, seagull and goose. The occurrence of the horse in the faunal inventory is interesting and may represent a dead animal thrown into the open hole, or it may also represent a food source. For example, the Massachusetts General Court in 1682 stated that Thomas Purdaine of Shawamett had the liberty to open an ordinary/victualling house in the town and that the state would provide him with beer, cider, and good horse meat (MGC 1682:88).

The herb garden material consisted mainly of the remains of two lambs. This sort of burial of very young kids has also been noted at the Clarke Garrison House site on the Plimoth Plantation property. The Clark Garrison inhumation dates to the eighteenth century when the area was being used as a pasture. The animal from Aptucxet may date from the same time period and may be from the time when the area was used for pasturage although this can not be proven at this time. The second feature about this assemblage is that it also contains faunal material which appears to be common domestic refuse mostly waste material from butchery. This material occurred at a much lower rate. It is not known where exactly this material came from. It is assumed though that it probably came from the southwestern portion of the south yard. This was an area where a great deal of faunal material was recovered during the 1995 field school.

Synthesis

The 1994 reanalysis of Lombard's excavations was the catalyst for a new interpretation of the site purported to be the Aptucxet trading house. None of the artifacts in the collection were found to date to before circa 1660. There were, however, a wide variety of materials represented from the cellar holes and these offered a glimpse in 1994, before research had begun to determine whose homesite it was, into the lifeways at the house.

The ceramics from the site show only the tendency noted in the ceramic assemblages from the early seventeenth century sites looked at earlier that redware predominated. None of the early ceramics which would be expected at an early seventeenth century site were uncovered during Lombard's work.

The greatest amount of ceramic material recovered by Lombard, ignoring the material whose provenience is not known, came from the eastern cellar and the central portion. Fragments from the redware vessels were found scattered across the entire area which was excavated but seem to be concentrated in the eastern cellar and in the central portion with only a few pieces occurring in the western cellar. The same is true for the other ceramic types, especially the tin-glazed, which only occurs in the eastern cellar. This trend is also mirrored in the other artifacts from the site (see Appendix 1).

There was a very low amount of nails and bricks found at the site, this, coupled with the distributions of the ceramics may point to the ultimate fate of the house. The house may have been dismantled and the parts used in other houses in the area, most likely by members of the Perry family. This is said to have happened to the Samuel Perry house which Batchelder said was located about 1/2 mile away and was built by one of the sons of Ezra Perry circa 1680. The sequence of dismantlement at this house may have been that the eastern half of the house was taken down first and then the central portion, with the western portion being the last part. This would result in most of the material being disposed of at the time ending up in the eastern cellar and the central portion and any left over ending up in the western cellar. This may also be why the western cellar contained ash, broken brick, fieldstones and shell, that is what was left to fill in that cellar hole.

Whoever lived here was a farmer who grew English corn crops, hence the presence of the scythes in the assemblage. They raised cattle, sheep or goats and swine as is apparent from the faunal assemblage and had horses as was also present in the faunal remains and from the horse equipment found. They, like just about everyone else at the time, probably raised cows for milk as is represented by the milk pans and pots in the ceramic assemblage. Wild fowl such as geese and gull were hunted probably using birdshot in a flintlock musket. Finally, the abundance of spoons which had been modified presumably for metal working, the rough cast possible lead buckle, the soapstone button mold, and the iron punch all suggest that there was a blacksmith at work here.

CHAPTER SIX:
Architectural Reinterpretation

Lombard's excavations at Aptucxet uncovered many details which he used to reconstruct what he thought that the building would have looked like. The evidence he found and his interpretation and reproduction of the building will be examined first to attempt to understand why he emphasized the architectural features which he did. Following this will be a discussion of the alternate interpretation of the same evidence which he used and other evidence he did not. In the final conclusion it will be seen that the second, modern day interpretation is the more likely of the two, but Lombard undertook the construction of an interesting replica of what he thought was the trading house at Manamet using the same data as that used today. The only difference between the beginning point of the two recreation is that the present study began with the knowledge that all of the artifacts at the site dated to a later time period and that the house style would correspondingly be expected to reflect those present at this later time. Lombard began with the idea that the house was from the early seventeenth century and showed much Dutch influence, as a result his reconstruction stresses these characteristics.

The foundation found by Lombard is made up of two elements. The first is a large western portion and the second is an eastern portion which is much smaller. This house was 25' 3" from east to west and 27' 6" from north to south. There was at least one entrance to the house, which was located on the south side with a paved path leading up to it.

Lombard based his reconstruction essentially on three forms of evidence. The first was the seventeenth century information provided by de Rasiere when he visited the site in 1627. The second was what the actual artifacts and remains at the site had to say about the structure. The third was a comparison between the floor plan which he had at the site and existing seventeenth century houses and house depictions.

The site itself indicated how large the original house was and that it was likely that the eastern edition had been added at a later time. Lombard also found plaster with the impression of lathing and that salt marsh grass had been used for insulation. Lombard also felt that there was a simple “ogee” beading wainscot present in at least one portion of the house. It is unknown how the wainscot molding would have been preserved on the side of the boards set against the plaster. This would indicate that either the wainscot was beaded on both sides or that it was put on backwards.

A curved extension to north of the western hearth was at first thought to be an oven. Lombard noted that if it was then there would be no evidence of burning on the floor of it. This would be due to the fact that the space below the oven would have been filled with rubble. He also noticed that there appeared to be an opening for a fire door on the western edge of the feature. This would not be present in an oven. Finally after drawing to scale plans of the chimney and east and west hearths he noted that there was no space left for it.

The fact that this appears to have been a brewing cooper and not an oven was determined by Lombard due to those points noted above, but the actual reconstruction of it rested on the final piece of evidence. Lombard conducted a search of New England, Old England and Holland houses which were similar in shape to the foundations found. He felt that "If a number of contemporaneous wooden buildings could

be found which had ground-floor plans similar to ours, and their superstructures were alike, we should be justified in believing that the superstructure of the Trading Post had been the same." (italics in original) (Lombard 1953:21). Lombard relied on four sources of documentary and surviving architectural examples for much of the superstructure of the house. These were :

1) John Smith's map of Bermuda 1622: one story building with ell, steep pitched roofs and few windows.

2) Peter the Great's house in Zaandam, Holland building dating to 1632, the house looked the same as the depiction on Smith's map

3) Trelawney papers, Maine Historical Society's report from June 1634 of the building of a house 40' long 18' broad large chimney with oven in each end

4) Stephen Wing House 1641 15 miles from Aptucxet, 2 rafters still in original place, although whole building has been changed much the roof pitch appeared the same as many houses in England and on Smith's map and the house in Zaandam.

Using these sources Lombard argued against a one and one half-story building with an ell on the north side, or a gambrel style roof. The reconstruction which he settled on in fact looks much like the house from Holland.

The interior chimney and hearth arrangement were modeled after a farmhouse in Rochford Hall, England, where Lombard stated that, third great migration to new world came from. The brick fireplace with wooden lintel and brick set for a brewing copper copied that from Rochford hall. Other details such as the windows and doors were based on logical assumptions and copies of surviving examples.

I find it interesting though that Lombard chose not to examine and use the evidence from some of the surviving structures in Plymouth, Massachusetts. This is not due to the fact that he did not know about them because he does mention them in his journal. In fact, I believe that the structure at the site looked more like some of the houses in Plymouth than those that Lombard used. For example, the Jabez Howland house and the Sparrow house both have floor plans which are almost identical to the one from Aptucxet. They do not have a smaller addition to the east of the main house, but the Howland house does have a full size addition located to the west of the original house. But they are two full stories high with the same size foundation.

The floor plan at the site is also very similar to archaeological examples which, of course, were not known by Lombard. This size is very comparable with the size of the John Howland house at Rocky Nook, Plymouth, Massachusetts (Figure 20). This house was 33" east to west and 26' 6" north to south (Strickland:1937). Both houses have what has been described for the Howland house as an outer and an inner room. The outer room is the main room where the hearth is located. The outer room at the Howland house measured 30' 10" X 16' 6" and the one at the ATPM house is 25' 3" X 18' 6". The hearth at the Howland house, located in the west wall, measures 13' 2 1/2" including the fireplace walls, the one at the ATPM house, located in the east wall, is 12' including a brewing copper or water bottle at the north end. Both front entry paths were 6' wide, both are located south of the south side of

the hearth. The inner room of the Howland house is 24" x 8'6" with a cellar below, the ATPM house inner room is 25' 3" X 9' and the cellar begins in the south west corner of the house and extends north along the west wall. The stairs in both houses could have been put against the south wall of the chimney.

The Howland house is reconstructed as being two and one half stories high. The inner room is depicted as being almost a lean-to addition on the rear, with the angle of the roof being different than the main roof. There is no reason why the ATPM house would not have had a similar look and size. The floor plan of the house is also very similar to that of the Mott Farm house in its second phase of development when the house was 30' x 20' with a large hearth and staircase on the south side of the chimney (Davidson 1967:7). The Howland house reconstruction may represent a 1930s reconstruction of a Pilgrim house, while the Mott farm reconstruction is probably more realistic.

There was an addition made onto the original structure. This ell was 21" long and 16' 9" wide and was placed on the eastern side. At this time the fireplace was also enlarged and another cellar was placed below the ell's floor. This new cellar measured 9' 6" X 8' 9" and is of comparable size to the cellars at the Wellfleet tavern site at Wellfleet, Massachusetts (1675-1725) (Deetz 1974:5). This may also be the time when the brewing copper was added, since it does not appear to have been part of the original hearth set up. Who ever was living at the site appears to have plastered over the pine sheathing which was located on the walls in the main house. This would explain how Lombard found the impression of the wainscot on the plaster.

Lombard's excavations allow the demise of the house to be examined as well. If the house burned, as he thought it did, then this would explain the amount of ash, charcoal and lime found in the western cellar. This would be especially true if the western portion burned first and the eastern portion was later torn down. Many of the artifacts which were in the house would have been left there after the fire was out. This would account for the burned and twisted ceramics, the recovery of the door key near the door and all of the ash in the cellar.

It also explains why the deposits in the two cellars are different. The eastern cellar and the central portion contain most of the material and much of it can be cross-mended. The western and larger cellar does not have as much material but does contain an ash, charcoal, brick and plaster layer at the very base which is the same as that found in the central portion and a little in the eastern cellar. What may have happened during the dismantling of the house is the following: the eastern portion which did not burn was removed first and all of the older material which was no longer wanted was thrown away into the open cellar hole, then the main portion of the house was taken down and more material was thrown away creating deposits like the one found just to the north of the western hearth. The chimney and hearth were removed and as a result not as much brick was found in the eastern cellar, but more was found in the western Then the floor above the western cellar was removed and ash and plaster and brick pieces fell into the open hole and material was possibly even brought in to fill the hole, creating thick deposits of ash piled up in areas of the cellar and the central portion.

The walls of the cellars and the foundation stones were eventually pushed into the holes and in the western cellar this was mixed with shellfish remains which were either brought in or were part of the deposit found just outside of the northern wall. Eventually the ground was naturally built up and the

area was used as a field and pasture, until the nineteenth century when it was related to the Pilgrims and their trading post in the area.

PART FOUR: 1995 Field School
CHAPTER SEVEN: Testing

The 1995 summer field school from the University of Massachusetts at Boston was conducted at the Aptucxet Trading Post Museum in Bourne to further ascertain whether of not there is any evidence present of a circa 1627 occupation at the site. The fieldschool was directed by Dr. Barbera Luedtke and the author served as the graduate student director. It was decided between Dr. Luedtke and myself that she would write up the analysis of the Native material and I would write up the colonial. As has been outlined before, the evidence to prove an earlier than 1673 occupation at the site would take the form of either ceramic sherds temporally diagnostic to that period as seen at other Plymouth Colony sites, and a clay pipe histogram comparable to that seen at the other sites looked at previously.

Three hypothesis were formulated following the 1994 reevaluation of the material in the collection. These were created with the intent of discovering if indeed this was the site of the Aptucxet Trading House. Negative evidence, such as the argument that the trading house was on the site but left no tangible remains, were not considered valid proof of its existence. The three hypothesis are as follows: 1) the Aptucxet Trading house was at the same site as the later house excavated by Lombard, or was expanded to create the larger house present at the site sometime after 1627; 2) the Aptucxet Trading House was not at this specific site excavated by Lombard but was located somewhere on the present property of the Bourne Historical Society; 3) the Aptucxet Trading House was never at this site and the late 17th to early 18th century occupation discovered by Lombard is the only European occupation at the site. This final hypothesis is not mine alone. A number of other archaeologists whom I spoke to stated that they did not believe it to be the original site as well. In fact, Leon Cranmer, who excavated the Cushnoc site, stated in 1990 that he did not believe it was the original site either (Cranmer 1990:55).

These hypothesis were tested using three excavation and testing strategies. First, a grid of staggered transects with shovel excavated test pits spaced 10 meters apart was excavated from the street to the south of the structure to the canal **(Figure 31)**. If the trading house was located somewhere on the property but not immediately at the area excavated by Lombard (Hypothesis 2) then remains such as yard scatter should be found. The second strategy was to place a tight five meter staggered transect grid extending 30 meters to the north, south, east and west from Lombard's excavation **(Figure 32)**. If the trading house was located in this area (Hypothesis 1), yard scatter and the expected postholes of the structure should be encountered. Finally, any test pit which showed the potential of illuminating more of the history of the site would be enlarged by means of a one by one meter excavation unit. This would allow for a larger view of interesting features or areas.

The results of these testing strategies can be summarized as follows. The 10 meter staggered transects resulted in the discovery of an 18th to 20th century house foundation and well located just off the street and early to middle 20th century trash midden to the west of the approach road to the museum, and a native lithic activity area located to the west of the museum. No remains of colonial activity earlier than 1690 were discovered. It cannot be said that any remains of the trading house were not found because it was too small for the 10 meter grid. The native activity area was a great deal smaller than the approximately 20 feet square house and it was found. It is safe to conclude that the trading house was not located anywhere on the museum's present property. It is known from Lombard

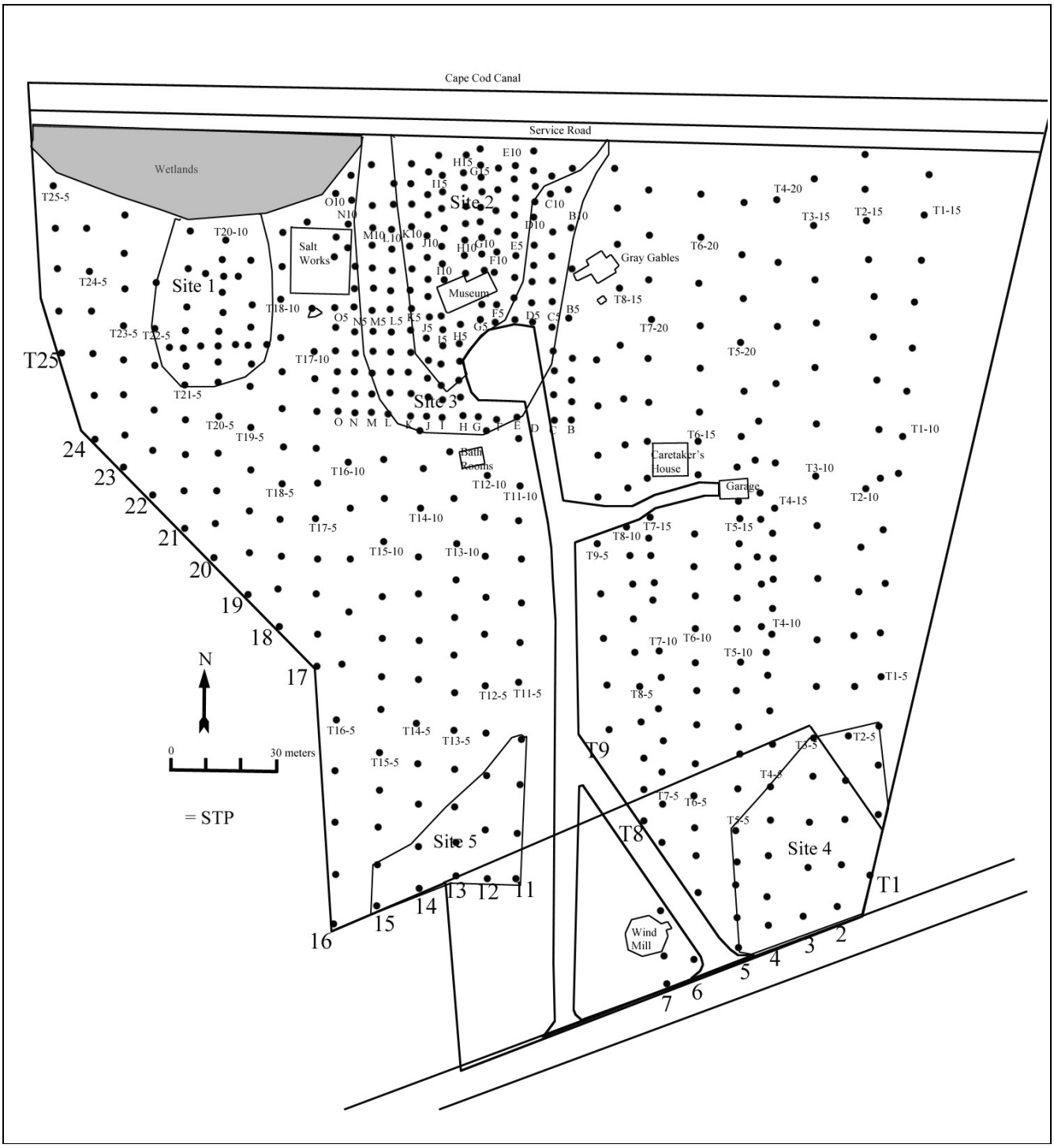

Figure 31. 1995 Testing at the Aptucxet Trading Post Museum

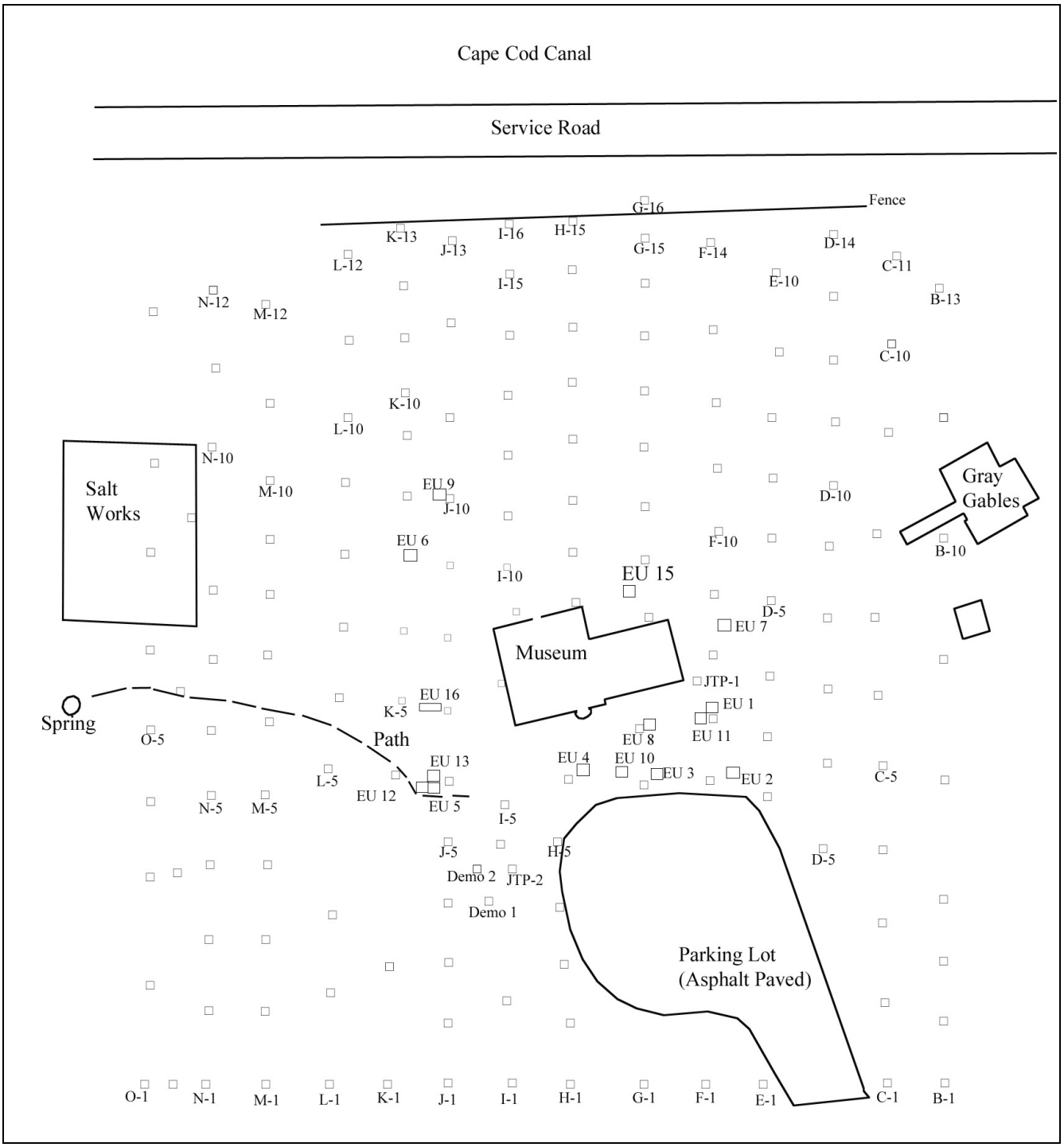

Figure 32. 5-meter grid testing around the Aptucxet Trading Post Museum

that 100 feet of land extending towards the museum from the river was removed during the construction of the Cape Cod canal, and there is no way to prove that it was or wasn't. But as was stated before, we were not there to argue negative evidence, but to discover evidence of activity dating to the early seventeenth century.

The second testing strategy had greater success discovering 17th century material. The five meter grid 30 meters from the house was begun on the south side of the structure with the transects labeled alphabetically B through P east to west. Immediately material was recovered and features found. Material became more concentrated as testing moved closer to the building and tapered off to the north and east sides of it. It would appear that the activities on the site which resulted in trash accumulation were focused on the south and west yards.

Unfortunately of the material found, none could be specifically dated to the early 17th century. Twenty-two potential features or soil anomalies were found in the shovel test pits. The following chart outlines the features found, their locations, the initial interpretation and if any one by one meter squares were placed around them to investigate them further.

Table 3

Fea. Number	Test Pit	Depth	Interpretation	Associated EU
1	D-6	0-50cm	20th century cable	
2	E-2	43-50cm	Post hole	
3	E-2	43-50cm	Tap root	
4	E-2	43-50cm	Tap root	
5	F-7	40-85cm	Post hole, pit	1, 11
6	F-9	26-36cm	recent pit	
7	G-1	50-76cm	Post hole	
8	G-7	40-67cm	Depression	4, 10
9	G-8	10-40cm	Rock concentration	4, 10
10	G-9	30-35cm	Post molds?	
11	H-4		Post holes	
12	H-6		Trench	
13	H-8			
14	I-7		Builder's Trench	
15	J-7		Trench	5, 12, 13
16	J-8		Trench	
17	J-9		Trench	9
18	K-6	72cm	Burned area	
19	K-7		Sheep burial	6
20	K-13		Native pit	
21	L-1	28-38cm	Rock concentration	
22	L-5		Depression	

After the initial testing of the entire property, several shovel test units which had produced interesting features with the potential of answering some of our questions were selected to be expanded into 1x1 meter Excavation Units (EUs). A total of 16 Eus were excavated at the site. Fifteen of these were

excavated within the 30 meter intense occupation zone around the museum itself. The other unit (EU 14) was excavated to the west of the site where a prehistoric lithic scatter was discovered during testing. Luedtke reported this unit and all of the prehistoric features and artifacts in her report in 1997. The following discussion reports each unit numerically. The reasons for the placement of the unit, the soil profile, the features encountered and the artifacts recovered are discussed for each unit.

Excavation Unit 1

This unit was placed to the south and east of the front door of the museum. Evidence of a possible posthole was discovered in shovel test pit F-07 yielding shell, bone, nails, glass, clay pipe fragments and ceramics. This unit was placed to determine three things: if this was in fact a posthole; if so was it associated with a structure or a fence; and if this was a feature, when did it date to. It was hoped that this feature would relate to the original trading house which it is believed was built in the earthfast construction technique. This technique, as discussed would leave evidence in the ground in the form of post holes.

The soils in this EU were similar to those in the rest of the South Yard. The yellow brown preoccupation subsoil followed a 35 cm thick layer of dark brown to black humus soil. Disturbance other than the posthole feature was noted in the form of buried power lines 35 cm below the ground surface in the north half of the unit **(Figure 33)**.

The feature uncovered in the shovel test pit was located in its north west corner. It was recorded as being approximately 25 cm in diameter an extended to 80 cm below the ground surface. EU 1 was placed to the north of the test pit in order to capture most of the feature. Due to the plowed and disturbed nature of the upper soil at the site, the feature was encountered in EU 1 at 30 cm below surface and was labeled feature 1. At the same time one other feature was located almost directly in the center of the EU. This feature was a circular stain, possibly another posthole. This was labeled feature 2.

Feature 1 was found to be the continuation of the posthole which was discovered in the test pit. It was a roughly oval shaped stain. The feature bisected in half by the south wall and its profile was drawn upon reaching its base. Seen in profile it was found to be a fairly classic posthole shape with a wide top at 35 cm below surface and a shape tapering to narrow at the base at 84 cm below surface. Within this feature were found the following artifacts:

Shell: 750.5 grams	Charcoal: 14.2 grams	Bone: 357.2 grams
Nails: 13 fragments	Redware: 32 fragments	Clay pipe: 5 fragments
Delft: 1 fragment	Glass: 3 fragments	Metal: 3 fragments
Brick: 1 gram	Plaster: 11.9 grams	

The dating of the feature was crucial to determining if it dated to the early seventeenth century or the late. The clay pipes from the feature had the greatest potential to help date the feature. Three 7/64" pipe stem were recovered. These date from 1650-1680. The other pipe fragments recovered were too small to use for analysis. It appears that this feature dates to the later part of the seventeenth century and could not have been associated with a 1627 structure. This feature may have been associated with another feature which was uncovered in this unit but not labeled a feature until later. This is the trench

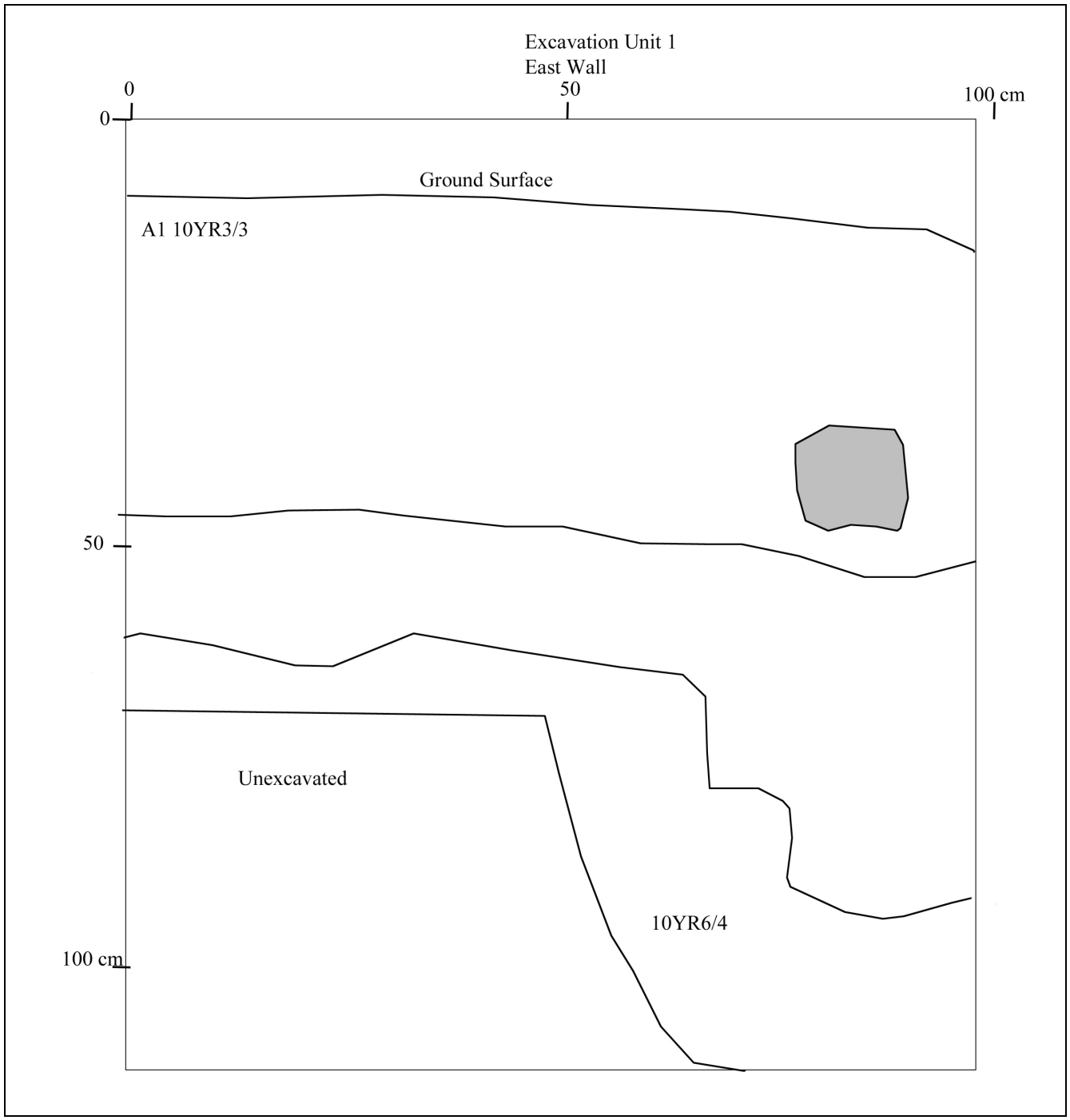

Figure 33. Feature in east wall of EU 1

which appears to exist on at least two sides of the museum. Possibly if this trench dates to the 1670s-1680 then this post hole was excavated into the trench after it was filled. This would account for the artifacts recovered from it.

Feature 2 was determined to be a rodent, probably woodchuck, burrow. This was decided due to the jagged shape to the feature when seen in profile which is associated with rodent burrows. There also appeared to have been a fair amount of rodent activity present within this unit as much of the soil at the interface with the yellow brown soil was mixed and churned as one finds in collapsed rodent burrows.

Artifacts from the unit, except for those outlined above from feature 1 consisted of the following materials:

Shell: 1675.5 grams	Charcoal: 25 grams	Bone: 394.2 grams
Burned Nut Shell: 1 frag	Blue Glass Bead: 1	Clay pipe: 32 frags
Redware: 53 fragments	Slipware: 1 fragment	Bottle Glass: 2 frags
Flat Glass: 17 frags	Lead Bale Seal?: 1	Brass Scrap: 1 frag
Flint: 1 frag	Metal: 3 fragments	Nails: 88 fragments
Brick: 1964.4 grams	Cement: 12.9 grams	Mortar/ Plaster: 84.8 grams
Coal: 1.6 grams		

This material was recovered from the disturbed soil above the feature and above the subsoil. As a result of the fact that it has been mixed and churned due to plowing, the 1920s excavation and recent work burying powerlines, it is considered as one unit in the analysis. This will hold true for the other EUs as well.

Excavation Unit 2

This unit was placed close to the northeast corner of the parking lot approximately five meters to the south of EU 1. This EU was placed here to investigate a high density of shells from a test pit in this area. The soils in this area were similar to those from the other Eus in the south yard. There was approximately 30 cm of dark gray plowzone overlying a very dark grayish brown layer approximately five cm thick. This soil overlaid the yellowish brown subsoil.

One feature was noted in the southeast corner of the unit **(Figure 34)**. Feature 5/ 6 was first noted at the 25-30 cm level. At this later the soil appeared to be light brown gray mottled with yellow brown soil. This feature became more defined as excavation continued. By the 30-35cm level it was noted that there was a charcoal concentration in this feature.

The south wall bisected this feature and a profile was drawn. It appeared in plan at 45cm as an irregularly shaped stain. In profile it appeared to taper to a point before disappearing at 78 cm below surface. This feature did not contain a great deal of artifacts with all of them being recovered from 30-35cm below surface.

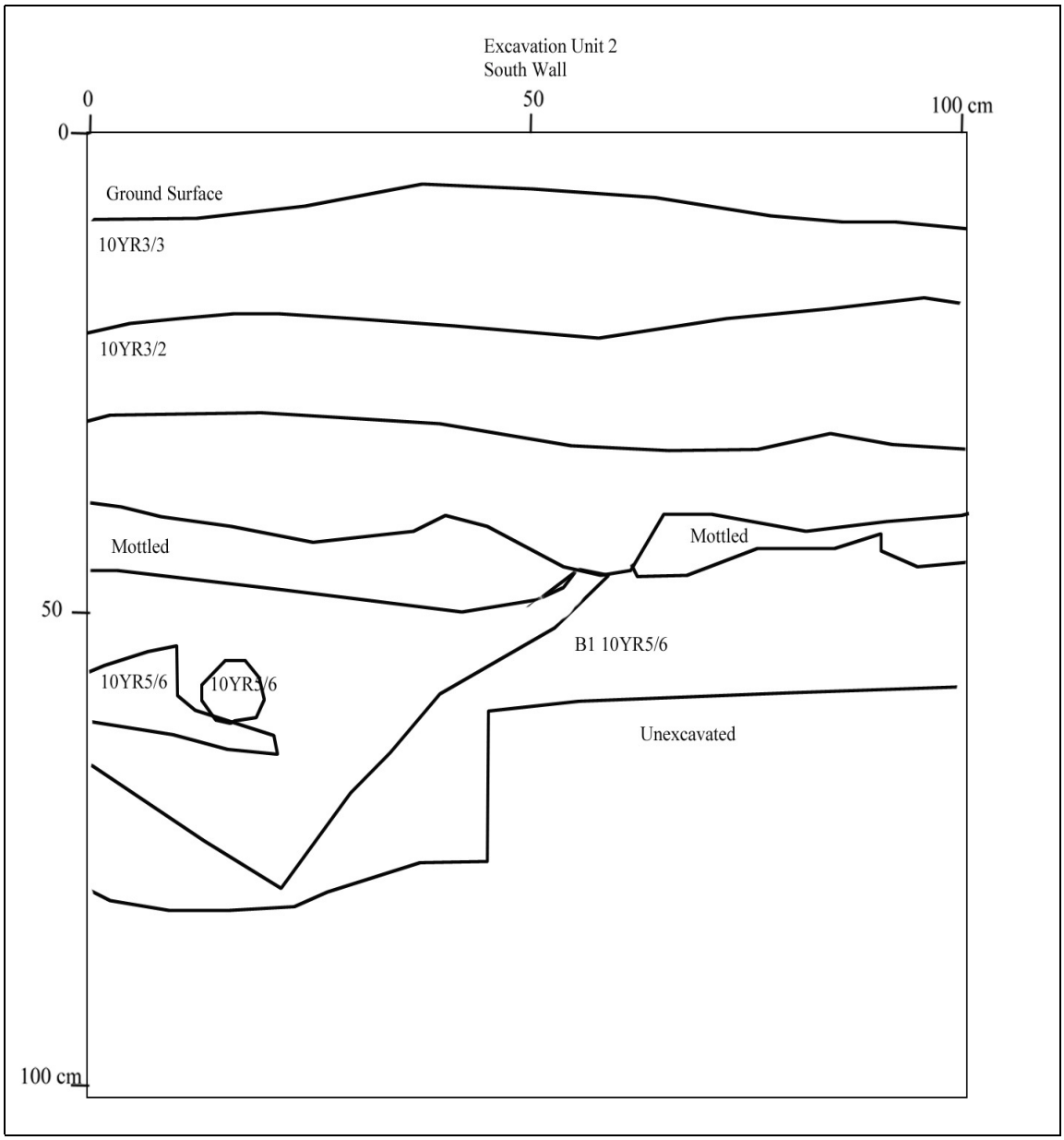

Figure 34. Feature in south wall of EU 2

The artifacts recovered were:

Shell: 19.7 grams	Redware: 3 fragments	Brick: .2 grams	Charcoal: 3.6 grams
Nail: 1 fragment	Bone: .6 grams.		

It is not known what the function of this feature was or if it was natural or man made.
The artifacts from the rest of the EU were as follows:

Shell: 564.4 grams	Bone: 195.4 grams	Redware: 98 frags	Tin-Glazed: 3
Clay pipes: 26	Plaster/ Mortar: 12.6 grams	Brick: 268.2 grams	
Bottle Glass: 5 frags	Flat glass: 13 frags	Metal: 12 fragments	Nail: 50 frags
Charcoal: 24.7 grams	Coal: 11.6 grams	Flint: 4 frags	

Excavation Unit 3

EU 3 was located directly to the west of EU 2 approximately five meters away. This unit was placed to further investigate the substantial yard scatter in the south yard. The soil in this unit was the same colors and textures as the other units. No features were noted. Artifacts were recovered to a depth of 45cm below surface. The artifacts recovered were as follows:

Shell: 269.2 grams	Bone: 179.5 grams	Redware: 50 frags
Tin-Glazed: 4 frags	Slipware: 2 frags	Clay Pipes: 30 frags
Flint: 6 frags	Mortar/ Plaster: 98.6 grams	Brick: 1573 grams
Charcoal: 5.4 grams	Nails: 55 frags	Cement: 13.4 grams
Bottle glass: 8 frags	Flat Glass: 9 frags	Brass Buckle: 1
Glass Bead: 1	Silver Nail: 1	Metal: 1 frag
Coal: 2.3 grams		

Artifacts of note were the silver nail head which was probably a decorative element from a chair or chest and an amber colored glass bead.

Excavation Unit 4

EU 4 was located five meters to the west of EU 3 and was placed to investigate a deep deposit of sand located in the test pit H-6. The soil layers appeared the same as the others in the south yard. One feature was noted at the 20-25 cm layer. This feature appeared as a 75 cm by 50 cm half circle primarily in the south west quadrant of the unit and was 10 cm thick. The coarse sand fill contained the following artifacts:

Shell: 79.4 grams	Bone: 4.8 grams	Redware: 1 frag
Nails: 14	Brick: 70.7 grams	Mortar/ Plaster: 158.8 grams
Pry Bar: 1	Bottle cap: 1	Charcoal: 1.1 grams
Clay Pipes: 2 frags		

This feature is relatively recent and in fact probably dates to the 1920s reconstruction of the house. This is believed for two reasons. The first is the artifacts which were recovered. The majority of the nails are of the common wire type. These nails are round and are the same nails as we use today. Older cut or hand wrought nails have a square to rectangular cross section. The other artifacts are the pry bar which is a broken fragment discarded probably soon after it broke and the mortar which matches the mortar on the reconstruction. The second reason is that Lombard stated that he had dug in this area in 1929. On Wednesday August 14, 1929 he recorded that "We also dug into the 'dump' of oyster shells and ashes at the right of the north entrance, but found nothing of interest." (Lombard 1929). It appears in this instance and in a few others that he confused north with south. This feature is in the right area to be the one he created and the mixture of seventeenth and twentieth century artifacts supports this.

The actual feature into which Lombard had excavated was not fully realized until after excavation was completed and other units were opened. Due to the depth to which the artifacts were being recovered that there was some type of disturbance in this unit. Artifacts were found down to 60 cm below ground surface. This is unusual because most of the other excavation units which were not disturbed yielded artifacts until only approximately 40-45cm below surface (see EU 3 and 7).

The rest of the EU contained the following material:

Shell: 2222 grams	Bone: 610.4 grams	Redware: 136 frags
Nails: 175	Brick: 987.6 grams	Mortar/ Plaster: 739.7 grams
Metal: 8 frags	Brass hook: 1	Brass scrap: 1 frag
Pewter : 1 frag	Clay Pipes: 28 frags	Delft: 3 frags
Charcoal: 35.5 grams	English Stoneware: 1 frag	Redware pipe: 1 frag
Flat glass: 13	Bottle glass: 7	Flint: 2

The density of many of the artifact classes such as shell, bone and redware, indicate that a fairly substantial amount of material was deposited within this area. As can be seen in the west wall profile, several layers of different colored soils were noted beneath a layer containing several large cobbles. It is believed that the feature present in this unit was part of a trench or ditch system which extended on at least two sides of the structure. This observation will become clearer when EUs 5, 12, 13, 9 and 16 are discussed. It is believed that this unit was directly inside of the feature and this is why it was not more readily apparent during excavation.

The artifacts from this feature help to date it. The English stoneware was of a type called English Brown Stoneware. This type of stoneware was made in Fulham, England from 1671 to 1775 (Hume 1969:114). The fragment of red clay tobacco pipe dates from 1660 to approximately 1675 . The other pipe stem fragments were as follows: Mean date 1690.5

8/64 (1620-1650): 2 (15.4%)
7/64 (1650-1680): 3 (23.1%)
6/64 (1680-1710): 5 (38.5%)
5/64 (1710-1750): 3 (23.1%)

The mean date for this feature was calculated using the Binford technique at 1690.5.

One clay pipe bowl was also identified to type based upon it shape. This bowl was a type 1 and dated from 1680-1710. Combining all of these data together, it appears that this feature dated from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century.

Excavation Unit 5

Excavation Unit 5 was placed 20 meters to the west of unit 4 adjacent to a test pit J-6 which yielded evidence of a historic period feature containing much shell. This feature was encountered at approximately 35 cm below surface beneath a very dark brown loam. It continued to 90cm below surface **(Figure 35)**. The eastern edge of the feature appeared in the test pit but the western edge was not encountered during the excavation of EU 5. The fill of this feature consisted of a very dense deposit of mainly oyster shell with soft shell clam, quahog and whelk mixed in. Intermingled with this shell was a high density of artifacts:

Feature 4

Brick: 599.7 grams	Shell: 68671.5 grams	Bone: 921.9 grams
Metal: 21 frag	Nails: 81 frags	Redware: 106 frags
Flint: 16 frags	Flat Glass: 1 frag	Bottle Glass: 3 frags
Clay Pipes: 14 frags	Charcoal:427 grams	Brass Button: 1
Silver Button: 1	Brass Pin: 2	Delft: 24 frags
Slate: 7.3 grams	Plaster: 4.2 grams	

These artifacts included extensive deposits of bone and charcoal which, along with the shellfish remains, are evidence that the fill resulted from cooking and processing shellfish. The fairly high occurrence of nails and brick indicates that this feature was filled at a time when construction was probably occurring at the site. The presence of redware, delft and the pins and buttons indicates that the filling of the feature continued after the construction was completed and domestic activities such as cooking and sewing had begun. The clay tobacco pipes allow the feature to be dated fairly accurately.

One complete bowl of a pipe style which is attributed to the period of 1660-1680 was recovered along with two stems from this same type (type 2). One very interesting stem of a type called a Sir Walter Raleigh pipe was recovered (Type 10). One fragment of a redware pipe bowl was also recovered. This bowl mimics the shape of the large belly bowl (type 2) and probably dates to the same period 1670-1680.

The following stem fragments were recovered from the EU as well, 8/ 64”- 3 7/64”- 2 and while the use of stem bores has come under attack due to the fact that they are not absolute dates, the presence of these places the creation of the feature after approximately 1650, the median date for the occurrence of these two sizes.

The clay pipe fragments, taken as a whole indicate that this feature was created and filled between approximately 1670 and 1680. All of the other artifacts within the feature likewise should date to the same period. The fact that evidence of construction is present indicates that this feature was created

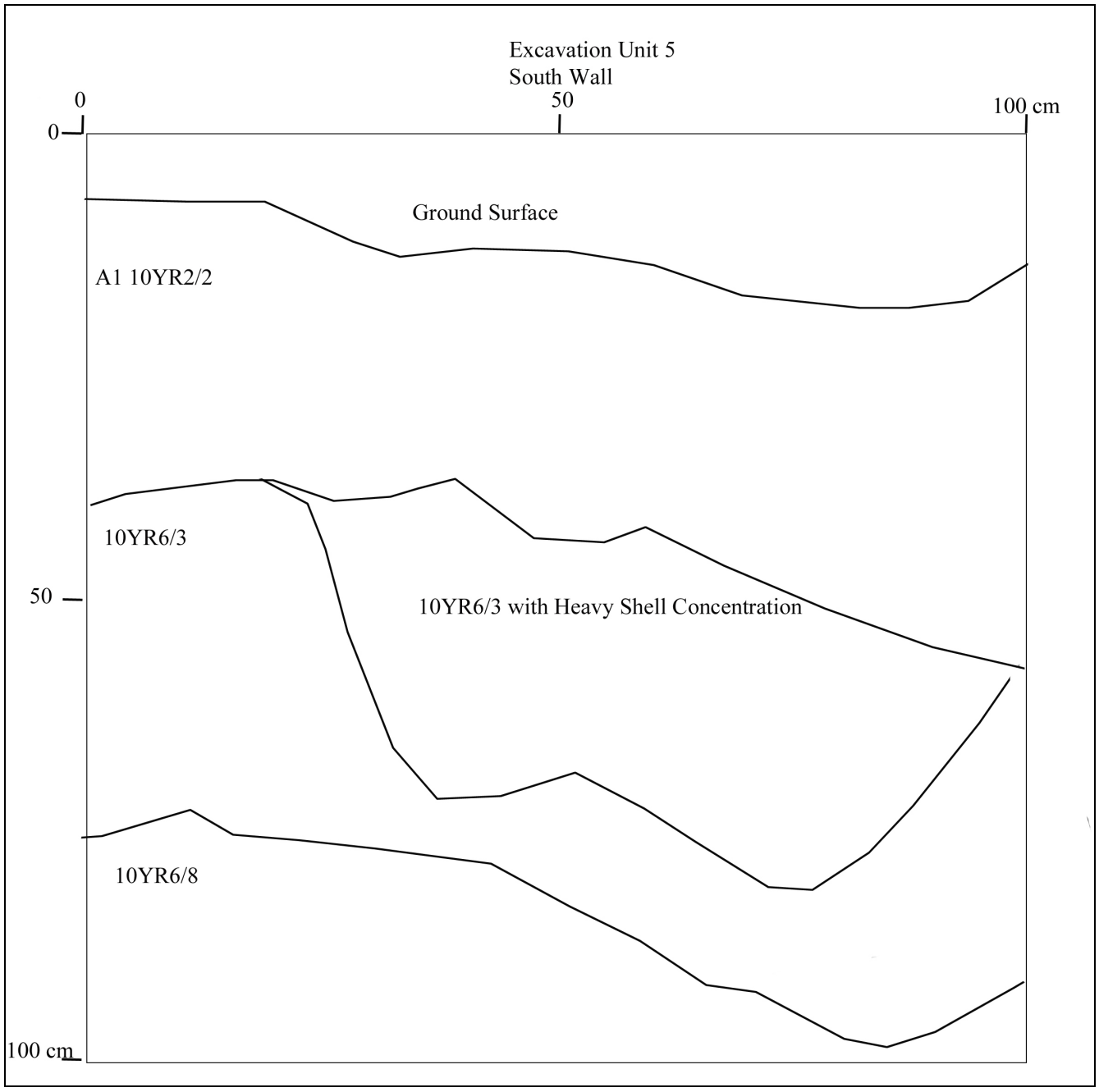

Figure 35. Feature in south wall of EU 5

during the actual building of some structure at the site. It is the excavator's opinion that it dates to the construction of the main house at the site circa 1675. This date ties in well with the artifacts from this feature. The actual identification of the feature could not be made at the time of the excavation of EU 5 and did not become more apparent until adjacent units 12 and 13 were excavated.

The artifacts from the upper layers of the unit above the feature were as follows:

Brick: 1627.2 grams	Shell: 50.9 grams	Bone: 38.5 grams
Metal: 1 frag	Nails: 32 frags	Redware: 150 frags
Flint: 4 frags	Flat Glass: 7 frags	Bottle Glass: 1 frag
Clay Pipes: 5 frags	Charcoal: 5 grams	

Excavation Unit 6

Excavation Unit 6 was placed on top of test pit K-07. This test pit revealed the remains of a medium sized mammal buried approximately 35 cm below surface. The EU was placed so that this test pit would be in its center. The sheep burial was labeled feature 9. It is not known what this animal died from, but it was buried in an irregularly shaped pit approximately 60cm by 50 cm. The size of the pit appeared to have been just enough in which to cram the sheep. This may have been done to quickly bury it for fear of infection. The sheep's body was oriented to the east to west while its neck was bent so that it faced to the north. This indicates that the sheep was probably was dropped into the pit back first with its head hitting last.

The feature is believed to have become apparent by the 20-25cm level. All of the artifacts from this level and below are considered to be from the feature. The artifacts were as follows:

Brick: 531 grams	Shell: 40 grams	Charcoal: 33.4 grams
Redware: 25 frags	Clay pipe: 13 frags	Bone: 35.4 grams
Nails: 31 frags	Flat Glass: 16 frags	Slipware: 2 frags
Brass Button: 1		

The presence of so many brick fragments, charcoal and nails indicates that this feature probably post dates the occupation of the structure. These artifacts may have found their way into pit as it was being dug only if they were already on the ground. This feature probably relates to the use of the land after the structure burned or was moved and the cellar filled in. It is likely that the land was then used for pasture. The sheep in the burial was probably found dead one day and a pit was dug close to where it fell and it was buried. The slipware indicates that the feature dates to sometime after 1675 when this English ware became common on American sites.

The clay pipes which were recovered from the feature took the form of 2 7/64" pipe stems, 5 5/64" stems and one large belly bowl fragment with (R) T on the side facing the smoker. The maker of these type of pipes was Robert Tippett of Bristol England. He was producing this style of pipe from 1680-1710.

One other feature, feature 11 was noted in the southeast corner of the unit but it was determined that this was probably natural feature such as a woodchuck or tree hole.

The artifacts from the upper layers from this unit were :

Brick: 268.4 grams	Shell: 6.4 grams	Charcoal: 5.1 grams
Redware: 37 frags	Clay pipe: 10 frags	Bone: 30.1 grams
Nails: 24 frags	Metal: 2	Flat Glass: 13 frags
Bottle Glass: 4 frags	Lead: 1 frag	Slipware: 3 frags
Delft: 2 frags	White salt-glazed stoneware: 1 frag	Horseshoe: 1
Coal: 1.6 grams		

Excavation Unit 7

The unit was placed on the east side of the museum approximately one meter away from the east wall to investigate the soils in this area. Seeing how artifact rich the south yard was, the question was raised concerning the east yard. This unit determined that this area of the site contains very low concentrations of artifacts. At the present time it is not known why but it probably has to do with the location of fields, gardens, animal pens and work areas around the house.

This unit was also placed here to investigate the possibility that this was where Harry Hornblower excavated in 1939. His field drawing shows a paved area with a number of possible features adjacent to it. The orientation of the paving closely matched the area to the east of the house. It was suspected that the "paving" was in fact the east end of the house. As these possible post holes may have proven to be evidence of the trading house, it was felt that it was important that excavations be conducted here. Unfortunately, no features and few artifacts were found. The area Hornblower excavated is now believed that Hornblower excavated around the stone paving originally excavated by Lombard approximately 100 feet to the west of the structure. The original use of this feature will be discussed more below.

This unit was also excavated far below the level at which excavation customarily ends. This was done to determine if there were any buried soil layers which the standard excavation may have missed. Excavation of a unit without features usually ends when no more artifacts are recovered and the excavation has reached the sterile B1 layer. This usually occurs at approximately 30 to 50 cm below the ground surface. This soil is distinguishable from the artifact bearing occupation layers by it color (yellow red at this site) and its texture (silty sand). In this unit this layer was encountered at approximately 30cm below ground surface but the excavation of one quarter of the unit continued to 107 cm. No other artifacts were recovered and the soil looked very natural.

The artifacts which were recovered from the cultural layers were as follows:

Brick: 36.5 grams	Shell: 44.1 grams	Bone: .3 grams
Charcoal: 2.5 grams	Redware: 19 frags	Clay Pipes: 4 frags
Porcelain: 1 frag	Mortar: 1.2 grams	Flat Glass: 6 frags
Coal: 6.7 grams	Metal: 4 frag	Nails: 6 frags

Excavation Unit 8

This unit was placed adjacent to test pit G-07 in which the edge of what appeared to be a posthole was encountered. EU 8 encountered the same posthole at 20cm in the southwest quadrant of the unit with the post still within it **(Figure 36)**. It was determined due to the artifacts which were present that this feature post dated Lombard's excavations. This was due to the fact that it contained much of the same material and some fragments which cross-mended with artifacts recovered by Lombard from the cellars. This post was probably part of a fence line on the south side of the museum.

The artifacts recovered from feature 10, the posthole, were as follows:

Brick: 341.8 grams
Charcoal/ Wood: 2055.6 grams
Redware: 18 frags
Mortar: 40.9 grams
Shell: 100.6 grams
Flat Glass: 9 frag
Delft: 1 frag
Metal: 2 frags
Bone: 13.7 grams
Nails: 13 frags
Clay Pipes: 10 frags

The artifacts from the rest of the unit were as follows:

Brick: 859 grams
Charcoal: 14.1 grams
Redware: 72 frags
Mortar: 1971.1 grams
Brass scrap: 1 frag
Flint: 3 frag
Cement: 4.2 grams
Shell: 400 grams
Flat Glass: 35 frag
Delft: 8 frags
Metal: 1 frags
Lead Kame: 3 frags
Cigarette Butt: 1 frag
Bone: 177.7 grams
Nails: 135 frags
Clay Pipes: 63 frags
Bottle Glass: 2 frags
Burned Nut/ Seed: 2 frag
Pewter Button: 1

Excavation Unit 9

This unit was placed to investigate a deep ash and artifact deposit located in test pit J-10. This unit is located to the northwest of the museum and is in line with units 5, 13 and 16. The feature, feature 11, was encountered at 55 centimeters below ground surface and extended to 145 cm below surface **(Figure 37)**. It was the deepest feature encountered. There may have been some episode of soil displacement to this area in the recent past. This would account for the depth at which this feature was encountered and for the large number of modern nails encountered. It was hypothesized that this feature was a northern extension of the trench which was found in units 1, 4 and 5. The fill of this feature, unlike the others, was chiefly ash, fish bone and shell.

The artifacts from this feature were as follows:

Brick: 90.2 grams
Charcoal: 379.1 grams
Redware: 32 frags
Plaster: 670.1 grams
Egg Shell: 2.4 grams
Brass Scrap: 1
Shell: 9076.9 grams
Flat Glass: 39 frag
Delft: 5 frag
Metal: 22 frags
Flint: 4 frags
Carved Calcined Bone: 1
Bone: 1946.1 grams
Nails: 113 frags
Clay Pipes: 47 frags
Bottle Glass: 14 frags
Metal Hinge: 1
Nut shells: 3

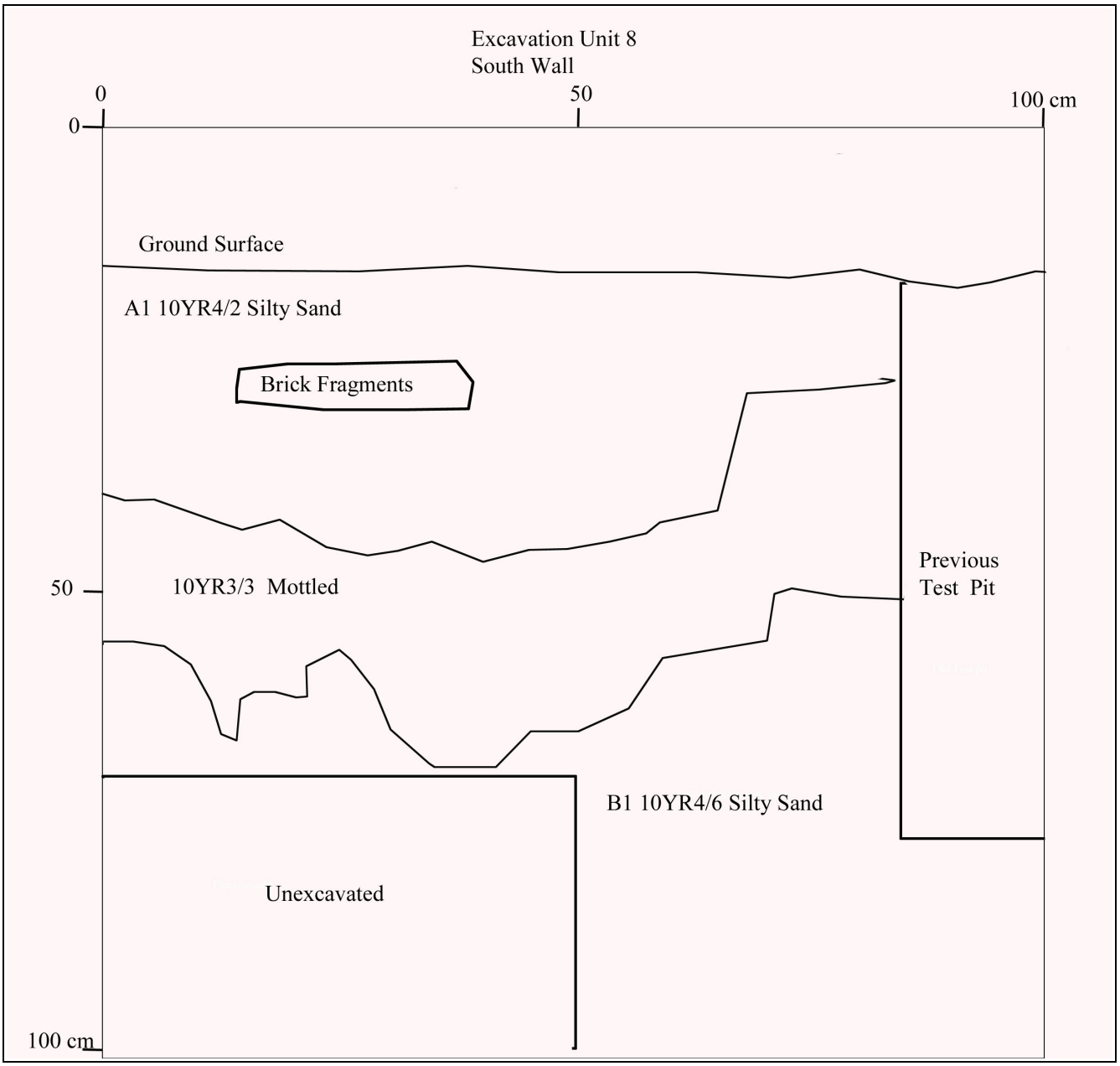

Figure 36. Feature in south wall of EU 8

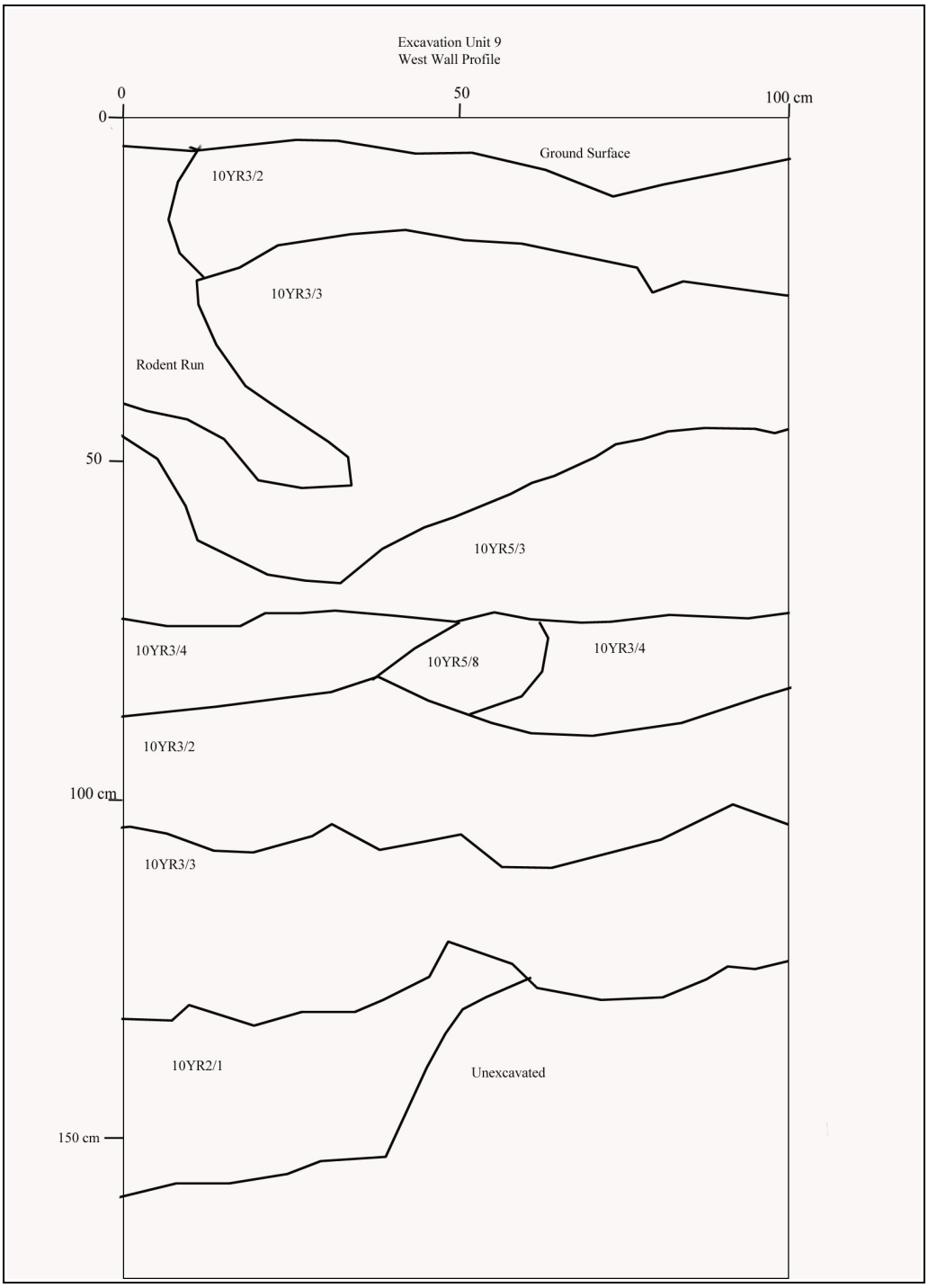

Figure 37. Feature in west wall of EU 9

The clay pipes can help to date this feature as they have done with the others. From the feature, 47 pipe fragments were recovered. The sizes were distributed as follows:

8/64"	5
7/64"	19
6/64"	2
5/64"	1

These pipes yielded a mean date of 1662.6. As can be seen, the majority of the pipes were of the 7/64" bore size. These date to approximately 1650-1680. One type one pipe bowl was recovered, circa 1680-1710, and one redware bowl fragment was recovered, circa 1670-1700.

The ceramics help to date the feature and also to show the contemporaneous nature of this feature with the one located in EU 5. One fragment from vessel one, a redware drinking pot, was recovered from 105 cm below the ground surface in EU 9. One fragment from vessel 63, a redware chamber pot, was recovered from EU 9 Other fragments of this vessel were recovered from EU 4 and EU11, both contained remnants of this trench. Fragments of a tin-glazed cup or mug bearing a stippled manganese design on the exterior were also recovered.

The artifacts from the upper levels of this unit were as follows:

Brick: 353.2 grams	Shell: 376.9 grams	Bone: 56.6 grams
Charcoal: 43.4 grams	Flat Glass: 2 frag	Nails: 48 frags
Redware: 10 frags	Gray Stoneware: 1 frag	Clay Pipes: 4 frags
Mortar: 17.7 grams	Metal: 4 frags	Peach pit: 1
Coal: .8 grams		

Excavation Unit 10

Excavation unit 10 was placed in the south yard between units 3 and 4 to determine if the soils between the two units was similar and to determine if the feature encountered in EU 4 continued to the east. The soils in this unit were very similar to those from units 3. The only feature noticed in the field, feature 13, was determined to be part of the trench which by this point was believed to extend from EU 1 to EU 4 and possibly connect with EU 5 and extend to EU 9 **(Figure 38)**. This feature was most apparent in the north and west walls of the unit. This feature first became evident at 35cm below surface and continued to 70 cm below surface. The artifact concentration was not as high as in the other units of this trench.

Feature 13 contained the following material:

Brick: 1.3 grams	Shell: 125.5 grams	Bone: 52.1 grams
Charcoal: 4 grams	Flat Glass: 3 frag	Nails: 4 frags
Redware: 27 frags	Clay Pipes: 2 frags	Flint: 1 frag
Window lead: 1 frag		

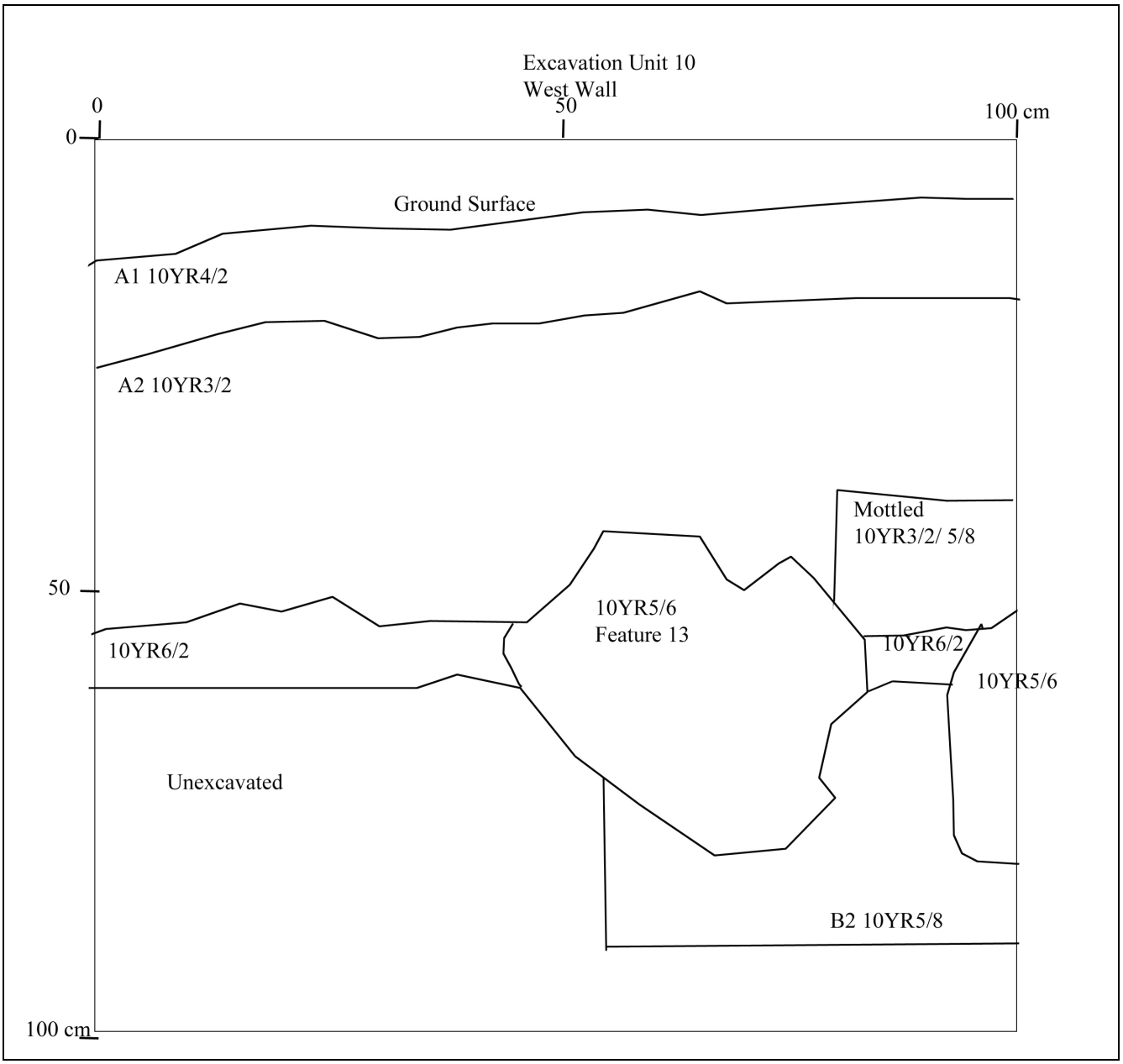

Figure 38. Feature in east wall of EU 10

The artifacts from the rest of this unit were as follows:

Brick: 1259.8 grams
Charcoal: 12.5 grams
Redware: 249 frags
Window lead: 2 frag
Bras Scrap: 1 frag
Modern material: 14 frags
Glass Bead: 1
Cement: 32.9 grams
Shell: 437.7 grams
Flat Glass: 11 frag
Clay Pipes: 38 frags
Metal: 9 frags
Delft; 1 frag
Brass Pin: 1 frag
Creamware: 1 frag
Bone: 435.8 grams
Nails: 148 frags
Flint: 7 frag
Bottle Glass: 1 frag
Redware Pipe: 1 frag
Mortar: 154.8 grams
Slipware: 1 frag

Excavation Unit 11

At the time of the placement of this unit, it was becoming apparent that there was some type of trench feature which extended on the south and west sides of the structure. In order to determine if the feature encountered in EU 1 was part of this trench, EU 11 was placed adjacent to the southwest corner of EU 1. A portion of the trench feature was encountered in this unit and was found to run in line which when followed out would intersect the portion of the trench encountered in EU 4 and 10. This portion of the trench was encountered at 40cm below surface. It continued to a depth of 85 cm below surface. This portion of the trench contained less artifactual material than other sections, although it was rich in shell and bone. It did contain an appreciable amount of nails, brick fragments, mortar and flat window glass and this again hints at the trench having been excavated at the time of the construction of the structure.

Feature
Brick: 86.3 grams
Charcoal: 43.7 grams
Redware: 91 frags
Window lead: 1 frag
Brass Pin: 1 frag
Shell: 3226.3 grams
Flat Glass: 27 frag
Clay Pipes: 15 frags
Metal: 13 frags
Mortar: 32.7 grams
Bone: 1235.1 grams
Nails: 28 frags
Flint: 1 frag
Delft: 4 frag
Glass Bead: 1

The clay pipes which were recovered help to date its construction. three 7/64" pipes stems and two 6/64" stems indicate that this feature was created during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The bulk of the pipe fragments did not prove useful for dating due to the fact they bore no datable features. Fragments of delft recovered from this feature appear to be from the same manganese stippled vessel represented in EU 9 and thus indicates a contemporaneous filling of the two trench sections.

The artifacts from the rest of the unit were as follows:

Brick: 682.7 grams
Charcoal: 2.9 grams
Redware: 18 frags
Slate: 3.8 grams
Mortar: 12.9 grams
Shell: 1383.9 grams
Flat Glass: 6 frag
Clay Pipes: 15 frags
Metal: 9 frags
Bone: 155.2 grams
Nails: 70 frags
Stoneware: 1 frag
Delft: 2 frag

Excavation Unit 12

This unit was placed adjacent to the west side of EU 5 with the hope that the western edge of the trench would be encountered. Unfortunately, the trench proved wider than the two meter squares. One other feature was encountered in this unit in addition to the trench feature. this was a concentration of stones in the southeastern quadrant of this unit. These stone appear to have been dumped here at the same time, but there does not appear to be any pattern to them.

The trench was first encountered in this unit at 40 cm below surface and continued to 105 cm. It is not known how much farther to the west the trench may extend, but it is assumed that the western edge would be encountered within a short distance of the edge of this unit.

The artifacts recovered from this section of the trench were as follows:

Feature

Brick: 1546.6 grams	Shell: 428.1 grams	Bone: 2186.6 grams
Charcoal: 547.4 grams	Flat Glass: 3 frag	Nails: 67 frags
Redware: 108 frags	Clay Pipes: 10 frags	Button: 1
Metal: 19 frags	Delft: 1 frag	Flint: 2 frag
Mortar: .7 grams	Slate: 2 grams	Bottle glass: 2 frags
Flat Glass: 14 frags		

The clay pipes indicate that this section was filled at the same time as the other sections. One 8/64" stem and 3 7/64" stems were recovered. One stem was from a pipe bowl of the type 3 variety (see pipes below) which dates from circa 1660-1680. this stem/ bowl juncture fragment bore evidence that the stem itself had been reduced in size over its life and the end of the stem actually bore wear from being clutched in the teeth by its user. This fragment was found at 80cm below surface. This indicates that the feature cannot be older than this pipe since it was found so near the bottom.

Two other artifacts help to date this feature as well. they were ½ of a wine bottle recovered at 55cm below the surface and a fragment of a clear glass goblet recovered from 50cm below surface. The wine bottle is of a style which Hume has dated as occurring between 1670 and 1680 (Hume 1969: 62) and the goblet is of a style which occurred circa 1675 (Bickerton 1984: 3).

The artifacts which occurred in the remainder of the unit were as follows:

Brick: 1409.8 grams	Shell: 14.8 grams	Bone: 5.6 grams
Charcoal: 12.4 grams	Flat Glass: 14 frag	Nails: 54 frags
Redware: 86 frags	Clay Pipes: 8 frags	Redware Pipe: 1 frag
Metal Link: 1	Metal: 17 frags	Delft: 6 frag
Lead Kame : 1	Slate: 2 grams	Bottle glass: 3 frags
Flat Glass: 3 frags	Apple stem: 1	Flint: 6 frag

Excavation Unit 13

This unit was placed to the north of EU 5 to determine the northern extent of this deposit within the trench. This section of the trench was first encountered at 40cm below surface and continued until 100cm below surface. At the bottom of this section of the trench, a deposit of ash and charcoal was recovered **(Figure 39)**. The very bottom of the feature contained soil of a yellowish brown color which appeared to have washed back in after the trench had been initially excavated. the shell deposit was found to extend for 80cm to the north of EU 5's north wall. The soils to the north of this shell deposit appeared to have been shoveled back in to some extent before the shells were thrown in.

The artifacts which were recovered from this section of the trench were as follows:

Feature

Brick: 50.8 grams	Shell: 41229.8 grams	Bone: 1163 grams
Charcoal: 132.9 grams	Flat Glass: 6 frag	Nails: 57 frags
Redware: 153 frags	Clay Pipes: 14 frags	Flint: 6 frag
Lead Kame: 2 frags	Metal: 31 frags	Delft: 7 frag
Mortar: 48.1 grams	Slate: 149.4 grams	Bottle glass: 9 frags
Ceramic?: 1frag	Redware Pipe: 1 frag	

The clay pipes from the site indicate that this section of the trench had been filled in at the same time as the others. Five 8/64" stems and 4 7/64" stems indicate a late seventeenth century filling of this section of the trench as well. One of the 8/64" stems was of the type 5 which dated to circa 1680-1710. Another was a compete bowl exactly the same as the one recovered from EU 5 of the Type 2 variety which dates from 1660-1680. Another stem bowl juncture fragment bears a molded design on the heel. This appears to be a portion of a Huntress and Crusader type (1680-1710). The design most closely parallels the design found on a pipe bowl from the Fort Pentagoet site in Maine, which was identified as Huntress and Crusader. The complete bowl of this type bear the image of a woman bearing a bow on one side of the bowl and a man in knight garb on the other. The redware pipe fragment dates from 1660-1675.

The artifacts from the rest of the unit were as follows:

Brick: 263.8 grams	Shell: 33.8 grams	Bone: 13.1 grams
Charcoal: 19 grams	Flat Glass: 8 frag	Nails: 35 frags
Redware: 96 frags	Clay Pipes: 11 frags	Stoneware: 1 frag
Modern material: 1 frag	Metal: 8 frags	Delft: 1 frag
Mortar: 28.2 grams	Slipware: 1 frag	Bottle glass: 2 frags

Excavation Unit 15

This unit was placed to the north of the eastern extension of the structure. It was placed with the goal of providing information on the use of the north yard versus the south. The soils here were similar to those from the south yard although the artifact density was much lower. One probably recent feature was discovered at 30cm below surface. This feature consisted of only a semi-circle of fire cracked rock and

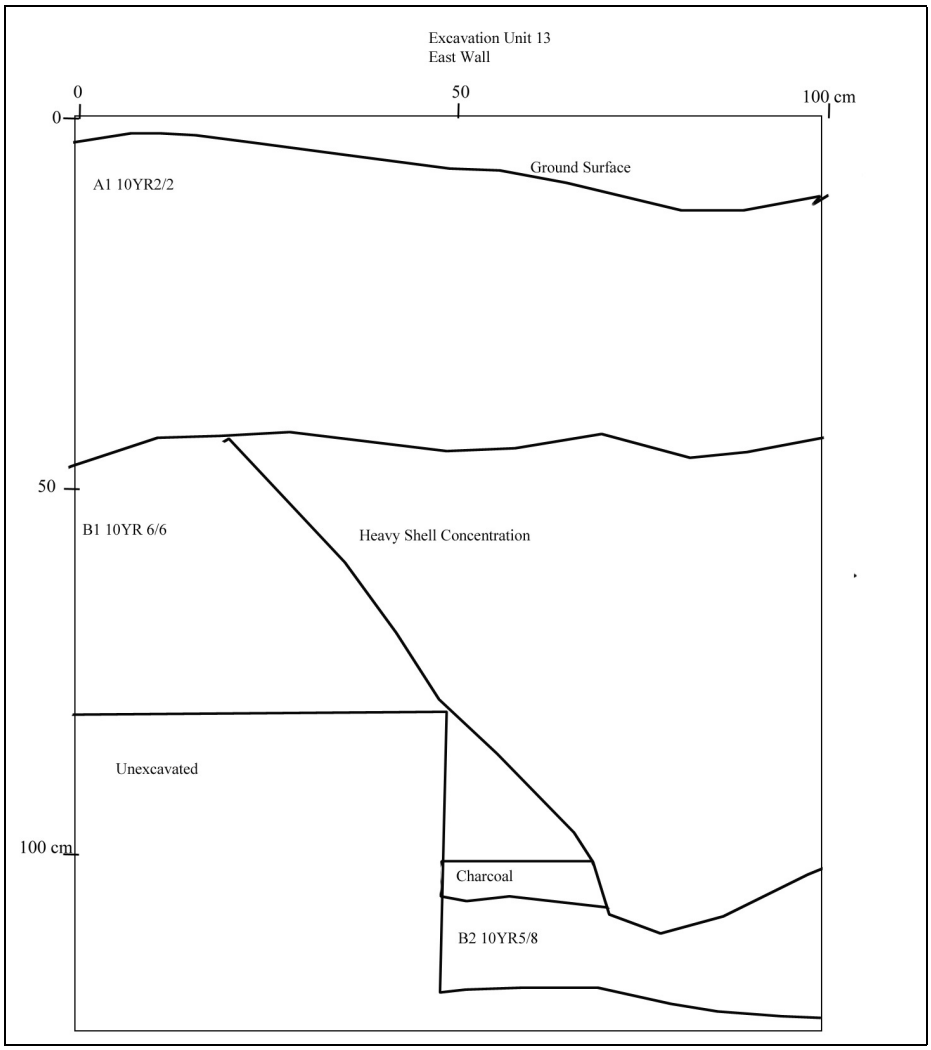

Figure 39. Feature in east wall of EU 13

one brick. It probably dates to after the abandonment of the site. One other feature was also noted in the southwest quadrant. this feature consisted of an area of disturbed soil extending from 40cm to 75cm and being roughly semi-circular. This feature continued into the south and west walls. Few artifacts were found within it. These are as follows:

Feature 14

Brick: 125.6 grams	Shell: 12.8 grams	Bone: 4.9 grams
Charcoal: 7.4 grams	Flat Glass: 3 frag	Nails: 23 frags
Redware: 3 frags	Clay Pipes: 1 frags	Flint: 1 frag
Metal: 1 frags		

This feature may represent part of a trench or test pit excavated by Lombard on October 27, 1926. This trench was excavated to uncover any evidence of the eastern portion of the structure being larger than it appeared. Lombard recorded that nothing of interest was recovered.

Brick: 2488.5 grams	Shell: 4 grams	Bone: .4 grams
Charcoal: 1.3 grams	Flat Glass: 9 frag	Nails: 29 frags
Redware: 17 frags	Clay Pipes: 2 frags	Flint: 1 frag
Burned Corn: 1	Metal: 4 frags	Delft: 3 frag
Brass Button: 1	Hoe: 1	

One artifact recovered from this unit was a metal hoe with a badly damaged blade recovered from 30 cm below the surface.

Excavation Unit 16

This was the last unit excavated at the site. This unit was place five meters to the north of EU 13 with the hopes that it would reveal the filling of the trench at this point. The unit measured 50cm wide and 2 meters long and it was hoped that it would hit both edges of the trench. Unfortunately it did not. The feature was encountered at 50cm below the surface 35 cm west of the eastern wall of the unit **(Figure 40)**. It continued into the western wall. The feature disappeared at 95cm below the surface. The fill within this section of the trench appeared different than the other sections. There was none of the dense shell present in this unit and the soil appears to have been shoveled back into the trench soon after it was excavated. The lack of shell and dense remains in this section may have to do with its location in relation to the structure. It was located to the immediate west of the western wall of the structure. This area would not have been as convenient a place to dispose of trash if one was exiting the house from the north or south doors.

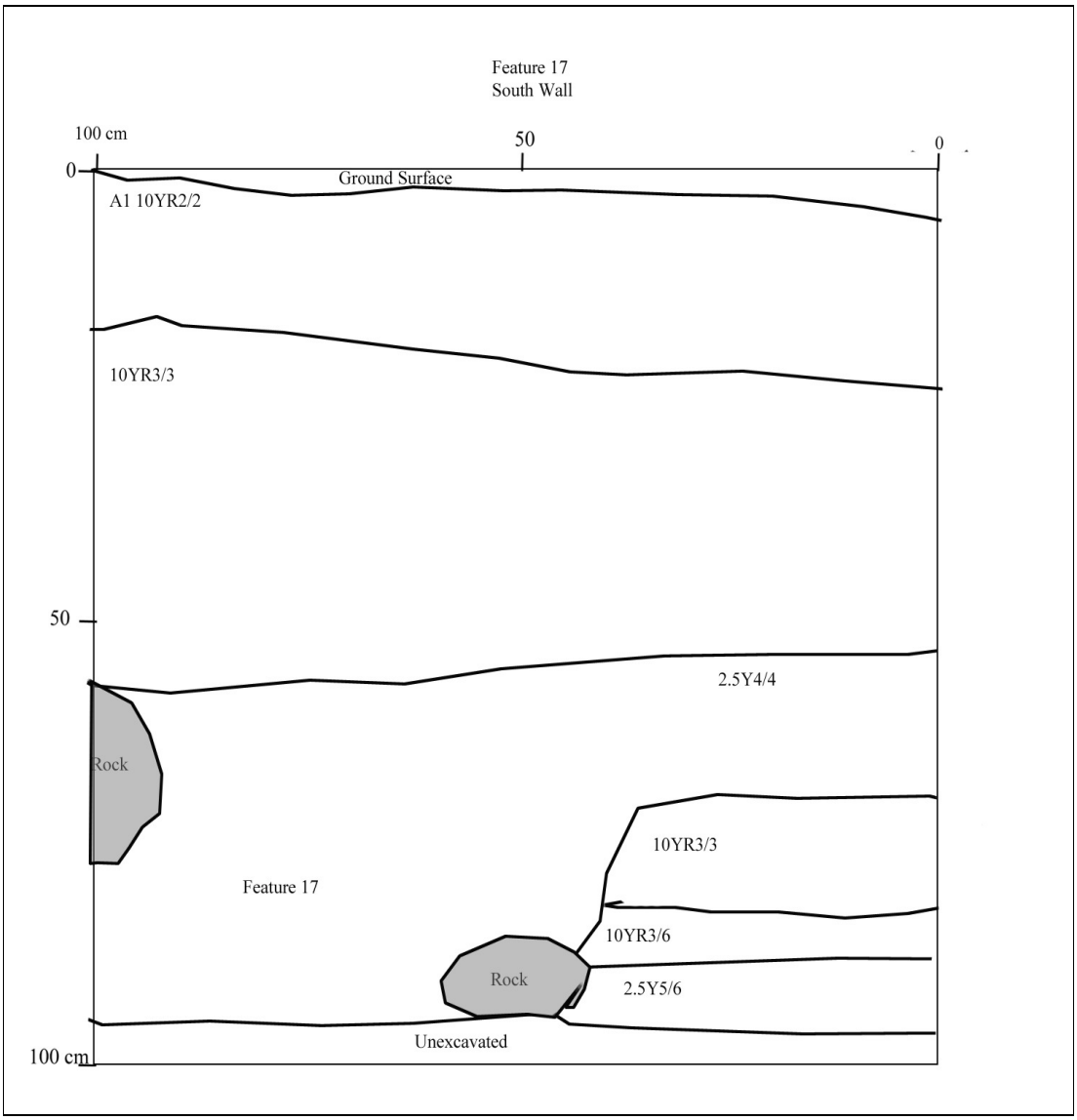

Figure 40. Feature in south wall of EU 16

The artifacts which were recovered were as follows:

Feature 17

Brick: 44.5 grams	Bone: 1.9 grams	Nails: 53 frags
Charcoal: 4 grams	Flat Glass: 11 frag	Redware: 37 frags
Clay Pipes: 4 frags	Redware Pipe: 1 frag	Delft: 1 frag
Slate: 3.8 grams		

The clay pipes indicate that this section of the trench was filled at the same time as the others. 2 6/64" pipe stems and two 7/64" stems were recovered. One of the 6/64" stems bore a zig-zag and oval stamping around its circumference. this has been identified as a mark of pipe makers from Bristol England and dates from 1650-1750. One redware pipe stem was also recovered (1660-1675).

The artifacts which were recovered from the remainder of the unit were as follows:

Brick: 443.7 grams	Shell: .8 grams	Mortar: 1.4 grams
Charcoal: 4.4 grams	Flat Glass: 9 frag	Nails: 61 frags
Redware: 5 frags	Clay Pipes: 4 frags	Delft: 1 frag
Metal: 1 frag	Coal: 20 grams	Tin: 63.9 grams
Cement: 213.9 grams	Slipware: 1 frag	

CHAPTER EIGHT:
Features

A total of seventeen features were identified during the excavation unit testing at the site. In the end it was found that most of these features were all part of a larger feature. This feature was the trench which appears to have extended from EU 1 through EU 11, EU 4, and EU 10. Then at some point to the south of EU 5 the trench turned north and was encountered in EUs 5, 12, 13, 16 and 9. This trench was dug in the 1670s before or during the construction of the structure at the site. It remained open long enough for some of the excavated soil to be washed back in. Some sections, probably those which were most convenient, were soon filled in with domestic debris while others were back-filled with the soil which was removed. The trenches original dimensions were at least two meters wide, the depth ranged from 35-90cm and it is estimated to have been at least 40 meters long on the south side and 40 meters long on the west side.

The original purpose of this feature is not known but it is strongly suspected that it represents the remains of an unfinished palisade and ditch defense system. A narrow trench would have been dug in which to set a palisade made of split or whole logs. On the outside of the palisade a trench would have been excavated and the earth from this trench would have been thrown up against the palisade to reinforce it and make it more difficult to scale. It appears though that if this was the original intention of this trench, then the job was never completed.

It does make sense though that a homesite such as this would have been fortified in some way. The location of the site is fairly far away from the main town of Sandwich and the inhabitants of the Monument area would have wanted some type of garrison house in which to retreat in time of attack. The dating of the site also favors the scenario that the original intention was to palisade the house. The artifacts from the trench and the those from the site in general, indicate that this site was first occupied in the 1670s. This is the same time that there were many problems between the Wampanoag from western Plymouth Colony and the English. The inhabitants at the site, perhaps fearing that the Natives on Cape Cod would become part of the war, may have wanted to fortify their house for their and their neighbors protection.

When the site was initially investigated in 1852, Russell noted that while no history survived relating to the location of the trading house, the site on which they excavated did have a history. Concerning the site they were to excavate on, he stated that “it having been generally a matter of conjecture only that some kind of defense was erected there against the Indians, though previous to the year 1685."(Russell 1855:149). The town history also indicates that there may have been a “blockhouse” built in the town for “mutual defense”. Keene stated that “’In the early days of Monument settlement, all the families used to spend their nights in the blockhouse in seasons of greatest dangers’” (Keene 1975:57). The location of this “blockhouse” was said to have been near the old Monument Bridge. This would have been generally near the Bourne Public Library. It was also stated that there was a large rock 15 rods to the southwest of the blockhouse which “’the early settlers, when returning from a trip, used to shelter themselves while shooting into the house to drive out the Indians.’” (Keene 1975:58).

While the truth to this story can not be verified, it would not have been uncommon for people living in an isolated community to have one house garrisoned during the 1670s. Perhaps, this site represented

the garrison house of Manomet. Or perhaps the inhabitants at this site began to garrison the house, but the war ended before the work had gotten too far and the trench and palisade were not complete. This would explain why the structure itself is so close to the trench and why the trench contains so much construction debris. It may have been dug first before the structure was begun and then the work on the trench stopped and construction of the house was begun and finished.

Other explanations of this feature which have been presented are that it represented a property boundary trench such as those used in Virginia. The problem with this theory is that there was no one else in the area whose property this land would be divided from. The distribution of artifacts from the site also shows that this trench never was a boundary which stopped trash from being spread to the west. Others have suggested that the feature was used as a borrow pit to mine for clay or soil to build up the land before construction. There is no clay in the soils where the trench lies and if it was a borrow pit for soil, then why dig a continuous trench and not just a large pit? The explanation which seems to fit the information available at the present time is that this feature appears to be part of a personal homesite defense. Future excavations should focus on following the trench to its southwest and northwest corners and determining its width.

One of the features which was tested by Lombard was an area of stone paving which he stated was located about 100 feet to the east of the main structure. If Lombard's orientation and measurement is accurate, this would place this stone paving approximately where the Gray Gables Train Station sits today. Lombard stated that he tested this area and found charcoal, metal and oyster shells. As this feature seemed so enigmatic, we had hoped to relocate it during our 1995 testing. When test pits were dug in the area of the train station, no concentrations of artifacts or stones were found. In fact this area seemed to have one of the lowest concentrations of material on the site. Soon afterwards, notes and a drawing were found at Plimoth Plantation which stated that the Plantations creator, Henry Hornblower, had also excavated at Aptucxet.

Hornblower was an avocational archaeologist who did much to start archaeological investigations in the former Plymouth Colony territory. His notes state that he excavated at the site on July 19, 1941. Hornblower visited the site on this date with a Mr. Channing Howard, and Mr. Welch. Hornblower excavated a small area to the northwest of the museum. He stated that a rock slab floor and a "structure called a well by Mr. Howard" were visible (Hornblower 1941:1). It appears that Hornblower was testing the same area which Lombard had described. But while Lombard located this feature to the east of the site, Hornblower located it to the northwest. The slab floor appears to be the same one identified by Lombard and the well appears to have been a concentration of stones and not a true well.

Hornblower excavated a total area of 316 x 90 centimeters in the area of the slab floor and an area of 125 x 140 centimeters in the area of the "well". The slab area was excavated to 9 cm and the well, which was found to be rocks with no arrangement was taken down to 20-30 cm. A one meter wide trench was then excavated to connect the two areas. The trench was excavated to a depth of 20 cm where lenses of clay, charcoal and sterile subsoil was encountered . This trench was parallel to the slab floor. Another trench was excavated north from the slabs. Hornblower stated that a "china" fragment was recovered bearing a leaf design. One glass bottle bottom was also recovered near the rock pile at 30cm below the surface.

The excavation revealed a clay floor to the north of the stone slabs about three inches thick and 30 cm below the surface. This floor covered the southern half of the area between the slab floor and the rock pile. Near the rock pile, Hornblower stated that he found a "fire pocket" in the northeast corner of the area dug. The area which Hornblower dug and the plan which he drew are illustrated below.

It was hoped that the area where Lombard and Hornblower dug would have been identified in the field. Unfortunately this was not accomplished. One EU was excavated on the east side of the museum on the remote possibility that this was where Hornblower had excavated. After the artifacts had been cataloged, the location of Lombard's and Hornblower's excavations was theorized to possibly be between test pits K-5 to K-7 and N-7 to N-9. This conclusion was reached by plotting the recovery of three artifact classes from these test units. These classes were nails, charcoal and brick. The area between these units and the area around unit N-5 yielded the highest concentrations. The first area seems to be the more likely one. It lies to the northwest of the structure and is approximately 100 feet from the structure.

The question remains, what is this feature. It is felt that the most likely answer is that these are the remains of Ezra Perry II's blacksmith shop. This possibility is presented for four reasons. The first is the abundance of charcoal, brick and nails in this area. Seeing that this area is located a fair distance from the structure itself, these materials probably did not get here as a result of Lombard's excavations. This indicates that there is a probable chance that there was once a structure in this area.

Secondly, Ezra Perry II's will and probate indicate that he did have a blacksmith shop on his property when he died. Ezra stated in his will that he gave to his grand children Samual, Muscom and Edmond "my new shop with liberty to remove it on their own land if they see cause" (BCPR 4/ 516). He also had a number of blacksmith tools listed in his probate (see Appendix 8).

Third, the fact that he appears to have been engaged in smithing and metal working is substantiated by artifacts which Lombard recovered from the cellarholes. The numerous spoons which he found which had been bent for pouring molted metal such as lead or pewter and the unfinished cast buckle indicate that the occupant of this site was working metal to a degree.

Finally, the stone paving which Lombard discovered and Hornblower subsequently excavated matches paving found at other blacksmith sites. This paved area would have been on the exterior of the shop and was used for shoeing horses and oxen (Disviscour 1990:291). Commonly shops were made of dry laid stone foundations with a wooden superstructure on top. Within the shop would have been located a forge, anvil and block, and a vice fastened to a bench (Disviscour 1990:292). The forge itself could have been dry laid or mortared but generally it was a rectangular shape (Disviscour 1990: 292).

Few blacksmith shops have been excavated in the northeast but from those that have it has been found that they can be fairly substantial or fairly ephemeral affairs. This would have happened on the amount of energy which was wished to be expended on it. The ones which have been excavated are as follows:

Whittemore, Concord Massachusetts	1779-1820	3m x 5m
Fort Pentagoet, Maine	1635-1654	9.2m x 6m
Fort St. George, Ontario	1796-1712	5.1m x 6m
Phoenixville, Connecticut	1822-1835	4.9m x 6m
Barre, Massachusetts	1824-1855	7.9m x 6m

At the Barre site a cobbled pavement area was located adjacent to the forge and measured 2m x 2m (Disviscour 1990:294). Postholes were also found near the location of the forge which were interpreted as the base of the bellows. The cobble area at the Whitemore site measured 6m x 6m. At the ATPM site the paved area which Lombard found measured at least 2m long by 1m wide. Unfortunately neither Lombard nor Hornblower measured the feature exactly.

The other features which Hornblower found during his excavation fit with the interpretation of the feature as a smith's shop. The "pits" he noted on his plan of his excavations may be associated with the structure itself, if it was constructed using the less permanent post-in-ground technique, or they may relate to the forge and bellows within the shop. The concentration of stones to the north of the pavement may be interpreted as the remains of the firebox for the hearth with a posthole from the bellows present.

Unfortunately there was not enough of the area excavated by either man to truly let us make an absolute judgment. If this is in fact the remains of a blacksmith shop, then the identification and location of it would provide us with the only one ever recovered from southern Massachusetts and Cape Cod.

CHAPTER NINE:
Artifacts 1995

Ceramics

As can be seen in Appendix 5, 105 ceramic vessels were identified from this field work. Several of these represented fragments of vessels which were recovered from the 1926 excavations. They were recovered from the south and west yards where they were deposited as a result of Lombard's disposal of the backdirt from the cellars. When these vessels are not included in the tabulation, the remains of a total of 101 vessels were recovered. Redware dominated the ceramic assemblage with several forms such as a pipkin, which is a three legged cooking pot, drinking pots, which are large cups basically, and two possible flasks adding to the types of vessels previously identified. All of the vessels were classified using the POTS system of typology. Several vessels were identified by glaze color and were too fragmentary to bear any distinguishable profile. These are not illustrated but are tabulated in appendix 5.

The shapes of most of the redware vessels appeared similar to the those vessels recovered from the 1926 excavation. There was only one (vessel 62) which appeared noticeably different. The rim shape on this vessel is reminiscent of redware pots recovered from the excavations at the C-1 and the C-21 archaeological sites. The rim is wide and flaring and reminiscent of the North Devon Gravel-Free Baluster jars. Possibly this vessel, which appears to have a very dark body paste, may be a fragment of a Baluster Jar in North Devon Gravel-Free ware, or it may be a colonial copy of the same type of vessel. In either case, the context in which it was recovered, from the palisade trench, and the other artifacts associated with it, date its occurrence to between 1670 and 1680 at this site. At the other two sites mentioned, there are earlier occupations, but from the C-21 site at least, the context also dates it to circa 1650 to 1690. While it was initially hoped that this vessel would prove to provide evidence of an earlier occupation at the site, it appears to just be an older looking style.

The fragments of the three Baluster jars that were recovered also were initially hoped to be dated to the early seventeenth century. Baluster jars are commonly recovered from early seventeenth century sites such as Martin's Hundred in Virginia and the wreck of the Sea Venture in Bermuda (Faulkner 1987:203). It was initially believed that these vessels were very diagnostic of the early seventeenth century and did not occur on sites after 1635. Unfortunately, since the time of that writing, these vessels have been recovered from several later seventeenth century sites (Cranmer 1990:85). It appears that they have not been found on sites which have occupations dating to later than the early eighteenth century. The fact that they have not been readily identified in the past may be that they have only become well known recently, and have been identified more commonly. The context of these vessels at the ATPM site also dates them to the late seventeenth century.

The ceramic assemblage from both the 1926 and the 1995 excavations both contain a large number of tin-glazed "Delft" vessels. The most interesting of these from the 1995 season were fragments of several plates and chargers recovered chiefly from sections of the trench. Based on the designs on two of these vessels, a Portuguese origin is possible. One vessel (vessel 81) bears a "spiderweb" pattern similar to a vessel from the Clarke and Lake site (Baker 1985:29). Based on the style of the brush strokes on the other vessel (vessel 82) it is posited that this too is a Portuguese vessel. Vessel 83 appears on the other hand to be English in origin. The rim is decorated with the blue dash pattern

which gives these types of vessels their name "blue-dash chargers". The rim pattern is similar to that on the tin-glazed punch bowl from the 1926 excavations. This vessel has been dated to 1660-1690 (Heritage Plantation 1994:63). These chargers were popular in the early seventeenth century but fell out of favor around the 1640s. They again became popular after the Restoration in 1660 and remained so until the end of the century (Hume 1969:108).

Two examples of English Malling cups (vessels 85 and 87) were recovered from sections of the trench. These vessels are called Malling cups because of the complete specimen which is preserved in the West Malling church in Kent, England (Brown 1980:50). The technique of decorating vessels with a stippled blue or purple glaze is reported to date back to the sixteenth century but its use on English tin-glazed vessels dates to 1660 to 1700. The vessels from the collection probably have shapes similar to those which were recovered from the Burr's Hill site in Rhode Island (Brown 1980: 50-51). The forms of these cups indicated that they were probably produced between 1660 and 1680.

One fragment of German gray stoneware was recovered which bore a purple glaze as part of its decoration (vessel 93). Hume states that this color was used on stoneware in the 1660s (Hume 1969: 281). One fragment of a white salt-glazed stoneware bowl was recovered (vessel 95). White-salt glazed stoneware was first produced around 1720 until 1805 (Hume 1969: 115). This vessel indicates the possibility that occupation at the site continued until at least 1720. One fragment of British brown stoneware (vessel 96) was recovered. This may be a fragment of a vessel recovered by Lombard from the cellars. This type of ceramic was produced from 1690-1775 (Hume 1969:112).

Two other earthenware types were recovered. One was a fragment of creamware from EU 10 at 15cm (vessel 97). Creamware was first produced in 1762 until 1820 (Hume 1969:125). this may indicate that there was occupation at the site until this late date. However, this fragment may also be a stray occurrence at the site. Since the other site which has been tentatively identified as the Timothy Perry site (see appendix 6) is located to the south of the ATPM site and it was occupied possibly until 1785. Looking at the artifacts which were recovered from the cellarholes, it appears that the occupation ceased at the site around 1720-1730. This land was probably used by the Perrys for farm land and just as we found one fragment of a late seventeenth century pipe bowl far away from the ATPM site, so too could a fragment of creamware end up at the ATPM site from the Timothy Perry site.

The other earthenware which was recovered were fragments from several slipware vessels. Slipware was produced in England from 1675-1795 (Hume 1969:134). None of the fragments were found within the trench feature. This lends credence to the notion that this feature was created before the destruction of the house. Most of the fragments from the eight vessels (vessels 98-105) yielded no information of vessel forms. The ones which did indicated that cups or mugs were present at the site. Most of these vessels may have come from the excavation of the cellar holes.

Clay Pipes

Numerous clay tobacco pipe fragments were recovered during the excavations. Eighteen different types of pipes were recovered. All the forms are easily identifiable to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These 18 types can be

grouped to form 10 groupings of types with one grouping (type 10) not being considered because it was

found at site 4.

The first grouping are heeless funnel shaped bowls (type 1). These pipe bowls do not bear a heel or spur at the base of the bowl. Faulkner states that he believes that these pipes, which he calls heeless exports, were produced after 1660. There are no European precedents for this shape and they may have been produced to mimic the Native shaped pipes. As a result they may have been made and exported from England to be used for trade (Faulkner 1987:171). They appear similar to an example illustrated by Hume and dated 1680 to 1710 (1969: 303).

The next type of bowl shape is a large belly bowl (types 2, 3, 4, 6, 10). These pipes look similar in shape to bowls from the early seventeenth century except that they are much larger. The rims are slightly constricted with rouletting on the exterior while the body bulges to a "belly" as it meets the stem, all bear a heel at the base of the bowl where it joins to the stem. Both of the complete bowl examples from the trench appear heavily burned and chipped at the rim. This indicates that they were extensively used and the chipping may have resulted from the banging of the bowl on a hard surface such as a table to remove the residue from smoking. This banging may in fact have been what caused the pipes to break at the stem to bowl juncture as they did. Three of the stems also indicate that the stems had either broken or been purposefully shortened at some time during their lives. These examples also show evidence of tooth wear on the ends, as if they had been clenched in the mouth. These examples date from approximately 1680 to 1710 based on Hume's chronology and 1660 to 1710 based on Oswald's (1969: 303). Type 10 has a sharply angled base. This type has been reported by Faulkner as having been found at Pentagoet in a context which is dated at c. 1674 (Faulkner 1987:168). He stated that these may be a product of the West Country of England.

The third type of pipe bowl is decorated at heel with two raised dots (type 5). This fragment was probably part of a complete bowl which bore a Tudor Rose or Mulberry design. Faulkner states that these design were common from approximately 1635 until the last quarter of the seventeenth century (Faulkner 1987:171).

The fourth type of pipes (Type 7) bear a geometric pattern on the stem consisting of a band of strait lines encircling the stem followed by a band of ovals which is followed by a band on connected peaks with dots below their apexes. This design has been attributed to Bristol pipe makers from 1650 to circa 1750 (Faulkner 1980:12).

Type five consists of pipes which were made by Llewelyn Evans and WL Evans (Types 8, 16 and 14). These pipes are the same as those fragments found during the 1926 excavations and date to the same time periods, 1661-1689. WL Evans may have succeeded L Evans in his Bristol pipe trade.

The sixth type of pipe is one fragment of what appears to possibly be a crusader-huntress pipe (type 9). The complete examples of this pipe bowl bears the figure of a man in armor on one side and a woman with a dog on the other (Faulkner 1987:169). The fragment from the ATPM site may be from the leaves which are near the stem and bowl juncture. These pipes have been dated at 1670-1700 (Faulkner 1987:170). Fragments of pipes of this type have been recovered from the Clarke and Lake site, the forts at Pemaquid and Pentagoet (Baker 1985:25; Bradley 1994:105; Faulkner 1987:170).
The seventh type of pipe (type 9) is a fragment of what appears to be a Raleigh pipe stem. This style of

molded pipe depicted an image of Raleigh's head on the bowl facing the smoker while the stem took the form of an alligator swallowing him. Raleigh is credited with introducing tobacco to England and this fanciful pipe harkens back to a story told about him. Once in Florida Raleigh was almost swallowed by an alligator but the beast spit him back out due to how saturated he was with tobacco juice (Faulkner 1987: 170). Pipes of this style date to approximately 1650 to 1700 but the debased nature of the pipe indicates that it more likely dates to approximately 1670-1680. Pipes of this type have been recovered from Pentagoet and the Clarke and Lake site (Faulkner 1987: 170; Baker 1985:25).

The eighth pipe type (Type 12, 13) represents those made by the Robert Tippetts who were producing pipes in Bristol England from 1660-1720 (Bradley 1994:105). These pipes are the same as those recovered by Lombard.

The final grouping of pipes (types 17 and 18) are one of the most interesting. These pipes are made of red clay and appear to mimic two of the forms in white clay. Type 17 appears to be a heeless funnel and Type 18 appears to be a large belly bowl. Red clay tobacco pipes are common in New England on late seventeenth century sites. Pipes of this type are generally found on sites in Maine at least dating from 1660-1676 and never make up a large percentage of the assemblage (Faulkner 1987:171). Redware pipes in New England appear to have European precedents in white clay, but closer to home, red clay pipes were produced in Virginia from the very earliest years of settlement.

The pipe makers in New England, possibly those in Charlestown, Massachusetts, may have gotten the idea from people in Virginia. In fact, one redware Virginia pipe bowl has been recovered from the C-21/ Allerton site in Kingston, Massachusetts. These pipes may have been produced to supply a commodity at a low price which was originally coming from England or Holland. Fragments of redware pipes have been recovered from Pentagoet (1635-1674), the Clarke and Lake site (1654-1676), Burr's Hill (c.1660-1676), C-1 (1635-1676), C-21 (1650-1699) (Faulkner 1987:171; Baker 1985:25; Gibson 1980:164)

Glass

Four types of glass were recovered from the 1995 excavations. These are glass beads, window glass, case bottle glass, and curved bottle glass. Four beads were found during the excavations in the south yard. One was dark blue and 9 millimeters in diameter. This type can be dated to circa 1660-1677 (Billings 1980:127). This was found in EU 1 at 15 cm below the surface. Two other beads were manufactured by a process called winding . This is when molten glass is wound around a metal core rod forming the bead. One bead from the site is maple colored 1 centimeter in diameter and was found in EU 3 at 15 cm below the surface. This type of bead can be classified as variety Id1 in the Kidd typology (Kidd 1970). A bead of this same type was recovered from Fort Orange in features dating from 1794 to 1970 (Huey 1983:96). Unfortunately this type can not be dated anymore precisely.

The other is cinnamon colored and is a five sided faceted bead 1.1 centimeters in diameter. This bead was found in EU 10 at 50 centimeters below surface. This type can be classified by using the Kidd

typology as a WIIc6 type (Kidd 1970). Beads of this type have been recovered from one central

Pennsylvania site dating from 1690 to 1750 (Kent 1983:81).

The final type of bead is a tubular redwood bead 7 millimeters long. This was found in EU 11 at 40 cm below surface. This type of bead can be classified as a Ia1 and is one of the most common types of beads occurring throughout the seventeenth century. They have been recovered from sites dating from 1600 to 1687 but are most common after 1650 (Huey 1983:105).

All of the beads recovered appear to date from the late seventeenth to eighteenth century. The only exception could be the type Ia1 which can occur at earlier sites. Its recovery with the palisade trench in EU 11 helps to narrow the date to the late seventeenth century.

According to James Bradley's work on beads in southern New England, they appear fairly infrequently in the archaeological record. They appear to have been a mediocre trade item to the Wampanoag and Narragansett. The possible reasons for this are: These people may have been more interested in trading for other items such as knives, hatchets or cloth; The use of wampumpeag and suckahock may have been more important to these people; Finally that they may not have placed the same symbolic value on the beads that the Iroquois did and as a result did not care to trade for them. It appears from Bradford's writing that glass trade beads were not that popular to the native people in Southern New England. In 1622 Bradford stated that the beads were good trade at the time but appeared to be less valued (Murphy 1981:124). The following year he stated that they had a poor trading voyage to the Narragansett because all that they had "only a few beads and knives which were not...much esteemed." (Murphy 1981: 154).

One of the most exciting artifacts recovered was a single white “wampum” bead which was found in a soil flotation sample from EU 12. As far as is known, this is the only wampum bead ever recovered from a New England historic European site.

This bead was made from white shell, most likely either the knobbed or channeled whelk (Busycon caniculatus or Busycon carica). It is of the classic shape for the white and purple shell beads which people have lumped under the heading of “wampum”. A white bead such as this would have been called wampumpeake while the purple beads made from quahog (Mercenaria mercenaria) would have been called suckahock or mowhachais (Williams 1971: 212). As has been stated earlier, these beads were important to the Native people in southern New England and there are a few references to them in the pre-1628 records but it can be stated with confidence that the Dutch did not introduce them to the colonists.

It is noted in Winslow that when the Billington boy was retrieved in 1621 the Nauset delivered him "Behung with beads and made peace with us." (Young 1844:217). The beads that were on him may have been wampumpeag and/ or suckahock (white and blue shell beads). The reason why Billington would have been strung with wampumpeag would be to show the English how powerful and rich the Nausets were. On another occasion, the 1622 visit to the sachem Caunacum's house Bradford probably saw wampumpeag again because two messengers came in and presented a gift of tobacco and beads to the sachem. Again, the beads may have been the wampumpeag (Young 1844: 307). In fact, in the 1627 inventory of the goods held in store at the trading house before the Dutch's visit, wampumpeak is noted as being present (Morsion 1984:195). The Dutch did sell them 50 pounds of it, which took them

two years to trade (Morsion 1984:203). In fact, de Rasiere himself stated that prior to his visit, the colonists would sail into Sloup's bay in search of trade in sewan, wampum. Their first encounter with wampum may have been in November of the 1620 when they opened a grave on Cape Cod and found two bodies, one dressed in European sailor clothes and the other being a baby "About the legs and other parts of it was bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads." (Young 1844: 143).

These beads were used for a variety of purposes by the coastal Natives in the northeast and the reader is referred to Burggarf 1987, Ceci 1989, Hamell 1996 and Speck 1919 for further information. Suffice it to say that these beads were considered good trade items by the Natives and eventually the English traded away the wampum given to them by the Dutch, to the Natives in Maine. Wampum became a form of currency among the English and the Natives in New England. Roger Williams noted that the black beads had twice the value of the white (Williams 1971:212). As the century progressed the colonists were able to acquire silver specie from the West Indies and the wampum was outlawed as a form of currency by the 1660s (Vaughan 1965:220). The occurrence of the silver coin found by Lombard reflects this silver which replaced the wampum in the colony.

Fortunately, the size of wampum beads allows them to be dated fairly easily. Early seventeenth century wampum was approximately .6cm long and .3cm in diameter (Hamell 1996:43). By the 18th century wampum beads were more uniform in size and shape and longer. This fact allows the size, shape and drilling technology to be used to roughly dated them (Hamell 1996:45). The bead from the palisade trench is 1.2cm long, cylindrical and not barrel shape and was probably drilled with an iron awl. The size, when compared with beads from the middle to late seventeenth century site of Burr's Hill, is comparable. This indicates that this bead is of a style dating to the middle to late seventeenth century. The fact that it was found within the palisade trench which dates to circa 1660-1680, further supports this date.

This bead, and the other glass beads, may have been used to trade with the Natives in the area. Alternately they may have just as easily have been part of a woman's lace making kit or have been worn by an English woman. There is the possibility that the bead may have been kept by the inhabitants of the house as a curiosity of the Natives. The same would hold true for the stone axe head and other stone tools found within the cellarholes and one the hearth. The beads could also serve medicinal purposes. The medicine was to be used to cure kidney and gall stones and the procedure was to grind the pearl or Wampum up and mix it with White wine, possett or ale (Josselyn 1672:33).

Over 220 fragments of flat, aqua window glass were recovered from the 1926 and 1995 excavations. These fragments ranged from .2 to .8 cm thick. This thickness was used to distinguish window glass from the fragments of case bottle glass which is also flat. The window glass present at the site is most likely from "quarries" (quarrels) which were diamond, rectangular or square panes of glass. These were then mounted in grooved strips of lead called turned lead (Hume 1969:233). These turned leads were anchored to iron frames and mounted within a wooden casement. The use of casements continued into the first half of the eighteenth century. These were then replaced with double-hung sash windows (Hume 1969:233).

The glass used to make windows of this type was made by blowing a long bubble, cutting off both

ends, slicing it down the middle on one side, and then laying it on an iron plate in a furnace mouth until it flattened (Hume 1969:234). This broad sheet of glass was then cut into the quarries. This process continued to be the most popular method until circa 1690 when it was replaced by blowing a large bubble and flattening it into a disc from which the panes were cut (Hume 1969:235). All of the glass from the site is of the former variety, indicating that it was made probably prior to 1690.

Case bottles were a type of bottle used to carry liquids in the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries. Round bodied bottles such as the ones that Lombard recovered from the cellarholes were not made until at least the middle of the seventeenth century (Hume 1969:62). Before this the most common bottle used to transport liquids was square sided with a fairly flat base and sort neck. These bottles were sold, shipped and stored in wooden cases which usually contained 12 bottles (Hume 1969:62).

Eleven fragments of case bottle glass were recovered. These were distinguished from window glass by their thickness. These fragments were recovered from a number of test units and EU in the south yard. One large piece of a case bottle was recovered from the trench feature in EU 13.

Eighty-one fragments of bottle glass were recovered. These represent at least four bottles ranging in date from the late seventeenth century to the twentieth. Some fragments were found in the upper layers of excavation which appear to be from the same bottles that Lombard excavated. One half of a wine bottle excavated from EU 13 was datable to 1670 to 1680 based on its shape. As was stated earlier, globular wine bottles did not come into use until the middle to late seventeenth century.

Metal

The metal artifacts from the site fall into three categories: Architectural; clothing and personal; and tools. Due to the presence of a large number of nails, the architectural class accounts for most of the metal artifacts from the site.

Nails

Nails occur in great quantities at almost any historical site excavated. Many modern, hand wrought and nail fragments were recovered from the ATPM site. For the purposes of this work, only the complete hand-wrought nails will be considered.

The nails used in the seventeenth century construction at the site were each individually hand made either by a nailer or a blacksmith. Thus the term had-wrought. these types of nails are the only type recovered from archaeological sites dating to before the nineteenth century. The nails from the ATPM site were of the following sizes:

Nails which were one and one half inch long or shorter constitute the bulk of the assemblage (N=295). It is unknown at the present time what specific nail sizes were used for. It is theorized that the clapboarding on the exterior of the house, the flooring on the interior and the lathing in the walls are all

represented by the various sized nails, but it is not known which size is associated with which architectural elements.

Hinges

Three iron hinges were recovered from the trench. The first is one half of a rectangular hinge with two nails present. Leaf hinges such as these were designed for light applications and may have been used on trapdoors into the cellars or on cupboards. The second type of hinge recovered is of a butterfly hinge, triangular in shape. Hinges of this shape were used on architectural doors or on furniture such as cupboards. An example which was on exhibit at Heritage Plantation was given a date of 1650 to 1750 (Heritage Plantation 1994:76). The final hinge form is a simple side hinge which would have been used on casement windows or light applications. That all of these elements were recovered from the trench feature is logical. As has been stated before, it appears that the trench contains material dating from the earliest years of occupation at the site and some of the fragments in the trench were deposited during or soon after the construction of the house.

Personal Items

The second largest assemblage of metal items are those relating to clothing and personal belongings. One brass buckle was recovered and one iron tang, possibly for a personal buckle or a harness buckle. One iron clothing hook was found. Hooks such as this operated with eyes and were used to fasten items of clothing such as doublets, jerkins, breeches and skirts (Heritage Plantation 1994: 75). Three pins, one 1 ¾" long and two 1' long were recovered. The longer one appears to be brass while the shorter ones are silver. Several buttons were recovered. Two were pewter and may have been cast at the site. Two of the others are brass and appear to have has a stone or ivory set in their face. Another was a simple flat brass button with an eye on the back which had been cast with the piece originally and bent over. The final item is a brass button cap which has been tinned to make it look silver.

One silver nail head was found. At one time this item probably decorated a box, chest or chair. One iron cotter pin hinge was recovered. This item may have been associated with the chest lock recovered by Lombard from the cellar.

Tools

The final class of metal is the tools. This class covers all items which were used for doing work but it also contains fragments which may be the waste from smithing. The largest tool recovered was a broad hoe. This item was found on the north side of the eastern extension of the house. The recovery of this item here and the lack of a great deal of artifactual remains in the north and east yards may indicate that these were areas which were used as a planting area while the south and west yards were areas which was used for activities which such as carpentry and smithing. The differential use of the yards as well as the deposition of trash in the south and west yards primarily would result in the concentrations being different. This may account for the hoe being recovered from an area with relatively low artifact concentrations. It is possible that the hoe originally came from the cellar and was missed during the excavation, although this seems less likely.

However it came to be where we recovered it, as stated, this is a broad hoe. Hoes of this type are used for weeding and may be classed as agricultural hoes as opposed to smaller gardening hoes (Fiore

1980:97). This hoe bears the spiny reinforcement at the socket-blade juncture. This is characteristic of late seventeenth and eighteenth century hoes (Hume 1974:76). This hoe is of the same type as the example recovered by Batchelder in 1852.

One horseshoe was recovered. According to Hume, the four holes and the general shape of the shoe indicates that it dates to the late seventeenth century (Hume 1969: 238). One fragment of what is believed to be a gun barrel was recovered. The barrel would have had a bore of .58 which puts in the larger musket class as opposed to a pistol. One iron strike-a-light was recovered. This item was used in association with a piece of flint or quartz to strike a spark to start a fire. The example from the ATPM site is very similar in shape to one from Burr's Hill (Gibson 1980: 150). This item apparently broke and was discarded.

The final items are those which possibly relate to smithing or to metal production at the site. This category consists of two brass kettle fragments and a lump of lead. These kettle fragments represent vessels which were cut up, chiseled and filed to produce useful items. These items may have taken the form of patches for other kettle, funnels or possible trade goods for Natives. The reuse of kettles has been noted by Faulkner in his excavation of the smith's shop at Pentagoet (Faulkner 1987:156). One brass fragment is an year for the attachment of a bail on a small kettle. The lead fragment apparently represents lead which had been poured into a round object. This resulted in the small round "ingot" recovered.

Faunal Remains

Along the western extension of the trench, extensive trash deposits were found. It will be the focus of this section to examine the recovered faunal remains from four one by one meter units located along this extension. Three of these units were located adjacent to each other and the other was located approximately 10 meters to the north. All appear to have been rapidly filled with hearth debris consisting of gunflint chipping debris, broken ceramic vessels, broken glass vessels, ash, and predominantly shellfish and faunal remains. The excavators believe at this time that the deposits date to the early years of occupation at the site, possibly the first year the site was occupied, circa 1675. By looking at the species present it will be shown that the deposit dates to the late fall of the year, probably just before winter.

This report will describe the species present at the site, their minimum number of individuals present for each, some of the slaughter and butchery pattern evident with them, the wild species present in the feature, the seasonality of the capture and butchery of all of the species and finally what the historical records of the period have to say about the capture and use of various species

Domestic Mammals

The domestic species present at the site will be quantified first as these are the most numerous. The usual domestic mammalian species represented at colonial sites were present at this site as well. Pigs dominated the assemblage with the dentary remains of seven individuals being present in the southwestern section of the trench and three being present in the northwestern section. The age range for the individuals form the southwestern section was as follows: 2 fetal piglets; 1 suckling piglet of six

to 12 months of age; one pig of a possible six to 16 month age range; and two within a 16 to 24 month range. In the northwestern deposit the age ranges were: one which was approximately 9 to 16 months old and two which were 12 to 24 months old. The ages for the individuals is based on the eruption ages for the mandibular teeth as presented by Rolett (1994:377). Both male pigs and female sows were being slaughtered at the site with the male predominating with over 60% of the canine teeth present being male Both piglets appear to have been deposited at the same time and from the completeness of the remains and their concentration in the units they were not eaten. These two piglets were probably still born or died very soon after they were born. There is also the possibility, since the piglet remains were so small that they were within one of the three sows which were butchered.

The cattle remains from the site show that during this butchering episode represented in the trench, nine individuals were butchered. Based on the rates of dental eruption, it appears that five of that nine were individuals who were under 2 1/4 years and four were individuals who were over 2 1/4 years. All but one of the individuals were probably not too much older than 3 years old considering the limited amount of wear found on the teeth. The one individual who was definitely older showed extreme molar wear to the extent that the molar were worn down very close to the gum line. This individual was probably an elderly oxen who had worn out his usefulness. The younger individuals showed for the most part very little wear on their milk teeth and possibly had not been weaned yet and were butchered for veal. While those nine individuals were present in the southwestern extension of the trench, in the northwestern extension, only one individual of 1 3/4 to 2 years old was present. Possibly this extension represents hearth waste deposited earlier or later than the southern portion since the faunal remains in general were less extensive here. The sample size during excavation also needs to be considered since three times more area was excavated in the southern extension.

The final species of domesticated mammal present in the assemblage were three sheep. Two individuals were recovered from the southwestern extension, one which was under 2 years old and one which was over 3 1/2 years old. One sheep was found in the northwestern extension which was over 1 to 2 years old.

To summarize the domestic fauna, cattle dominated the butchery episodes represented in the assemblage with nine individuals in section 1 and one in section 2, pigs and swine were represented by four individuals in section one and three in section 2; and finally sheep were represented by two individuals in section one and one in section 2. In only one case was an individual which appeared to be very old represented among the animals butchered during the short period this trench was in use. That animal was probably an oxen which had outlived its usefulness as a beast of burden. All of the other animals were in their prime ages for being butchered for food. So there doesn't appear to be a shortage of food at the site, but the faunal assemblage, while not matching the meat weight of the 20 domestic animals butchered, does show that wild animals contributed a significant portion of food to the diet.

Wild Mammals

Four species of wild mammal were recovered from the sections of the trench and each species, except for one, is represented by one individual. The species are White-tailed deer, Muskrat, Eastern Timber Wolf, and Woodchuck.

The remains of two deer were recovered, one young one whose epiphysis on its phalanges had not fused yet, and the antler rack from a large one who had shed its antlers. The shedding of antlers in White-tailed deer occurs early to mid winter, so the remains of this individual, or at least its antlers, were obtained at this time. The deer could be obtained in two main ways, the Europeans could have hunted them or the native Wampanoag in the area could have obtained them for them. It was conceded by John Josselyn in 1674 that they are few taken by the English and he said that it was the natives who brought the "The Indians who shoot them, and take them with their toils (snares), bring them with their suet, and their bones that grow upon their stag hearts." (1987:88). Thomas Morton, who was a thorn in the government of Plymouth's side said that the natives take "The deer with their deer snares, that the flesh is far sweeter than the deer in England… My house was not without the flesh of this deer summer or winter and the humbles I fed to my dogs." (Morton 1972:75). So from a food source point of view, deer was well liked by the English and it was easily obtained from the local natives, especially if one allowed a native hunter to borrow your musket as many did in the period, including the Reverend William Leveridge of Sandwich in the 1640s. The heads especially were thought to be good food as Josselyn pointed out "...the red heads of the deer are the fairest and full of marrow and the lightest, the black heads are heavie and have less marrow, the white are the worst and worst nourished." (Lindholt 1988:88).

The other use which could be made of the deer was noted again by Josselyn in 1674 " they (the natives) do not trouble themselves with the horns of moose or other deer, because they are weighty and cumbersome. If the English could procure them to bring them in, they would be worth the pain and charge, being sold in England at the rate of 40 or 50 pounds a tun..." (Josselyn 1987:99). The horns and the bones "which grow upon their hearts" were used as a medicine.

It can be seen that to the English, the deer represented a delicious food source through its meat, the suet can be used in cooking, the antler can have immediate presumed medicinal value or could be shipped to England for profit, and finally having the natives hunt for one especially if they are allowed to use your gun would help to strengthen relations with them for ones own gain.

All English observers and many natives felt that the wolf was the scourge to the hunter and to the raiser of sheep or cattle. The wolf would eat the deer caught in the natives snare and Josselyn stated that the wolf would do much harm to cattle (Josselyn 1672:14). As a result Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay Colonies established hunting bounties for the towns within the colony and Josselyn stated that wolf hunting season was from September 14 to March 25 (Josselyn 1987:60). He stated that the only reliable way to kill a wolf ".. is to bind four mackerel hooks up into a cross with brown thread and wrapping some wool around this, then dip it in melted tallow till it is as big around as an egg." (Josselyn 1673:61). This "egg" was then left out for the wolf who ate it and then was killed when it dissolves in the stomach.

The wolves would not just be killed without any other uses though. Josselyn goes on to state that "..the fangs are hung about children's necks to keep them from frighting and they are good to rub their gums

with when they are breeding teeth, the gall of a wolf is sovereign for the swelling of the sinews, the dung drunk with white wine helps the Collick." (Josselyn 1987 61). So the presence of a wolf ulna in section 2 of the trench is not surprising for the time.

The Muskrat recovered from section one of the trench may have been a food animal who was caught right out in the river which once flowed approximately one hundred yards from the north door of the house, where the Cape Cod Canal is today. Muskrat, a name derived from Musquash the Wampanoag word for the animal, tastes similar to beaver which was a good meat in the day and the fur could be used as beaver was. Even more importantly, as noted by Morton and Josselyn, were the "stones" or testicles which have a strong smell of musk, especially in May. Josselyn states that "their stones (testicles) wrapped in cotton wool will continue a long time, and are good to lay amongst clothese to give them a good smell." (Josselyn 1987:61).

Not a great deal was written in the records by the seventeenth century travelers to New England concerning the Woodchuck, which is the final wild animal recovered from section 2. From personal experience, it can be said that the woodchuck has a taste very similar to rabbit, which was also found at other locations at the site, so the woodchuck may have been trapped for the same purpose, food.

Fish

Fish accounted for the most plentiful of the wild species recovered. The Manamet area of Sandwich was always considered to be an excellent fishing river. As early as 1622, Edward Winslow described the river as "It will bear a boat of eight or ten tons...This river yieldeth thus high, oysters, muscles, clams...and great abundance at all times; besides it aboundeth with divers sorts of fresh fish in their seasons." (Winslow 621: 306). This view of the plenty of the river was supported in 1853 by William Russell who stated that:

> "The river still holds its claim to be called 'provision rivulet'; and in the summer season yields, in abundance, the bass (two species), bluefish, scapaug, tautaug, besides five species of edible shellfish,-oysters, quahogs, clams, winkles, and mussels. In the winter, besides the various of shell-fish, we have the trout, frost fish (tomcod), and a rich, and literally enough, and inexhaustible bed of eels. They form a continuous bed, occupying not only the bottom (mouth) of the river, but nearly the whole extent of the marshes." (Russell 1853: 150).

Bass (freshwater, striped and rock), called Missuckeke/ Missuckekequock (the great black ones), were considered one of the best eating fish by the colonists in the seventeenth century. These fish were and are very common on the south and east shores of Cape Cod and grow to a length of up to six feet (Bigelow 1953:389). They commonly occur in mixed waters such as that which would have been present at the mouth of the Manamet River up to the 1920s when the Cape Cod Canal destroyed so much of the riverine environment. In these waters they spawn from May to November and were so

plentiful that Thomas Morton once commented that "At the turning of the tide I have seen so many go out of a river that I thought I could cross over them dry shod." (Morton 1972: 87).

It was said that these fish would follow the tides and would travel up the rivers at high tide as their food, which consists mainly of small fish, travels up the rivers, or as they were sometimes chased up the river by larger fish such as pikes which ate them (Morton 1972: 87). It was at high tide that nets would be used to seine across the mouths of the rivers to catch large amounts, reportedly 2-3000 at one time (Wood 1643: 55). Colonists also erected weirs in the rivers to catch them, following the example of the native inhabitants. This was a technique which was used by the colonists at Watertown on the Charles River where they caught bass, shad, alewives, frost fish (tomcods) and smelts, and reportedly in 2 tides they have gotten 100, 000 of these fish (Lindholt 1988: 115). The Plymouth colonial government in 1639 actually enacted a law stating that the individuals living in the different riverine communities were allowed to erected weirs specifically for alewives but they would have caught other fish as well "weir erected at Jones River those that put in stock will have part of the return, if it proves prejudicial then they shall pay to have it pulled down. Weirs also erected at Mortons Hole, Bluefish River, Eagles Nest, Greens Harbor, Eel River or any other creek." (PCR 11: 34).

It would not seem unreasonable that the colonists in Manamet may have erected a weir either at the mouth of the river or even the one and an half miles up the river where the site is located. The weir could not have been set up across the entire river though, because it was said that the mouth was about one mile wide and the river even at the Perry site was 15 rods (247.5 feet) wide. A 1645 court order against the town of Sandwich does seem to indicate at least one of the ways in which the bass were taken "Notwithstanding the liberty granted to take fish and fowl, the Town of Sandwich has been prejudiced by certain individuals setting nets to take bass and stopping the passage of the alewives or herring. Any persons setting nets from Middle April to Last of May shall forfeit 10 pounds as often as he shall do it." (PCR 11: 49). The final reported way to catch the Bass was described by William Wood in 1643 "....Catch with hook and line, fasten a piece of lobster onto a codline, pull fish to boat and knock on the head." (Wood 1643: 55).

It appears that from the large percentage of head bones to vertebrae, (MNI for cranial 13, MNI for vertebrae 3.3, 25% of the total percentage of 312 vertebrae for 13 individuals present) that most of the Bass were probably salted and their heads thrown into the open palisade trench. The deposition occurred with enough time between episodes for carnivores like cats, skunks or possibly raccoons to be able to enter the pit and consume the calvarium of the fish leaving behind the gill and oral structures. This is a process which has been observed at the Plantation in recent times with Alewives left out over night.

It is somewhat hard to believe though that they would have thrown out all of the meat which is on a bass head. This seems especially strange when in 1643 Roger Williams said that "The English and the Indians make a dainty dish of Uppanquontup or heads of fish; and well they may, the brains and fat of it being very much and sweet as marrow." (Williams 1971:). During the course of excavation it was noted that the entire dental arcade and structures were not found together. It would seem more likely that the heads were boiled separately from the bodies to make the uppanquontup and after the stew was finished cooking the head bones were removed, gradually coming apart as they do when specimen fish are boiled. This process would result in the calvarium being separate from the gill arches which were separate from the jaws. As the leftovers were tossed into the pit, the bones of each head became somewhat distanced from the other parts. After this had happened would be when the scavenger would

move in and eat the softened calvariums.

Some of the bass appear to have been consumed immediately and these would have resulted in the vertebrae present in the deposit. The size range for the bass was estimated using the diameter of the vertebras the measuring guide. Sizes in the 5, 12, 13 area range from approximately 21.4-83.7 using the vertebrae (which has a 22.55 margin of error) to 57.3-62cm using the dentary measurements, which may be more reliable. For the EU 9 area the vertebrae give the range as 37.3-58.2cm and the dentary give it as 44.6-78.7cm. Using the dentary only, there seems to be a preference for bass which were approximately 50-70 cm long (19 1/2-27 1/2"). According to Bigelow and Schroeder these size fish would weigh in around five pounds. Whatever method was used to acquire them, it appears from the most likely exaggerated accounts that large numbers could be taken in a short amount of time. After they were caught, there appears to be uses for both the bodies and the heads. The heads were said to be "...so large that the head of one will give a good dinner and for the daintyest of the diet they excell the Marybones of beef." (Morton 1972: 87). Josselyn stated that he had heard that a writer had said that "...the fat in the bone of the head is his brains which is lye." (Lindholt 1988:78). While William Wood states that the head and the whole fish was "... one of the best fish, meat delicate, fine, fat, fast fish with a bone in its head which contains a saucerful of marrow, sweet and good, pleasent to the palate and wholesome to the stomach. When there is a great store we only eat the heads and store up the rest for winter." (Wood 1643:55). The rest of the fish was "... salted and used in winter or divided and used in home and garden. …(there) is a great store we only eat the heads and store up the rest for winter." (Wood 1643: 55) and Morton said that "..100 salted have yielded 5 pence." (Morton 1972: 87).

Numerous period recipes use fish. This is one wild animal which can assuredly be called a staple of the English diet. The various ways in which the fish could be cooked depended somewhat on the size of the fish. Small fish such as Alewives, Herring or lings can be baked into a pie while any fish depending on its size could be stewed, fried, roasted, boiled, or baked. There were only basic cooking vessels needed to prepare the fish in any of these ways. Stewing may involve a ceramic pot, chafing dish or one account mentions a pewter plate and white wine. Frying only requires a frying pan, while roasting needs only a spit. Boiling, or sousing as it was called, required a cooking pot large enough to boil the fish and often some white wine. Baking required the only really specialized cooking piece which was a coffin to bake the fish in along with its various spices. It appears then that the entire fish could be used. The heads provided a "sweet marrow" and the bodies could be salted or eaten fresh, and in times of plenty the entire fish could be used as manure in the garden in similar fashion to the old story of how Squanto had taught the Pilgrims to use the fish while planting native corn. In the case of the striped bass used in the fall and deposited in the palisade trench circa the 1670s, it appears that the bodies of the greatest percentage of the at least 15 fish represented were salted and the heads were cooked and eaten. The bones from those fish bodies which were eaten fresh and the remaining head bones, were deposited at all levels in the apparently rapidly filled pit. These bones were then scavenged by probably cats and skunks, bones of which have been found at the site and their canine puncture marks on the bird bones. The fish were probably either caught by hook and line from a boat, or possibly, if the community had a weir erected on the river, were caught in the weir.

Birds

The avian remains from the trench are a varied assortment of primarily wild fowl with the remains of only one chicken recovered from a trench section. Along with the actual faunal remains of the various birds, the shell of at least one egg was recovered, but it is not possible to identify which species the egg was from at this time.

The remains of two Canadian geese were recovered, one from each section. Canadian geese frequent this area of Massachusetts from late September to late May, which is consistent with the seasonality of the striped bass and the patterns of butchery in the period. In the period, geese were noted as being very numerous, for example Thomas Morton noted that in 1623 he had noted that he has seen one thousand geese before the barrel of his gun (Morton 1972:67). He also noted that the flesh of the New World geese was better than that in England. Josselyn noted that there was a medicinal use for the goose which was to drink the fat drippings which will cure the "bloody flux" (Josselyn 1672:9). Geese would have been an animal which was hunted by the colonists themselves, but which could have also been procured from the natives in the area.

The remains of two Mallard ducks were recovered from each of the sections. Mallards are available from Mid August to Early May in this area. Not a great deal is noted in the period for the ducks except that they are better than those in England and that the dogs would get the giblets unless they were boiled to make a broth (Morton 1972:68).

Turkeys comprise the third variety of birds consumed in the period of deposition in the trench. One was found in each of the sections. Josselyn noted that he ate one plucked and garaged at 30 pounds, and I had seen three score broads of turkeys on the side of the marsh, running themselves in the morning, but “this was 30 years since, the English and the Indians have now destroyed the breed." (Josselyn 1673:78). He wrote this in 1673, but it appears that at least in Sandwich, the turkeys remained in greatly diminished numbers, or, the other explanations could be that they were being domestically raised at the site.

The remains of one sea gull were recovered from the trench. Sea gulls probably were not one of the most commonly eaten animals in the seventeenth century, primarily because of their overwhelming fishy flavor. It was noted that there was an increasing problem in the middle seventeenth century on Cape Cod because of the increasing fishing industry there. It appears that the problem was that fishermen were dumping the heads and entrails of fish being caught and salted on the beaches and this was causing an increase in the gull population. It was also noted by Thoreau, although two hundred years later, that fishermen on Cape Cod were catching the gulls and using them as bait for fish. Perhaps the gull at the site was the remains of one used for bait, or had been caught by one of the cats at the site and one wing was thrown into the open trash pit.

Seven other small birds were present in the assemblage; they were two Bob Whites (Colinus virginianus), one Common Loon (Gavia immer), one American Crow (Corvus brachyrhrnchos), one Passenger Pigeon (Ectopistes migratorius), two American Coots (Fulica americana), one Killdeer (Charadrius vociferus), and one Robin (Turdus migratorius). All of these species were recovered from

the palisade trench. The small size of most of these species indicates that they were probably not a meal themselves but were part of a larger recipe such as blackbird pie which was noted in period cookbooks.

Reptile

The final class of remains to be discussed is one of the most intriguing present. This was the remains of what has been tentatively identified as the plastron of a painted turtle in section 2. Josselyn noted that "The ashes of the sea turtle mixed with oil or bears grease causes the hair to grow, the shell of the land turtle burnt and the ashes dissolved in white wine and oil to an unguent health chaps and sores of the feet; the flesh burnt and the ashes mixed with wine and oil heals sore legs; the ashes of the burnt shell and the whites of eggs compounded together heals chaps in women's nipples; the head pulverized with it prevents the falling of the hair and will heal hemorrhoids, first washing them with white wine then strewing on the powder." (Josselyn 1672: 78). It is interesting to note that the remains of the eggshell or shells were also found in the same section and actually in the same level as the turtle shell.

CHAPTER TEN:
Comparison of 1920s and 1995 Assemblages

1926 Ceramics

Ceramics make up the largest single grouping of materials recovered from the 1926 excavation at the site (32.7%) of the 488 pieces in the collection. There is a minimum of 43 vessels present in the assemblage, most of them redware, as is very typical of colonial assemblages in New England. Tin-glazed ceramics make up the second largest type of ceramic, followed by slipware and mottled ware with stoneware surprisingly coming in last.

None of the ceramic types that could be considered temporally distinctive of the early seventeenth century, the Borderware, Bellarmines, or French ceramics, were recovered by Lombard. The ceramics found in the cellar holes all date from the later part of the seventeenth century into the eighteenth. Tin-glazed ceramics are a difficult ceramic group to date tightly, but of the sherds of vessels found several stand out and have bee identified as definitely dating to the time bracket assigned by me to the site. One vessel appears to be a small punch bowl with a turquoise glaze and black floral design on the interior and exterior. This vessel was most probably of Mediterranean origin, possibly Portuguese. Sherds of another vessel exactly the same were recovered by Deetz at the Joseph Howland site (1675-1725-30) in Kingston, Massachusetts (Plimoth Plantation Collections).

Another tin-glazed vessel found was an almost complete basin with a blue dash design on the rim and a debased large floral design on the interior. The height is 3 3/4" and the diameter is 10" at the rim and 5" at the base. Heritage Plantation (1994:63) dates this vessel from 1660 to 1690. The general stylistic traits of the central floral design and the blue dashes along the rim appear to be reminiscent of the famous blue dash chargers produced in England and Holland. This form and the decoration appear to be a debased version of this earlier finer form. The flowers or fruit are abstract and the form itself, a bowl, does not appear to have been a common form during the earlier portion of the production of the blue dash chargers. Due to the debased nature of the design, a late seventeenth century date is quite possible.

The other tin-glazed vessels recovered appear consistent with a late seventeenth to early eighteenth century occupation of the site. That the vessels recovered and easily dated all date to the same later period combined with the fact that tin-glazed ceramics in the early seventeenth century apparently were high status rare items, makes it very probable that there were no tin-glazed ceramics at Aptucxet in 1627 (Deetz 1973:25).

Slipware is a predominantly English produced earthenware with a buff colored body that was then coated with a slip or watery mixture of clay applied to the unfired body. Different colored slips were often applied and were utilized as decorative styles. Combing a brown slip over a yellow slip was known as combed slipware, and placing brown dots on a yellow slip was known as dotted slipware (Grigsby:1993:16-17). The decoration was then coated with a lead glaze and fired. These types of wares were commonly produced from 1670-1795 (South 1977:211).

The mottled ware is simply English produced earthenware with a redware body and mottled glaze on the exterior and a yellow glaze on the interior. It is very similar to a vessel found at Pemaquid, Maine and dated to the early eighteenth century (Bradley 1994: 147)

Finally, the stonewares found represent a type of gray-bodied German stoneware commonly referred to as Westerwald because it was produced in the Westerwald region of Germany. The decoration on one vessel bears the coat of arms of Queen Anne of England (1702-1714) while another may be a fragment of the coat of arms of George I (1714-1720). Westerwald stoneware decorated with a cobalt glaze, as these were, dates from 1700-1775 (South 1977:210).

The ceramics from the site most likely represent fill thrown into the cellar holes when the house was abandoned and as a result gives a terminus post quam, or a date after which the structure was abandoned, of at least 1720, based on the Westerwald stoneware. All the other ceramics represent types and decorative styles produced before this date as well. The absence of White salt-glazed stoneware, which occurs on American sites as early as 1720, also lend credence to an abandonment date soon after circa 1720. This date correlates well with the clay pipe stem data to be illustrated.

Ceramics 1995

The ceramic assemblage was recovered from the yard and from a large trench feature to the south and west of the structure. The recovery of both ceramics and clay pipes from the yard within the immediate 30 meters surrounding the house allows the theory that the Aptucxet house was on the same site as the later house to be investigated. No material dating from the early seventeenth century was found.

The ceramic assemblage was very similar to that recovered by Lombard in 1926. In fact, several fragments were found which were from vessels recovered in 1926. Redware predominated with slipwares, tin-glazed and stonewares also being present. The only ceramic present in 1995 not present in 1926 was the North Devon gravel-free baluster jars. These were recovered from a very tightly dated context in the trench feature dated at circa 1673-1680. They have been found on sites dating from the early to late seventeenth century but are more commonly associated with sites occupied during the middle to late century. They appear to have been discontinued by 1675 (Cranmer 1990:85). The stonewares, again, were Westerwald vessels with only one having a manganese glaze that dates it slightly earlier than the ones with only cobalt glaze. Hume dates it to circa 1660 to 1675 (Hume 1969:281).

The redware glaze colors from the 1926 excavations, which were mainly from the cellars (c.1730), and the 1995 excavations, which were mainly from the Trench (c. 1675), contrast sharply with collections from other sites. As can be seen below, when the glaze colors are compared with the various dated sites in Plymouth Colony, the ATPM 26 deposit and the ATPM 95 deposit compare well with other sites. The ATPM 95 assemblage, which primarily came from the possible palisade trench dated at c.1675, compared well with the deposits from the Clarke site. The material from the Clarke site, which was occupied from the 1630s until 1676, primarily dates to the destruction of the house in 1676. The presence of the darker colored glazes at the Clarke site is probably due to the earlier occupation.

The redware from the ATPM 95 assemblage had a low occurrence of dark colored glazes, a lower occurrence of tan glazes than the later sites and a higher occurrence of red-brown glazes than the earlier sites.

The ATPM 26 assemblage primarily was recovered from the cellarholes and thus, dates to the final period of occupation at the site, circa 1730. This assemblage had the lowest occurrence of dark colored glazed vessels, a higher occurrence of tan glazed vessels and an occurrence of red-brown glazed vessels comparable with the Bartlett site (1679-1730). This assemblage compares favorably with the later eighteenth century assemblages, but is different than the ATPM 95 assemblage. This indicates that the two assemblages are not contemporaneous. This was the same conclusion that was reached using the other temporally distinct artifacts.

There were no real surprises in the ceramics during the 1995 field school. The assemblage recovered only confirmed what was suspected from the 1994 reanalysis: No evidence of a circa 1627 occupation was present at the site. If the Aptucxet house had existed somewhere on the property surveyed, just by the law of probability we should have found some trace of it. Those traces should have taken the form of ceramic sherds such as borderware that are very temporally diagnostic, or the earlier occupation should have shown up as a spike in the large pipe stem bores, in the same ways as they did for the short term occupation at the Allerton site.

Clay Tobacco Pipes 1926 Excavation

The fragments of clay pipe stems from the Lombard's excavation of the cellar holes are strongly biased towards the small stem bores. Particular of the 5/64" bores (N=140) as compared to the second most common type, 6/64" (N=73). This bias towards the pipes dating to the 1710-1750 period is reflected also in the pipe bowls. The few makers' marks found on some of the stems support this date range although they are a little earlier.

The marks of two English pipe makers from the Bristol region were identified from several bowls and stems. The first is Llewelyn Evans who was producing pipes from 1661-1688/9 (Walker C: 1131-1132). The second maker was Robert Tippett who was producing pipes from 1660-1720 (Walker Vol. B, 617) The analysis of the clay pipe stems and bowls show that the site was occupied from the late seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century. The presence of pipes marked with the stamp of Robert Tippett produces a terminus ante quam 1660. The site had to have been occupied some time after 1660.

Clay Tobacco Pipes: 1995 fieldwork

Clay pipe stem and bowl fragments were recovered from the yard surrounding the structure as well as in an approximately 2 1/2 meter wide trench on the south and west sides of the structure. The pipes recovered during the 1995 field season represented a slightly earlier assemblage than those found within the cellar holes by Lombard. This is logical since the assemblage in the cellar holes represents a terminal deposit.

Using a mean date formula of X x Y=Z/A where X represents the mean date of the date range for each stem size, Y represents the number of stems present in the collection Z, the sum is divided by A the

total number of stems in the collection. This technique is similar to one developed by Lewis Binford, but is just simpler and has been found by the author to arrive at closer median dates of occupation.

Table 4
Clay Tobacco Pipe Median Dates

	8/64”	7/64”	6/64”	5/64”	Median date
EU 9	5	19	2	1	1664.1
EU 13	5	6	1	1	1660.1
EU 11	5	2	4	5	1683.4
EU 2	4	3	0	3	1672.5
EU 12	3	3	0	0	1650
EU 5	3	2	0	0	1647
EU 4	2	3	5	3	1686.9
EU 1	1	12	7	0	1674
EU 10	1	11	7	2	1679.8
EU 8	1	1	12	1	1691.3
EU 16	0	3	2	0	1677
EU 6	0	2	0	5	1711.4
EU 3	0	1	3	6	1713
EU 15	0	1	0	1	1697.5
EU 16	0	0	0	0	NA
EU 7	0	0	0	0	NA
Totals	30	69	43	28	1695.6
Test pits	7	15	12	6	1678.5
Total 1920s	8	29	73	140	1702.3
Total	45	113	128	174	1695
Mean Occupation Date for Ezra Perry II (1675-1730)					1702.5

The median date of occupation from Lombard's clay pipes was calculated as 1702.3 while the mean date for the 1995 field school was 1687.1. The mean date of occupation for the site if it is the Ezra Perry II as the author believes, is 1702.5 (1675-1730). If the date from Lombard's work is combined with the 1995 field school, a date of 1695 is arrived at, within seven years of the Ezra Perry II occupation date. If the site had been occupied since 1627, the median date would be 1678.5. A full 20 years difference. The mean clay pipe date from the C-1 site is 1658.7, while the mean date from the C-21 site is 1650.8. Both of these sites had occupations as early as the 1630s.

One of the things that can be noticed in table 4 is the fact that when the mean dates from each of the individual units are compared, there are some dates that extend back to 1647, 1650 and the 1660s. This is due to the concentrated nature of the samples and the imprecision of our understanding of the timing of the changes in clay pipe bores over time. The units should not be compared individually, and only assemblages within features and from the overall site should be considered to hold validity. As has been shown in previous sections of this report, the artifacts from the EUs, even those with “early” clay pipe dates, indicates that they were filled in the late seventeenth century. It really can not be argued that these dates indicate an early occupation because the other artifact classes do not support it.

When the assemblage from Lombard and the 1995 field school are compared to other archaeological sites ranging in date from 1628 to 1745 it is very obvious that the ATPM assemblages are similar to the sites dating to the later part of the seventeenth to eighteenth century such as the Bradford site that is almost identical to Lombard's assemblage. The total assemblage, designated Perry on the histogram, can be seen to fall just after the Clarke assemblage that dates from 1635-1676. There are less 7/64" stems and more 6/64" which is logical for a site occupied in 1673 to 1730.

The pipe bowl styles all date from the late seventeenth century and mainly came from the trench feature. A few early eighteenth century pieces were also found in the upper plowzone of the yard. These pieces were thrown from the cellar with Lombard's backdirt from his excavation.

PART FIVE: Impact of Mytho-History on Culture
CHAPTER ELEVEN

The cultural forces that contributed to the mis-identification of the late seventeenth century site are even more important to an anthropological understanding of the site than the original function of the trading house at Manamet or the late seventeenth century household. In the middle of the nineteenth century, an unidentified archaeological site was identified as an early seventeenth century site. This was the result of a trend during the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century that saw the creation of a new language of myths and legends associated with the settlers at Plymouth. The archaeological site in Bourne became a new element in the dialogue that was being created between the early seventeenth century past and the twentieth century present. A Cultural Narrative was created which focused on the positive aspects and values that were attributed to the "Pilgrims". This section of the report examines how the legend of Aptucxet was created and how it functioned within the larger narrative of the Pilgrims and within the culture of Bourne, Massachusetts c. 1920.

The study of cultural narratives by anthropologists and folklorists, divides these narratives into three types: Myths; Legends, and Tales. Myths are "traditional narratives in which people explain the nature of the world and their place in it,.. myth deals with the ultimate questions of human existence." (Haviland 1990:387). Myths in the strict academic sense serve to complement, supplement and reinforce the religious ideology of a people. The more popular usage of the term myth is typified by the dictionary definition "a usually traditional story of ostensibly historical events that serves to unfold part of the world view of a people or explain a practice, belief or natural phenomenon; an ill-founded belief held uncritically especially by an interested group." (Webster's 1977:762). The popular definition encompasses the narratives of myth and legend as defined by Haviland. In this work, the definition for myth will be the traditional anthropological one.

Whereas myth deals with the religious world and natural phenomena, legends are "semi-historical narratives coming from the past that recount the deeds of heroes, movement of peoples, and the establishment of local customs" (Haviland 1990:389). Legends serve the function of entertaining, instructing, inspiring and bolstering the pride of a family, tribe or nation by using a mixture of realism and the supernatural or extraordinary. Often historical figures are given attributes, values and ideals that place them above the real of ordinary people. As a result these historical personae loose their humanity and acquire a mythological status that serves to make their actions beyond the realm of human scrutiny. Tales, on the other hand, are entertaining narratives which are recognized as fictional and whose sole purpose is entertainment (Haviland 1990:391). These stories are not based on historical personages or events the way legends do, and do not enter the realm of religion the ways myths do. While the distinction between myths and legends tends to be blurred by popular society, for the most part, people realize that tales are fictional, and they will not form any part of the following discussion.

The narrative of the Pilgrims and of the Aptucxet Trading Post does not belong to the category of tales. Neither narrative was created for the pure entertainment value of it. At the same time, neither enters into the realm of spirituality into which myths delve. While elements of the narratives contain references to religion and the Pilgrim narrative stresses the search for religious freedom, they were not created to explain humankind's reason for being. The cultural narrative form under which both stories

fall under is the device of legends. The characters and events in the narratives are historical but their ideals and actions have been culturally modified to serve the culture that created them.

Legends

Legends are created by specific cultures during specific periods of their history to serve the needs of that culture. The Structural-Functionalist approach pioneered by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown investigates precisely this use of legends. Structural-functionalism legend analysis has as its goal the discovery and examination of the role played by myths and legends in a certain culture. Legends serve a given function within a particular culture as a means of perpetuating the systems of that culture. The actual history of a people or nation is often seen as being an inadequate means of justifying policies or situation occurring concurrently in that society. As a way of compensating for the history's lack of justification, the actual history is enlarged and construed to fit to the culture's needs.

History does not always tell people in a culture what they want to hear about themselves, or it tells them what they would prefer not to hear. By changing the history into a legend they are able to manipulate, add, and modify the history into a form that suits their needs. The legend makers project "their culture's hopes and expectations onto the record of the past, they seize upon and even exaggerate some past events while ignoring or giving scant attention to others." (Haviland 1990:389).

The past has always formed an important ingredient in history regarding the way a person, group, or nation identifies itself. Even in the face of facts that dispute the legends that surround sites and personae, the stories are slow to change. Much of this has to do with a way of "demonstrating the sense of continuity or allegiance to the past." which has been spoken of by Michael Kammen in his work Mystic Chords of Memory (Kammen 1991:33). Bronislaw Malinowski said "Myth is a story about the past which has the function of justifying the present and thereby contributing to social stability." (Kammen 1991:14). Claude Levi-Strauss supports this by stating that "Myths may be activated or reactivated in order to legitimize a version of history that is useful or attractive. He conceded that this kind of mystic history, purged and socially purposeful, may be mobilized to bolster traditional order on the basis of a distant past." (Kammen 1991: 14).

There are three categories of representation of what is remembered about the past. "First, those memories, legends, and traditions that are truly venerable we tend, at the very least, to tolerate as socially and spiritually useful- as time-sanctioned myths. Second, those memories, legends, and traditions whose origins are sufficiently recent to be accessible and therefore exposed as self-serving rationalizations that sustain the political or economic superiority of one group or value system of another. And third, those memories and traditions so new in origin that the banality of their invocation is manifest we dismiss as mere nostalgia, as the exploitation of heritage, or as the utilization of utterly contrived myths." (Kammen 1990:4). A study of the Pilgrim Legend and the Aptucxet Legend must conclude which of Kammen's types the it fits into. By using the methods described below, it is hoped that a legend that began as Kammen's first type became his second type and finally can be understood as his third type. It is hoped that the Pilgrim legend which was perpetuated as veritable historical fact in the Victorian era can be shown to be a relatively recent product of its time and the cultural needs imposed on the history at the time. After the Pilgrim Legend has been understood, then the research will be in a better position to determine the causes and reasons for the Aptucxet Legend.

Methodology

There are almost as many ways of studying legends as there are legends themselves. Various researchers have discovered what they felt was the most valid way to uncover different avenues of investigation into the creation and perpetuation of legends. The present study is built upon the prior research of Radcliffe-Brown or the Structural Functionalist school; Levi-Strauss of the Structuralist school; and Malinowski of the Functionalist school. None of the research strategies of any of these researchers was found to completely explain what had happened to the legend of the English colonists at Plymouth.

Any version of the Legend of the Plymouth settlers contains the same basic series of chronological events. The colonists are suffering religious persecution in England. They flee to Holland. They travel on the Mayflower to the New World. They survive a hard first winter. They encounter the natives of the area. The natives and the colonists join together for a feast. From this series of events one can see how the legend follows the basic guide lines of and legend or historical folktale. The hero, or in this case heroes, are faced with a problem and a journey to find the solution to their problem must be undertaken. Along this journey, various trials and hardships are encountered which must be overcome using the talents of the heroes. After the journey is complete success is ensured which is a cause for celebration.

The Pilgrim Legend, on an deeper level, records the trials and sacrifices which the Pilgrim Heroes endured to set the groundwork for the nation we have today. The values that were believed to be inherent to the success of the Pilgrims and that should form an example to be emulated by people today are some of the most enduring elements of the legend.

The timing of the rise of the Pilgrim Legend around the time of the American Revolution and again after the Civil War appears appropriate when viewed with the popular images of the impact these events as pertaining to freedom and independence. The most popularly cited cause for the American Revolution is freedom from England and unfair taxes. The most popularly cited cause for the Civil War is the obtaining of freedom for the slaves. While it can and has been argued that neither of these causes is the "real" reason for those wars, they remain the popular causes. The post civil war period saw the nation almost torn apart and the Pilgrims and their legends became a way to unify the nation and support the views of the dominant North. The idea of economic as well as personal freedom correlates well with the immigrant experience and the promise that with hard work they too can have the American dream of financial security and land ownership.

Mythology's Impact on Society

The general framework for the creation of myths and the use of history to support the present society in America is as follows. From the 1760s to 1776 the past was very important in separation people from England. After 1777 to 1850 it was not as important, progress into the future took precedent. From 1850 to 1930 the past became very important in defining what America was. It can be seen that the excavations at Aptucxet fall within the final period when the past became a focus and the interpretation flourished in that period.

What people were doing during this period was finding valued and ideals in the stories of the Pilgrim Fathers which the found important to stress in their period. The young American nation had no old traditions ".. no long-standing national traditions, no historical memory, no familiar antiquities on which to build a sense of nationalism." (Commanger 1975:183). The history that was there did not compare in scope nor in intensity to that which Victorian England was founded on. History must be created and antiquities must be found on which to build the validity of the strength of the nation. The colonists were no longer humans, they were above the base dealings and emotions of the common person.

Aptucxet Legend

The Aptucxet Legend differs from the Pilgrim Legend in the fact that it stresses the founding of the economic basis of the United States over the democratic foundation. It also does not rely as heavily on the virtues of the colonists, but the qualities described above recur in the Aptucxet Legend.

The period between the 1850s and 1926 represents one that exhibited a plethora of enlargement legends in the form of hero worshipping and the creation of mytho-history. Both were created out of the Victorian mindset that sought to justify America's history in the eyes of the people of England. While the site that was believed to be the Aptucxet Trading Post has turned out to date to circa 1675, the very fact that this relatively minor site in terms of Plymouth's trade network remained or reappeared, in the mytho-history of Massachusetts is revealing. It shows that there are aspects of its role evident in the history of the town of Bourne and in conjunction with the larger more significant legends that were being created at the same time concerning the Pilgrims.

Anne Yentsch in her 1993 work on the relationships between material culture and American Ideology stated that "Material culture, the core of archaeology, is thus an active agent through which a people's mytho-history is held and told to succeeding generations." (Yentsch 1993:5). Included within the category of oral history would be houses and sites that were believed to be ones connected with the mytho-history of the town or country. In Yentsch's words: "... oral tradition indisputably embodies folk history. If legends about old houses are an expression of American mythology, then encoded within them is ethnographic information on social values and folk ideas about kinship, community identity, society, history, culture, and nature....'form a moral system and a cosmology as well as a history,' embodying a set of folk beliefs expressing social ideas and values and situating people within society."(Yentsch 1993:5).

What these oral traditions have done to the history of the first European settlers at Plymouth is to give people, objects and sites values which they were not intended or did not have in the early seventeenth century. A new emphasis based on the beliefs and values of the nineteenth and early twentieth century world created the mytho-history of them.

Archaeological sites that were believed to be associated with the Pilgrims is not limited to Aptucxet. The first archaeological site, following Batchelder's 1852 work at Aptucxet, associated with the Pilgrims was James Hall's 1856 investigation of his ancestor Myles Standish's homesite in Duxbury, Massachusetts (Deetz 1977:97). This site appears to have been correctly identified through the oral history of the town that identified the depression in a field as being the cellarhole of Standish's home.

Current research and reanalysis at Plimoth Plantation has identified two other sites which had been identified as having been lived in by early colonists but have proven to have been misidentified.

The Bradford site (Colonial site number 6 excavated by the Plantation: C-06) was originally believed by the descendants of William Bradford, to have been his homesite in Kingston. The reanalysis of the artifacts shows that in fact it was the homesite of William Bradford the third and William Bradford the fourth. So in fact, the identification of the site as being that of William Bradford was correct, just the wrong one. The Bartlett site in Plymouth, Massachusetts (C-04) was originally identified as being the home of Mayflower passenger Robert Bartlett, and a monument was placed at the site in 1910 by the Society of Bartlett Descendants. This site was reanalyzed and found to have been the homesite of Robert Bartlett's grandson Robert. Again the identification of the site was essentially correct, it was Robert Bartlett's homesite, just not the correct Robert Bartlett. It is apparent that in the middle nineteenth to at least the first quarter of the twentieth century there was a great desire by people to located the sites on which the Pilgrims trod and slept. The power of oral history can be studied by looking at these sites. Centuries had passed since anyone had lived at these sites, yet the collective memory of the town identified the sites accurately as having been the homesites of early families. The cellar depressions were the mnemonic devices to remind the town's people of there past. Aptucxet served a similar purpose.

In light of the Victorian Era's creation of Historical heroes, Aptucxet can be seen from an enlightened viewpoint. The site was first identified in 1852 because of the new interest people had in their past and in the town of Bourne's new interest in their past. Later in 1927 a few years after the 300 anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, 300 years after the house at Manamet was built, a new excavation was conducted at the site. As a result of the excavation and reconstruction, the "Aptucxet Trading Post" became a new focus of interest for early American enthusiasts and especially for Bourne. This small town on Cape Cod as reason to be proud, it was just as important as Plymouth. The town was also closely connected to Plymouth by the fact that Bourne had the foundation of American Commerce while Plymouth was the Foundation of American Democracy. The correct age of the artifacts was not really important, everyone agreed the were old. The architectural style of the house was not important, it was very similar to a number of other old houses, although it is now known those houses dated to the late seventeenth century.

Whereas the main Pilgrim Legend was created and perpetuated most probably with the purpose of social cohesion to the dominant culture for the mass of immigrants to the United States, the Aptucxet Legend reflects many of the same concepts as the Pilgrim Legend but is more locally oriented. Lombard wanted anyone who was interested to know the importance of the site, but for the most part its importance remained on a local level.

Lombard's Bourne 1850-1930

The economic history of the town of Bourne greatly contributed to the creation of the Aptucxet legend. The increasing interest with the Pilgrim's and the creation of the legends surrounding them coincides in Bourne with a period of economic decline. Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing through the period of Lombard's excavation, Bourne lost established large businesses and was affected by the depression of 1873. By looking at the culture of the town during Lombard’s period of

involvement with Bourne, a significant part of the rationale behind the creation of the Aptucxet legend can come to light. It was probably more than just coincidental that during a period of economic depression and decline, the town looked back to it earliest European historical event to discover and embrace the "Foundation of American Commerce".

The town of Bourne proper did not exist until 1883. Before that date, it was considered the western village of the town of Sandwich and it shared in the growth of the town. The economic base of Cape Cod as a whole and of Sandwich in particular blossomed in the early to mid nineteenth century. The growth of Sandwich began with the founding of the Sandwich Glass Company in 1825 (Lovell 1984:279). The economy in the next 25 years was further bolstered by the whaling industry, the arrival of the railroad in 1835, the flourishing of brick kilns and the establishment and growth of mills.

The peak of this economic growth was in the 1850s when the population reached 4479 persons with most of them working in the glass production, mills and maritime industries (Lovell 1984:319). The population began to decline in the 1860s foreshadowing the stagnation of the economy of the town. By 1870 the population had decreased to 3694 persons (Lovell 1984:319). Between 1860 and 1920 the Cape's population decreased by 26% (Brown 1995:204).

While the population of the town as a whole was beginning to decline, that of the western village declined slightly from 1870-1883, but it appears that this portion of Sandwich was more isolated from the general population trend affecting Sandwich and Cape Cod in general. The western village maintained its own share of town industry and economic growth. The Keith Car Company which began in 1847 by making tools, axles and ironware expanded its operations throughout the century and eventually focused its production on Pullman cars for the expanding railroad (Lovell 1984:394). Coupled with the growth of the Keith Company was the expansion of the railroad on Cape Cod and specifically its expansion to Woods Hole. The line traveled through the western village and contributed to the tourist trade beginning in the late nineteenth century (Lovell 1984:370).

As a result of the growth in the western village, they sought to incorporate themselves into a separate town. The first attempt at separating from Sandwich was in 1873. This was a result of the rise in the value of the land in the western village where 51% of Sandwich's land valuation lay and the fact that there was a great deal of new construction in the western portion (Lovell 1984:371). While the first attempt at secession was not successful, the second attempt in 1883 was. The town of Bourne was incorporated in 1883 and at this time it included eight schools, six post offices, seven telephones, four churches, two foundries, one railroad car plant, fifteen grocery stores, five blacksmith shops, one lumber yard, one axe factory and eight cemeteries (Lovell 1984:375).

While 1883 represented a year of government freedom for the citizen's of Bourne, economically it was early in the slide of the economy. Although Bourne was its own town, it still was economically tied to its mother town Sandwich and Sandwich's financial future was in doubt.

Probably the main industry in Sandwich was glass making, but by the 1870s this business was becoming increasingly unprofitable. This was the trend on all of the east coast as the markets favored the glass producers in the Mid-west (Lovell 1984:381). The depression of 1874 with its financial panic and associated business depression as well as the power of the unions in creating strikes among

workers marked the end of the Sandwich Glass Factory. The factory which at its height employed 520 workers, placed a for sale sign outside of its main factory on October 16, 1888 (Lovell 1984:385). Out of work glass makers tried to form their own company, the Cooperative Glass Co. which had limited success until it too went under in 1911. The failure of the Sandwich Glass Factory was also paralleled by the Cape Cod Glass Works of Sandwich, which closed its doors in 1892 (Lovell 1984:388-389).

The railroad business peaked in the 1890s when Eben Keith was expanding his car works, but at the turn of the century Bourne, as well as Cape Cod faced an uncertain future. The population of Sandwich as a whole continued to decline until 1930 when it stabilized and grew (Lovell 1984:515). Bourne's population, while never as large as Sandwich's grew throughout the century especially after 1920 (Lovell 1984:515).

The economic base of Sandwich in the early years of the twentieth century was somewhat uncertain. Manufacturing, the marine industries and farming all experienced substantial losses. Industries continued to close down in town, many of which were reopened by new owners just to be closed down again. Industry always appeared to town planners to have the potential to save the town. The great boom times for Sandwich had been during the Sandwich Glass Company years, and it would appear that many saw the potential for a return to the glory years by encouraging new industry. The potential was never realized and industry never again played a major role in town economics.

The job loss affecting Sandwich was part of a larger trend towards centralization of the people and the work in the north. Local factories, mills and workshops in small towns were gradually put out of business as people moved to the main industrial cities in the northeast (Brown 1995:137). Along with the loss of jobs, some people felt a deeper loss. They saw the rise of centralized industry as threatening their moral existence as well as their financial. Many saw the decline of local industry being coupled with a loss of their most cherished values of hard work, family and community ties (Brown 1995:138). Many of the values they felt that they were loosing were the same ones which they saw the Pilgrim Fathers as exemplifying. People held the values that appear in the Pilgrim legend, freedom (both economic and physical), courage, and family in high esteem at this time and the decline of the rural industry was a direct assault on these values that built the nation.

By the late nineteenth century, southern New England had become a region of large industrial cities. These cities, such as Boston, were populated by immigrants and their children at an alarming rate. Sixty eight percent of the population of Boston in 1890 was first or second generation immigrants (Brown 1995:139). Cape Cod was experiencing the influx of Portuguese immigrants as well. The main industries of the Cape, the cranberry bogs, fishing and small industry were in decline but as local people began to move to the cities where the major industries were located, immigrants began to take over the few remaining industries which remained on the Cape. The Portuguese, by 1920 made up 10% of the entire population on the Cape (Brown 1995:209).

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century a new sentimentalism for "Old New England" drew journalists and historians whose reports drew the tourists to an area where there was a "mythic New England". This was one that was the antithesis of the culture they knew. Urban inhabitants knew and unsettling gritty culture filled with immigrants whom many felt did not belong here. New England was "rural, pre-industrial and ethnically pure" (Brown 1995:9)

Soon after the arrivals of the first major influx of immigrants, ancestry and legendary history began to become a central focus of the upper anglo classes pursuits. By looking to the past, then their present position in the society could be seen as being hereditary and justified. The ruling class began tracing their ancestry back to the Pilgrim fathers as precedent to being in control in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. Colonial revival became the rage for the upper class. The artifacts of colonial life carried with them the values and morals of their originators. By reproducing and studying the language of symmetry, order, and harmony of the past, then the past and its artifacts could be molded and formed to fit the present needs of their rightful descendants. "To recapture the colonial was to recapture the class stability and harmony of a world without industrial conflict, the graciousness and dignity of artisocrats whose claims on authority had never been challenged." (Brown 1995:187).

At its best, the search for ancestors and places of historical significance became the spark which ignited many small rural towns to open themselves to tourism and save their economies. At its worst, ancestry could become a way of "..defending reactionary and racist political interests against challenges presented by immigrants.." (Brown 1995:190).

The savior of Sandwich and Bourne was the increase in tourism and summer residency in the early twentieth century. As early as 1903 summer residents paid seventy five percent of the town's taxes (Lovell 1984:435). Along with this influx of tourists went the need to house all of them. Many towns along the west coast of Cape Cod were able to accommodate the tourists. Bourne participated in the building boom from the area around the presumed location of Aptucxet to the southern end of the Cape Cod Canal. Sandwich on the other hand was not as affected by the building boom because of the previous population decline. Many of the new residents merely moved into vacant houses in the town (Lovell 1984:499).

The economic gain to the town was accompanied by a cultural loss felt by the year round inhabitants. The small town atmosphere of the town was lost for several months out of the year as the summer residents returned. The local history of the town began to be researched, polished up and put on display for the summer residents. By 1930 two historical businesses formed the core of the historical tourism aspect of Bourne and Sandwich's tourist industry. The Sandwich Historical Society began to make the Sandwich glass industry the main thrust of its new museum in 1925 (Lovell 1984: 450).

Cape Cod entered into the tourism market a great deal later than many other vacation destinations such as the White Mountains and Nantucket. It was not until the first quarter of the twentieth century that tourists began venturing to the Cape for vacation. By this time Cape Cod had entered into its sixth decade of economic depression and its population had decline to that of a century earlier (Brown 1995:209). Before 1920, Cape Cod was looked at, as a backwater inhabited by "unschooled savages with almost no contact with the outside world" (Brown 1995:11). This was much the same view people had of New Hampshire and Vermont before the tourist industry began there. But with the invention and marketing of the automobile, any class of people, not just the upper class, was able to vacation. So while the upper class might retire to the White Mountains or Europe, the middle class was willing to vacation closer to home.

Tourism on Cape Cod created whole new avenues for marketing. Many of the tourists who came were looking for the romance of the quaint rural/ Yankee culture, while the inhabitants of Cape Cod saw the

business of scenery and history as pure capitalism (Brown 1995:04). "No area is passed over no matter how isolated or economically marginal. Indeed tourism now often appears to be the answer to all economic problems great and small, from declining farm profits to de-industrialization. In the face of economic uncertainty, disruption, or downright disaster, local governments turn to tourism for financial salvation." (Brown 1995:02). The tourist trade was the cure for the economic depression long suffered by Cape Cod. To fuel the tourist trade, the tourist would need something to see. Tourism began to shape towns and history on Cape Cod and actually assisted in the creation and perpetuation of legends.

Percival Hall Lombard, of course, was the instigator of the second historical aspect of the Sandwich and Bourne. The 1926 excavations, the formation of the Bourne Historical Society, the reconstruction of the structure and its use as a museum created a tourist attraction for the town of Bourne. It appears that there was continually an opposition between Sandwich and Bourne, a rivalry that appears to have begun after Bourne was incorporated. As the population of Sandwich declined that of Bourne remained steady or increased. Bourne prospered from the building boom of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century to house the tourists. Even in terms of history there appears to have been a rivalry. Sandwich had the industry that had made the town famous for the prosperity it had brought. The prosperity of Sandwich had created Bourne as a result of its nineteenth century growth. Bourne had the site of the "Foundation of American Commerce" and in their view if it were not for this little site, the Pilgrims would not have been able to pay off their debts and Sandwich and the entire United States never would have existed.

It is important to notice that both towns, during a time of economic decline for them they looked to their historic pasts to highlight economic and industrial successes. Sandwich emphasized the glass industry while Bourne emphasized the trading and presumed economic foundation for the country. It appears that in a time of economic depression, the inhabitants of the towns felt the need to satiate themselves with the knowledge that the present situation in the town did not matter because the economic glory they had experienced in the past has the potential to happen again. The glorification of the two businesses was a way to honor the past industries and their contributions to the present. The increased tourism gave the towns the opportunity to share their history and created, for the Aptucxet site at least, a need to fill in missing details and reasons for its importance with a legend. There was no need to create a history for the Sandwich glass industry. Histories had been written and the historical records were present for inspection.

This was not the case for the Aptucxet site. There were very few records concerning the little site's importance and what little was available did not speak of the glory which residents of Bourne felt was due to the site. As a result they enlarged the status of the site to fill out the history which was missing and gave the site legendary status by making it a cornerstone of America's industrial strength. A strength which was waning from the towns of Sandwich and Bourne, a strength which was present in the recent past but which had been lost through economic depression and misfortune. That strength never left the town in the eyes of the inhabitants, it lived on historically with the burgeoning tourism industry.

PART SIX: Determination of Inhabitants of the ATPM Site and Original Location of the Trading House
CHAPTER TWELVE

Identification of the Original Inhabitants

Who actually lived at the site which has been the focus of our current excavations? The land on which the museum today sits can be traced generally back to the early founding of Sandwich. Two years after the 1635 hurricane, the town of Sandwich was founded by the "10 men of Saugus" (Keene 1975:18). The first settlement in Sandwich was along the banks and shores of the Shawme river, near the center of present day Sandwich. Manamet was initially the southwestern frontier of Sandwich where no colonists lived. But as early as 1652 the people of Sandwich were granted tracts of land in the Manamet area. At the time Manamet was a term covering the entire area from present day Bournedale, at the head of the Manamet river, down to its mouth approximately seven miles away. The grants appear to have initially been around the Herring river in present day Bournedale and they quickly extended down the river.

The best way to best determine the owners and the history of the land on which the Aptucxet Trading Post Museum stood is to trace the titles to the land back through its various owners. This was accomplished in 1994 using the land transfer records at the Barnstable County Court house for the years 1785 to 1922. The land passed through the hands of various members of the Perry family and was traced through the wills of the various family members. The title was traced back to Ezra Perry who died in 1689 through this means. It was further traced back to Thomas Burgis, Ezra Perry's father-in-law, through the use of the court records of Plymouth Colony.

The Bourne Historical Society, who currently owns the land and manages the Museum, purchased the land in 1923 from Mrs. Helen Dykes and Mrs. William Knowles who had inherited it from their mother Harriet (Collins) Dykes (BCR 1923: 401/ 108). Harriet Dykes had inherited the land after her father Reuben Collins' death in 1877. Reuben Collins had purchased the land from Benjamin Perry in 1870, at which time it was stated that there was a homestead on the land (BCR 1870: 102/ 305). Unfortunately, I was not able to find the records that transferred the land to Benjamin Perry. Fortunately, Lombard had traced the land in 1931, and I shall rely on his title search for the next owner. According to Lombard, Benjamin Perry purchased the land from the heirs of his cousin Elisha Perry II in 1852 (Lombard 1931: 1). Elisha Perry had acquired the land upon his mother's death in 1829 (BCR 1824: 2/ 395). Elisha Perry the elder had received the land from his father Timothy the second in 1815 after he had paid off the debts that his father owed in 1785 (BCR 1815: 2/363). When Elisha Perry Sr. acquired the land in 1815 it was noted that it was the land where the old house of Timothy Perry stood but burnt after his death in 1785.

The next link in the title to the land relies on speculation only at this time. I know whom the land belonged to before it belonged to Timothy, and I know it belonged to Timothy, but connecting the two, as I say is speculation. Samuel Perry, Timothy's uncle, may have sold or given the land to him at sometime after 1730, but it is not known when. Samuel Perry is recorded as having received this land in 1630 when his father Ezra Perry II died. It is recorded in Ezra II will (see appendix 8) that to Samuel Perry he left " ...all my homestead where I now dwell..." (BCR 1730 4/516). His sister

Patience was to "...have the use and improvement of my new dwelling house and half my barn and one acre of land and the orchard at the northeast of my house and meadow..." (BCR 1730 4/516). This does not mean that there were two dwelling houses though. In the period, often when "new dwelling house" was used it referred to an addition to an existing house and it is in this instance that this is probably what it means. Patience was only to use this portion of the house until she was married. She may have married Moses Hatch after 1730 at sometime (Perry 1975: 78). This would have left an empty house. As will be shown, this corresponds well with what was found archaeologically.

Betsy Keene reports that Ezra Perry II house was dismantled by his grandson Samuel (Keene 1975: 56). I am not sure where this information comes from. I have not found any historical record that supports it. Perhaps the house was dismantled, but Timothy did this when he acquired the land from his uncle Samuel. As will be seen, though, there is archaeological evidence that the house burned, at least partially.

Ezra Perry II indirectly acquired the land after his father's death in 1689. It appears from Ezra II's 1730 will that all of his father's land was held in common by he and his three brothers. In his will, Ezra I does not mention any of the land which he owned, but Ezra II mentions twice the land which "...I lately partitioned with my bretheren." (BCR 1730 4/ 516). He also mentions that his father had given him land further down the Manamet River near its mouth. His father probably had divided up some of his land for his sons and they were married and as a result they all lived within a short distance of their father. So Ezra II may have acquired his land upon his marriage to Rebeckah in 1673.

Ezra Perry arrived in the Scusset section of Sandwich with his father sometime between 1640-1644 (Keene 1975:53). He married one of the daughters of Thomas Burgis circa 1651 and by 1652 moved to part of the tract of land that was granted to Burgis by the Herring River (Keene 1975:53). Their first son, Ezra Jr. was born in 1653, their first daughter Deborah was born in 1654 and their son John was born in 1656. The Plymouth Records show that in 1652 he was living on land "at Manomett" (PCR 1652: 2/1/37). When other land deeds for Ezra I and his father-in-law Thomas Burgis are looked at, identified present day Bournedale as part of Manomet. This was probably used before anyone had settled at present day Manomet/ Bourne. Once settlers, specifically the Perry's, arrived in "Bourne" from Mamomett, it soon became known as Manomett. In 1663 Ezra purchased one half of his father-in-law Thomas Burgis' land which "...Myles Standish bought of Josias of Nausett in behalf of said Burgis..." (PCR 1663: 2/2/122). These lands were referred to in a 1655 land grant to James Skiffe as belonging to Burgis. This included the lands presently owned by the Bourne Historical Society.

Some time soon after the original purchase of the lands from Thomas Burgis, Ezra I moved his family to Manamet and became the first family in what was then the frontier. It is not known exactly where he lived. Dr. John Batchelder, in 1850, identified his house lot as lying "near the northern base of a hill situated a few rods southerly from the present (1937) Bourne Depot." (Keene 1975:54). At the present time I can find no evidence to confirm or deny this identification. From our archaeological work at the ATPM site, we can say that we did not find any evidence of an occupation dating to the 1660s. So we can be fairly sure that his house did not lie here.

When the family moved to Manamet in 1663, it included the following: two sons, Ezra Jr. (1653) then 10 years old and John (1656) then seven years old and two daughters, Deborah (1654) then nine years

old and Sarah (1662) then one year old. Two more sons and daughter were born here Samuel (1667), Benjamin (1670), and Remember (1676). Ezra died in 1689 at age 64. At this time Ezra Jr. was 36, John was 33, Deborah 35, Sarah 27, Samuel 22, Benjamin 19, and Remember 13. His wife Elizabeth who was born around 1629 would have been 34 when the moved to the area in 1663, she would have been 60 when Ezra died in 1689 and was 88 when she died in 1717.

One of the first proprietors of the town of Sandwich was Thomas Burgis (alternately recorded as Burge and Burgess) and he was also one of the first to be granted a tract in Manamet in 1652 (Keene 1975:21). This was probably the one purchased from Josias of Nausett by Standish. By 1655, Burgis appears to have owned a very large tract of land on the east side of the river extending from at least the present day Bourne Bridge to very close to the mouth of the river. The southern bounds of his land were recorded in the 1655 grant of land to James Skiffe by the Court. This is the deed that stated that the trading house laid on Burgis' land.

This reference to the trading house brings us full circle back to the very earliest days of the founding of Plymouth Colony. As far as can be told, Plymouth Colony's trading house existed upon land that was later to be purchased by Myles Standish for Thomas Burgis. Burgis owned a strip of land which extended from very close to the mouth of the Manamet River to close to the it head waters.

Location of the Trading House

The fact that no remains of the 1627 trading house were found at the site should not be over looked by all parties interested in this site. I feel that the original site of the trading house may still be present on the banks of the canal and I feel that it is important that archaeological work be conducted to locate it. I believe that the original site was located further down the river, closer to its mouth.

As to the question of the location the house and ship were at Manamet which was 20 miles from Plymouth near the Manamet River. The description specifically says on the sea to the southward, not on the river but it would seem at the mouth of the river on the sea. If the site was located on the river it would seem logical that he would have said something to the effect of "standing on the river, one half mile inland", not "on the sea" If there was not a representation of site already built, there would be no doubt about where to look for the site, on the sea.

Isaac de Rasiere was the Dutch Secretary in New Holland and he conducted a diplomatic meeting with the English late in 1627. He stated that " coming out of the River Nassau, you sail east-and-by-north about fourteen leagues, along the coast, a half mile from the shore, and you come to 'Frenchman's Point' at a small river where those of Pawtucxet have a house made of hewn oak planks, called Aptucxet, where the keep two men, winter and summer, in order to maintain the trade and possession. Here they also have built a shallop, in order to go and look after the trade in sewan in Sloup's Bay and thereabouts..." (de Rasiere 1627: 78).

Bradford describes the incident as follows: "They came up with their barke to Manamete, to their (the Plantation's) house ther, in which came their Secretarie Rasiere..." (Morsion 1984:202). The report by de Rasiere calls the trading house Aptucxet and this is another clue to its location. First, de Rasiere states that the trading house was at Frenchmen's Point that today is known as Manamet Point at the

south end of the Canal. Secondly, he states that the name is Aptucxet, which means the little cove in the river. At Manamet Point there are three coves in the river. Looking further up the river to where the Aptucxet trading Post Museum is there is and as far as is known, never was a cove.

After the 1635 hurricane that destroyed the house, the next reference to it was in 1655. The southern bounds of Burgess' land were recorded in a 1655 grant of land to James Skiffe by the Court:

> "In reference unto a former engagement unto James Skiffe for his former service, the Court have graunted unto him a smale pcell or tract of land lying att Mannomett, videlect, a smale necke divided into two ptes by an inlett of water coming out of the river that bounds the land of Thomas Burgis, Senir, on the other side that river, directly over against the said Thomas Burgis his land, which was formerly the companies, wher they had a trading house, viz, all the neck soe devided as abov sed."
> (PCR 1655:84).

This grant states that James Skiffe's land was what is now the end of the Cape Cod Canal. It can be clearly seen where this neck of land laid. Thomas Burgis' land laid to the north east of Skiffe's and was the land "..which was formerly the companies, wher they had a trading house..". This is the first reference to the trading house since the 1635 hurricane. The fact that they referenced Burgis' land as being where the trading house was, may have been made because the trading house laid near to Skiffe's land and would be a known landmark for those setting the bounds.

The boundaries of Skiffe's land is further clarified in a 1671 deed when he transferred this land to his son Nathaniel. At this time he stated that the brook which bounds his land was called Abascuksett by the natives and White Brook by the English and again that Thomas Burgis land lies to the north of it (PCR 1671: V.3/2: 231).

These pieces of evidence are essentially the same ones used by Lombard in the 1920s. The only difference being that we are now beginning without a preconceived idea of where the site is. Essentially we are not trying to fit the data to a particular site. It can be seen that Abascuksett brook is at the southern end of the Manamet river. Keene stated that this is also called the old Perry Mill Brook (Keene 1975:135). The land that is spoken of in the deed must lie on the promontory that extends out into the river. This would also account for the name Aptucxet, the little cove in the river. It is believed that this is the most likely site to search for the trading house. This should be done soon as well, as development in this is rapidly destroying any chances of finding it.

CONCLUSION

An archaeological site is not merely a collection of broken pottery, pipe stems, bones and features, it is a product of history. Any site is a product of the historical period during which it was a homesite, farm, factory or battlefield at which people lived, worked and died. After the site has been abandoned it is transformed by time and weather to become an archaeological site. When the site is excavated it then has the potential to become more than it ever was. The "truth" concerning the site will never be known. When I say this I mean that we will never know who exactly it was who butchered that sheep or broke that dish. We can hypothesize that since men usually were the ones who butchered the animals, then we can say that possibly, maybe, Mr. X was the one who butchered this sheep and his wife Mrs. X is the one who dropped that dish. But, on a greater level than the mere interpretation of the activities at a site, the interpretation of site within a larger cultural context is largely a product of the culture that excavates and interprets it.

The Aptucxet site is just such a site that was and is interpreted as a result of the culture that excavated and reanalyzed it. The original Aptucxet of the seventeenth century was a relatively small structure located in a cove at the southern end of the Manamet River. It was possibly used for as little as two years or as many as eight. The Plymouth Colony saw it as a stepping stone, as a middleman in their attempts to repay their backers in England. Its initial function was negated by the Dutch from the New Netherlands when they supplied the English with wampumpeag and suckahoc beads. These beads were then brought to Maine to be traded to natives there. Aptucxet was probably abandoned and was destroyed in 1635 during one of the worst hurricanes on record. In the eyes of the Plymouth Colony, Aptucxet had served its inceptual purpose, it had supplied them with trade beads and it was not a great loss to see it destroyed.

The site disappeared, as did people's memories of the location of it. No one knew of Aptucxet until the middle of the nineteenth century when the nation was looking to its past for social and political purposes. Aptucxet became one of a number of sites and historical places that were visited due to their association with the Plymouth colonists. A pair of cellarholes in a field in present day Bourne, Massachusetts were assigned the identification as the site of Aptucxet. Three quarters of a century later, at the height of the tricentennial of the landing of the Pilgrims, the site was excavated and reconstructed. This reconstruction was based on the knowledge available to the investigator at the time and the site became a symbol to the town of its connections to Plymouth.

Recently, in 1994 and 1995, the collections of the site were reanalyzed and new fieldwork was carried out at the site. Building upon the knowledge available in 1926, the assemblage that would be expected at such an early site was deduced and the artifactual assemblage recovered from the site was tested against it. The artifacts were found not to date from 1627 to 1635 but from c. 1673 to 1730. The site was discovered to most likely have been the farmstead of Ezra Perry II, one of the earliest settlers of Bourne.

Knowing that the site had been misinterpreted for almost three-quarters of a century, it would be simple enough to have said, well, the old interpretation was just wrong and now we know better. But to do that would be to loose sight of the most important element of this research. The old interpretation was a product of two contributing factors that had come together at just the right moment in time to create a

legend surrounding the site. The first factor was the creation of a "powerful and pervasive tradition..a distinctive genre in American folklore called..'The Pilgrim Story'" (Baker 1994:344). The story of the Plymouth colonists suddenly became a unique driving force in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. It was a story which people felt could be shared by all, whether you are of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant old New England heritage, or more importantly if you are one of the tired and huddled masses immigrating into America at the time.

The legend created a history for America that it had longed for. It justified the right to rule by the dominant classes and tempered the Melting Pot with its promises of hard work and struggle to reach the zenith in turn of the century America. Just as Victorian England was seen as the pinnacle of civilization, so to did America yearn to be seen as an equal to Victorian England. Every patriot's, whether old family or new, turned their eyes to the seventeenth century New England past. As a result, the bones of the Pilgrim fathers were unearthed and sites were discovered which had been trod upon by Pilgrim soles. Those sites were venerated and any town that was fortunate enough to own one such site, was part of the story of the Pilgrims.

At the same time, an era of economic depression was sweeping through Cape Cod. Large factories such as the Sandwich Glass works were leaving or going out of business and people were leaving their small town homes and values. "The stresses of American society frightened many people who saw their old small town ways changing or coming under attack." and all that the people on Cape Cod felt that they could do was to sit back and watch it happen (Baker 1994:350). A new hope dawned for those towns that were hit by the depression in the late nineteenth century. Tourism was seen as an answer, as the savior that would allow towns to recover their financial freedom. Thankfully for the town of Bourne, they had within their town an archaeological site which was believed to associated with the very Pilgrims on whom so much attention was focusing.

The Aptucxet Trading Post became a symbol to the town's people of the small Cape Cod town. Plymouth was the foundation of American Democracy on which the country's government had been built, but here in Bourne was the Foundation of American Commerce. Visit Plymouth, and then come to Bourne and hear the rest of the story, and while you're here, shop and spend.

Truly, in the twentieth century Aptucxet was and is more important than it ever was in the seventeenth. It proved to be an impetus still felt in the town. It still attracts tourists who wish to learn of the trade in "wampum money" which was carried out at this site, who want to hear the guides speak of the trials and tribulations faced by the Pilgrims when they were trying to pay off their debts.

The study of American mythology and legend creation is truly a fascinating realm. Learning what elements of the legends are factual and what are not, and especially learning when and how the legends were created, can lead to insights into the national culture of the present day United States. By discovering why we believe what we believe, we can truly understand and appreciate the culture we live in today. By being aware that archaeological sites are interpreted the way they are, even to this day, helps us to avoid the pitfalls and snares which have entangled other researchers in the past in our search for the "truth".

Future Research Directions

The Aptucxet Trading Post Museum Site does not appear to be the location of the 1627 Plymouth Colony trading house at Manamet. Although the site originally identified as such as early as 1852, the 1994 reanalysis of the 1926 collections and the 1995 field school failed to yield any traces of an early seventeenth century occupation. The fact that negative evidence would not be considered as a satisfactory indication of presence of an early seventeenth century site. As a result, it can be stated with a high degree of confidence that of the three hypothesis which were to be tested at this site, only the final one is born out.

Our tight testing pattern around the house and the intensive excavation Unit testing showed that there were no early seventeenth century remains present in this area. This eliminates hypothesis one that the structure present is the original trading house, or that the trading house was in the immediate vicinity of the structure. Our testing of the remainder of the Bourne Historical Society Property indicated that other sites do exist, including one small Native site, but that there is no evidence of any early seventeenth century occupation anywhere on the property. This eliminates hypothesis two, that the trading house was not where Lombard excavated but was on the property somewhere. This leaves us with hypothesis three, which stated that the trading house is not on this property but is somewhere else. Our failure to locate the site was not due to limited testing strategy or to the fact that we did not excavate deep enough. We did not find it because it is not there. In all actuality, what we did find is actually more exciting than the 1627 trading house. We have discovered the remains of a structure built during the tumultuous times of the late seventeenth century on what was once one of Plymouth Colony's frontiers. Due to Lombard's excavations and the preservation work which he initiated and which was pursued over the years by the Bourne Historical Society, a large percentage of a late seventeenth century farm has been saved from development. The features which were found only hint at the incredible archaeological resources which remain to be investigated at the site. The possible palisade trench, the possible blacksmith's shop and the extensive artifactual remains in the south and west yards remain as mere glimpses of what can be considered one of the few, if not the only, late seventeenth century farm complexes to remain virtually intact.

The site has the potential to yield information concerning the yard layout of a seventeenth century farm. Remains which are yet to be recovered from the site can be speculated to include the floorplans or a barn, dairy, smith shop, animal pens, fencelines and garden beds. With the proper excavation strategy, the whole layout of this farm could be reconstructed. This would make it unique in New England archaeology.

Questions which remain to be answered include the following: What is the exact nature of the possible Palisade trench? Is this the correct identification for this feature? How long is it? What doe the junction of the west and south lines look like? Where exactly is the stone paving that Lombard and Hornblower excavated? Is it in the area postulated by the 1995 excavations? Was it truly related to a blacksmith's shop? Why is there such a difference in artifact concentrations between the north and east yards and the south and west yards? What activities are evident in the south and west yards? Where are the fencelines and outbuildings? These are only some of the questions which the need to be investigated at the site.

I agree with Barbara Luedtke that any more development at the site should be closely monitored to prevent further damage to the archaeological remains. Area of new activity should be tested and closely monitored to avoid impacting any more of the site and archaeological testing should be done if the parking lot is ever removed.

This report does not have to be the end of the story of Aptucxet. In fact, in light of the incredible amount of material which has been recovered to date, it can be just the beginning. The Aptucxet Trading Post Museum Site is not the site of the 1627 trading house, but there is a good chance that the site may still exist at the end of the Cape Cod Canal. Archaeological testing in the area where it is believed that the site lies could confirm the author's suspicions and lay to rest the question of where the site is.

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Appendix 1
Western Cellar:
10/11/26
many small pieces soft, brilliantly red brick
2 whole bricks SE corner 6" from floor
Several pieces glazed brick SE corner 6" from floor
(1) 1 piece blue glass 3" square SE corner 18" from floor
curved as if belonging to bowl, vase, teapot. Broke into 4 pieces.
(2) 1 piece same about 1 ½"square SE corner 18" from floor
2 pieces clay pipe stem Near SE corner 2' from floor
1 piece clay pipe bowl
(3) 3 bits of broken glass cover 2' along S wall from SE corner
with a coating (patina) 2' from floor
Many small pieces soft bright red brick All over
(4) 1 spoon bowl- handle had been Near SE corner 1' from floor
broken off close to bowl inside bowl below where handle joined was mark
Mixture of ashes, fine All over
bits of charcoal probably ground and ground brick
Many bones of some kind of 1' above floor
animal
(5) 4 pieces sanded glass Near S wall 1' from floor
Oyster, quahog, clam shell All along S wall near surface
Fish bones many small

10/12/26
10 more pieces of slate stone chips found Near middle of S wall
Several pieces glazed brick Near center of N wall near floor
2 whole and 1/2 brick
(6) 3 pieces blue glass
Several pieces clay pipe stem
1 clay pipe bowl-lower portion
(7) 2 jaw bones belonging to animal
bones of which were found 10/11/26
(8) Much of the mixture of Much in SE corner
ashes, lime, charcoal and brick
(9) 4 pieces of very thin window glass

10/13/26
(10) 2 pieces gray bowl raised Opposite western wall to center of design and with
2 broad blue bands. pit
Similar to Dutch slip ware
(11) 2 pieces blue glass same as yesterday
(12) 1 neck of a bottle or flask of same blue glass
More broken thin glass
(13) 4 pieces brown earthenware. Glazed interior surface

Depth of article 4 1/4" 14" wide
1 almost whole bowl of clay pipe
2 pieces clay pipe stem, 1 with stamped zig-zag design
4 nails
Mixture of ash, lime and charcoal continues to be found near floor
(14) 2 pieces glazed jug greenish with yellow wavy lines
(15) Peculiar shaped stone like hoe, is nothing

10/14/26
(16) Mortar from west wall
(17) Mortar from east wall
(18) Large piece gray slate door step
Bones of another pig with tusk Middle near N wall
(19) 2 pieces greenish glass, thinner than blue glass
2 pieces pipe stem
(20) 1 piece red glazed clay pottery
(21) 1 piece brown glazed clay pottery
(22) 1 stone pestle, broken
(23, 24) 2 piece wood knots

10/15/26
(25) (No data entered by Lombard)
(26) 1 spoon bowl with part of handle, Down low about 6" above
RB stamped inside bowl ash/ lime mixture, close to
tree
(27) 1 spoon handle with acorn or strawberry Found 6-7" from first spoon bowl on end
(28) 1 "English" hoe Near bottom of ash layer
(29) 1 stone skinning knife
Several hand wrought nails
(30) 1 large tooth (horse) 10/27 found rest of it Down low under tree

10/15/26
(31) 1 piece gray slip ware like #10 Near central portion 6" from floor
(32) 1 piece thick blue glass with Near central portion 6" from floor P or B scratched
on outer
(33) 1 piece thick blue glass Near central portion 6" from
floor
(34) 1 neck of blue glass bottle like #12 Near central portion 6" from
floor

Eastern Cellar
10/26/26 All material found near center of day's excavations near bottom
No ash, lime, charcoal layer
(35)1 piece red glazed pottery
(36)17 pieces red glazed pottery

(37)3 pieces red glazed pottery
(38)6 pieces thick blue glass
(39)1 piece flint
(40)1 piece greenish glaze with yellow wavy line on one side like 14
(41)2 pieces light blue background striped with one dark blue line
(42)1 piece white background blue stripes and blotches on one side, plain white on other
(43)6 pieces whit glazed-from cup
(44)3 pieces clear glass
(45)1 iron knife blade
(46)5 pieces of iron very corroded
(47)1 very strange piece of iron, riding spur
(48)3 pieces brown pottery with buff color design, with writing
2 smaller pieces with buff glaze on one side
3 clay pipe bowls almost whole
Many pieces clay pipe stem
Many wrought iron nails
(49)1 spoon bowl marked with 3 spoons
(50)1 spoon bowl 1670 over II B all on a round shield
(51)1 circular object- weight?
(52)1/2 of stone pestle broken in two lengthwise
(53)1 needle like piece of iron
(54)1 piece blue glass
Very many pieces thin window glass
(55)2 teeth and several bones
(56)2 pieces buff glaze-both sides

10/27/26
Mixture of broken brick and lime cement found opposite middle of west wall about 6" in thickness and almost 6" above yellow sand, extended into room for 3'.
Material on this day found close to floor near west wall
(57)1 apostle spoon
(58)1 apostle spoon
(59)1 rattail spoon
(60)1 large pestle
(61)1 iron buckle
Many pieces broken pipe stem
Many pieces broken pipe bowl
(62)1 handle of earthenware jug
(63)1 piece earthenware jug
(64)3 pieces lavender colored cup
(65)3 pieces blue glass
(66)5 pieces plate thick, blue, yellow, gray background
(67)1 button, metal p055. covered with cloth
(68)1 piece frosted glass, sugar bowl cover?
(69)1 Gray china deep blue bands, same as before Much broken window glass

(70)4 pieces iron
(71)5 pieces red clay vessel, brown glaze inside
5 pieces clay pipe stem
2 complete clay pipe bowls
A few fragments of slate
(72)1 piece metal looks like shutter latch
(73)3 pieces clear glass bottle
(74)1 lower part of large tooth
(75)1 piece flint

10/28/26
Western Cellar
(76)2 pieces iron, hoe? SW corner floor
(77)1 bowl of spoon

Front entrance
Many nails
(78)2 pieces gray pottery with blue design
(79)1 large oyster shell
(80)1 large heavy blue glass
(81)1 iron ring-poss. for keeping buttons on coats
(82)1 spoon handle
More broken pipe stem
(83)1 neck of a Dutch squat bottle In test pit 10' N of middle of N wall of West cellar, almost 10" deep
(84)3 pieces thin glass
(85)1 piece thin iron, knife blade?

10/29/26
Test pits
1)Bone, shell, brick, pottery On Booth's land 40' west of SW corner of western cellar
2)Bone, shell, brick 20' SW of SW corner
3)Bone, shell, brick, clay pipe stem, large tooth 20' SE of SE corner
(86)long log Almost 5-7' inside front door lying parallel to S wall of building 1' inside front wall of entrance
(87)1 door key 1’ inside front wall of entrance
(88)1 table knife with bone handle
(89)1 rosette near key and knife
(90)1 axe blade Near west hearth
More bits of glass
(91)4 pieces thin iron, like 70, 76?

(92)1 piece brownish slipware like #48
(93)1 piece of grayish pottery, piece of bottom of jug or butter bowl,
many fine lines on outside
(94)2 pieces brown glazed pottery
(95)1 piece gray slipware blue band
(96)1 piece brown glazed with yellow wavy lines, brown glaze both sides

10/30/26
(97) Hard brick, burned and glazed
(98) Hard brick, burned and glazed
(99) Mixed hard and soft brick
(100) Hard brick, burned and glazed
(101) Soft brick
(102) Soft brick
(103) Lime cement and plaster
(104) Slate
(105) Bone and slate
(106) 1 large piece of slaty stone and one piece of stone shaped like a plow point

11/4/26
All material found in NE corner of sill
(107) 1 stirrup
(108) 1 spoon bowl
(109) 1 large piece flint
(110) 3 pieces blue gray slipware
(111) 2 Red clay pottery with brown glaze
(112) 1 Gray slipware, no blue, bottom part of a side
(113) 2 small flat slaty pebbles - broken chips
(114) 4 small pieces white china-cup?
(115) 1 yellow glaze one side red paint reverse
(116) 3 pieces red glaze
(117) 6 pieces dark brown glass
(118) 5 pieces thick glass, blue
(119) 1 piece thick glass blue, part of neck
(120) 1 piece thin copper
(121) 1 piece stone with partially drilled hole
(122) 1 piece jug handle
(123) 1 piece brown glaze, one side
(124) 1 piece iron hook
(125) 1 heavy iron object
(126) 1 piece broken pestle
(127) 1 periwinkle
(128) 2 quahog From bottom of west cellar
(129) 1 oyster From bottom of west cellar
(130) 1 boars tusk From bottom of west cellar

(131) 1 piece widely flaring bowl- bottom and lower part of side green
-yellow glaze inside and outside- except no glaze on underside of bottom
(132) 1 piece slipware- brown glaze with yellow wavy lines outside yellow glaze inside
(133) 1 piece slipware- brown glaze with yellow wavy lines outside, brown glaze inside
(134) 1 piece mud color glaze inside and outside
(135) 1 piece red(?) glaze inside and outside
(136) 22 pieces red clay pottery- red glaze both sides- thick rounded rim
(137) Stone counter
(138) Stone counter
(139) Stone counter
(140) 1 piece round iron rod Found near West fireplace
hammered square and pointing for
almost an inch at one end- 8 1/2" long 3/8" diameter.
(141) 3 pieces wood knots-fragments In general debris
(142) Bits of broken iron and Found on West fireplace hearth several nails
(143) 8 pieces mortar- well trowel led Found off oven
(144) Charcoal Found within fireplace
(145) Wood same as other log

11/12/26
(146) 1 spoon bowl with mark Found outside front door

11/14/26
(147) 5 pieces shell mortar Found in west cellar

11/15/26
(148) 2 pieces broken pottery red glaze West of front door
both sides
(149) 1 knife blade similar #45 West of front door
(150) 2 pieces flint West of front door
(151) 3 pieces gray/blue slipware West of front door
(152) 1 piece gray/blue slipware Near North wall
5 bits of plain window glass
2 bits window glass with coating like #9
(153) 2 pieces slate Near entrance at right and left
Nails
Clay pipe stems
Spoon with unreadable mark
(154) Metal candle stick East of east fireplace

11/16/26
(155) 1 spoon bowl Central portion
(156) 1 piece flint Central portion
(157) 1 piece flint Central portion
(158) 12 pieces brown glazed pottery Central portion

(159) 1 piece heavy iron, possible strap hinge East side of entrance just outside
(160) 2 stone counters Central portion
(161) 1 piece thin copper Central portion
(162) 1 piece iron Central portion
(163) 2 pieces pottery muddy color glaze Central portion
(164) 4 pieces blue glass with medium thick "unknown coating" Central portion
(165) 1 piece blue glass with same patination, thick shape indicates part of bottle neck Central Portion
(166) 1 piece green-yellow glaze- yellow dot on one side plain yellow on reverse Central portion
(167) 1 piece green-yellow glaze- yellow wavy line on one side green yellow on reverse Central portion
(168) 2 pieces red glazed pottery Central portion
(169) 1 piece bone Central portion
(170) Steel needle: 4 3/4" long 3/32" diameter like #53 Central portion
(171) Deer tooth Central portion
(172) 1 piece wood fragment Central portion
(173) partly formed broken stone axe Central portion
Box 10 glazed bricks
Box 11 glazed brick and red brick
In sieve miscellaneous brick, bone slate
6 large pieces slaty rock
1 whole brick Found 2' SW of SW corner of foundation buried 2' below surface
(174) Front tooth of a deer
(175) Tip end of a pair of Hames ?

8/8/29 All material from north side near door
(176) Stone implement resembles skinning knife
(177) Spoon bowl, price: 1670
(178) Clay pipe bowl marked RT/TIPP/LI
(179) Clay pipe stem with WL EVANS above wavy line
(180) Circular piece of iron 1/4" in diameter with a hole 1/2"
(181) A spindle shaft or punch for cutting holes in leather, large hole in one end leading to 2 smaller holes opening at side
(182) Blue gray slipware like #10 and #31
(183) 2 pieces blue glass bottle like #12 and #34
(184) 1 piece red pottery with brown glaze on either side, resembling part of mouth of jug
(185) 8 large pieces of bowl 66 with blue and yellow design. 12 small pieces of same
(186) 1 piece lavender cup or plate like #64
(187) 1 piece of pottery with a trace of yellow glaze on one side
(188) 1 piece of pottery with brownish red glaze on both sides
(189) 2 pieces pottery bowl with greenish yellow glaze on both sides

Found when leveling for foundation
(190) 1 link from pair of hames
(191) 1 modern clay pipe bowl
(192) 3 pieces of slate with scratches
(193) 1 stone with start of drill hole on both sides 5 pieces window glass
(194) 1 piece blue bottle glass, 1/2 of top
(195) 1 pebble, almost as large as walnut, with same salt glaze as on faces of many bricks
(196) 1 large fragment red glazed pottery
(197) 1 piece pottery with blue and black glaze both sides
(198) 1 piece lead from a diamond pane window
2 hand wrought nails
Plaster samples
(199) 2 pieces plaster showing ogee molding along one edge
(200 - 209) pieces of plaster showing reed and grass filling, spacing between lathes, kind of lathes
(210 - 212) pieces of plaster showing application directly to oak clapboards
(213) Pieces of plaster showing thickness of oak lathe
(214) Piece of plaster showing scar of up down saw on vertically placed board, reed and press filling between the board and the next to the left and that two horizontally placed lathes were nailed to these boards

Appendix 2
Artifact Distributions: All Material Classes

	West Cellar	East Cellar	Central Portion	Totals
Axe	0	0	1	1
Bones	12+	6+	4	22+
Bottle Glass	13	16+	22	51+
Brick	18+	1+	8+	27+
Buckle	0	1	0	1
Button	0	1	0	1
Candlestick	0	1	0	1
Ceramic	11	57	92	160
Copper frags	0	0	2	2
Curb Bit	0	1	0	1
Drilled Stone	0	0	2?	2?
Flint	0	2	5	7
Hoe	1	0	0	1
Hook	0	0	1	1
Horseshoe	0	1	0	1
Key	0	0	1	1
Knife	0	1	3	4
Lead	0	0	1	1
Metal	0	11	16+	27+
Mortar	2+	?	14+	16+
Nails	4	Many	6+	11+
Pestles	1	2	1	4
Pipe Stems	9	10+	6+	25+
Pipe Bowls	3	6	2	11
Rosette	0	0	1	1
Shell	5+	0	5	10+
Slate	11+	Few	8	20+
Spoons	4	5	6	15
Spur	0	1	0	1

Stirrup	0	0	1	1
Stone Tools	1	0	2	3
Stone Weight	0	1	3	4
Window Glass	17+	Many	17+	35+
wood	2	?	6	8
TOTALS	114+	127+	236	477+

Appendix 3
Ceramics recovered from Cellar Holes and House- 1926

Form	Redware	Tin-glazed	Slipware	Mottled	Stoneware	Total
Tall pan	6					6
Milk Pan	3					3
Mug	6			2	2	10
Cup			2			2
Chamber Pot	2					2
Jar	8					8
Plate	2	2				4
Punch Bowl		2				2
Basin		1				1
Med. pot		1				1
Jug				1		1
Unknown			1		1	2
TOTAL	27	6	3	3	3	43

Appendix 4
Ceramic Analysis conducted 1994

Vessel 1:
This vessel is represented b sherd numbers (3) 158, (4) 136 (1) 116, (1) 123, and 2 unnumbered. The shape of this vessel is a tall pan with an interior medium tan glaze with brown speckling. The vessel diameter at the rim is 8 1/2" and the thickness of the rim is 3/8" while the body thickness is 3/16".

Vessel 2:
This vessel is represented b sherd number 96. The shape of this vessel is probably a chamber pot although this is only an educated guess based on the curvature and the fact that it is glazed on the interior and exterior. The glaze color is cinnamon brown. The body thickness is 3/16".

Vessel 3:
This vessel is represented b sherd number 20. The shape of this vessel is a possible chamber pot with an interior and exterior clear glaze and a brushed slip design on the exterior.

Vessel 4:
This vessel is represented b sherd numbers (2) 148, 196, 136 and 4 unnumbered ones. The vessel shape is probably a tall pan. It is glazed on the interior and exterior with a mottled clear and brown glaze. The basal diameter is 7 1/2" and its thickness is 15/16" and the body thickness is 5/8".

Vessel 5:
This vessel is represented b sherd numbers (2) 36, (2) 94, 111, and 2 unnumbered. The shape of this vessel is possibly a mug that is glazed on the interior and the exterior with a clear glaze. Piece number 111 has possible thermal deformation reminiscent of a ceramic production waster sherd.

Vessel 6:
This vessel is represented by sherd number 37. The shape of the vessel is a possible milk pan with a dark honey interior glaze. The vessel diameter at the rim is 11 1/2" and the rim is 5/8" thick. This vessel is similar to one found at Pemaquid, Maine (Bradley 1994:134).

Vessel 7:
This vessel is represented b sherd numbers (2) 158, (3) 13, (3) 36, (2) 136, 21, and 5 unnumbered. The shape of the vessel is a tall pan with a light honey interior glaze. The vessel diameter at the rim is 8 1/2" and 7 1/2" at the base. The rim and the base are both 3/8" thick and the body is 1/8" thick. The overall height was over 6".

Vessel 8:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers (3) 71, 158, 136, 111, and 36. The shape appears to be a pot with a dark hone interior glaze. The basal diameter is 6 1/2" and the base is 4/8" thick while the body is 2/8" thick. The basal shape is similar to one found at Pemaquid, Maine which was dated to the early eighteenth century (Bradley 1994:130).

Vessel 9:
This vessel is represented b sherd number 158. The shape is unknown but is dark olive interior glazed. The vessel diameter is 5 1/2" in the middle, which may mean it, is a pot. The rim thickness is 5/16". The exterior rim present is very similar to one found at Pemaquid, Maine which was dated to the eighteenth century (Bradley 1994:132).

Vessel 10:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers 71 and 3 unnumbered. The shape is unknown but the interior surface is glazed in a dark cinnamon glaze. The vessel rim diameter is 7 1/2" and the vessel ma have been a pot. The exterior rim present is very similar to one found at Pemaquid, Maine which was dated to the eighteenth century (Bradley 1994:132).

Vessel 11:
This vessel is represented b sherd numbers 184 and 4 unnumbered. The shape is unknown but it is glazed on the interior and the exterior with a dark brown glaze. This vessel may have been a plate. The rim is 1/8" thick and the body is 2/8" thick. This piece has the appearance similar to ceramic production kiln wasters.

Vessel 12:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers (4) 136, (2) 36, (2) 37, 158, 168, and 4 unnumbered. The shape is a milk pan with a dark honey glaze on the interior. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 11 1/2" and the basal diameter is 6 1/2", The rim is 7/16" thick and the base is 4/16" thick.

Vessel 13:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers 36 and 168. The shape is unknown but the vessel has a chocolate brown matt finish glaze to the interior and exterior. The body is 2/8" thick. This vessel ma be a milk pan based on the fact that there is an interior lip on the vessel and this seems to occur with a greater frequency on milk pans than tall pans.

Vessel 14:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers (2) 136, 36, 116, and 2 unnumbered. The shape is a pot with a dark brown matt finish glaze on the interior. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 7". The rim is 4/8" thick and the body is 3/16" thick. This crock probably held less than 12 liters of liquid when it was in use. A vessel with a similar glaze and shape has been identified from Fort Pentagoet from a context labeled Pentagoet I (1635-1654). Faulkner states that this ware is very similar to those produced in Charlestown, Massachusetts and attributed to Philip Drinker and his son Edward who were producing their wares from 1635 to 1700. (Faulkner 1987:206). This vessel form was also reported by Baker from the Clarke and Lake Company Site in Maine (1654-1676) (Baker 1985: 28). The fragment from Aptucxet has a concretion of what appears to be dripped and pooled glaze and clay at the lip. This concretion ma be the result of poor firing of the piece when it was produced. There also appears to be evidence of the piece being forced away from the tile which would have been below it during firing with a large piece of the glaze being pulled away.

Vessel 15:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers (2) 36 and 158. The shape is a tall pan or storage jar with a dark hone glaze on the interior. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 7". The rim is 2/8" thick.

Vessel 16:
This vessel is represented by one sherd with no number. The shape is a tall pan with a cinnamon glaze on the interior. The rim and the base are 2/8" thick.

Vessel 17:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers 35 and 158. The shape is a small pot with a brown glaze on the interior. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 4 1/2". The rim and base are both 2/16" thick.

Vessel 18:
This vessel is represented by sherd number 136. The shape is a possibly pot with a clear glaze on the interior. The rim is 4/8" thick and the body is 3/16" thick. This fragment resembles a ceramic production kiln waster fragment. A redware pot with a similar rim was found at Pemaquid, Maine (Bradley 1994:134).

Vessel 19:
This vessel is represented by sherd number 131. The shape is a pot with a dark olive glaze on the interior. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 6 1/2". The rim is 7/16" thick.

Vessel 20:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers (2) 136. The shape is a tall pan with a clear glaze on the interior. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 10 1/2". The body is 3/16" thick.

Vessel 21:
This vessel is represented by one sherd with no number. The shape is a mug with an exterior that is glazed in mottled clear and dark brown, the interior is glazed light green. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 3 1/2".

Vessel 22:
This vessel is represented by one sherd with no number. The shape is a plate with a light olive glaze on the interior and a trailed slip design containing green flecks of copper. This green speckling was noted as a common decorative decoration b New England potters and Watkins noted that James Kettle of Salem was using it during his production period of 1687 to 1709/10 (Watkins 1950:15)

Vessel 23:
This vessel is represented by one sherd with no number. The shape is probably a mug with a light tan glaze on the interior.

Vessel 24:
This vessel is represented by two sherds with no numbers. The shape is probably a mug and is glazed on the exterior with a clear glaze and dark brown mottling and on the interior with a yellow glaze. This piece is possibly English mottled ware from the early eighteenth century.

Vessel 25:
This vessel is represented by sherd number 36. The shape is a possible pot with a clear interior glaze. The body is 5/16" thick.

Vessel 26:
This vessel is represented by two sherds with no numbers. The shape is a possible mug with a dark brown glaze on the exterior.

Vessel 27:
This vessel is represented by sherd number 188. The shape is a possible mug with an interior and exterior clear glaze. The body is 3/16" thick.

Vessel 28:
This vessel is represented by one sherd with no number. The shape is a mug with molded bands on the exterior. The body is 2/8" thick.

TIN-GLAZED
Vessel 29:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers 42 and 66. The shape is a plate with a blue and white painted design on the interior.

Vessel 30:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers 41 and 197. The shape is a bowl with a turquoise colored glaze and black design on the interior and exterior. This vessel was supposedly dated by Jeremy Bangs of Plimoth Plantation to between 1620 and 1626 and is from England. Sherds of a vessel with a similar shape and color were found at the Joseph Howland site at Rock Nook that dates from 1675 to 1725-30. The vessel is possibly Spanish or Mediterranean.

Vessel 31:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers (3) 64 and 186. The shape is a bowl with a light purple interior and exterior glaze. A similar colored vessel was found at the Major John Bradford site in Kingston that dates from 1675 to 1725.

Vessel 32:
This vessel is represented by sherd number 43. The shape is a medicine pot dating between 1690 and 1780 by Hume (1969:205 figure 67 number 4 or 5).

Vessel 33:
This vessel is represented by one sherd with no number. The shape is a plate with a light blue line on the rim and a blue smudge design.

Vessel 34:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers (3) 66, 185 and 18 with no visible numbers. The shape is a basin with a blue dash design on the rim and a debased large floral design on the interior. The height is 3 3/4" and the diameter is 10" at the rim and 5" at the base. Heritage Plantation (1994:63) dates this vessel from 1660 to 1690. The general stylistic traits of the central floral design and the blue dashes along the rim appear to be reminiscent of the famous blue dash chargers produced in England and Holland. This form and the decoration appear to be a debased version of this earlier finer forms. The flowers or fruit are abstract and the form itself, a bowl, does not appear to have been a common form during the earlier portion of the production of the blue dash chargers. Due to the debased nature of the design, a late seventeenth century date is quite possible.

SLIPWARE
Vessel 35:
This vessel is represented by one sherd with no number. It is simply yellow glazed with no features other than its lack of any. It may be a piece of yellow lead glazed slipware dating from 1670 to 1795.

Vessel 36:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers 56, 62, and 3 unnumbered. The shape is a cup or mug with a brown combed and dotted pattern on the exterior and a handle. The height was approximately over 2 1/2". The pieces are glazed on both the interior and exterior and represent fragments of dotware that was a popular ceramic in the Midlands of England from 1685 to 1720 and was probably produced at Staffordshire, England (Heritage Plantation 1994: 50).

Vessel 37:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers 115, 187, 56, and 1 unnumbered. The shape is a possible cup or mug. The material appears to be slipware with a combed design present. This would date the piece to 1670-1795 (Hume 1969:134).

STONEWARE
Vessel 38:
This vessel is represented b sherd number (2) 151, (2) 110, 112, 10, and 12 unnumbered. The shape is a gray stoneware mug with a incised blue floral design on the body. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 4". The rim is 3/16" thick. One sherd bears a fragment of the coat of arms of Queen Anne, which would date the piece to between 1702 to 1714 (Heritage Plantation 1994:70). Hume also states that same date range (1969: 282).

Vessel 39:
This vessel is represented b sherd number 69, 78, and 1 unnumbered. The shape is a gray stoneware mug with a blue banded design and a molded royal coat of arms. The coat of arms may be of George the first. The clues to this supposition that this coat of arms is from his reign is that there is a circular cartouche with a raised dot pattern around it. This is surmounted with a stylized and simple crown design. These design elements seem to be very similar to those found on Westerwald mugs from Pemaquid, Maine with the George the first cipher. The date for George the first's reign was 1714 to 1720.

Vessel 40:
This vessel is represented by one sherd with no number. The shape is unknown but the vessel has a brown Albany slip on the interior. If this is really an Albany slip, then this piece may date to a later disturbance on the site dating to the late eighteenth century or later.

MOTTLED WARE
Vessel 41:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers 93 and 2 unnumbered. The shape is an English buff bodied earthenware mug with a scratched floral design on the exterior surface. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 2". The decoration is mottled ware. The design has been scratched into the body and is somewhat reminiscent of the scraffitto wares of the North Devon region of England. The technique is also similar to that used to decorate the Westerwald mugs from the site. The body shape is similar to one found at Pemaquid, Maine (Bradley 1994:147). This vessel probably dates to the early eighteenth century.

Vessel 42:
This vessel is represented by sherd numbers 131 and 3 unnumbered. The shape is a pitcher or jug with an olive glaze on the interior and exterior with a trailed slip design on the exterior. The vessel has a diameter at the rim of 4 1/2". The rim is 1/8" thick. It appears to be mottled ware, possibly similar to the Staffordshire brown-mottled earthenware found at Pemaquid, Maine (Bradley 1994:147). The date for this material is the early eighteenth century.

Appendix 5
Faunal Remains from the 1926 Excavation

Part	Cattle	Pig	Sheep	Deer	Horse	Gull	Goose
Cranial		2 Frags					
Maxillary		4			1		
Mandibular		3			1		
Vertebrae							
Rib	1	2?	2 ?				
Scapula Right	1		1				
Humerus Right						1	1
Humerus Left			1				
Ulna Right	1						
Ulna Left							
Radius Right							
Radius Left							
Metacarpal Right			1				
Metacarpal							
Carpal	2 lt						
Phalange							
Pelvis							
Femur Right							
Femur Left							
Tibia Right			1				
Tibia Left	1						
Tibia Indet.	1						
Metatarsal							
Patella							
Astragelous	1						
Metapoidal	1?			1			
Other Indet.	4						
Carpometacarpus						1 Rt	

Shell:
2 Oyster shells

2 Soft shell clam shells
1 Moonsnail

The Herb Garden Material:

Part	Cattle	Pig	Sheep	Deer	Horse
Cranial		1			
Maxillary					4 tth
Mandibular					2
Vertebrae			7		
Rib			5		
Scapula Right				2	
Humerus Right	1	1	1		
Humerus Left		1			
Ulna Right			1		
Ulna Left			1		
Radius Right			1	1	
Radius Left			1		
Metacarpal Right					
Metacarpal Left			2		
Carpal	9				
Phalange	10		1		
Pelvis			2 Frags		
Femur Right				1	
Femur Left			1		
Tibia Right			1		
Tibia Left					
Tibia Indet.					
Metatarsal Right	2		1		
Metatarsal Left			1		
Patella	2				
Astragelous					
Metapoidal				1	
Other Indet.					

Carpometacarpus					
Calcaneum		1			

Shell:1 Oyster shell

Appendix 6
Ceramics recovered from Trench Feature, South and West Yards 1995

	Redware	Tin-glazed	Slipware	North Devon	Stoneware	Totals
Pipkin	1					1
Tall Pan	2					2
Milk Pan	8					8
Mug	2		1		2	5
Cup	5	2	2			9
Chamber Pot	15					15
Pot	22					22
Plate	3	2				5
Bowl					1	1
Drinking Pot	5					5
Charger		4				4
Jug	1					1
Flask	2					2
Jar				3		3
Unknown	10	3	4		1	18
TOTAL	76	11	7	3	4	101

Appendix 7
Ceramic Analysis 1995 field season

Redware
Vessel 1: Vessel Type: Drinking Pot
Exterior Rim Diameter: 11cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior brown
Fragments: TJ-6-3, 5-SE-25, 5-NW-35 (2), 5-NE-45, 5-NW-50, 5-NW-65, 9-NW-105-Z4, 12-NW-20 (2), 12-SE-30, 12-SW-85, 13-NE-60, 13-SE-70, 16-100-60

Vessel 2: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Glaze: Interior and Exterior brown
Fragments: TD-6-3, TM-7-2, 3-SE-10, 5-NW-35, 13-NE-10, 13-SW-10, 13-SE-25, 13-SW-25, 13-NE-30

Vessel 3: Vessel Type: Plate?
Exterior Rim Diameter: 14cm
Glaze: Exterior black, olive brown/ Interior olive brown splotch design
Fragments: 12-NE-05, 12-SW-20 (12), 12-SW-25 (3), 12-SE-80, 13-SW-20, 13-SW-35

Vessel 4: Vessel Type: Cup
Body Diameter: 8cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior olive-yellow brown
Molded ribs on exterior similar to vessel from C-06 site (1682-1745)
Fragments: 1-SW-15, 1-NE-35, 11-NE-30, 11-NW-35, 13-NE-35, 13-NW-45

Vessel 5: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Rim Diameter: 22cm
Base Diameter: 9 cm
Glaze: Interior and on rim matt brown
Fragments: TG-6-3, TH-6-5a, TJ-6-3, 1-NW-20, 1-SW-35 (2), 1-SE-40-1, 2- SW-20 (2), 4-NW-40, 4-SE-45, 4-SW-45, 5-NE-15, 5-SE-15, 5-SW-20, 5-SE-25, 5-NW-25, 5-NE-30, 5-SW-35, 5-SW-40, 4-NW-40 (2), 5-NW-45 (2), 5-SE-60, 5-NW-65, 7-xx-5, 7-SE-10, 10-xx-25, 10-SE-40 (2), 10-NE-45, 10-SW-50, 11-SW-40 (2), 12-NW-20, 12-SE-30 (2), 12-NW-35, 12-SE-40, 12-SW-40 (2), 12-SW-45, 12-NE-50, 12-NE-55b, 12-NE-65, 12-SW-65, 12-NW-70, 12-SE-90, 13-SE-25, 13-NE-30, 13-SE-45 (2), 13-NE-50, 13-NW-50 (2), 13-NW-60 (2), 13-SE-65, 13-SW-75

Vessel 6: Vessel Type: Pot
Interior Body Diameter: 17cm
Glaze: Interior matt brown
Fragments: TJ-6-4, 5-SW-35 (12), 12-SE-25, 13-NE-50

Vessel 7: Vessel Type: Milk Pan
Exterior Rim Diameter: 31cm
Base Diameter: 15cm, 34 degrees angle to rim
Glaze: Interior brown
Fragments: TJ-6-3 (6), 5-SE-25, 5-NW-35, 5-SW-40, 5-NW-55, 5-NE-65 (2), 5-NW-75, 12-SE-30, 12-NE-60b, 12-NE-65, 13-SE-25, 13-Se-30, 13-SW-60

Vessel 8: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 28cm
Glaze: Interior yellow brown
Fragments: 5-NW-25, 10-SE-30, 10-SW-30, 10-NW-35, 10-12-55, 12-NE-30, 12-NE-55b, 12-SW-105, 13-SW-60, 13-NW-70

Vessel 9: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Base Diameter: 22cm
Glaze: Interior mottled brown, yellow brown, olive brown
Fragments: TE-2-4 (2), TE-4-1, 5-NE-60, 12-SW-45

Vessel 10: Vessel Type: Small Pot
Exterior Rim Diameter: 14cm
Glaze: Interior mottled brown and red brown, similar to a vessel from C-1 (1630-1676)
Fragments: 13-SE-50

Vessel 11: Vessel Type: Mug?
Exterior Rim Diameter: ~11cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior dark brown
Fragments: 2-SE-25, 3-SW-30, 4-SE-30, 5-SE-15

Vessel 12: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Rim Diameter: 18cm
Glaze: Interior red brown
Fragments: TF-7-3, 1-NW-40, 5-SW-65, 6-SE-15, 11-SE-55, 13-SE-45

Vessel 13: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 13cm
Glaze: Interior slightly mottled brown and dark yellow brown
Fragments: TF-8-5, TG-7-3, 4-NE-25, 4-SW-30, 4-NW-50, 5-NW-40, 6-NE-25, 13-SE-50

Vessel 14: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior yellow brown
Fragments: TJ-6-2, 5-NW-25

Vessel 15: Vessel Type: Drinking flask?
Exterior Body Diameter: 14cm
Glaze: Interior unglazed, Exterior dark brown
Fragments: 1-SE-55-1, 11-SW-25, 12-SW-55a

Vessel 16: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 11cm
Glaze: Interior matt dark purple brown
Fragments: TG-7-3, TG-7-4, 1-NW-30, 1-NE-35, 1-SW-40(2), 1-NW-45, 2-NE-30, 4-NW-40, 4-NW-45, 4-SW-45, 5-SW-30, 5-SE-30, 5-NW-35, 8-NE-20, 8-NW-20, 8-NE-25, 8-SE-25, 8-NW-30(2), 8-SE-35, 8-SW-35, 11-NE-5, 11-NW-75-12, 12-SE-30, 12-NW-40

Vessel 17: Vessel Type: Pot?
Exterior Body Diameter: 20cm
Glaze: Interior tan
Fragments: 1-NW-30, 5-NW-30, 10-SW-30(2), 12-SE-30(4), 10-SW-35, 11-SW-45, 12-NE-25, 13-SW-25

Vessel 18: Vessel Type: Drinking Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 10cm
Glaze: Interior tan olive
Fragments: 5-SE-40

Vessel 19: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior yellow brown
Fragments: 13-NW-50

Vessel 20: Vessel Type: Pot?
Exterior Body Diameter: 12cm
Glaze: Interior dark tan
Fragments: 5-SE-55

Vessel 21: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 19cm
Glaze: Interior brown, Exterior dark brown
Fragments: 13-NW-45, 13-SW-50

Vessel 22: Vessel Type: Milk Pan
Exterior Rim Diameter: ~28cm
Glaze: Interior brown to dark brown
Fragments: 4-NE-60, 5-SW-40, 12-NW-35

Vessel 23: Vessel Type: Plate/ Charger
Glaze: Interior yellow
Fragments: 12-SE-65

Vessel 24: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Rim Diameter: 11cm
Exterior Body Diameter: 20cm
Exterior Base Diameter: 14cm
Glaze: Interior splotched red brown Exterior dark brown
Fragments: TF-7-4, Tk-7-2, 1-SE-35, 1-SE-40-1, 4-NE-40, 4-SW-40, 4-SE-45, 8-SW-15, 10-SE-25, 1-NW-25 (2), 1-SE-25, 10-SE-30, 1-SW-35, 10-NW-45 (2), 11-SW-35, 11-NW-40, 11-13-60, 11-NW-65, 12-NW-25, 12-SE-30, 13-NE-15, 13-SW-50

Vessel 25: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 22cm
Glaze: Interior matt brown
Fragments: 2-SE-30(2)

Vessel 26: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior matt brown and dark brown
Fragments: 1-SW-30

Vessel 27: Vessel Type: Drinking Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 12cm
Glaze: Interior yellow brown
Fragments: TF-7-4, 11-SW-25

Vessel 28: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Rim Diameter: 22cm
Glaze: Interior brown
Fragments: 1-SE-35, 11-NE-35, 11-NW-50

Vessel 29: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 26cm
Glaze: Interior brown
Fragments: TF-7-4, 1-SE-20, 1-NE-25, 1-NW-25, 1-SW-25, 1-SE-25, 1-NE-40, 11-NE-30(2), 11-NE-35, 11-NE-50, 11-SE-50

Vessel 30: Vessel Type: Milk Pan?
Exterior Rim Diameter: 25cm
Glaze: Interior brown
Fragments: 1-SE-30, 1-NE-50-1, 1-SE-80-1, 11-SW-30, 11-SW-40, 11-13-60, 11-SW-60, 11-NE-85

Vessel 31: Vessel Type: Milk Pan
Exterior Rim Diameter: 32cm
Glaze: Interior dark olive brown
Fragments: TH-6-4, TH-6-5, 4-NW-40, 4-NW-45(3), 4-SE-45(2), 10-NW-25(2), 10-SE-25(3), 10-SW-30 (4), 10-Se-30(6), 10-NW-35(2), 10-SW-35, 10-SE-35

Vessel 32: Vessel Type: Milk Pan
Exterior Body Diameter: 26cm
Glaze: Interior dark yellow brown
Fragments: 10-SW-20, 10-SE-30(5), 10-SW-30, 10-SE-35(2), 10-NE-35(2), 10-SW-35(2), 10-NW-35, 10-NE-40, 10-13-55

Vessel 33: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 21cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior matt brown
Fragments: TG-7-3(2), TH-6-4, TK-6-5, 3-SW-20, 3-SW-25, 3-SW-30, 3-NW-30(2), 3-SE-30, 3-NE-35, 3-SE-55, 4-NE-15, 4-NE-40(3), 4-SW-40, 4-NW-40, 4-nE-45, 4-NW-45, 8-NW-15(2), 8-NE-15, 8-NE-20, 8-SE-25(2), 8-SE-35, 10-SW-35

Vessel 34: Vessel Type: Cup?
Glaze: Interior and Exterior dark olive brown
Fragments: 10-SE-25, 10-xx-25, 10-NW-25, 10-SE-30, 10-NE-40

Vessel 35: Vessel Type: Milk Pan
Exterior Rim Diameter: 35cm
Glaze: Interior mottled brown and dark yellow brown
Fragments: 8-SE-20, 8-SE-25, 10-SE-30

Vessel 36: Vessel Type: Pipkin
Exterior Base Diameter: 9cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior brown
Fragments: 5-NW-50, 5-SW-70, 12-NW-90, 13-NE-35

Vessel 37: Vessel Type: Mug
Exterior Rim Diameter: 12cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior very dark brown
Fragments: 3-NW-30, 9-SW-70, 9-SE-95-Z4, 10-SE-30

Vessel 38: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Glaze: Interior and Exterior olive yellow brown with trailed slip design on exterior
Fragments: TG-7-3, 10-NE-15
Notes: Wrotham slipware, fragment of 1926 vessel 2

Vessel 39: Vessel Type: Plate
Exterior Rim Diameter: ~22cm
Glaze: Interior tan with a white slip
Fragments: Demo Pit-1-4(2)

Vessel 40: Vessel Type: Milk Pan?
Glaze: Interior olive brown
Fragments: TB-6-2, TF-6-3, TG-8-1, 8-SW-15, 8-SW-25

Vessel 41: Vessel Type: Milk Pan?
Glaze: Interior yellow olive brown
Fragments: TG-7-3, TK-7-2, 2-SW-20, 6-NE-15, 7-SW-25, 8-NE-25(2)

Vessel 42: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior yellow brown
Fragments: TK-5-1, 13-NW-15, 13-NW-45

Vessel 43: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior olive yellow brown
Fragments: TE-1-2

Vessel 44: Vessel Type: Jug
Exterior Body Diameter: 13cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior dark olive brown
Fragments: TE-4-1, 13-SW-10
Notes: Fragment of 1926 vessel 42

Vessel 45: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior yellow red brown
Fragments: 11-SE-30

Vessel 46: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior olive brown
Fragments: TF-5-2

Vessel 47: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 18cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior dark tan, body ribbed on exterior, handle present
Fragments: TE-2-4, TF-6-1, TF-6-5, TF-7-3(5), TI-9-2, TI-10-2, 1-SW-25, 2-NW-25, 3-NW-30, 4-NW-30, 4-NW-35(2), 6-NE-15, 8-NW-15, 9-xx-30, 11-NW-25, 11-SE-25(4), 11-NE-25, 11-SW-55

Vessel 48: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior red brown
Fragments: TM-5-2

Vessel 49: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 22cm
Glaze: Interior Matt brown/ Exterior mottled red brown and brown
Fragments: 4-NE-25

Vessel 50: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 33cm
Glaze: Interior tan
Fragments: TG-7-4, 8-SE-20(3), 8-SW-25, 8-SE-25(3), 8-NW-30

Vessel 51: Vessel Type: Cup?
Glaze: Interior and Exterior brown
Fragments: 8-NW-15

Vessel 52: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 16cm
Glaze: Interior yellow brown/ Exterior red brown
Fragments: 9-SW-90-Z3

Vessel 53: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 18cm
Glaze: Interior matt brown/ Exterior brown
Fragments: 2-NE-30

Vessel 54: Vessel Type: Pot
Glaze: Interior red brown
Fragments: 9-SW-70-Z3, 9-NE-85-Z2, 9-SE-100-Z4, 9-SW-105-Z4

Vessel 55: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Rim Diameter: 17cm
Glaze: Interior brown
Fragments: 2-NW-25, 2-SW-25, 2-SW-35, 4-NE-40, 4-NW-40(2), 4-NW-45, 6-xx-30, 9-SW-85-Z3, 10-NW-35(2), 10-NW-40(2)

Vessel 56: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 14cm
Glaze: Interior red brown Exterior red brown
Fragments: TE-2-4(2), TM-3-1, TO-10-1, 2-SW-20(2), 2-NE-20, 2-SE-25, 2-SE-30, 16-xx-20

Vessel 57: Vessel Type: Flask?
Glaze: Unglazed
Fragments: 9-xx-30

Vessel 58: Vessel Type: Pot?
Glaze: Interior brown
Fragments: 2-SE-30(2), 2-SW-30(2), 2-NE-35, 8-SW-75-10

Vessel 59: Vessel Type: Cup
Handle thickness: .42”
Glaze: Exterior brown
Fragments: 9-SE-110-Z4

Vessel 60: Vessel Type: Tall Pan
Exterior Rim Diameter: 17cm
Glaze: Interior mottled brown and red brown
Fragments: 8-NW-20, 8-SW-55-10, 16-50-90

Vessel 61: Vessel Type: Drinking Pot or Chamber Pot
Glaze: Interior and Exterior red brown
Fragments: 3-NW-35

Vessel 62: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Rim Diameter: 18cm
Glaze: Interior brown
Fragments: TI-7-7
Notes: Rim style appears to be an older one dating to circa 1660, similar to ones from C-1 and C-21

Vessel 63: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 16cm
Glaze: Interior dark olive brown
Fragments: TL-6-4

Vessel 64: Vessel Type: Jug
Exterior Base Diameter: 8cm
Glaze: Interior brown/ Exterior unglazed
Fragments: TE-2-3(2)

Vessel 65: Vessel Type: Pot
Glaze: Exterior unglazed
Fragments: TE-3-3, TL-4-3

Vessel 66: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 14cm
Glaze: Interior red brown Exterior red brown
Fragments: TE-2-4(2), TM-3-1, TO-10-1, 16-xx-20

Vessel 67: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 18cm
Glaze: Interior brown
Fragments: TE-2-4, TH-5-1, TJ-4-4, TJ-5-3(2), 2-SW-25

Vessel 68: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 18cm
Glaze: Interior red brown
Fragments: 9-xx-30, 9-SE-65, 9-NE-85-Z2, 9-NW-105-Z4, 9-SW-120-Z3

Vessel 69: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 14cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior dark red brown
Fragments: 2-SW-20, 2-SW-30
Notes: Handle present

Vessel 70: Vessel Type: Cup
Exterior Rim Diameter: 10cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior red brown
Fragments: 9-SE-80, 9-NW-105-Z4(2)

Vessel 71: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 18cm
Glaze: Interior matt olive tan
Fragments: TJ-8-3, TK-4-3, TN-4-2

Vessel 72: Vessel Type: Chamber Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 17cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior brown
Fragments: TI-9-2, 2-SW-20(3), 2-NE-20, 2-SE-25, 2-SE-30, 8-SW-30, 9-SW-100-Z3

Vessel 73: Vessel Type: Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 18cm
Glaze: Interior mottled dark brown and brown
Fragments: TM-6-4

Vessel 74: Vessel Type: Drinking Pot
Exterior Body Diameter: 12cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior dark red brown
Fragments: TH-5-4, 2-NE-30, 4-SW-45, 8-NW-15, 16-50-60(2)
Notes: ridges on exterior

Vessel 75: Vessel Type: Tall Pan
Exterior Body Diameter: 14cm
Glaze: Interior very dark brown
Fragments: TE-2-4, TF-8-3, TG-7-3, 2-SW-25, 4-NE-40, 4-NW-45(2), 8-SE-15, 9-NW-90-Z2, 12-SE-30

Vessel 76: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior red brown
Fragments: 4-SW-45(2), 4-SW-50

Vessel 77: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior brown
Fragments: TE-2-4, TF-10-4, TH-4-2

North Devon Gravel-Free
Vessel 78: Vessel Type: Baluster Jar
Exterior Body Diameter: 12cm
Glaze: Interior mottled olive brown and olive yellow brown
Fragments: 5-NE-45

Vessel 79: Vessel Type: Baluster Jar
Exterior Body Diameter: 12cm
Glaze: Interior olive brown
Fragments: TH-6-5(2), 5-NW-40, 5-SW-50, 5-NE-60, 12-NE-65b, 12-SW-85, 13-SW-70

Vessel 80: Vessel Type: Baluster Jar
Exterior Body Diameter: 8cm
Glaze: Interior mottled dark olive brown and yellow brown
Fragments: TH-6-5a(4), 3-SW-35, 5-NW-50, 12-NE-65, 12-SE-75, 12-SW-85

Tin-Glazed/ Delft
Vessel 81: Vessel Type: Charger
Exterior Rim Diameter: 25cm
Glaze: White exterior/ Interior white with blue design
Fragments: 5-NE-45, 5-SE-50 (3), 5-NW-55(3), 5-SE-55(2), 5-NE-60(2), 5-SW-60, 5-SE-65, 5-SW-65, 5-NW-65, 5-NE-65(2), 5-SE-70, 5-SW-75, 12-SE-75, 13-SW-70, 13-SW-75
Notes: probably Portuguese similar to the ceramics from the Clarke and Lake site

Vessel 82: Vessel Type: Charger/ Plate
Exterior Rim Diameter: 21cm
Exterior Base Diameter: 11cm
Height: ~3cm
Glaze: Interior white glaze with blue, light blue decoration/ Exterior white
Fragments: 5-SE-35, 5-SW-50(5)12-NE-65b, 12-NW-75, 12-SE-80, 13-SE-55(3), 13-SW-60
Notes: Possibly Portuguese

Vessel 83: Vessel Type: Charger
Exterior Rim Diameter: 24cm
Exterior Base Diameter: 13cm
Glaze: Interior white glaze with blue decoration/ Exterior white
Fragments: 4-NW-45, 4-SE-45, 4-NW-50, 4-wall slump, 12-NE-65b
Notes: English Blue dash Charger

Vessel 84: Vessel Type: Plate
Glaze: Interior and Exterior Turquoise with black decoration
Fragments: TF-6-2, TG-7-6, 2-NE-25, 8-NW-40
Notes: Fragments of 1926 vessel 30

Vessel 85: Vessel Type: Cup/ Mug
Exterior Rim Diameter: 11cm
Base Diameter: ~7cm
Glaze: Interior white glaze/ Exterior white glaze with manganese stippling
Fragments: 9-SE-60, 9-SW-80-Z3, 9-SW-95-Z3, 11-NE-30, 11-NW-40, 11-NW-45, 11-NE-70, 13-SW-40
Notes: English Malling cup

Vessel 86: Vessel Type: Charger
Exterior Base Diameter: 8cm
Glaze: Interior white glaze with blue design/ Exterior white glaze
Fragments: 9-NW-90-1
Notes: burned

Vessel 87: Vessel Type: Cup/ Mug
Glaze: Interior white/ Exterior white with dark purple stippling
Fragments: 3-SW-30
Notes: English Malling cup

Vessel 88: Vessel Type: Cup?/ Drug Pot?
Exterior Body Diameter: 9cm
Glaze: Interior white/ Exterior unglazed
Fragments: 9-SW-120-Z3

Vessel 89: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior and Exterior white glaze with pink tinge
Fragments: TD-6-4, TE-2-4, TG-8-4, 1-SE-55, 3-SE-35, 5-SW-30, 6-SE-15, 8-NW-20(2), 8-SW-25
Notes: Body paste is yellow tan

Vessel 90: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Missing
Fragments: TH-9-1, Tk-1-4(2), TK-1-5, 3-NW-25

Vessel 91: Vessel Type: Plate?
Glaze: White with blue decoration
Fragments:TE-2-4, 2-NW-25, 2-SW-30, 3-NW-15, 4-NE-20, 8-NW-30, 80-SE-45

Vessel 92: Vessel Type: Plate/ Charger
Glaze: White with Blue decoration
Fragments: 6-SE-20
Notes: body with pinkish tinge

STONEWARE
Vessel 93: Vessel Type: Mug
Exterior Body Diameter: 8cm
Glaze: Interior clear/ Exterior clear with cobalt and manganese decoration
Fragments: TF-7-2
Notes: Westerwald

Vessel 94: Vessel Type: Mug
Exterior Body Diameter: 13cm
Glaze: Interior clear/ exterior clear with blue bands
Fragments: TH-5-2, TI-6-3, 6-XX-2, 9-XX-30, 11-SW-15, 13-SW-25
Notes: Westerwald

Vessel 95: Vessel Type: Bowl
Exterior Body Diameter: 8cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior clear
Fragments: 6-SW-15
Notes: White Salt-glazed Stoneware 1720-1805

Vessel 96: Vessel Type: ?
Exterior Body Diameter: 6cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior tan
Fragments: 4-NE-15
Notes: British Brown Stoneware 1690-1775

CREAMWARE
Vessel 97: Vessel Type: Bowl?
Exterior Body Diameter: 16cm
Glaze: Interior and Exterior clear
Fragments: 10-SE-15

SLIPWARE 1670-1795
Vessel 98: Vessel Type: Cup
Exterior Body Diameter: 6cm
Glaze: Interior clear/ Exterior clear with brown combed design
Fragments: 3-SW-30(2)

Vessel 99: Vessel Type: Cup
Glaze: Interior clear/ Exterior clear with brown combed design
Fragments: TK-7-2, 1-NW-35

Vessel 100: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior clear/ Exterior clear with wide brown band decoration
Fragments: 6-NE-25

Vessel 101: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior clear/ Exterior brown
Fragments:TG-7-2, 3-SE-35

Vessel 102: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior clear/ Exterior clear with brown combed slip design
Fragments: TH-5-3, TH-6-4, TJ-9-5(2), 6-SE-15, 6-NE-30, 10-SE-15, 16-XX-20

Vessel 103: Vessel Type: Mug
Exterior Rim Diameter: 9cm
Glaze: Interior clear/ Exterior clear with brown combed slip design
Fragments: 13-SE-10

Vessel 104: Vessel Type: ?
Glaze: Interior and Exterior clear
Fragments: 1-NE-35

Vessel 105: Vessel Type: Mug
Exterior Rim Diameter: 14cm
Glaze: Interior clear/ Exterior clear with brown slip decoration
Fragments: 8-SW-75-10
Notes: Fragment from 1926 vessel 36

Appendix 8
Site #4: Timothy Perry Homesite ?

Barbara Luedtke has already discussed this site in her interim report on the 1995 field school. The site was located on the southeastern corner of the property and included a cellarhole, a stone-lined well, several trash dump areas and part of a stone wall. The artifacts from the site indicate that the structure was occupied in the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. Artifacts which help to date the site include sherds of whiteware, which was produced after 1820, sherds of pearlware which was produced from 1790-1820, sherds of creamware which was produced from 1762-18200, and sherds of stoneware with an Albany slip on the interior which was produced after 1860.

It is believed that this cellarhole was from the house of Timothy Perry. This is believed in part to the earlier ceramics such as the creamware from the site and due to the land deeds. The land transfers stated that Reuben Collins had purchased the land from Benjamin Perry in 1870, at which time it was stated that there was a homestead on the land (BCR 1870: 102/ 305). Unfortunately, I was not able to find the records that transferred the land to Benjamin Perry. Fortunately, Lombard had traced the land in 1931, and I shall rely on his title search for the next owner. According to Lombard Benjamin Perry purchased the land from the heirs of his cousin Elisha Perry the second in 1852 (Lombard 1931: 1). Elisha Perry had acquired the land upon his mother's death in 1829 (BCR 1824: 2/ 395). Elisha Perry the elder had received the land from his father Timothy the second in 1815 after he had paid off the debts that his father owed in 1785 (BCR 1815: 2/363). When Elisha Perry Sr. acquired the land in 1815 it was noted that it was the land where the old house of Timothy Perry stood but burnt after his death in 1785.

Much of the later material that was recovered from the site appears to have been concentrated on the eastern side of the house. This probably represents people in the nineteenth century disposing of their trash in a convenient abandoned spot. Keene noted the presence of the cellarhole and well at the site. She stated that "Monument writings tell of traces of other old houses besides the houses of the four Perry brothers. One was located about four rods north of Monument Neck road and nearly 30 rods southwesterly from the Trading Post. 'Remains of the dwelling, the cellar hole, the well, ancient pear trees and the stumps of others are still (1850) very distinct. The cellar is on slightly rising ground and all the other relics are situated close by to the south.'" (Keene 1975:58). Unlike Keene, I believe that this site was occupied by Timothy and not Ezra Perry III. This is due to the fact that no traces of earlier artifacts that were recovered. The final identification would have to made after more intensive archaeological excavations at the site.

Appendix 9
Site #5: Timothy Perry/ Ezra Perry II site ?
Late 19th to 20th Century Site
This site was located in the southwesterly section of the property. It consisted of a cellar hole that had been filled with a good deal of middle nineteenth to twentieth century trash. Again this hole probably represented a convenient place in which to deposit trash when the nearby house was built. It is unknown who this house was owned by or when it was built. It is possible that it was the house referred to by Ezra Perry II in his will. He stated that his son Ezra III had a house on property he owned and that he was granted the land upon Ezra II's death. It is also possible that this site is the one identified by Keene as being on the other side of the road (site 4). Again, further archaeological testing needs to be done to determine which it is.

Appendix 10
Book 4/ 516
Probate of Ezra Perry II, February 10, 1730

"yoeman
Item to wife Rebeckah the use and improvement of all my estate both real and personal property for her comfort and support so long as she remains my widow after my debts and funeral expenses are paid

Item to Ebenezer all the uplands and meadows and meadowlands and swampy ground in Rochester

Item to Ezra Perry a piece of land that lies before the door of his now dwelling house and 1/2 my land on the south west sides of the Country road which lately I held in partnership with my bretheren but is now divided and 1/3 part of my Creek stuff meadow and land with it and my woodlot

Item to Samual Perry all my homestead where I now dwell and my meadow on the North side of the Monument river alias Herring river and half my land on the South side of Country road and Half my right in the cedar swamp and 1/3 my creek stuff meadow land and my land in the neck adjoining to the 8 acres my father formerly gave me and my lot in the last division of country lands in Sandwich also to Samual give my bellows and blacksmith tools and a pr of oxen

Item to my daughter Mary a bed and coverlet and cow

Item to my daughter Hannah 2 sheep

Item to the 3 children of my daughter Rebeckah by herself and Jonathan Wothbon the sum of 30 shillings

Item to my grand children Samual Muscom and Edmond, my land and meadows at the lower end of Monument neck where lately I made a dam and my 8 acres in said neck which my father formerly gave me and 1/3 of my Creek stuff meadow and the land on it, 1/2 my cedar swamp and my sheep pasture lot also my new shop with liberty to remove it on their own land if they see cause

Item to my daughter Patience to have the use and improvement of my new dwelling house and 1/2 my barn and 1 acre of land and the orchard at the north east of my house and meadow to cut hay to winter 2 cows out of that given to my son Samual so long as she remains unmarried

Item the remainder after expenses and debts to the estate to the daughters Freelove and Patience and grandsons Samual and Edmond
Samual and Edmund executors
Samual Jennings, John Sanderson and Mercy Perry witnessed it

This will states that Ezra owned land on the north side of the Monument River and also on the south side of it to the south and west of Country road. It also states that he had built a new house that he left to his daughter Patience. This new house was probably the one located to the south of the site excavated by Lombard, discovered during the 1995 field school.

Appendix 11
Book 4/ 518
Probate of Ezra Perry II, February 25, 1730

Money	00-19-00
wearing clothes	06-10-00
loom and tackling to it	00-10-00
tables and chest	01-11-00
chaines	00-09-00
tubs and pails and dishes and seives	01-02-00
cubbard and spinning wheels	00-04-00
hogsheads, barrels and butter troughs	01-00-00
pewter platter, quart pot, basin, salt cellars, spoons	01-10-00
old bible, psalm book, other books	00-10-00
earthenware, glass bottles	00-03-08
little kettle, frying pan	00-10-00
pot and pothooks	00-10-00
kettle	00-10-00
trammel, 5 firetongs	00-07-00
crowbar and 2 hoes	00-15-00
scythe rings and neebs	00-17-00
cooper and carpenter tools	05-05-00
old chains, old iron	01-10-00
old iron, smith tools, bellows	02-00-00
horse gear	01-06-00
cart and tackling to it	01-05-00
plow and grinding stone	00-16-00
beds	00-05-00
beds, bedding, table clothes, napkins	23-00-00
warming pan	00-15-00
3 bedsteads	00-12-00
meal bags and bridles	00-10-00
sheep	13-15-00
pr old oxen	19-00-00
young pr oxe	17-00-00
3 cows	15-00-00
1 steer, 1 bull	07-00-00
calves	03-00-00
colt	08-00-00
1 mare (omitted P. 538)	06-00-00
horse	05-00-00
swine	03-05-00
salt, butter, hog fat	01-07-04
rye	01-10-00
Indian corn	01-10-00

wheat	00-10-00
oats	01-16-00
wool combs and bark	00-12-00
2 shekkaln sheep shears and sounds	00-10-00
real est	1060-00-00

Compiled by Nathanial Barlow, Medad Tupper, Benjamin Perry

Due to estate:William Herfie	16-00-00
Joseph prence	01-00-00
Nathanial Perry	20-00-00

Real estate Inventory

17 acres lying on the east side of Wenionco River	10-00-00
51 acres of upland where Ebenezier Perry lives	100-00-00
1/2 a lot of salt meadows in Crowmeset Neck called Rock meadow	50-00-00
1/2 lot salt meadow ling into Crowmeset at the head of little neck	05-00-00
1/4 lot of Pine Island lot of Salt meadows the whole lot being a 1 acre lot	302-10-00
1/4 part of a lot of cedar swamp lying in the bear swamp near Townsend Neck	01-10-00
10 acres of addition or granted land to take up	05-00-00
1/4 of a common right	05-00-00

Inventoried by: Elisha Wing Joseph Sanders Jonathan Hunter

Appendix 12
Results of 1997 Archaeological Work at Site #3
1997 material uncovered by John York
Found by garden to the south of Demo pit 1

Appears to represent material dumped by Lombard as part of the "6 loads of dirt dumped to the south of the cellar" in 1926

Material was all collected from the plowzone from an area 3 meters east to west and 2 meters north to south. This area was subdivided into 6 one meter squares numbered 1-6. Square number 1 located in the Northeast corner was subdivided into 4 section numbered A-D with section 1D not excavated. The material from section 1 was the densest which is why it was subdivided section 1D was unexcavated because of the density of material. The material came from the first 25cm of soil.

1A
1 quahog shell frag
1 Cattle metapodium bone frag
6 architectural granite frags 2lbs 5oz (1.4 kg) one with mortar on it
4 mortar frags 30g
4 Brick frags 20g

1B
4 oyster shell frags 1 hinge
2 quahog shell frags 1 hinge
1 Cattle metapodium frag
1 Sus female left mandible canine L-1.31+" W-.52" EH-.88" sli. wear
2 burned oyster shell frags
1 tan glazed redware rim frag possible chamber pot
1 calcined mammal possible rib
1 mammal flat bone frag
1 quartz shatter frag
52 architectural granite frags 2kg some appear fire affected
30 brick frag 420g one severely burned
26 mortar frags 510g

1C
70 architectural granite frags 2.61kg
38 brick frags 420g
51 mortar frags 840g
1 plaster frag 5g

2
9 mortar frags 910g
34 brick frags 795g
8 architectural granite frags 410g
1 charcoal frag
1 unglazed redware frag

3
1 nail frag
3 architectural granite frags 7-630g
1 brick frag 50g
1 mortar frag 30g

6
2 brick frags 100g