

Site Examination Testing
At the Brewster Site, Duxbury, MA
Plymouth Archaeological Rediscovery Project
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I. INTRODUCTION

The Duxbury Rural and Historical Society contacted the Plymouth Archaeological Rediscovery Project in 2012 and plans were discussed to conduct excavations at the Brewster Site in October to November of that year. The excavations were funded by the DRHS through a generous donation and were carried out for a total of 12 days from the last week of October to the second week of November 2012. A total of 52 square meters were excavated by volunteers supervised by the author.

Excavations uncovered evidence for four phases of activity at the site:

- Native American occupation up to 6,000 years old
- 17th century occupation by the Brewster family
- 18th-19th century occupation by the Soule family
- late 19th to early 20th century use of the site for sand extraction and refuse disposal by the Standish Hotel

Native American occupation took the form of debris from the manufacture of stone tools, completed projectile points from the Late Archaic and Late Woodland periods, a possible chunky gaming stone, and a complete stone woodworking gouge.

The house foundation that was uncovered is believed to either be the home of William Brewster that was successively lived in by his descendents and then the Soule family, or to have existed on the same location as the house in which the Soules lived. It is believed to be a central chimney Cape Cod style house that may have been renovated later in its life. A limited quantity of artifacts dating from the 17th century (pipe stems, ceramics, bricks, window leads) were recovered.

The Soule family's occupation of the site overlapped the earlier Native American and Brewster family occupations. The Soules appear to have added an ell onto the west side of the house as well as a French drain on the south side. They may have also rebuilt at least a portion of the chimney stack.

After the last Soule to live on the property, Marshall Soule, had died, the site was abandoned and eventually collapsed onto itself. In the late nineteenth to early twentieth century the property was owned by the Standish Hotel who used it as a source of sand and gravel, resulting in the excavation of at least three areas around and partially impacting the house foundation, and subsequent refuse disposal into the extraction holes and onto the foundation.

Overall, the site has a high research potential to provide information on early Plymouth Colony houses and households as well as everyday life of later 18th and 19th century farmsteads. The Native American component is one of the few that is recorded for the Nook and is potentially a significant source of information on pre-colonial use of Duxbury.

II. BACKGROUND RESEARCH

A. Environmental Context

The Town of Duxbury is located in Plymouth County. It is 33 miles south of Boston and is bordered by Marshfield to the north, the Atlantic Ocean to the east, Kingston to the south, and Pembroke to the west. The topography of Duxbury is divided between more rugged upland terrain with gravelly and rocky soils in the western part of the town and lowlands in the east.

The underlying bedrock geology of the town consists of granitic schist and gneiss of Proterozoic Era (2500-542 million years ago) origin. Outcrops of granite occur in the western part of the town especially at the intersection of Franklin and Temple Streets. Two principle classes of Wisconsinian Stage glacial deposits overlay the bedrock. The first are poorly sorted till deposits composed of relatively packed silt and clay. These occur in locations such as Powder Point, Standish Shores and the Phillips Brook lowlands. Stratified drift deposits are the second type. These soils form the aquifer for the town and occur in the central, southeastern and eastern portions of the town. One other isolated deposit is a fossil lake bottom at Bay Farm. This lake bottom deposit is composed of clay and compressed material, making it of no residential use but providing a reliable source for clay.

Soils in the town are primarily of the Scituate-Essex-Merrimac variety or Hinckley-Merrimac-Muck type. Only 3% of the soils are Hinckley-Carver associated. Generally these soils are well-drained to excessively well-drained and occur on level to very steeply sloped areas. Soils at the project area are all Carver coarse sand on 3-8% slopes. Carver soils consist of very deep, extremely drained sandy soils that are ill suited for agricultural use, due to their permeability. Rocks found in this series range from fine gravel size to stones and generally average less than 10% of the composition of the soil.

The project area is located on a peninsula of land that was originally called Captain's Nook (after Captain Myles Standish) but is today called "the Nook" (**Figure 1**). On the eastern part of the Nook is a creek that has been called Eagles Nest Creek since the seventeenth century. The creek intersects the marshes from the southern end of the Nook and is a large topographic feature, providing the main drainage on the Nook. Numerous springs are located on the edges of the creek as well. Captain's Hill rises at least 170 feet above sea level and is one of the highest points of land in coastal New England.

B. Prehistoric Context

New England's prehistory is poorly understood relative to that of other regions in North America. For most of the prehistory in the region river drainages, such as the Jones River in Kingston, defined physiographic units within which human communities operated. This pattern follows from the longitudinal diversity of habitats that occur along drainages, forming ecologically unique wetland habitats, together with the transportation routes afforded by their watercourses. In the clearest examples, rivers provide access to maritime and upland resources at each end of the drainage and to the diverse habitats in between. The exploitation of those habitats can be integrated into a seasonal round that differs at various historical moments.

The prehistory of southern New England is divided into seven periods, each identified by characteristic styles of projectile points, pottery and other artifacts. These periods are the

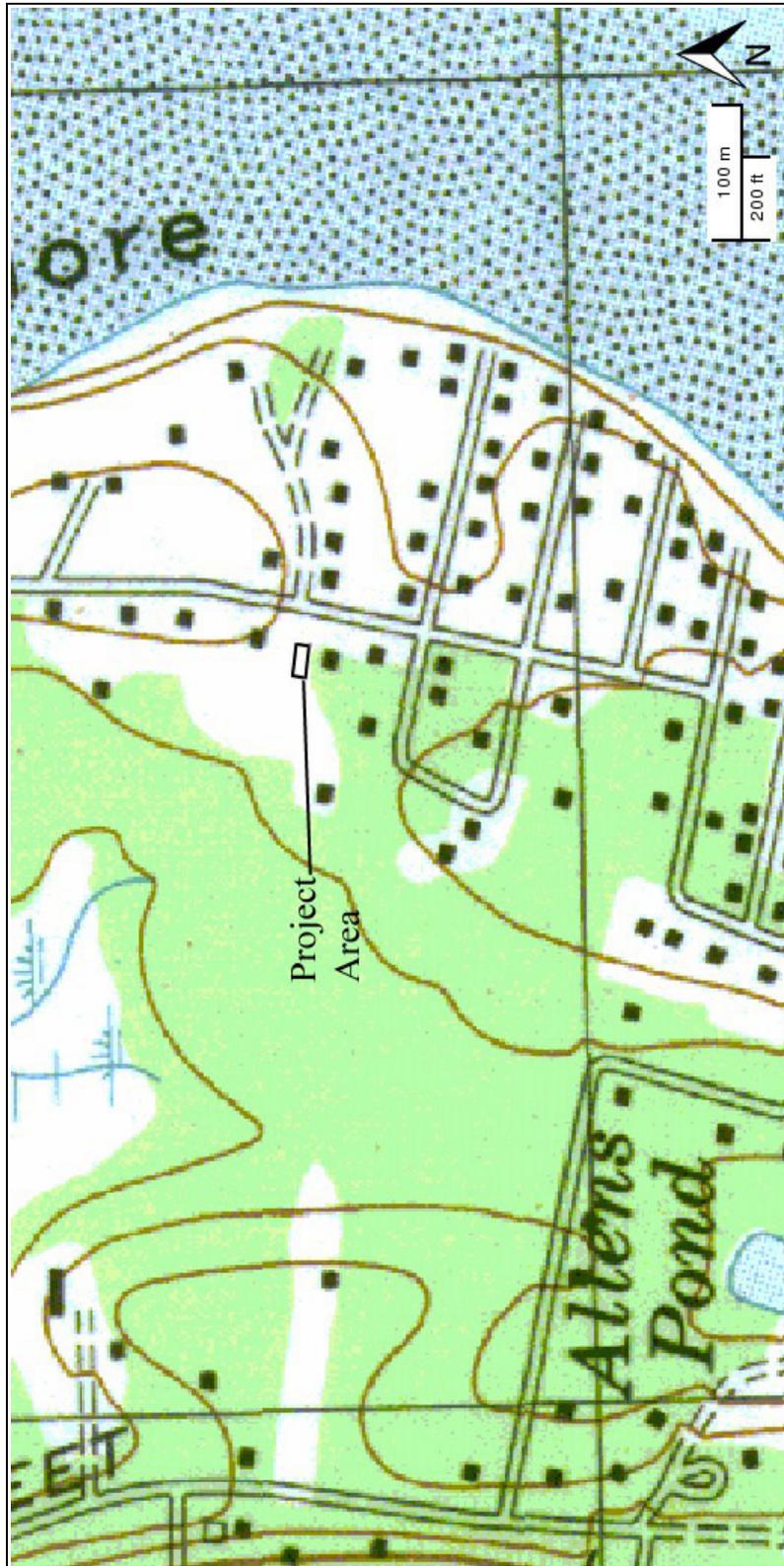


Figure 1. The project area located on the USGS topographic map

Paleoindian (10,500-9000 BP), Early Archaic (9000-8000 BP), Middle Archaic (8000-6000 BP), Late Archaic (6000-3000 BP), Early Woodland (3000-2000 BP), Middle Woodland (2000-1000 BP) and Late Woodland (1000-350 BP). In addition to their artifacts, the periods are characterized by changing patterns of site location, activities and size.

New England has a rich and extremely interesting Pre-Contact period. Archaeology has contributed a great deal to our understanding of the Native history of New England, without it our picture of the past would, unfortunately be only a sketch. Archaeology can only give us only a bare bones look at the lives of the people who have lived in New England in the Pre-Contact past. We can never answer questions like what was a man thinking when he made a certain projectile point style, or what did a woman think about when she made a pot. We can only theorize and guess at these sort of details. Through archaeology, we have been able to learn when people first arrived in Southeastern Massachusetts and how they made a living. Because archaeology relies on the material that is recovered from the soil, we are limited to how much we can ever really know about the most ancient people. We must try to say something archaeologically meaningful from the scant bits of evidence that have survived. Unfortunately, the farther back in time we travel, the more scarce our evidence becomes. This is due to the fact that there were less people in the area in the past and some sites have been flooded by rising sea levels.

Paleo Period 13,000-10,000 BP

Although there is new research being conducted all the time, the present theory is that the people who first settled in New England arrived in the New World during the end of the Wisconsin Ice Age, approximately 13,000 years ago. Before this time, New England and much of the northern half of the United States was covered by a mile and a half thick sheets of ice called glaciers. Ice ages are part of the Earth's natural warming and cooling cycle. Approximately 60,000 years ago for some unknown reason, the temperature dropped on Earth a few degrees, just enough to cause the glaciers and ice caps located at the north and south poles to begin removing water from the oceans and growing. By approximately 20,000 years ago the edges of the northern ice sheet had reached its maximum extent, present day Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and began to recede. As the glaciers melted, they dropped millions of tons of sand, gravel and boulders that had accumulated during their journey southward. All this material, the moraine and outwash soils, became the sandy hills, the drumlins, eskers and kames, and basically all the lower layers of soil that make up our landscape today. Mixed in with the moraine and outwash were glacial erratics, these are the large boulders, like Plymouth Rock, that dot our landscape today.

Following the retreat of the glaciers, the climate in southern New England was a southern tundra. It was cold, windy, barren, and covered with large areas of wetlands. Scattered intermittently across the landscape were patches of grasses, shrubs such as sedge, alder and willow, and small stunted trees including spruce followed by birch and pine. There was also a lot more landscape because the oceans were approximately 300-400' feet lower than they are today. In New England, this meant that the coastline was up to 50 miles to the east of its present position. This left exposed large portions of land, like George's Banks, that are currently underwater. The islands that we see today in many coastal harbors, were at this time hills on a barren landscape and many of the rivers that we know were nothing more than springs or small streams.

The types of animals that were present at this time included some of the smaller species such as foxes and rabbits, but megafauna were also found. Megafauna is a term that describes the large breeds of animals that were present in New England after the last ice age. These included the mammoth, which existed on the tundra, the mastodon, which lived in the early forests, the horse, which later became extinct and was reintroduced by the Spanish in the 1500s, bears like the large Kodiak variety, beavers up to 6' long, bison, elk, caribou and musk ox, which disappeared fairly early.

In southeastern Massachusetts, sites that date to this period have been encountered in Plymouth on the Eel River and on the coast in Marshfield. At these sites, the evidence of people living here after the last ice age has consisted primarily of stone projectile points of a variety called the Paleo or fluted point. These points were generally made from exotic materials that were carried in by the inhabitants as they traveled from the west. These materials included very fine grained stones such as cherts from New York and Maine and jaspers from Pennsylvania. Population densities have been estimated at approximately 5-12 people per 100 square kilometers. These people made their living by hunting and possibly scavenging the carcasses of the megafauna. They also hunted smaller game such as rabbits and they may have fished on the coast. The populations in New England at this time may have numbered no more than a few hundred. These people lived in small groups and traveled seasonally. They probably were not nomadic, but were following seasonally migrating herds. Paleo sites are often located on hilltops overlooking plains or were high on the shores of glacial lakes.

By the end of the Paleo Period the environment in New England was stabilizing and life ways were becoming fairly distinct. The megafauna were extinct by 10,000 years ago, probably due to a combination of hunting by the first settlers and climactic change. The forests were beginning to transition to more pine and nut bearing hardwoods which created new habitats for animals and new food sources for people. While the Paleo Period can be seen as a time of initial colonization, the next period, the Early Archaic, can be viewed as a time of settling in and accommodation to life in New England.

Early Archaic 10,000-8,000 BP

The extinction of the megafauna and the changing climate led to a revamping of the Paleo-Native way of life around 10,000 years ago. The environment in the Early Archaic had warmed slightly and as a result, trees such as oaks, pitch pines, beeches and hazel began to flourish. It was during this time that the major rivers that are around today began to form and into these rivers anadromous fish species like salmon and herring began to run. This would have provided another food source for the inhabitants of New England. As New England began to become more forested, new mammalian species also would have moved into the area. These species would have included black bear, deer and moose.

The Early Archaic is one of the little understood periods of New England prehistory. Early Archaic sites tend to occur on a wide range of settings including hillsides with slopes over 15 degrees and hilltops. Some sites are situated on the same locations as Paleo sites while others appear alone in the landscape. Homes at this time have been theorized as being either of a longhouse shaped, as have been identified in Taunton, Massachusetts at the Titicut site, or as small pits dug into the sides of hills as have been identified in Connecticut and northern Massachusetts. It is unknown if the two forms of houses occurred simultaneously, were seasonally determined or represent different building traditions by different populations.

Evidence of the Early Archaic peoples' process of "settling in" is seen in their use of local volcanic materials such as rhyolite and felsite for tools and projectile points and their possible use of quartz for quick, expendable tools.

Middle Archaic 8,000-6,000 BP

While the Early Archaic was a time of transition from the Paleo-Native nomadic way of life to a more sedentary and permanent situation, the Middle Archaic can be seen as a time of more normality and permanency. It still was a time of many changes. Oceans remained approximately 29 feet lower than they are today, but the rate of rise had slowed enough for estuaries to begin forming. The formation of estuaries led to the establishment and proliferation of shellfish beds. Shellfish first settled in the warmer southern waters and eventually moved northward as the sea level rise slowed and waters warmed.

By 7,000 years ago, forests with the same basic composition as today began to be established. The use of heavy stone woodworking tools such as axes, adzes and gouges increased during this period, possibly indicating the construction of log canoes or at least an increase in woodworking. Evidence for hunting using atl-atls first appears at this time as well. The atl-atl was basically an extension of the throwers arm and it effectively increased the distance, force and accuracy of the throw. In fact, the oldest burial in New England, 7500 years ago, was located in Carver, Massachusetts and contained two atl-atl weights of the whale-tail variety. Sites from this period are fairly common, indicating that people had begun to spread out over larger areas. It also indicates that there may have been more people in Massachusetts than before.

Late Archaic 6,000-3000 BP

The Late Archaic represents the period with the most identified and recorded archaeological sites in Massachusetts. This has been interpreted by many as indicating a very large number of people living in our area during this period, although archaeologists are not sure why this happened. The case may also be made that this proliferation of stone tools and sites be more related to a wider variety of stone tools being manufactures for specific purposes and a wide variety of habitats being exploited as opposed to a population boom. The Late Archaic is also a time of greater diversification and specialization than was evident in the earlier periods. The tool kits of the people living on the south coast and its coastal forests differed from that of the people in Maine and further north. This in turn was similar but distinct from the inhabitants of the strictly boreal forests such as those in New York and inland Massachusetts.

Along coastal Massachusetts, the combination of stabilizing sea levels and estuary formation led to significant runs of anadromous fish by the Late Archaic. As a way of taking maximum advantage of these fish runs, Native people began using weirs in the rivers, streams and bays. In fact, one of the largest weirs found anywhere in the world was encountered in what was once Boston Harbor. The Boylston Street fish weir was encountered when the foundation was dug for an office building in Boston. It is believed that the weir was constructed approximately 5000 years ago and covered several acres. Weirs of a smaller scale were undoubtedly employed in most of the bays, rivers and larger streams in southeastern Massachusetts.

It appears that by 3700 B.P. the cultural system of the people who were using Small Stemmed points in southern New England had begun to change. This period, from 3700-2700 B.P, has variously been

called the Terminal or Transitional Archaic. During this time there appears to have been an immigration into southern New England of people using tools of the Broadspire or Susquehanna tradition. Projectile points of the Susquehanna style characterize the early part of this period while those of the Orient Fishtail style, a possible merging of indigenous Small Stemmed and Susquehanna styles, dominate the latter half (Snow 1980:237; Dincauze 1975: 27). The Orient point tradition appears to have remained in New England and eventually evolved into the Rossville and Lagoon points of the Early Woodland Period.

Early Woodland 3000-2000 BP

Following the Terminal Archaic is an ill-defined time labeled the Early Woodland by New England archaeologists. Some archaeologists, like Snow, do not view the designation of Early Woodland as a valid one (1980). They see no real change occurring that could be used to differentiate the Terminal Archaic and the next 1000 years. They merely see a continuation of tumultuous times that began after 3000 to 4000 years ago. In the words of Filios "... the chronological picture (for the Early Woodland) is more murky than previously suspected. ...the horizon markers (of this period) need to be reevaluated." (Filios 1989:87). Traditional horizon markers for the Early Woodland have included Vinette I pottery, which has been shown to have been produced before the Early Woodland, an absence of Small Stemmed points, which have been shown to have continued in use into the Early Woodland, increased sedentism, which appears to have begun before the Early Woodland, and horticulture, which was not intensively practiced in New England until after 1000 A.D.

Some of the trends identified above, the decreased population and fragmentation, are based on the small number of Early Woodland sites that have been identified. This may be more a product of the criteria used to identify the sites, such as the presence of pottery and absence of Small Stemmed points, therefore the number of Early Woodland sites may not be as small as thought. If one includes sites yielding Small Stemmed points but no pottery, as these may represent special purpose floral or faunal resource procurement task camps and not residential locations, the number of sites possibly attributable to the Early Woodland increases. Due to the increasingly long temporal use range for Small Stemmed points, their presence or absence can no longer be used as valid "datable" criteria to assign a site to one period or another. What is needed is more radiocarbon dates associated with specific materials. Until this occurs the Early Woodland will remain obscure and ill defined.

A dramatic population collapse has traditionally been one of the defining characteristics of the Early Woodland, but Hoffman (1985) does not see evidence of any break. Filios (1989) came to a similar conclusion, although her data shows a break in radiocarbon dates from 2700-2400 years B.P., possibly indicating a population decline after 3800 years B.P. and a greater decline after 2800 years B.P. (Fiedel 2001: 117). If there was in fact a population collapse, reasons for it have included climatic and environmental change, epidemics, the effects of plant and animal die-offs and socio-cultural factors (Fiedel 2001: 118). One of the main causes may have been if nut bearing trees, already in decline in the Terminal Archaic, were hit hard by plant disease or environmental change, then this may have caused a population reliant on this resource to die off. This would account for the drop in inland sites in the period. Alternately the populations living on the coast that focused their procurement strategies on river valley, estuarine and inshore resources may have remained relatively unscathed. These would be the Rossville and Lagoon point users, point styles that show a high concentration in coastal areas especially Cape Cod.

Middle Woodland 2000-1200 BP

This period is marked by a decrease in the number of exotic finished goods indicative of long-distance trade, and by changes in mortuary practice (increase in secondary interments, less use of ocher, fewer grave goods, more variation in preparation of the dead). While the roots of ceramic and lithic variability are found in the preceding periods, more rapid variation in sequence through time and more regional variation characterize this period. Ceramics vary more in decoration and form, lithic projectile points are less important in the tool kit, and bone and antler tools are preserved at some sites where matrix conditions are appropriate (Shaw 1996b:84-87). By the end of the period there is evidence of maize horticulture (Thorbahn 1982).

Late Woodland Period 1200-500 BP

This is the period just prior to European contact and as a result, many of the historical reports written by the early explorers to New England (Verrazanno, Gosnold, Pring, Smith) present one way of understanding the late Late Woodland period. Some of their observations may be extrapolated back into the Pre-Contact past through the use of ethnographic analogy. These analogies can be created with more confidence as pertaining to the culture of the Late Woodland period than any earlier one.

The decrease in projectile point styles and the increase in the reliance on horticultural crops may be attributed to increasing numbers and densities of population at larger sites. While the occurrence of the "village" in Southeastern Massachusetts continues to be debated, the affect of an increased reliance on corn, beans, squash and to a lesser degree gourds, sunflowers and tobacco, definitely led to a degree of sedentism not seen prior to this time (Hasenstab 1999; Kerber 1988). Ceramics are often shell-tempered or made with fine grit temper and thinner bodied; there is a shift to globular forms, and the addition of collars, sometimes decorated with human faces. Elaborate collars similar to those of Iroquois ceramics are found in the Merrimack and Champlain drainages. Triangular projectile points (smaller Madison points or larger Levanna points) are diagnostic for this period. This period is marked by an increasing importance in food production (maize, beans, squash, sunflower and other vegetables) in coastal or riverine zones, which begins by ca. 1100 BP on Martha's Vineyard (Ritchie 1969). These changes in assemblage, and by implication, adaptation, are attributed to increasing numbers and densities of population at larger sites. Research issues include the extent of permanency in Late Woodland settlements, the nature of such settlements (i.e., whether such settlements were villages; see Hasenstab 1999; Kerber 1988), the identification of horticulture with non-native plants and definition of the effects on humans. In addition, researchers might ask about the use of different ecozones, the reality of population growth, and whether or not climate change (e.g., the Little Ice Age), affected settlement and subsistence. There is some evidence of the development of long-distance exchange again, and some workers have suggested that a native beaver trade was developed before Contact.

Regional differences are visible. In Vermont, there are fewer late Late Woodland sites than early Late Woodland. This may be a response to Iroquois settlement changes. In southern New England, horticulture did not replace existing gathering and hunting strategies, and large settlements did not replace small seasonal sites. Differential dependence on horticulture is likely to have affected society and politics. Cultural differentiation of the Iroquois from the Algonquin also presents research opportunities (Shaw 1996c).

Contact Period

The Contact period was a time a dramatic social, political and personal upheaval for Southeastern Massachusetts Native populations. This period began with amiable trade relations with European explorers such as Verrazanno (1524) and Gosnold (1602), followed by a growing distrust of Europeans and an increase in hostility between the two, especially on Cape Cod (Pring 1603, Champlain 1605). This hostility was due primarily to the kidnapping of Native men by Europeans desirous of returning home with informants or curiosities from the New World (Weymouth 1607, Hunt under Smith 1614). By the time of the settling of the English at Plymouth, 1620, Natives in Southeastern Massachusetts had been decimated by a European epidemic, 1616-1619, with mortality rates possibly reaching 100% in some communities.

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.

The presence of so much copper and the desire by the Natives to trade with the Europeans highlights the early relations. Natives saw European goods as being different, special, in some ways technologically superior and spiritually empowering. Unfortunately, the power that the Natives felt could help them cope with the sometimes disturbing new relationship with these strangers could not preserve them from their diseases. Sometime around 1616, an epidemic swept south from Maine among the Native people. Various authors since the seventeenth century have sought to identify what this disease was with the most likely candidate being infectious hepatitis.

C. Historic Context

It is not known what the degree of Native settlement and use was in the area that would become Duxbury during the **Contact Period (1500-1620)**. Duxbury is believed to have been called Mattakesett, meaning "the place of no high water," possibly describing the dramatic change in tides that exposes large mud flats in Duxbury Bay. It is believed that the road that would later become one of the main connectors between Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, present day Route 53, originated as a Native trail. Other trails are believed to have run along the route of present day Tobey Garden Street, Old Meetinghouse Road and Cross-Vine-Mayflower Streets with Bow-Tremont Street being the original north to south coastal route (MHC 1981: 1). The presence of abundant freshwater, 1149 acres in the late 20th century, extensive mudflats in Duxbury bay and over 3000 acres of wetlands, made this an ideal location for seasonal or year round settlement.

Duxbury was settled by Europeans expanding out from the Plantation at Plymouth during the **Plantation Period (1620-1675)**. Settlement began in Duxbury sometime between 1627 and 1632. Originally, the land farmed by the settlers at Plymouth was held in common to be commonly worked and the profits commonly used to repay the backers in London. In 1627 the joint stock company of the colony was reorganized as a result of a renegotiation of terms with the London backers. Some of the chief men of the colony agreed to repay the debt and land outside the walls of the Plantation was granted to individual families (Deane 1856: 227). Lands were granted as far away as Duxbury, which at that time was called “across the bay”. Settlement at this time was only for the warmer weather with families moving back to Plymouth in the winter. This would assure that people did not miss the Sabbath meeting. In 1632, due to increased trade (especially in cattle) with the Massachusetts Bay Colony, many people had moved outside the Plantation, especially to the north towards Massachusetts Bay and “For now as their stocks increased, and ye increse vendible, ther was no longer any holding them together” (Deane 1856:302). Eventually, people no longer wanted to return to Plymouth for Sabbath services and they desired to have their own meeting house : “By which means they were scatered all over ye bay, quickly, and ye towne, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thine, and in a short time allmost desolate....ye church must also be devided, and those yl had lived so long together in Christian & comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divissions. First, those that lived on their lots on ye other side of ye bay (called Duxberie) they could not long bring their wives & children to ye publick worship & church meetings here, but with such burthen, as, growing to some competente number, they sued to be dismissed and become a body of them selves ; and so they were dismist (about this time), though very unwillingly.” (Deane 1856: 303)

Thus, Duxbury was formed and Native trails became town roads and highways. A meetinghouse is believed to have been built by 1638 (see discussion below) and by 1643 the European population numbered approximately 400 persons (MHC 1981: 4). Native Americans remained in town, eventually becoming Christianized and moving to the Pembroke Ponds area.

The **Colonial Period (1675-1775)** saw a continued decrease in the Native population and an increase in the non-Native one. By 1710 the town's population numbered 1100 people (MHC 1981: 4) and the town continued to expand beyond its original Nook and Morton's hole foci. Secondary settlement nodes appeared at Millbrook, North and West Duxbury, Ashod, and Tinkertown. The population had expanded to such a size that the meeting house was too small and in 1707 it was agreed that a new one should be constructed (see below). The economic focus of the town consisted on agriculture and fishing while shipbuilding, possibly practiced on a very small scale originally, began to expand and be a larger part of the economy.

The shipbuilding that had its inception close to the end of the Colonial Period, saw a period of rapid expansion during the **Federal Period (1775-1830)**. The town center was relocated closer to the geographic center of the town and a new meeting house was constructed in 1785. The period between 1800-1830 was one of the largest for population growth and by 1830 large shipyards and a definite maritime focus began to dominate the economy (MHC 1981: 6). Duxbury actively participated in the American Revolution with a large majority of the men able to fight, actually joining the town militia and subsequently the Continental Army. During the Stamp Act Crisis in 1765, crowds are reported to

have met on the top of Captain's Hill at the Nook and effigies of British officials were burned (Browne n.d 2). Duxbury, like many New England towns, was occupied by the British prior to the Revolution. For the most part, the occupation appears to have occurred without incident. The one exception was when citizens meeting within the second meeting house were alarmed by British soldiers peering in through the windows (Browne n.d 2). Following the Battles of Lexington and Concord, the Plymouth militia, consisting of soldiers from Duxbury, Plymouth, and Kingston, led by Colonel Theophilus Cotton, met for a council of war at the house of Lt. Col. Briggs Alden in Duxbury, and prepared to march to Marshfield to engage the British (Browne n.d. 2). While no fighting occurred as a result of this call to arms, the local militia continued to drill and mobilize when needed, eventually a number of residents served in the Continental Army. In total, approximately 270 men from Duxbury served in the militia or Continental Army (Browne n.d. 2). Duxbury fishermen served on board privateers with one local ship being captured by the British off Duxbury Beach (Browne n.d. 1) and in 1776 a fort was constructed at the Gurnet. Those who served in the Continental Army served with the 14th Massachusetts Regiment commanded by Duxbury Colonel Gamaliel Bradford. They served from 1777-1780, spending the long winter at Valley Forge and engaging the British at Monmouth and Germantown (Browne n.d. 2).

Captain Samuel Bradford led the largest company of militia, nearly 100 men. He and his company served in Marshfield, then Plymouth, before eventually being sent to Roxbury to assist with the fortification of Dorchester Heights, leading to the retreat of the British from Boston (Browne n.d. 2).

The 1780 map of Duxbury shows two structures on the property, what is presumed to be a house and its associated barn (**Figure 2**). The Soules lived on the property at this time.

The **Early Industrial Period (1830-1870)** was the peak of the shipbuilding industry in the town. The railroad had not entered the town yet and as a result, shipping and export of goods remained focused on the wind and water. Between 1832 and 1837, a total of 71 ships were launched and over 900 people were engaged in shipbuilding (MHC 1981: 7). Ezra Weston (“King Caesar”) opened the “10-acre yard”

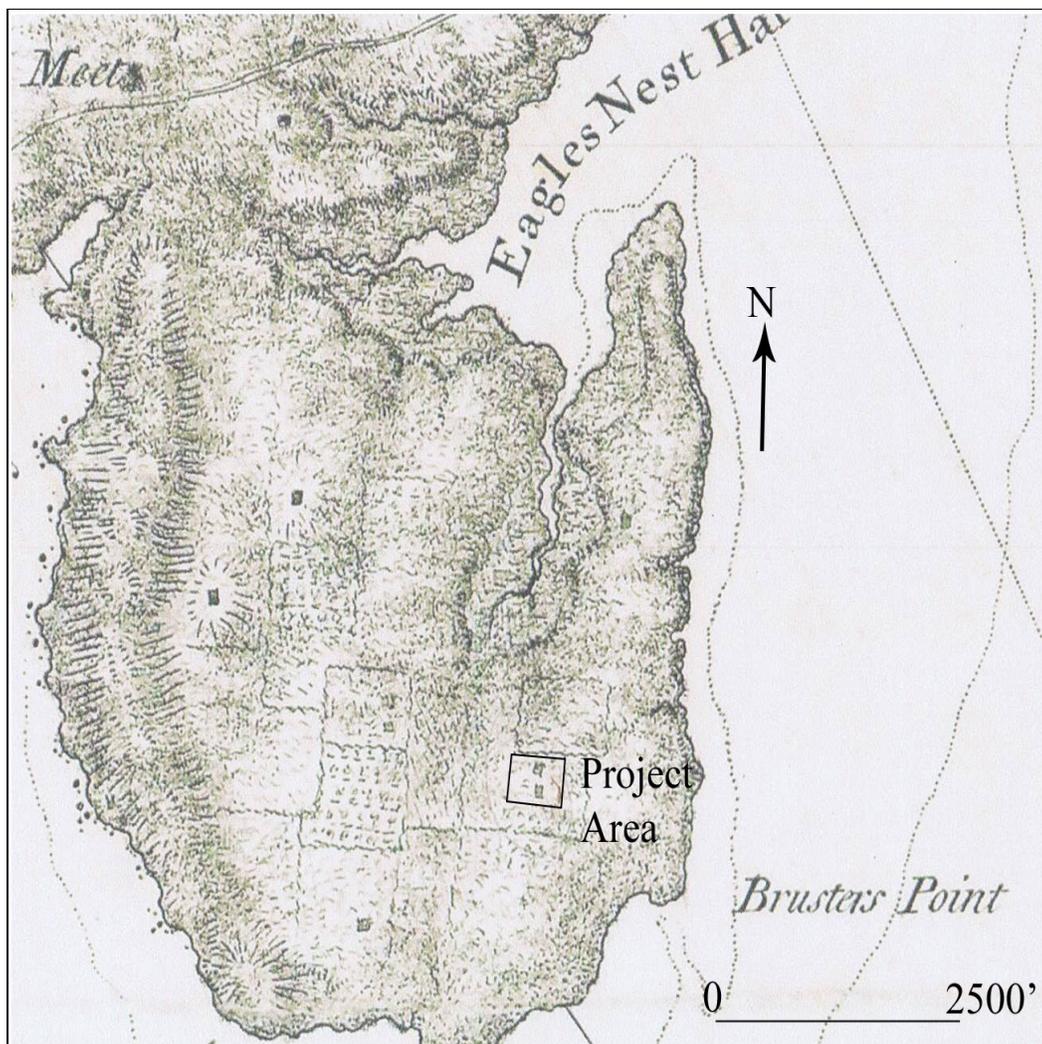


Figure 2. Project area shown on the 1780 map of Duxbury

in 1834 and his yard, as well as the Samuel Hall Yard (1837) were the largest shipbuilding yards in the town. The importance of the shipbuilding industry also led to the chartering of the Duxbury Bank by several prominent shipbuilders. Fishing was another important element of the economy with 46 ships making up the town's fishing fleet. The shipbuilding boom could not last forever, and with the rise of steam boats and the railroad, Duxbury's shipyards shut down as quickly as they began. By 1865 only 2 ships were launched a year and in 1869 the last fully-rigged ship was launched (MHC 1981:7).

The 1833 and 1857 maps of Duxbury show the property as belonging to the Soules and containing a house and barn to the north of the house (**Figures 3, 4**).

The loss of shipbuilding as a mainstay of the economy led to a large population drop during the **Late Industrial Period (1870-1915)**. The railroad finally arrived in Duxbury in 1871 and the town's economy saw a shift to tourists and cranberries as its mainstays. These two elements of the economy established the summer character of the town which has endured to this day.

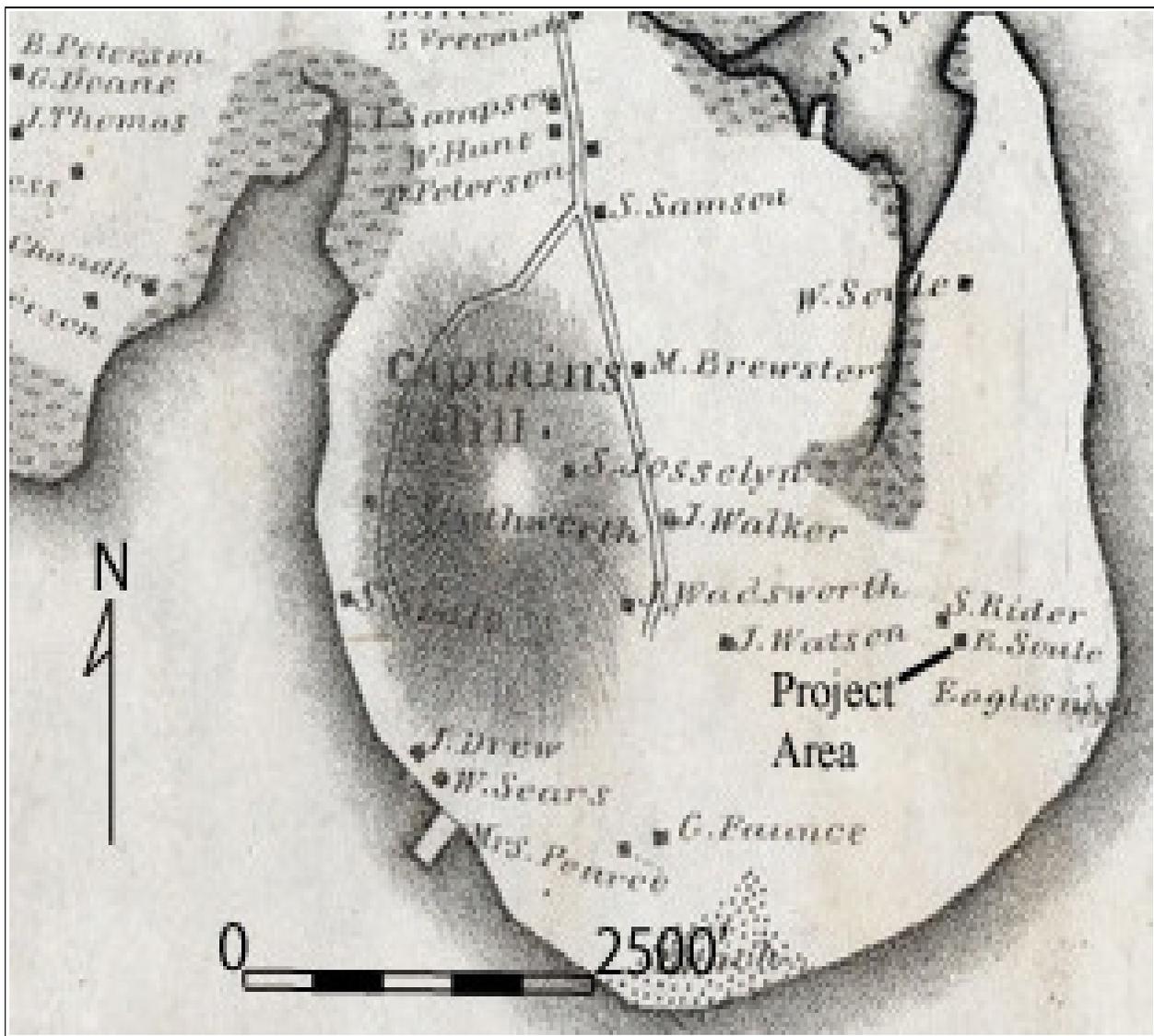


Figure 3. Project area shown on the 1833 map of Duxbury

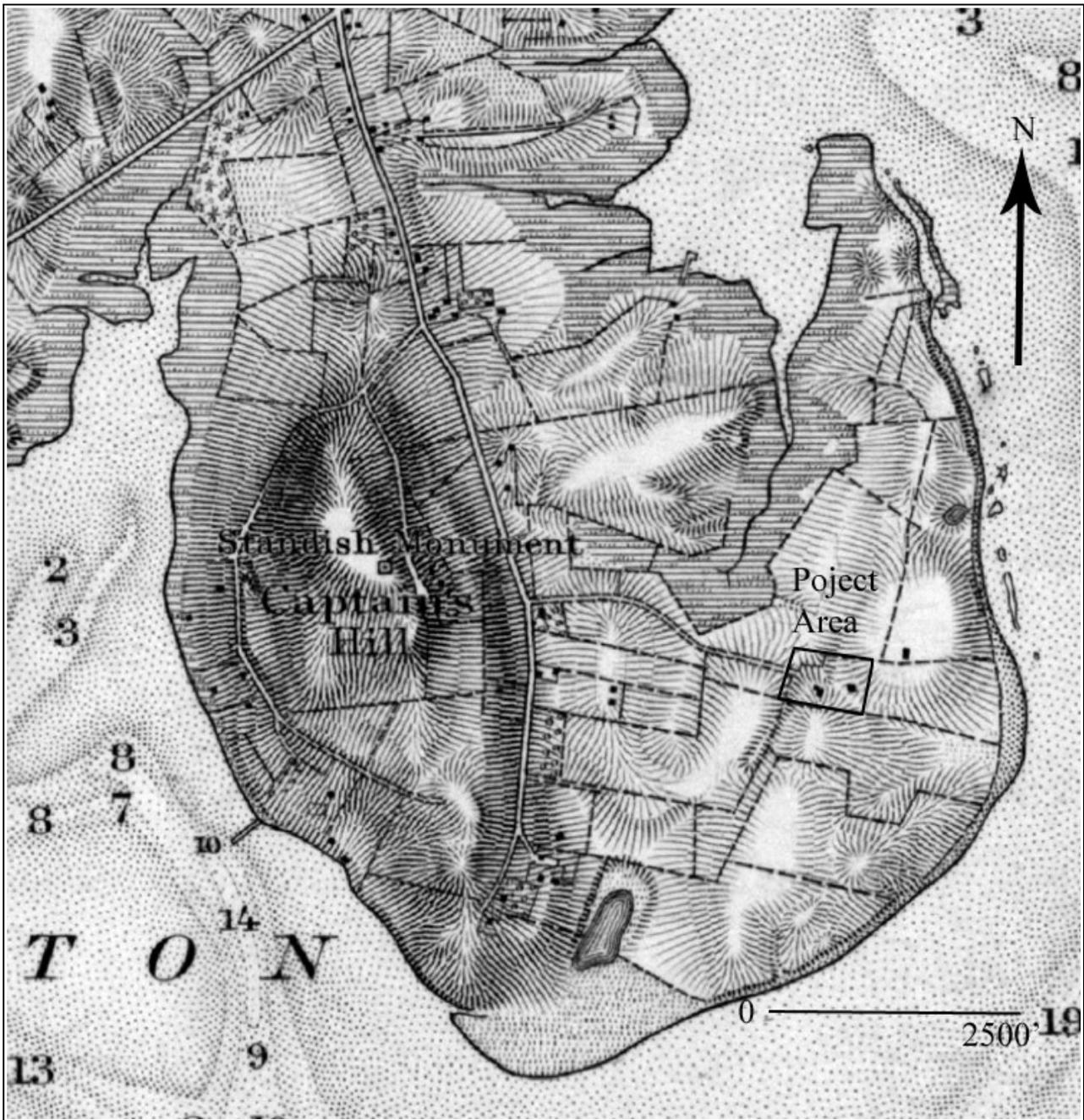


Figure 4. Project area shown on the 1857 map of Duxbury

Tourism and eventually poultry production came to dominate the economy during the **Early Modern period (1915-1940)**.

D. Documentary Research

William Brewster III, the only known child of William Brewster II and Mary (ne. Smythe/ Simkinson), is believed to have been born in Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, England between 1560 and 1566. His father was appointed the Receiver and Bailiff of the Archbishop of York's estates at Scrooby in 1575 and Master of the Queen's Posts in 1588. The former responsibilities resulted in an annual pay of 3 lbs 6 shillings 8 pence per year. The latter position meant that he was responsible for providing hospitality and a change of horses for the Crown messengers journeying along the Great North Road from London to Scotland and also served as postmaster. This position paid between 90 and 100 lbs per year (Anonymous 1890:31).

The family lived in Scrooby Manor, a moated house that was the former Medieval palace of the Archbishops of York. Scrooby Manor was founded before 1207. The gatehouse and some of the outbuildings were demolished in 1558 and most of the Manor House and its outbuildings were demolished in 1636 - 1637 as a result of an order by Charles I. One wing of the Manor House was renovated in about 1750 to serve as a farmhouse for the Archbishop's tenant. This is the building that continues as a private residence today.

The manor hosted many important visitors throughout its history:

- 1503 Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII, stayed at Scrooby on her way to her wedding in Scotland
- 1530 Cardinal Wolsey, the great statesman of Henry VIII, stayed the whole of September 1530 whilst he was out of favor with the King.
- 1538 John Leyland, King Henry VIII's historian visited
- 1541 King Henry VIII stayed
- 1541 King Henry VIII held a Privy Council meeting
- 1544 King Henry VIII bought the manor but it was bought back by the Archbishop a few years later
- Queen Elizabeth I visited here and desired to buy it
- King James the first also visited the house and wished to purchase it

Leyland described the house as:-

".....a great Manor Place, standing within a Mote, and (be) longging to the archbishop of York, buildid yn to (two) Courtes, where the first is very ample, and all builded of Tymbre, saving the front of the Haule, that is of Bricks, to the wich ascenditure per gradua lapidecs (one ascends by means of stone steps). The inner Courts Building, as far as I markid, was of Tymber Buildings, and was not in cumpace past the four parts of the utter (outer) Courts."

William II briefly studied at Peterhouse, Cambridge, but never graduated, before entering the service of William Davison in 1584. Davison was the secretary to Queen Elizabeth I and was a member of the commission to try Mary Queen of Scots. Brewster traveled with Davison to Holland on a diplomatic

mission and this trip may have influenced his later decision to emigrate there for religious freedom. Davison was made a scapegoat for Mary's public execution, which went against the Queen's wishes, and he was jailed until 1589. Brewster left that position and returned to Scrooby to take up his father's position as post master upon his father's death in 1590. He is believed to have set aside the largest room in Scrooby manor to serve as the tavern, and having built a bake house and a brew house to provide bread and beer to travelers. William Brewster III subdivided the house and farm in the 1590s and leased out part to another active separatist. William III married Mary ca. 1591. Mary's last name is not known, but it has been speculated to have been either Love, Wentworth, or Wyrral. She is believed to have been from Scrooby as well.

The Brewsters worshiped at the church at Babworth, located six miles from Scrooby manor, where Richard Clyfton was minister. Clyfton was a well-known advocate for reforming the Church of England who converted many to his dissenting religious views. By the early seventeenth century there were several country churches with dissenting ministers at their pulpits, ministers like Clyfton who questioned the practices of the Church of England. It was in 1602 at the Babworth church that Brewster, then between 36 and 42, met the 21 year-old orphan William Bradford. From 1606 until the fall of 1607, he held meetings in the manor for the Separatist congregations from Scrooby and Babworth churches.

In that same year the congregation who had formerly met at Scrooby manor, but who could no longer do so because Brewster had lost his post master position, decided that they would need to emigrate to the Low Countries where they would be free to worship as they wish. Their first attempt to leave England was in the same year, but they were arrested at Scotia Creek, which lies on the northern border between Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and imprisoned for a month. The following year they were able to leave for Holland. Brewster was elected the Elder of their congregation in 1609. The couple's first three children, Jonathan (b. 1593), Patience (b. c. 1600), and Fear (c. 1606), were born prior to their flight from England.

The Brewsters lived in Leiden near St. Peter's church and William made a living teaching English and working with a printer from 1616-1619. Brewster and fellow emigre Edward Winslow published religious tracts in 1619 that were critical of the King and the Bishops. As a result, King James ordered the two arrested. They escaped but the type and Brewster's partner Thomas Brewer were seized. In Leiden, the Brewsters last three children were born: an unnamed child (b. 1609), Love (c. 1611), and Wrestling (b. 1614).

The Separatists in Leiden feared that while religious restrictions in Holland were virtually non-existent, that may not be a good thing. It was decided that to truly be able to form a community that was free to worship as they wished, they would need to move farther from English control. Representatives from the Separatist group traveled to England and negotiated with the Virginia Company and secured a patent to settle in Virginia from the company's head Sir Edwin Sandys. Patent in hand, the Separatists now needed financial backing. This they secured from a group of London merchants. 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. The backing did come with the stipulation that other settlers be secured to supplement the small Separatist group and provide the skills needed in the new colony.

Brewster traveled on board the Mayflower with his wife, two youngest children, Love and Wrestling, and two children belonging to Samuel More, Mary age 4, who died during the first winter, and Richard age 5 who died before 1627. The Brewster's older children, Jonathan, Patience, and Fear, remained in Holland with the other Separatists. Jonathan arrived in 1621 aboard the Fortune and Patience and Fear arrived in 1623 aboard the Anne. Brewster was expected to continue in his role as Elder of the congregation until a permanent pastor could be sent. Ralph Smith arrived in 1629 and assumed the role of Plymouth pastor.

The Brewster's house in Plymouth was located at the crossroads of "The Highway" and "The Street" on the south side of the highway and the east side of the street. This is in the approximate location of the corner of Leiden and Main streets today. This was a significant location, being diagonally across from the Governor's residence, probably representing the importance of religion and government in the colony. Brewster's entire family lived in this house during the first years. The 1623 land division indicated that the Brewsters received 6 acres, 6 shares in the adventure for the six individuals they paid to bring over, and that these lands were located on the south side of Town Brook closest to the bay. Each individual was granted one acre of land measuring a half pole in breadth and three in length (83 x 492 feet). The acres were oriented with the width (83 feet) aligned with the coast and the length (492 feet) extending inland. On the south side of the brook, Robert Cushman's one acre was first, closest to the brook, followed by Brewster's six acres, followed by Bradford's three acres. This would place Brewster's land approximately from present day Water Street to 150 feet south of Bradford Street and from the shore to Emerald Street.

Mary Brewster died in 1627 and the Elder, now between 56 and 60 years old, never remarried. 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 repaid 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 wholly debared from all trade with the Indeans for all sorts of furr, 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 they would have now been 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.

In May of 1627 the cattle and goats of the colony were divided amongst the colonists with each colonist getting a share. The settlers were organized in lots according to the households in the village. A total of 12 households were identified. The fifth was that of William Brewster and to this lot fell one of the four heifers, called the Blind heifer, that came over in the Jacob in 1624, as well as two female goats. At this time, the Brewster household consisted of :

Love Brewster (unmarried)

Wrestling Brewster (unmarried)

Richard More

Henry Samson (orphan of the Tilley household)

Humility Cooper (orphan of the Tilley household cousin of Henry Samson)

Johnathan Brewster

Lucretia Brewster (Jonathan's wife)

William Brewster

Mary Brewster

Thomas Prince

Patience Prince (daughter of William Brewster, Thomas' wife)

Rebecca Prince (Thomas and Patience's daughter)

William Brewster acquired his land in Duxbury some time before 1631 when he purchased 32 acres from Francis Eaton for 31 lb 12 shillings:

"30 December 1631: "Frances Eaton of New Plimoth, hath sould vnto mr William Brewster of the same towne, one share of land, containing twenty Acers, lying at the place comonly called Nothingelse, next adjoining to the land of the said William Brewster lying to the north therof on the one side; And haueing the resedew of the land of the foresaid Frances Eaton lying to the sowthward therof; for & in Consideration that the said William Brewster, shall pay his purchas for four shars which comes to . 21 li [pounds]. 12 s [shillings] sterling ; the which the said

William Brewster doth likewise by these presents confeirme, for him, his heirs, & exsecutores for euer the said portion of land abouesaid, to the said William Brewster to him & his heires for euer. in witnes wherof they haue hearunto put their hands. the day & year aboue writen.

Frances Eaton
Willm Brewster"

"Moreouer the year, & day aboue writen, the said Francis Eaton of Plimoth aforesaid, hath sould other twelwe Acers of land lying in the aforesaid place at Nothingells, next adjonying to the foresaid portion, aboue mentioned, & bounded as before ; for & in consideration of the sume of .10 li. pound sterling ; allredy paid by the said William Brewster, to the aforesaid Francies Eaton. And therfore the said William Brewster is to haue & to hould, the abousaid portion of .12. Acers of land, to him & his heires for euer, in witnes wherof the said Francis Eaton hath put to his hand.

Frances Eaton." (Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. 12, p. 16)

The description in the Plymouth Colony Records indicate that was located to the south of Brewster's own land, probably placing it between Standish's land at the south end of the Nook and Brewster's own land at the lilacs. After Brewster's death, Samuel Eaton, son of Francis Eaton, confirmed the sale of one acre of land by Christian Eaton, his mother, on which William Brewster had built his house and planted an orchard and garden (Plymouth Colony Deeds 1644:99-100). Samuel wanted to confirm that the land was conveyed to Love Brewster and not Jonathan. A stipulation was made that Love and his heirs and Samuel and his heirs, would both be allowed to make use of the spring that laid at or near the boundary of the acre. This may be the same acre that was sold by Christian Eaton, then wife of Francis Billington, to Jonathan and Love Brewster in 1639 for 7 lbs. In this deed the land was described as being one third part of the land that she was left from her husband Francis Eaton (Plymouth Colony Deeds 1639: 48). If this is the same acre of land, then it would seem likely that Brewster built his house after 1639.

Brewster continued to appear in the Plymouth Records until his death in 1643. He was rated in corn for public use in 1633 and 1634 at 1 lb 7 shillings (Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. 1, p. 9, 27). Samuel Fuller, in 1633, left "old mr William Brewster my best hat and band wch I h[ave] never wore." (Mayflower Descendant, Vol. 1, p. 24-27). In November of the same year, he was bound in with the widow of Peter Browne for 200 lbs for the care of her five children following Peter's death (Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. 1, p. 18-19). In January of the following year he was left " cloath sute of apprell wch were given me by my brother ffuller" by Will Wright who described Brewster as "my reverend & respected ffriend" (Mayflower Descendant, Vol. 1, p. 200-203). He was named on the list of freemen in 1636/37 (Plymouth Colony Records 1:52).

After the ordinances of the colony were read and debated in 1636, Brewster was elected as one of eight men who would help rectify and prepare ordinances. The men who served on the committee were William Brewster, Mr. Ralph Smith, John Done, John Jenny for Plymouth; Mr. Jonathan Brewster and Christopher Wadsworth for Duxbury; and Anthony Annable and James Cudworth for Scituate (Records

of Plymouth Colony, Vol. 1, p. 43-44). The fact that Brewster was on the committee of men from Plymouth may indicate that he either spent most of his time at his Plymouth house, that he split his time between his Plymouth and his Duxbury house, or that he was chosen for the Plymouth group so as to let his son Jonathan serve as one of the two Duxbury representatives. All the men who were appointed for the committee were well-off leaders of their respective communities.

William Brewster agreed to take in John Bundy, who was apprenticed to learn the trade of carpentry from Griffin Montegue, to allow Bundy to serve the remainder of his term (eight years from 1635-1643) in 1637 (Records of Plymouth Colony, Vol. 1, p. 51). Bundy was born in 1617 in Nottinghamshire, England. Montegue was a settler in Boston who eventually lived in Salem by the 1670s. In August of 1637, Bundy was examined and found guilty of lewd behavior and uncivil carriage towards Elizabeth Haybell in the house of her master, William Brewster. Bundy was severely whipped for the crime (Records of Plymouth Colony, Vol. 1, p. 65). William Brewster assigned Bundy's indenture to his son Jonathan in 1639 for the remainder of his terms, which was identified as five years from the 14th of March 1638/39 (Records of Plymouth Colony, Vol. 1, p. 107). After his term ended he moved to Boston, married a woman named Martha Chandler, and then moved back to Plymouth Colony and settled in Taunton.

The hay ground that was granted to, but not cut by, Francis Sprage and William Basset in 1636 was granted to William Brewster in 1637 (Records of Plymouth Colony, Vol. 1, p. 55-56). Brewster was on a committee in the same year to take a view of the 500 acres of meadow grounds between the Eel River in Plymouth and South River so that there could be an equal division of them to each man. Brewster, Stephen Hopkins, Mr. John Done, and John Winslow were on the Plymouth committee, Edward Banges represented the Eel River, John Brown represented the Jones River, and Jonathan Brewster and Edmond Chandler represented Duxbury (Records of Plymouth Colony, Vol. 1, p. 67). Again, it was another case where Brewster represented Plymouth and not Duxbury, possibly indicating that his primary home was in Plymouth. A highway (today's Marshall Street) was laid out through Brewster's and Standish's lands on the Nook prior to 1638. Brewster and Standish had formerly refused to maintain it because there was a dispute regarding whether it was a public or a private way. In 1638 it was determined that it was a private way and the two agreed to maintain it (Records of Plymouth Colony, Vol. 1, p. 98.).

Elder Brewster died in 1644. Bradford described his family at this point as follows:

"Mr. Brewster lived to very old age; about 80 years he was when he died, having lived some 23 or 24 years here in the country. And though his wife died long before, yet she died aged. His son Wrestling died a young man unmarried. His son Love lived till this year 1650 and died and left four children, now living. His daughters which came over after him are dead but have left sundry children alive. His eldest son is still living and hath nine or ten children; one married who hath a child or two." (William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York: Knopf, 1991), p. 443-447.)

Bradford later expanded on Brewster's life and death, the full account of which is provided in Appendix A. Bradford said that Brewster died on April 18, 1643 and that

" He was near fourscore years of age (if not all out) when he died. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest; to die in his bed, in peace, amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him and ministered what help and comfort they could

unto him, and he again recomforted them whilst he could. His sickness was not long, and till the last day thereof he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more than half a day, and then failed him, and about nine or ten a clock that evening he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long as a man fallen into a sound sleep without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better."

(William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York: Knopf, 1991), p. 443-447.)

Following his funeral in Plymouth, his two sons Love and Jonathan met at William Bradford's house in Plymouth to settle their father's estate. William Brewster had died without a will and Jonathan, the elder brother, was willing to divide the estate in half. Love agreed but later a difference arose regarding certain particulars about William Brewster's house in Duxbury where Love lived, and had lived since he was married. Jonathan claimed that the house was not Love's but was part of the estate and needed to be divided along with the Elder's land in the town. The committee who heard the dispute (which included William Bradford, Myles Standish, Edward Winslow, and diverse others who had come for the funeral), determined that there was enough evidence that the intent of the Elder was that the house and half of the Duxbury land was to be left to Love and his wife upon the Elder's death as part of the Contract of Marriage between the couple. This may indicate that while William Brewster owned the house in Duxbury, it was only Love who lived there and Elder Brewster lived in Plymouth. Another problem that arose involved an account of the estate claimed by Love against Jonathan for a large amount of money. The committee discharged Jonathan of the debt, rationalizing that that was what the Elder would have done as well. Jonathan was still held liable for four pounds for wintering cattle with Love.

The land was divided up in the following way. Jonathan received 111 acres of upland and 63 acres around his dwelling house as well as all of the meadow on the side of the creek below the bridge and the way between Jonathan and Love's houses. Love received 43 acres of upland adjoining his house, 30 of which was cleared land and almost all in tillage. The remaining 13 acres were woodland. Excepted out of Love's land was a parcel $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre in size in the garden of Jonathan and part in the swamp adjoining his garden where Jonathan got his water. Love also received all the meadow on that side of the creek adjoining to his land and a small parcel that laid above the bridge between their houses. It was rationalized that Love received less land because his land was of better quality than Jonathan's.

The settlement of Brewster's estate after his funeral illustrates several important points. The first is that William Brewster was probably buried in Plymouth and not Duxbury as everyone returned to Bradford's house following the funeral. Secondly, it is interesting to see the potential rivalry that existed between the eldest son and the youngest son and the benefits of dying with a will explicitly stating the division of your estate versus dying intestate. The record also indicates that Love, his wife Sarah and their family lived in the house in Duxbury. It does not mention Elder Brewster living there. It is probable that the Elder purchased the lands ca. 1630-1631 after which he had built, possibly by Francis Eaton, the house in which Love and his family lived. Love married Sarah Collier on May 15,

1634 and he stated in his deposition that the house and land were granted to him by his father when he and Sarah married, indicating that the house may have stood at that time. The settlement also shows the extent of Brewster's holdings in Duxbury which appear to have totaled over 144 acres including meadow land around the bridge between Jonathan and Love's lands.

Brewster's inventory, taken in May of 1644, totaled 150lb 7d with no real estate, as that was divided previously to Jonathan and Love following the Elder's funeral. Included in the inventory were nearly 400 books in both Latin and English. A copy of the inventory is provided in Appendix C. The inventory shows that the house in Duxbury was considered his as well, as the inventory is separated between his Plymouth and his Duxbury house. The Plymouth house contained most of his clothing and linens, and possibly, although it is not stated, his books, while the house in Duxbury contained only one cap and a cloth coat, a rug, two blankets, a sword, a corslet, a chamberpot, eight pieces of furniture, a pair of sheets, a towel, a cushion, and old trunk, a pewter bottle, eight books, chains, two old shares, a coulter, 15 cattle, and three swine. The assemblage from the Duxbury house, excepting the cattle, appears more like the contents of a single room that was kept by Love and his family for the Elder when he came to visit. It appears that Plymouth was his main residence, at least at the end of his life. He probably lived in Plymouth with, at one point, at least two servants, and his friends for support.

Love Brewster was born in Leiden and accompanied his mother and father aboard the Mayflower. He married Sarah Collier on 15 May 1634. Sarah was born in Southwark, Surrey, England to William Collier and Jane Clarke in 1616. William Collier was one of the Adventurers who funded the Plymouth Colony. He was described as a grocer of Bermondsey and Bradford referenced a 400lb sterling investment of Isaac Allerton's into "a brew-house of Mr. Colliers in London" (Bradford 1856: 285). The Colliers arrived in Plymouth in 1632 and eventually settled in Duxbury (Bradford 1856: 307). The Collier's other daughters married even better than Sarah: Rebecca married Job Cole; Mary married future governor Thomas Prentice; and Elizabeth married Constant Southworth. Love and Sarah had four children: Sarah (b. 1632 m. Benjamin Bartlett 1656); Nathaniel (b. Bet. 1634-1637 m. Sarah North bet. 1660-1665); Deacon William (b. 1640 m. d. 1723); and Wrestling (b. 1644 d. 1695/96). William Collier was probably the wealthiest man in Duxbury, consistently being assessed highest on the tax lists.

Love Brewster and his family continued to live on the farm until his death in 1650. One infamous incident that occurred on the farm happened two years before the Elder died. At this time, Love Brewster had in his household (which in theory would have been William Brewster's household as well) a youth aged 16 or 17 from Scituate named Thomas Granger. Granger was "...detected of buggery (and indicted for ye same) with a mare, a cowe, tow goats, five sheep, 2 calves, and a turkey" (Bradford 1856: 397). He was subsequently tried and executed, the whole event being described by Bradford as "A very sade spectacle it was; for first the mare, and then ye cowe, and ye rest of ye lesser catle, were kild before his face, according to ye law, Levit: 20. 15. and then he him selfe was executed. The catle were all cast into a great & large pitte that was digged of purposse for them, and no use made of any part of them." (Bradford 1856: 397). The full account provided by Bradford is presented in Appendix D.

Love was made a freeman on March 2, 1635-36 and was among the men from Plymouth Colony who volunteered to serve in the Pequot War. While Plymouth Colony never participated in the war, Love had a substantial amount of weaponry in his house when he died. This consisted of three guns, two

powder horns, a flask, a shot bag, a pair of bandoliers, a pistol, three pounds of powder, 22 pounds of shot, three pounds of "great" shot, and a rapier, with the whole lot totaling over four pounds sterling. He served as a grand jurymen in 1643, and in 1645 was one of the proprietors of what later became Bridgewater.

Love Brewster died in 1650 and his estate was probated in October of that year (Appendix E). In his will he left each of his children a kettle and left each of his sons a gun. The remainder of the estate was left to his wife. He left his lands to his eldest son Nathaniel, and if he were to die before Love, to his next eldest son Wrestling. He also left his collection of books, presumably books he had inherited from his father, to be evenly distributed among his surviving heirs.

The inventory of his house provides some insight into the layout of the structure. It starts out with the statement "In the first room". This indicates that there are at least two rooms to the house because if there was only one, then there would be no need to say in the first room. The first room, by way of the contents of the inventory, must have been the hall. The contents of this room match closely those of John Howland's hall, which was called the outward or fire room in his probate. John Howland's inward room or bed chamber, contained bedding, linens, clothing and this concentration of clothing, linens, and bed related items can also be seen in Love's inventory. This leads to a determination that Love Brewster's house was most probably of Hall and Parlor design, two rooms with either a central chimney or a chimney at one end of the hall and an unheated parlor, possibly with a chamber above the hall, the parlor, or both. His house design may have closely matched that of John Howland's (**Figure 5**).

Love's wife Sarah remarried in 1656 to Richard Parke of Cambridge and she subsequently moved from Duxbury. Parke was a wealthy land owner in the town whose wife had died sometime after she arrived in 1635. Richard died in 1665 and Sarah sold her interest in his estate to his son Thomas in 1678 for 45lb 15s, at which time she calls herself "of Duxbury" (Greenlaw 1899:113).

Nathaniel Brewster was born between 1634 and 1637 and married Sarah North between 1660 and 1665. He died in 1676 and left his estate to his wife (Appendix F). He must have died unexpectedly, as the abbreviated will that was filed with the Plymouth court states that the will that was filed, was done so about two weeks after Nathaniel's death. It appears that Benjamin Bartlett, Nathaniel's brother-in-law, heard he was sick and visited him, encouraging him to execute a will on the chance that he died. Nathaniel told Benjamin that he left his possessions to his wife but could not leave the land to her, as it was not his to leave. After Nathaniel's death, Benjamin had the verbal will recorded with the court. No children are mentioned, so the couple probably did not have any. The land and the house must have belonged to Nathaniel's mother, Sarah, who had remarried and lived in Cambridge. Nathaniel did state that he owned land at "the falls" and this may be the same land that Tony Kelso identified as lying at "the old tarpits" (personal communication). Robert Vixen of Eastham was appointed the administrator of Nathaniel's estate on November 1, 1676 and on September 26, 1679, married Nathaniel's widow (Greenlaw 1899: 114).

The probate lists relatively few items (Appendix F) and no house or land is mentioned, supporting the theory that it remained in his mother's possession. The house may have remained uninhabited until Sarah Brewster's return to Duxbury sometime after August 1671 and before 1678, possibly after her son Nathaniel's death. She may have moved back into the old Brewster house and lived there until her

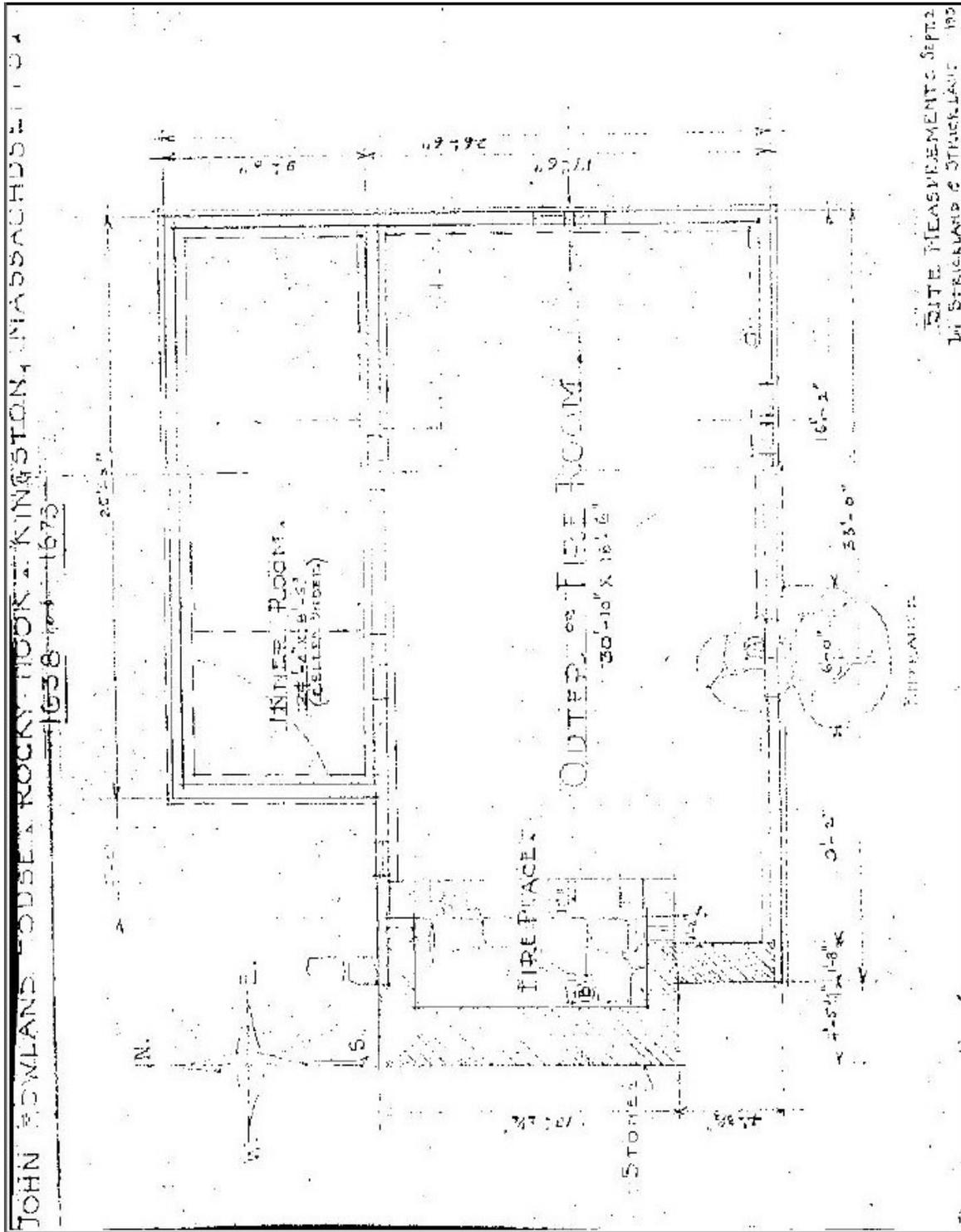


Figure 5. John Howland's house at Rocky Nook

death in 1691. It is known that on March 2, 1679/80 she was presented at court for pulling up and defacing a bound marker and making claim to land of William Paybody (Greenlaw 1899:114). Paybody claimed damages of 40 lb for the removal in October 1678 of a bound marker on land lying on the east side of Eagles Nest Creek between land that was sometimes of the late Mr. William Brewster and land that was sometimes of the late Francis Sprague, being land that was the easternmost bound of Richard More's land (Records of the Colony of New Plymouth Volume 7: 220). The jury refused to rule until the judge determined if a law had been broken. In July of 1679 the case was again before the court, this time with Sarah Parke asserting that she just wanted the property bounds justified as they had been laid out following the Elder William Brewster's death in 1643. The court reviewed the records, conceded that a William Varsell had laid out and bounded the land well at that time, but that the bounds were now missing. They determined that the parties involved should have a new survey conducted at their own cost and that if the survey found one or the other party with less land, then they should settle it themselves (Records of the Colony of New Plymouth Volume 6: 17). The interested parties had the land surveyed and the findings were recorded in the Plymouth County Records of Deeds on October 27, 1680. It is believed that Love's son William continued to live in the house when Nathaniel and his wife lived there as well. William was born in 1645 and married Lydia Partridge, daughter of Duxbury's minister, in 1672. They had eight children: Sarah (b. 1674); Nathaniel (b. 1676); Lydia (b. 1679/80); William (b. 1683); Mercy (b. 1685); Benjamin (b. 1688); Joseph (b. 1693); and Joshua (b. 1698). William became the Deacon of the Duxbury church. He is believed to have owned the house until his death in 1723. In his will he left the farm to his sons Joseph and Joshua. Joshua got eastern half while Joseph received the western half of the farm.

The house passed to Joshua who probably lived in it until his death in 1776. He was married in 1721 to Deborah Jackson. Together they had five children: Job (b. 1723 d. 1727); Nathan (b. 1724 d. 1808); Sarah (b. 1727 d. 1812); Rachel (b. 1727 d. Unknown); and Job (b. 1729 d. Unknown). Joshua sold the rights to the farm to his sons Nathan and Job in 1753. Deborah died in 1769.

The farm then passed to Nathan, a coaster/ mariner, who sold his half of the farm (25 acres) to his brother Job in 1762. Nathan is believed to have moved to the Tarkiln area of Duxbury after this time. Job Brewster, another coaster and a yeoman, married Elizabeth Ellis in 1754 and had two sons who died young. He lost the family farm to creditors in 1773. It is unknown what happened to him and his wife after the loss of the farm but he may have moved to Plymouth.

The farm then passed out of the Brewster family and was purchased by Joseph Soule in 1773 who gave it to his son Ezekiel when Ezekiel married in 1777. Joseph purchased the lands around the house one piece at a time. One, two and one half acre parcel was described as having on it a dwelling house, corn house, hog house, and an old barn at the northeast corner of the parcel. The house was described as having east and west lower front rooms that were given to other creditors. The spring is also mentioned. It appears that when Joseph Soule purchased the property, the layout was probably of a Cape design with a central hearth flanked by a hall and parlor. A kitchen and possibly other rooms may have been located on the north side. This same house style could account for Love Brewster's house as recorded in his probate, making it probable that the Soule acquired the original Brewster house. Ezekiel died in 1843. His will left one third of the real estate to his son Charles who lived in Hall's Corner, along with one half of the two pews Ezekiel owned in the Congregational meeting house. Clynthia, his daughter, was left one half of the household furnishings and indoor movables and one half of the house

and garden plot. The residue of the estate was left to his son Marshall. Clynthia died intestate on April 2, 1857 having never married. All of here estate was left to her brother Charles.

Marshall Soule was born on April 24, 1778 and was the eldest son of Ezekiel Soule. His early occupation was as a pilot and he is reported to have traveled to London many times (Bartlett 1853: 174). Justin Winsor, Duxbury historian, visited Marshall Soule in August of 1851 and recorded his stay in a set of hand written notes on file at Massachusetts Historical Society. Winsor stated that he visited the "eccentric and venerable septagenarian" who was known locally as Uncle Marshall Soule and took a dinner of trout and clam chowder with him. He also noted that Marshall's clams were always the largest and sweetest, as he knew the best places to dig them. As an aside, a story recorded by Henry Fish is that Marshall once, ca. 1830, had a clause put on the warrant during town meeting, that only residents be allowed to dig clams, stating that he knew every flat in the town. To this statement, someone rejoined that he knew every flat because he had run his boat up and been stuck on them all (Fish personal papers). Marshall then took Winsor to the Standish site. Winsor never noted any tradition that the house where Soule lived was the original Brewster house or even that the Brewster site was anywhere near his house.

One visitor from England who was traveling around the Plymouth area visiting sites related to the Pilgrims provided a detailed description of him ca. 1853. As the man and his guide traveled on the Nook, through lands that he described as "bald and dreary", they came to a farmhouse just under the brow of an isolated hill (Captain's Hill) (Bartlett 1853: 174). They spied a farmer plowing his fields with the help of a 10 year old boy. The farmer was described as "fine vigorous old man with cheerful eye, cheek hale and ruddy as that of an English peasant" (Bartlett 1853: 174). The recorder said that the man was about 75 and his guide knew him as Mr. Soule. He also reported that the fences on the farm were snake fences made of rough slips of timber placed crosswise in zigzag fashion, that he hoped one day would be replaced with good English hedges (Bartlett 1853: 174).

A letter from Helen Holmes to Howard Moore dated 1937 and now on file at NEHGS records the following " Went to see 2 old Brewster ladies who have treasured family tradition for many years. Miss Flora Brewster who is 88 remembers plainly going to the Elder Brewster house when it was standing, occupied by an elderly man named Marshall Soule. She said, as we might imagine, that the house was plain, low, rather bare. The lilacs grew in 2 clumps over either side of the front door. The lilacs have now spread and suckered." Steele recorded in his biography of Elder Brewster, *The Life and Times of Elder Brewster*, that "on the lands of Brewster...stands a gray, decaying farm house, with its appendages; not built by the Elder, but evidently its replacement, and near the site of the original." (Steele 1857). Steele also recorded that some years before a silver spoon bearing the initials J (or I) B had been found in the garden by Mr. Soule. Fish also reported that people, tourists and others, mistake the Soule house for the original Brewster house, but that the Brewster house actually stood a few feet to the southwest where it is marked by a slight depression.

The year following Steels biography Marshall and Charles mortgaged the family farm for \$500.00 and back taxes to their nephew George Marshall Soule. The debt was never discharged, leading to some trouble years later when the property was again sold. The 1855 Massachusetts census lists him as living alone in the house but the 1860 census suggests he was living at Hall's Corner with his brother Charles. Marshall Soule died on February 27, 1861 of congestion of the lungs after four days suffering.

He was 82 years old and is the last known occupant of the house. Charles inherited the house on his brother's death. He sold the farm in April of 1865 when it was described as "'homestead farm of late Ezekiel Soule'".

In 1872 an article was published in the Old Colony Memorial titled "An Appeal to the Descendants of Elder William Brewster". In it, the author described the property as having the well, orchard, spring, "rigid poplar colonnade", and lilac bushes so thick at the front door to bar entrance and exit to the house. The article recorded that at the site stood the "old Elder Brewster house", not the first one, which the writer claimed was destroyed by fire, but one that was erected on the same spot (probably by the same hands, the author speculates) and occupied by successive generations. The article recorded that by 1872 the house was no longer habitable and was torn down a few years before and that the cellar hole was covered with rails and nothing marks the location. The author appeals to Brewster descendants to raise funds and purchase approximately two acres around the house for the protection of the site (Old Colony Memorial September 8, 1872).

It would appear from the descriptions of the property during Marshall Soule's occupation that it was old, gray, weathered, dilapidated, with two rooms on the first floor. It does not seem probable that if the house had been built when Ezekiel Soule acquired the property in 1777, that it would be in such a condition that it needed to be torn down less than one hundred years later. It is more probable that the house that Marshall Soule lived in was the original Brewster house, which after some 230 years may have been in a condition where it was falling down upon itself.

The Myles Standish Hotel was built in the late 19th century and its high point was in 1896 when it had been remodeled and refurbished (**Figure 6**). The hotel boasted summer cottages, boathouses, bathhouses, a yacht club, and its own bottling company that bottled spring water and ginger ale under the name Myles Standish Spring Company. After 1900, the hotel began to decline in popularity and its owners, the Boyer sons, mortgaged it to V. Everit Macy on March 11, 1901. By 1905, the hotel had stopped selling ginger ale and spring water as the venture was no longer profitable. A fire started in the stables and garage behind the hotel on July 12, 1908, eventually destroying the stables, garage, and laundry. The fire, combined with the Depression of 1909 marked the end of the hotel, which had its last season that year. The mortgage was foreclosed on December 11, 1911 and on February 19, 1913 George Gregory, the mortgage holder, took the property. The buildings sat shuttered from 1910 to 1914, providing a source of furniture and furnishings for the local residents. The Boyers, who had formerly owned the hotel, also owned an unmortgaged chunk of land along Eagles Nest Creek where the barn and stables of the hotel had stood, and they sold this to Gregory in 1914. Gregory sold the hotel and grounds to E. Avery Brewer of Shrewsbury and William Orrell of Rhode Island on January 29, 1915. Orrell and Brewer now owned the hotel, four cottages, a wharf, spring with its house, garages, clubhouses, bathhouses, and boathouses and they founded Standish Shore Incorporated to develop the property. They renovated the hotel by having the rear portion of the T-shaped hotel, the kitchen and service area, demolished and buried in its own cellar on the spot. Sand from the Brewster house site was excavated and brought to cover the remains. The front section of the hotel was split into northern and southern sections and each was developed for private use. The northern section became the Orrell's house while the southern section, which was once the dance hall, became the Brewer's residence. The summer cottages associated with the hotel were sold, with the stipulation that



Figure 6. Standish Hotel

they needed to be removed from the property. One was transported to the land just south of the Brewster site and remains as a summer cottage for the Kelso family. The wharf remained until the Hurricane of 1938 destroyed it. The spring house collapsed and the spring was capped. Brewer died in 1917 and Orrell followed a few years later. The south wing of the hotel was sold and moved off the property while the north wing remains in its original location and is still occupied.

IV. FIELD WORK RESULTS

Excavation was carried out within one meter squares subdivided into 50 cm quadrants. Each quadrant was excavated, screened and the finds bagged separately. Each quadrant was excavated in 10 cm arbitrary levels within natural soil horizons. Features were noted, drawn, photographed and subsequently excavated with soil samples being retained for floatation. Testing commenced along the 0-1m north line with the initial test units being spaced two meters apart. Further units were subsequently excavated adjacent to units containing significant deposits or potential features. The first unit excavated was at 2-3 m W and 0-1 m N. The last unit excavated along the 0-1 m N line was 18-19 m W. Excavation extended to 1-2 m N from 13-16 m W and extended to 9-10 m S at 7-9 m W (**Figure 7**). Testing revealed the extent of the house that was located at the site as well as exposing the potential location of the hearth and chimney base and areas of late nineteenth century disturbance in two areas.

North Wall Foundation (Area 1)

A line of rocks and brick were identified running roughly east to west at the apex of the rise from 13-17 m W on the 0-1 m N line. This line has been tentatively identified as the possible north wall of the house. The total width of the rough wall was 30 cm wide with a 30 cm area of fallen stones and brick extending to the south from the 0/0 line. The soil around the stones and bricks at 20 cmbs was brown (10YR4/3) while the soil to the south was mottled yellow and brown (10YR7/6 and 10YR4/3) sand. The stones appeared to be roughly stacked in the western portion of the line and only extended 10 cm below the surface (**Figure 8**). The soil from 13-14.1 m W consisted of a 10-20 cm thick Fill Layer 3 that was a dark brown (10YR3/3) sandy loam. The line of stones, the possible foundation, was located within this possible fill layer. The layer was thickest at 13 m W, where it extended to 20 cmbs, and shallowest at 14.3 m W where it only extended to 10 cm and intersected the densest concentration of foundation stones. A mottled gray brown and dark brown (10YR5/2 and 10YR3/3) sandy loam layer was located beneath Fill Layer 3 and was identified as Fill Layer 1. This layer was approximately 2 cm thick at 13 m W and reached its thickest dimension of 15cm at 14.2 m W. Fill Layer 3 gradually merged with the foundation stones at 14.5 m W. A pocket of mottled olive brown and dark brown soil (2.5Y4/3 and 10YR3/3), identified as Fill Layer 2, was located between Fill Layers 3 and 1 from 13.5-14.09 m W. It was 2 cm thick at 13.5 cm and reached a maximum depth of 6 cm thick at 14.09 m W. Fill Layer 1 overlaid the brownish yellow (10YR6/6) silty sand B1 horizon at 13 m W to 13.56 m W. At this point, Fill Layer 1 overlaid what appeared to be a buried A1 horizon that was gray brown (10YR5/2) sandy loam. The buried A1 was 2 cm thick at 13.56 m W and became 24 cm thick at 14.7 m W. The buried A1 overlaid the B1 horizon. Part of the foundation wall rested on top of the buried A1 horizon at 14.52 to 14.9 m W. The foundation wall from 15-16 m W rested on the buried A1 horizon. The A1 horizon was separated from the B1 horizon by a thin, 5 cm thick, layer of shell and 17th -18th century historic period artifacts. A section of the wall was excavated to recover a sample of the shell layer. This shell layer was found to extend from 30-35 cmbs and was directly beneath a portion of the foundation and directly on the B1 horizon. This shell layer was also encountered on the northern half of units 14-15 m W, just below the cobble foundation encountered in these units and just above the A1 horizon.

A soil anomaly that was interpreted as a possible foundation trench was encountered in the north wall profile of 14-15 m W 1-2m N. This soil anomaly extended from below the buried A1 horizon in this unit, into the B1 horizon. It was linear in shape and extended from 14 m W to 14.6 m W. The overall

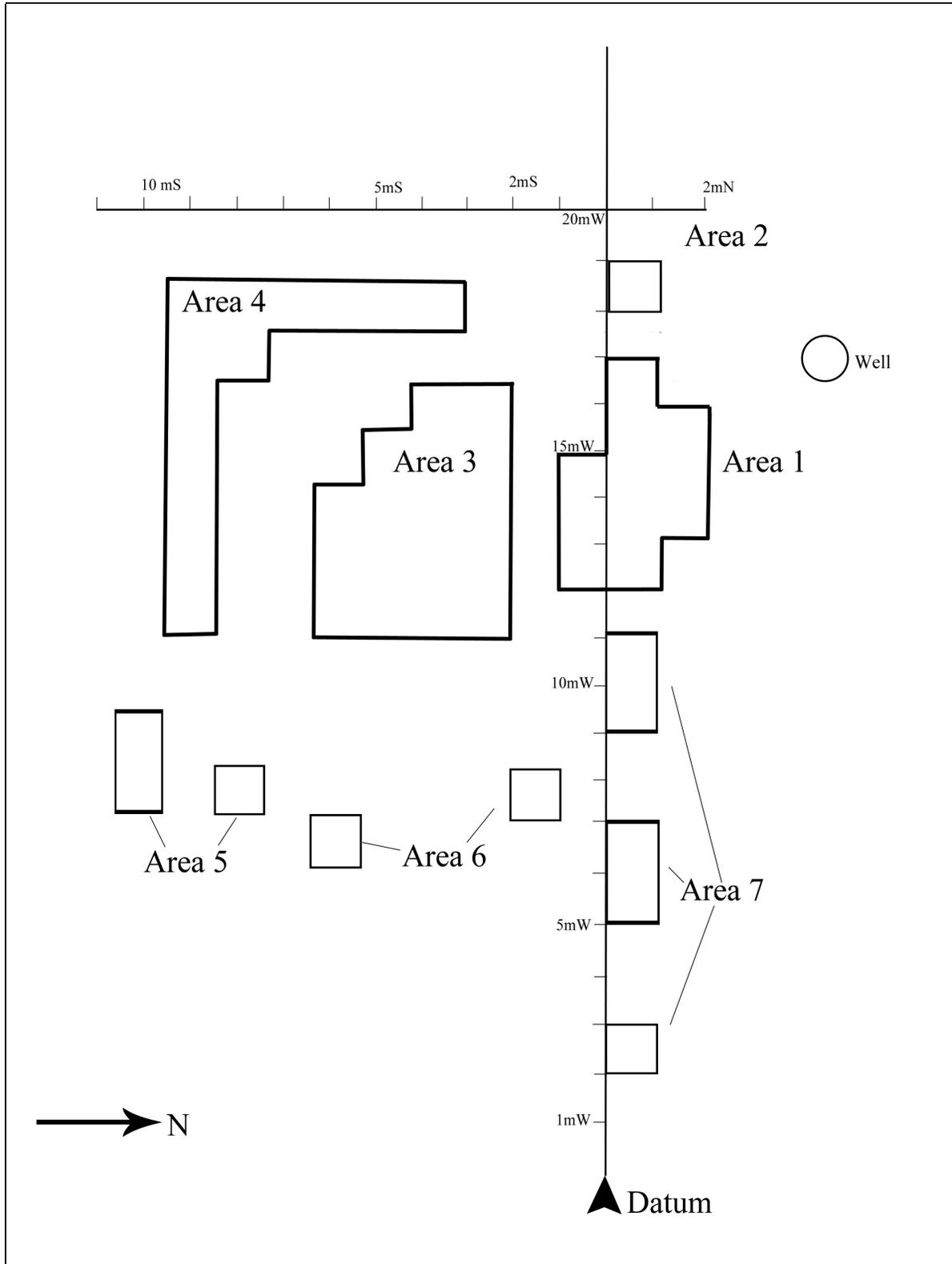


Figure 7. Site Examination Testing



Figure 8. Area 1 soil profile

north wall soil profile from 14-16 m W consisted of a 3 cm thick A0 horizon that overlaid a 5-10 cm thick brown (10YR4/3) Fill Layer 6. Fill Layer 6 overlaid Fill Layer 7, a mottled brown and yellowish brown (10YR4/3 and 10YR5/6) deposit in the western half of 15-16 m W, and Fill Layer 5 from 14.5 to 15.5 m W. Fill Layer 5 overlaid Fill Layer 4, which covered the wall that extended from 15.7 to 16.5 m W and was cut into the A1 and B1 horizons. The buried A1 horizon was found extending from the wall east to 14 m W.

Western Disturbance (Area 2)

The soil from 16-17 m W consisted of fill layers resulting from the removal of soil during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century for use at the Myles Standish Hotel (**Figure 9**). Fill Layer 4 was a dark gray brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam that sloped to the west from the surface at 16 m W to 40 cm deep at 17 m W. It was overlaid by a yellow brown (10YR5/4) Fill Layer 5 that was 10 cm deep and also sloped from east to west. Fill Layer 5 was overlaid by Fill Layer 6, an olive brown (2.5Y4/3) silty sand, that sloped from the surface to 40 cm deep at 17 m W. It appears that the A1 horizon in the eastern half of this area had been stripped off at some point and subsequently Fill Layers 1-3 were added. Fill Layers 4-6 were added in the late nineteenth to twentieth century when soil excavation was carried out to the west of the house for use as fill at the Myles Standish hotel. Apparently the resulting hole from soil removal was at least partially filled in at a later period.

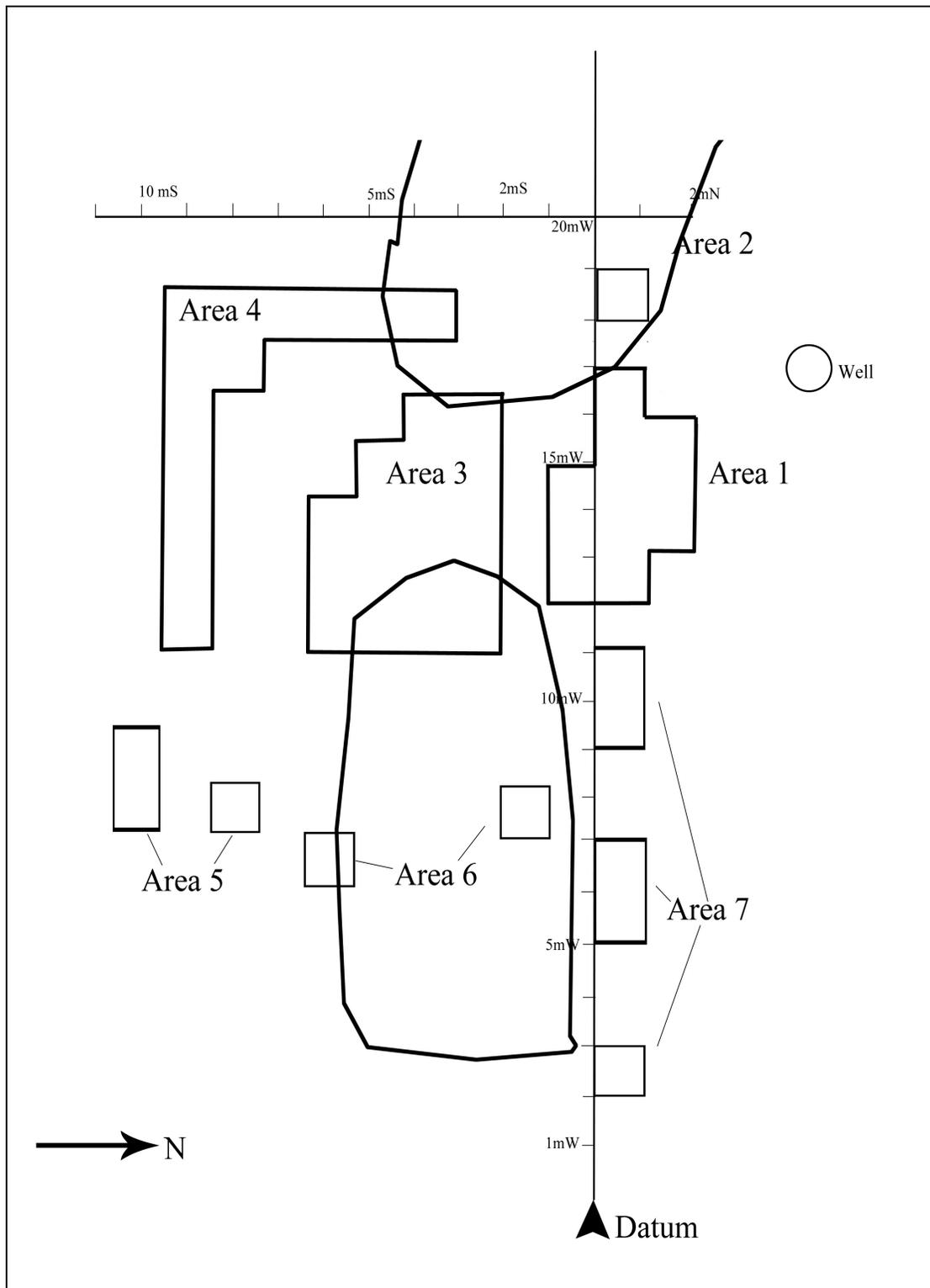


Figure 9. Areas of disturbance (round ended features) caused by the extraction of sand and subsequent deposition of refuse at the site



Figure 10. Area 2 late nineteenth century disturbance.

Unit 18-19 m W 0-1 m N revealed significant evidence of soil removal and dumping related to the Standish Hotel (**Figure 10**). The east wall profile revealed a 3 cm deep A0 horizon that overlaid a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) Fill Layer 10. Fill Layer 10 extended to 10 cmbs and overlaid Fill Layer 9. Fill Layer 9 was a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) silty sand with few artifacts that overlaid Fill Layer 8, which was a dark brown (10YR3/3) silty sand with a heavy concentration of coal ash. Fill Layer 8 sloped from 8 cm thick in the northeast corner to 30 cm thick in the southeast corner. This layer overlaid Fill Layer 7, a relatively thin, 10 cm thick, mottled dark brown and yellowish brown (10YR3/3 and 10YR5/6) silty sand layer that followed the same slope as Fill Layer 8. Fill Layer 7 overlaid the natural C1 horizon, a very pale brown (10YR7/3) fine silty sand that also sloped in depth from north to south. Between Fill Layers 8 and 9 a deposit of burned wood planks with machine-cut nails was encountered. These may relate to the burning of the stables and garage from the Standish Hotel.

Hearth (Area 3)

A 30 cm deep layer of brick and mortar rubble was located on top of the area identified as the probable hearth and chimney base (**Figure 11**). The total area of the hearth measured 10' (3.1 m) north to south on the west side; 10' (3.1 m) east to west on the south side; 81" (2.5 m) north to south on the east side; and 65" (1.65 m) east to west on the north side. The soil above the possible hearth or chimney base



Figure 11. Area 3 hearth looking southeast

consisted of a 5 cm thick dark gray brown A0 layer that overlaid a heavy deposit of brick and mortar. This layer extended to 30 cmbs.

South and West Wall foundations (Area 4)

The south and west wall foundations were encountered just south of the hearth. The south wall was found to be 34 feet long while the west wall was found to have been truncated by late nineteenth century soil removal where it joined to the western ell (**Figure 12**). The wall was found to be approximately one foot wide and one foot high and made of cut and split granite.



Figure 12. South wall foundation looking east

French Drain (Area 4)

The exposed cobble layer located on the south side of the house was 20' (6.1 m) long and 2' (60 cm) wide (Figure 13). It was located 15 cm below the top of the foundation stones. The overall length of the south wall foundation was 34' (10.4 m) and it was 20-30 cm wide. On November 15, 2012, the last day of field work, a section of the cobble layer to the south of the south wall foundation was removed and the soil beneath it was excavated to sterile subsoil. The section was located two meters east of 18m W 9 m S. The cobble layer was located at 25 cmbs and a section measuring 50 cm square was removed with the cobbles being later replaced. The soil from 25-30 cmbs was olive brown (2.5Y4/3) sandy loam with 18th century artifacts. At 30 cmbs the brownish yellow (10YR6/6) B1 horizon was encountered and the light yellowish brown (10YR6/4) fine silty sand B2 horizon was encountered at 50 cmbs.



Figure 13. Cobble French drain along the south wall looking east

The cobble area is believed to represent a French drain installed possibly by the Soule's in an attempt to keep water from collecting along the western half of the south side of the house. It may have also been an attempt to slow any erosion that may have been occurring here as a result of water runoff from the roof.

East Wall Foundation (Area 5)

The east wall foundation was found to be 30 cm wide and consisted of a single course of well-laid stones with smaller chinking stones between them. These stones were set in the dark brown (10YR3/3) Fill Layer 3 horizon. Fill Layer 3 extended to a depth of 20 cmbs. It overlaid the original A1 horizon, which was an olive brown (2.5Y4/3) silty sand that extended to 45 cmbs, averaging 25 cm thick. The A1 overlaid the brownish yellow (10YR6/6) B1 horizon.

Eastern Yard Disturbance (Area 6)

The east foundation terminated half way across 5-6 m S 6-7 m W where it was truncated by late 19th to 20th century soil removal and refuse dumping associated with the Standish Hotel. The disturbance continued to the north where it was encountered in another unit as well (**Figure 14**). An extensive deposit of ceramics, coal ash, bottles, and iron ware was found in unit 1-2 m S 7-8 m W.

Northeastern Yard (Area 7)

Soils in the eastern portion of the project area exhibited what was interpreted as an undisturbed soil profile. This consisted of a 3 cm thick A0 horizon that overlaid a 5 cm thick dark brown (10YR3/3) silty sand A1 horizon. The A1 in turn overlaid a brownish yellow (10YR6/6) silty sand B1 horizon. Several root stains were noted running into the subsoil. These may be related to the poplar stand that once grew at the site.

The house was found to be 34' east to west with a 20' long 2' wide cobble French drain to the west of the front door. A 4.75 m wide, north to south, extension was located off of the west wall. Standish Hotel disturbance destroyed the west and north sides of the western extension and the east wall of the house right up to the chimney base. The form of the house appears to be a central chimney hall and parlor/Cape with a refuse deposit outside of the north door. This house plan (**Figure 15**) looks similar to that shown on the 1857 lithograph of the "Old Brewster Place" by Steele (**Figure 16**). The major difference being the location of the chimney and the presence of the ell. It is possible that the chimney and ell were added and moved after the lithograph was created or that the artist drew the lithograph using some artistic liberty as to what was actually present.



Figure 14. East Yard disturbance

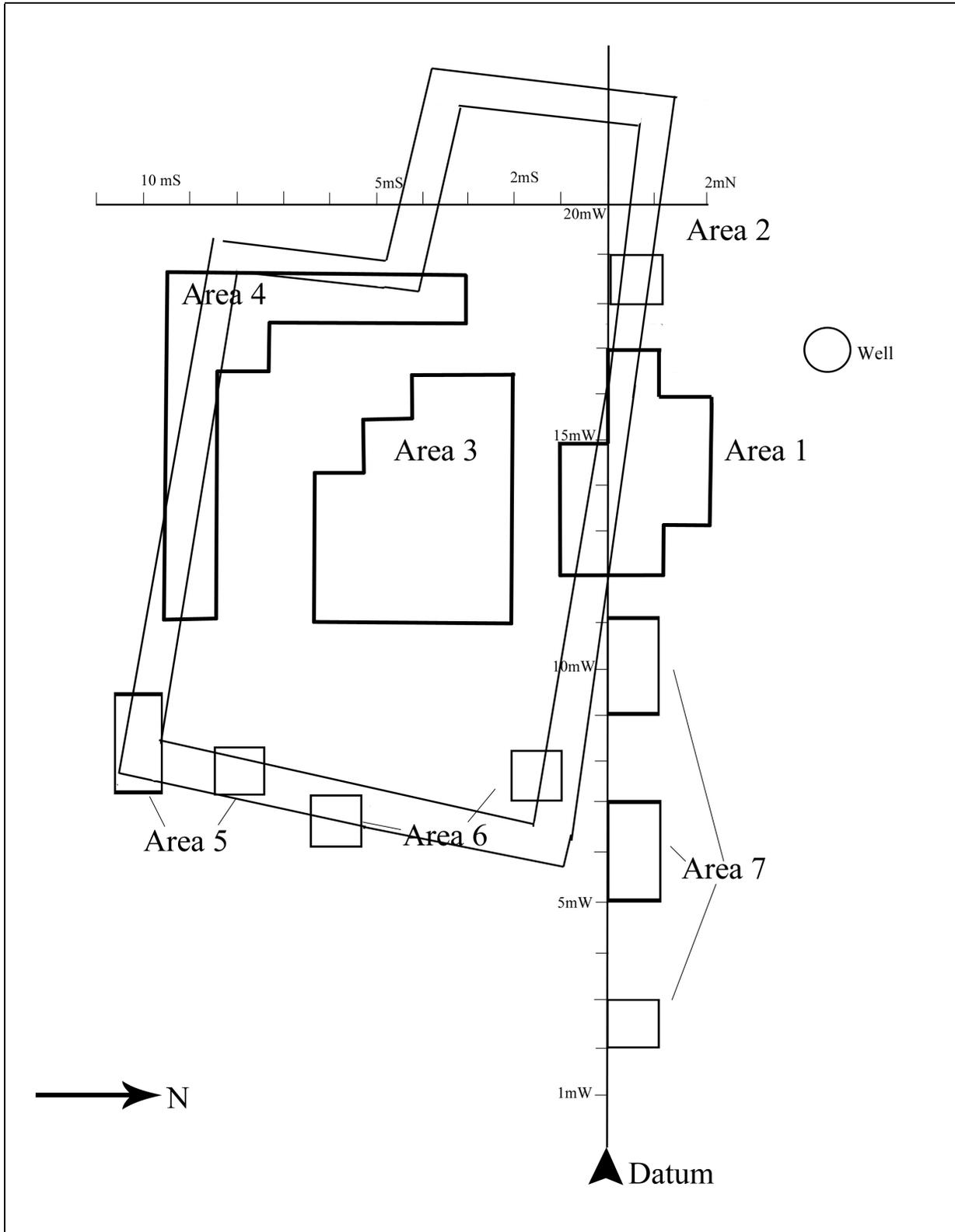


Figure 15. Testing plan showing extent of the house

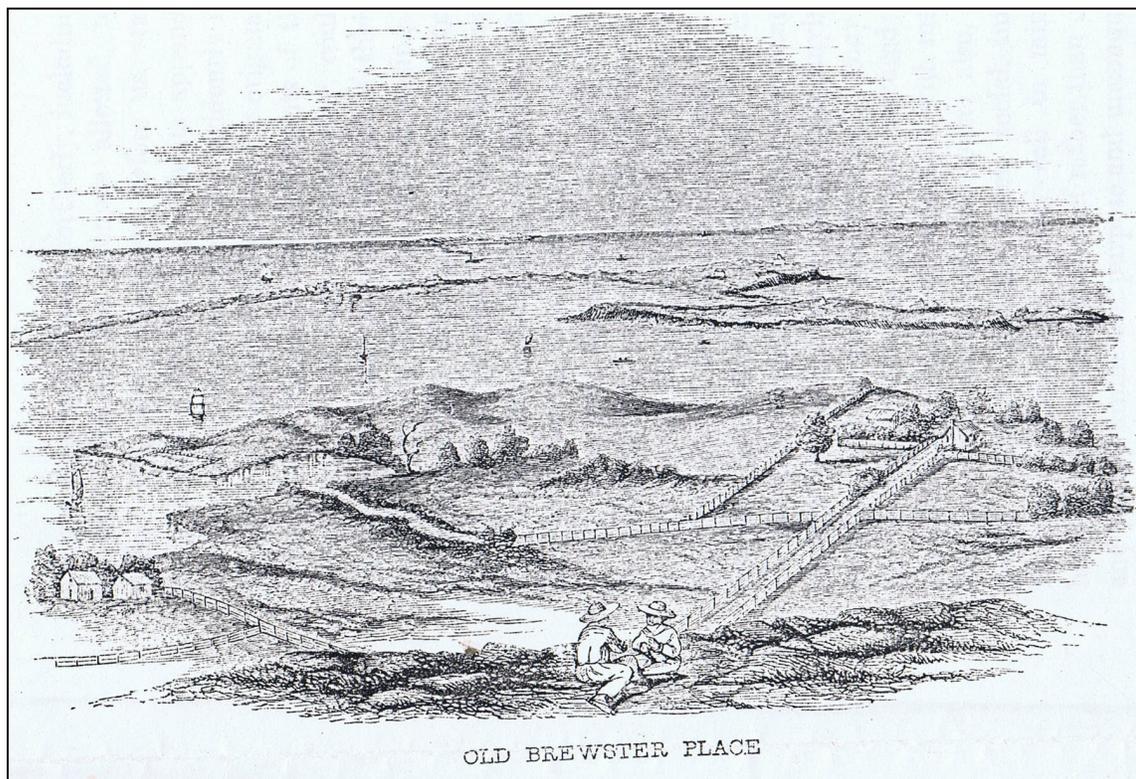


Figure 16. Full size view and close up of the 1857 lithograph of the "Old Brewster Place"

V. ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

A total of 17,675 prehistoric and historic period artifacts were recovered from Site Examination testing. Historic artifact analysis began with the separation of materials into the functional categories of **Household Equipment** (ceramics, glass, cooking and eating equipment, furniture hardware, sewing), **Personal Items** (tobacco pipes, clothing items, coins, tokens), **Construction Materials** (window glass, nails, building hardware [hinges, pintle, door lock], brick, mortar), **Labor and Technology Tools** (tools), and **Subsistence Items** (procurement equipment [gun equipment, fish hook], floral, faunal) (Table 1).

Table 1. Historic artifact classes and artifacts recovered

Class	Count
Household Equipment	
Ceramics	1832
Glass Containers	647
Metal Containers	6
Cooking/ Eating Equipment	26
Furniture	5
Sewing	9
Heating Residue	1198
Personal	
Coins	2
Tobacco Pipes	85
Clothing Items	34
Slate Pencil	1
Construction	
Window Glass/ Leads	2537/ 14
Hand Wrought/ Machine Cut/ Wire Nails	733/ 1303/ 70
U Nail/ Wood Screw	1/ 4
Building Hardware	36
Roofing	8/ 3
Brick/ Mortar/ Clay	3552/ 1232/ 2
Wood	40
Padlock/ Key	1/ 3
Labor and Technology	
Transportation Equipment	24
Tools	5

Table 1. (cont.)

Class	Count
Subsistence	
Procurement Equipment	26
Faunal Remains: Bone/ Shell/ Coral	616/ 3370/ 1
Other Metal	146
Prehistoric	92
Total	17, 675

The artifact assemblage that was recovered from the Site Examination testing was analyzed within the context of the household and town histories. It was hoped that the artifacts could help to illuminate changing household composition, architectural renovations and subsistence activities. This contextual approach is based on an interpretative approach championed by Mary Beaudry, among others, which is a broad based and historically grounded way of studying households with an eye towards the analysis of household's changing form over time as well as changing relationship with exterior world on local, regional and global levels (Beaudry 1984: 27). The utilization of historical documents as aids in interpretation is key to understanding the artifacts that are recovered. Documents that can be used include general ones, which will help to place the site and assemblages within a larger context such as state and town histories and historical maps, and sources that will relate to the occupants of the site itself such as wills, probates, court records and family histories. This contextual approach to interpretation helps to link the household cycles and family histories to the archaeological and depositional histories of the site (Beaudry 1999: 117).

Distribution analysis

The household is described as an aggregation of individuals with the houselot (the collection of buildings, fences and yards) being both product and medium of household aggregate behavior (Gibb 1996:17). The houselot, the location of the domestic site and its architecture and landscaping, includes the artifacts that are the residue of how householders attempted to define and assert themselves as a group; features that represent the remains of occupation, as well as material expressions of how the householders perceived themselves in the physical and social world (Gibb 1996: 39). Also evident will be attempts at building expansion or simple maintenance, the active modification of landscape, and passive alteration through erosion/ decay (Wilk 1990). Analysis of these features and processes will provide evidence for perceived, real, and projected images of wealth of the occupants. King and Miller (1987) found that the organization of the houselot space reflects the occupation of the people who lived there and argued that social and functional changes will be reflected in refuse disposal patterns. Gibb and King (1991) further recognized that 17th century sites generally lack well-defined activity areas and little spatial differentiation in open areas around structures. They interpreted this as being a product of weakly defined gender roles and a small, relatively undifferentiated work force. By examining the distribution of material within and around the cellar hole it was possible to date the use and abandonment of the cellar hole and the superstructure above it and investigate any evidence of repair done to it. The analysis of the distribution of the material around the house also allows for an examination of changing patterns of refuse disposal over the course of the occupation of the house.

Seven areas were identified for distribution analysis comparison. These areas are defined as follows:

Table 2. Concentration Areas

Area	Location	Coordinates	Total Area
1	North Foundation/ North Yard	0-2 m N, 0-1 m S, 12-17 m W	11 Square Meters
2	Western Disturbance/ Fill Deposit	0-1 m N, 18-19 m W	1 Square Meter
3	Hearth/ Chimney Base	2-6 m S, 11-16 m W	17 Square Meters
4	South and West Main House Foundation	3-9 m S, 3-9 m W	13 Square Meters
5	Southeast Corner/ East Foundation	7-8 m S, 9-10 m S, 7-9 m W	3 Square Meters
6	Eastern Disturbance/ Fill Deposit	5-6 m S, 6-7 m W	1 Square Meter
7	Northeast Yard	0-1 m N, 2-11 m W	5 Square Meters

Differing occurrences of artifact classes were present in different sections of the site (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. Percentage occurrences of gross classes

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT							
Historic Ceramics	44.1	3.9	8.8	15.2	11.4	3.8	12.7
Vessel Glass	22.6	8.6	21.1	20.6	2	20.7	4.2
Cooking/ Eating Equipment	23.5	0	38.2	11.8	0	23.5	2.9
Furniture	20	0	40	40	0	0	0
Sewing	80	0	0	0	20	0	0
Writing- Slate Pencil	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
HEATING RESIDUE							
Coal	51.5	3	3.7	1.6	0	1.4	38.8
Charcoal	6.8	0	45.8	21.9	24.8	0.3	0.3
PERSONAL ITEMS							
Tobacco Pipes	59.8	2.4	11	6.1	12.2	0	8.5
Clothing	34.3	5.7	28.6	17.1	8.6	0	5.7
CONSTRUCTION ITEMS							
Brick, Mortar, nails, Glass, etc.	32.5	4.7	30.1	21.8	6.2	0.9	3.8
LABOR AND TECHNOLOGY							
Transportation Equipment	27.6	0	0	13.8	6.9	51.7	0
Tools	60	0	0	20	20	0	0

Table 3. (cont.)

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SUBSISTENCE							
Procurement Items	50	7.7	30.8	0	0	3.9	7.7
Faunal	40.3	2.1	32.4	12.5	11	0.8	0.8
Shellfish	17.5	1	72	3.3	3.8	0.5	1.6
OTHER	30.6	7.6	13.2	34	4.9	4.1	5.6
PREHISTORIC	12	6	23	6	26	3	23
Totals	31.9	3.8	34.8	16.1	5.4	1.9	6.1

Table 4. Artifact distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT							
Historic Ceramics	811	72	162	279	210	70	233
Black Basalt	1						
Buff Earthenware	1						
Italian Marbleized Slipware				1			
Jackfield			1				
Redware	442	17	52	81	116	12	89
Redware- Slip Decorated	9		2		6		2
Redware Tile			1				
Slipware- Staffordshire	2	1		2			1
Stoneware- Frenchen		1					
Stoneware- White Salt-Glazed	69	7	13	43	24		2
Stoneware- Nottingham	4						
Stoneware- Westerwald	3	1		1			
Stoneware- Fulham							
Stoneware- Gray	1		2				
Stoneware- Buff	1		3				
Stoneware- Albany Slipped		14					1
Tin-Glazed	17		16	8	8		2
Wheildon	5		1	1	2		

Creamware	31	2	40	41	18		14
Pearlware- Undecorated	2			18			
Pearlware- Polychrome Hand Painted	2				1		
Pearlware- Blue and White Hand Painted	6		3	13	1		1
Pearlware- Polychrome Hand Painted				5			
Pearlware-Blue Edged	4			12			
Pearlware- Green Edged	1						
Pearlware- Transfer Printed Blue and White			2				2
Pearlware- Black and White Hand Painted							
Pearlware- Molded			5	5			
Porcelain- Undecorated	2		7	1			1
Porcelain-Polychrome HP	5			1			
Porcelain- Blue and White HP	1	1	2	1			
Porcelain- Gilded	3						
Porcelain- Enameled	9						
Whiteware- Undecorated	51	5	9	22	25	16	40
Whiteware- Blue Edged	3						
Whiteware- Annular	2						
Whiteware- Polychrome Hand painted	8	1					
Whiteware- Blue and White Hand Painted	1	1		4		1	
Whiteware- Black Transfer Printed	2			4	2		
Whiteware- Blue Transfer Printed	1	4	1	4		28	
Whiteware- Brown Transfer Printed	58	16			2	2	
Whiteware- Majolica	61			8			
Whiteware- Textured Exterior	2						
Whiteware- Decaled						1	
Whiteware- Gilded						2	
Ironstone	1	1	2			8	78
Yellowware				3	5		
Vessel Glass	144	55	135	131	13	132	27
Hand Blown	90	47	63	42	7	49	7
Etched				1			

Mold Blown	40	5	60	29	5	39	2
Machine-Made	14	3	12	59	1	40	16
Melted						1	1
Hip Flask						1	
Lead/ Pewter Bottle Top						2	
Tin Cover							1
Cooking/ Eating Equipment	8		13	4		8	1
Brass Vessel	1						
Silver Spoon	1						
Puritan Spoon	1						
Spoon			7				
Knife	1			1			
Hearth Chain	1						
Kettle	2		1	1			
Pail	1		1			7	
Kitchen Grinder						1	
Stove Part				2			1
Trivet			4				
Furniture	1		2	2			
Furniture Escutcheon			2	1			
Drawer Handle	1						
Curtain Ring				1			
Sewing	8				2		
Sewing pin	6				2		
Thimble	1						
Writing- Slate Pencil	1						
Heating Items							
Coal	457	27	33	14		12	344
Charcoal	21		142	68	77	1	1
PERSONAL ITEMS							
Tobacco Pipes	49	2	9	5	10		7
4/64" stem bore	18	1	1	2	2		

5/64" stem bore	20		5	2	1		4
6/64" stem bore	2	1					1
7/64" stem bore	2						2
8/64" stem bore	1		1				
Bowl Fragment	5		2	1	7		
Stem Fragment	1						
Clothing	12	2	10	6	3		2
Bone Buttons	1	2	3	1			
Molded Glass Buttons							1
Brass Disc Buttons	2		1	2	1		1
Brass Stamped Buttons				1			
Pewter Disc Buttons	1						
Pewter Molded Button			1				
Iron Buttons	1				1		
Shoe Buckle	4				1		
Iron Buckle	3						
Shoe Leather			5	2			
Coins				2			
CONSTRUCTION ITEMS	3069	444	2846	2057	590	80	363
Brick	1524	116	1460	83	133	4	234
Mortar - Sandy	66	11	629	243	23	4	9
Mortar- Shell	5	8	70	119	21		1
Clay							1
Hand-Wrought Nails	374	15	64	200	62	3	14
Machine-Cut Nails	485	170	178	331	63	30	25
Wire Nails	10	48	10	1		1	
Wood Screw	1		1	2			
Hardware	1						
Hinge			2				
Shutter Latch			1				
Shutter Pintle				1			
Shade Bracket			18				

Door Stop			1				
Flat Glass	593	53	409	1067	282	29	79
Lead Kame	4			5	5		
Tin Flashing	1			5			
Lead Flashing						1	
Lightning Rod Insulator	2					6	
Lightning Rod Bracket	1						
Padlock Key	2		1				
Padlock						1	
Architectural Wood		23	2				
Hook					1		
Barn Door Hardware						1	
LABOR AND TECHNOLOGY							
Transportation Equipment	5			3	1	15	
Horseshoe	1				1		
Horseshoe Nails	4						
Curry Comb						1	
Oar Locks						14	
Copper Boat nail				3			
Tools	3			1	1		
Ax	1						
Wedge	1						
Fire shovel	1						
Sickle					1		
Ferrule				1			
SUBSISTENCE							
Procurement Items	13	2	8			1	2
Gunflint	9		2				1
Flint Fragment	1	1					1
Lead Sprue	2		1				
Brass Shotgun Shell						1	
Fish Hook	1		5				

.22 cal shell		1					
Faunal	246	13	198	76	67	5	5
Human	1						
Burned Medium Mammal	1				1		
Calcined Medium Mammal	24	1	4	1	4		
Calcined Sheep			1				
Calcined Rabbit	1						
Mammal			1				
Mouse			1				
Rat		1	1				
Rabbit			1		1		
Skunk					2		
Large Mammal Flatbone	12						
Large Mammal Longbone	11	1		1			1
Cattle	38	1	36	13	5	1	1
Medium Mammal Flatbone	22	4	12	10	11		
Medium Mammal Longbone	36	1	4	6	7		2
Sheep	10	2	17	13	11	2	
Swine	34	1	41	16	15	1	
Calcined Medium Bird	1						
Small Bird Longbone	1		2				
Medium Bird Longbone	31		22	3			1
Large Bird Longbone	1		5				
Chicken	5		20	4	3	1	
Duck	7		7	3			
Goose	5		20	5	6		
Turkey					1		
Plover	1						
Fish	2		3	1			
Cod	1						
Halibut	1	1					
Shellfish	590	34	2425	114	128	18	54

Moon Snail	6		2	2			
Blue Mussel			2	1	6		
Razor Clam			1				
Soft Shell Clam	447	28	2066	84	112	16	51
Quahog	69	5	20	15	6	2	2
Oyster	3		3	1			
Surf Clam	65	1	331	10	4		1
Coral				1			
OTHER	44	11	19	49	7	6	8
Iron Rod	1		1	1			
Iron Wire	1		6	5	5		
S-Shaped Iron	1		1			1	
Iron Flat Fragments	13		5		2	1	5
Iron Can	20	8	3	35		4	
Iron Disc	3	1					
Iron Pipe		1					
Iron Spring				4			
Tin Washer							1
Brass Scrap	2			1			2
Brass Fitting			1				
Aluminum Pull Tab	1						
Lead Scrap	2	1	2	3			
PREHISTORIC	12	6	23	6	26	3	23
Fire Cracked Rock					1		2
Rounded Edged Cobble	1						
Hornfels gouge				1			
Squibnocket Triangle	2				1		
Small Stemmed					1		
Levanna			1				
Poplar Creek					1		
Rhyolite Debitage	5	1	6	1	22	2	18
Saugus Jasper Debitage						1	

Quartz Core			1				
Quartz Biface			1				
Quartz Debitage	3	3	9	1			2
Quartz Shatter	2	1	5	3			1
Quartzite Debitage		1					
Totals	5494	668	6025	2817	1135	351	1070

Area 1, the North Yard Midden, contained the highest occurrences of the materials that you would expect to find in a historic house trash disposal area- ceramics, vessel glass, coal, tobacco pipes, procurement equipment, bones, clothing related items, tools, sewing and writing related items and the second highest occurrence of items related to cooking and eating, as well as the highest occurrence of construction related items. The latter finding may indicate that debris from construction activities related to the change in hands from the Brewster to Soule lines may have been deposited here.

Area 2, the area of the western portion of the house that had been excavated and filled with material from the Standish Hotel, had low occurrences of all artifact classes.

Area 3, the Hearth and Chimney Base Area, had the highest occurrences of cooking and eating related material, furniture hardware, charcoal, shellfish, and the second highest occurrences of clothing related items, construction debris, procurement items, vessel glass, faunal remains, and prehistoric artifacts.

Area 4, the South and West House Foundations, had the highest occurrence of furniture hardware and other material, the second highest occurrence of charcoal and tools, and the third highest occurrence of clothing items, construction debris, transportation equipment, bone, vessel glass, and ceramics.

Area 5, the Southeast Corner and the Eastern Foundation, had the highest occurrence of prehistoric material, the second highest occurrences of tools, sewing related items, and tobacco pipes, and the third highest occurrence of charcoal.

Area 6, the disturbed eastern portion of the foundation and the Standish Hotel eastern fill deposits, contained the highest occurrence of transportation equipment (due to the abundance of oar locks deposited here), the second highest occurrence of tools and cooking/ eating equipment, and the third highest occurrence of vessel glass.

Area 7, the Northeast Yard, contained the second highest occurrences of ceramics, coal, and prehistoric material.

Distribution Summary

Prehistoric material was found concentrated around and under the house indicating a fairly significant pre-Pilgrim presence on the site going back at least 3000-6000 years. Definite seventeenth century material (window leads, large bore tobacco pipes, Italian ceramics, Puritan spoon) were found in several areas around the house. Window leads were concentrated on the outside of the house, lending

support to the idea that this is the original house or at least the original house site. Tobacco pipes with stem bores of 6-8/64" were found in areas 1, 2, 3 and 7- in the North Yard Midden, around the Hearth, in the Northeast Yard, and in the West Yard, just where you would expect to find them on a site that was inhabited during the seventeenth century versus a site near a site inhabited in the period.

Artifact Analysis

Detailed analysis of the recovered artifacts further helped to identify patterns and trends in the use and disposal of the material culture of the inhabitants of the site.

Prehistoric Material

The majority of the prehistoric artifacts consisted of waste material that resulted from the reduction of larger pieces of material to create smaller, finer tools. This waste material represented all stages of the manufacture of tools such as knives or projectile points, tools called bifaces due to the fact that they have two faces that have been sharpened. Waste types present included flakes and flake fragments, shatter, one split cobble and one core. Flakes are thin, sharp-edged pieces of stone that exhibit evidence that identified them as having been intentionally removed from a larger stone through the use of force. The force can be applied by means of another stone, called a hammerstone by archaeologists, or an antler hammer, called a billet, forcefully striking the target stone, or through the use of applied pressure by the tip of an antler.

The production of a tool such as an arrowhead proceeds in several stages, with each stage resulting in waste material bearing different types of evidence. By examining even the smallest piece of waste material, archaeologists can discover what stages of lithic production occurred at a site, helping us to understand the use of a site and the types of activities that occurred there.

Lithic reduction, the process of changing a common rock into a tool like an arrowhead, begins with the acquisition of a raw material. Raw materials can come from three main sources: quarries, cobbles, and trade blanks. Quarried stones result from a person traveling to a location where large outcrops of good raw material occurs and then spending time removing a smaller piece from the larger outcrop. This smaller piece can either be removed from that quarry site in its raw form, but more often it was reduced to a roughed out shape, called a blank, prior to leaving the quarry site. Reducing a quarried piece at the quarry results in a raw material that is lighter and which has had some of its potentially fatal flaws (cracks or mineral inclusions- imperfections that cause stone tools to break during production or use) discovered and removed prior to spending much time on the final product. There is nothing more heartbreaking for a knapper than discovering a fatal flaw when you are close to finishing a piece, and then having the almost finished piece break so close to the end. At an archaeological site, evidence of quarried pieces can take the form of large roughly shaped pieces of raw material or large lithic flakes that lack any evidence of having come from any other source. Quarries that were often used by Native people in the Eastern Massachusetts have been identified in and around the Blue Hills and to the north of Boston and in the Mount Hope Bay area of southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Lithic types that are commonly quarried at these sites include hornfels and rhyolite from around Boston and the Boston Basin, and argillite from Mount Hope Bay. Another source of raw materials are pieces of rhyolite, quartz or quartzite that have been removed from their original parent location by the glaciers and were subsequently tumbled and rolled into rounded cobbles. Cobbles can be found on

beaches, in rivers, stream beds and banks and in the subsoil of the glacial drift that underlays much of eastern Massachusetts.

The first step in reducing a cobble is to create a flat plane, or platform, from the edges of which more pieces can be removed. This is usually accomplished using a hammerstone to remove one edge along the periphery of the cobble or by splitting the cobble in half. Following the creation of this plane, the outer rind of the stone, the weathered and often friable cortex, is removed. When pieces of this cortex are recovered from an archaeological site, it is strong evidence that cobbles were used as a raw material, at least in some cases. Following the acquisition of the raw material and the initial reduction, smaller pieces, known as flakes, are removed. A flake has very specific characteristics and shapes that allows it to be identified as a flake and not just thin, sharp, natural rocks. When flakes are created, the object (hammerstone, billet, or antler tine) that strikes the target material, imparts energy into the stone. If that energy is strong enough and is applied at the right angle, a flake will be struck off. The flake is essentially a fossil of the force that was applied to the stone. The point where the hammerstone, billet, or tine struck the raw material, creates a striking platform that reflects the point of impact. This platform is usually fairly flat and may have a crushed appearance. As the force begins to travel into the raw material, it leaves a thicker bulb-shaped area just inward of the striking platform. This is termed the "bulb of percussion" and is a hallmark of a flake versus a natural rock. As the energy from the strike dissipates into the raw material, it spreads out like a wave and creates ripples through the stone. These ripples spread outward towards the edges before the force runs out and the terminal edge is reached and the flake pops free from the raw material. All of this happens in a fraction of a second when the raw material is struck. The angle of attack on the raw material, the type of striker and the amount of force used results in flakes with different characteristics of platform angles, thickness, width and length. All of these characteristics are recorded by archaeologists and are used to help examine what people were doing with the raw materials at a site.

Many times the flake breaks during the transference of energy and one finds flake fragments versus flakes. The raw material from which the flakes are being struck is called the core, or if it is in the process of being reduced to pointed tool it is called a preform. Other times the initial strike is less controlled or fractures and imperfections are present in the stone and chunks, or shatter, versus flakes are struck from the raw material. Shatter can be thick and angular and/or blocky, or thin and flat depending on the material and the imperfections. When a lithic assemblage is analyzed, the following pieces of data are collected and compared: the identification of the material types; the identification of the waste or tool type; the lengths, widths and thicknesses of artifacts; the angle of the striking platform; the width of the striking platform; the recording of the presence of cortex. By looking at angle of the striking platform and the size of the flakes, the stage during the reduction process will be identified. By doing this, it can be determined if the entire reduction process occurred at the site or if just portions happened. If small flakes with sharp striking platform angles are present, it is more likely that either preforms were brought to the site and finished there or that tool maintenance (sharpening, reworking) occurred versus tool manufacture. If shatter, cores and larger flakes with cortex exhibiting more acute angles are present then it is more likely that less finished, raw materials were brought to the site and that tool manufacture but not final reduction took place. If there is a mixture of larger and smaller flakes and acute and obtuse platform angles, then it is likely that all stages of reduction occurred.

A total of 100 pieces of prehistoric cultural material was recovered from across the site with an assemblage that ranged from pieces of fire-cracked rock (the result of having been in a cooking or heating fire for an extended period of time) and left over pieces of stone from making tools like scrapers, spear points, and arrowheads, to spear points, arrowheads and even a complete stone gouge (Table 5) (Figure 17).

Table 5. Prehistoric artifact occurrence

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
PREHISTORIC	13	6	24	6	26	3	23
Fire Cracked Rock					1		2
Rounded Edged Cobble	1						
Hornfels gouge				1			
Quartz Squibnocket Triangle	2				1		
Quartz Small Stemmed					1		
Quartz Levanna			1				
Rhyolite Poplar Creek					1		
Rhyolite Debitage	5	1	6	1	22	2	18
Saugus Jasper Debitage						1	
Quartz Core			1				
Quartz Biface			1				
Quartz Debitage	3	3	9	1			2
Quartz Shatter	2	1	5	3			1
Quartzite Debitage		1					

The majority of the material was recovered from areas 3, 5, and 7 (the Hearth and Chimney Base, the East Foundation, and the Northeast Yard). There appears to be an intact Native site present here, making it likely that the Brewsters picked a homesite based on many of the same considerations that Native people used: proximity to fresh water, moderate to low slope, and well-drained soils.



Figure 17. Prehistoric artifacts (Top Row Left to Right: Squibnocket Point, Levanna Point, Squibnocket Point; Bottom Row Left to Right: Gouge, Chunkey Stone)

Quartz

A total of 37 quartz artifacts were recovered from all the areas of the site except Area 6, with the majority being recovered from Area 3 around the hearth. This area also had the widest variety of artifact types present (debitage, a core, a biface, and projectile points) (Table 6). The second highest concentration was in Area 1.

Table 6. Prehistoric artifact distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	7
Quartz Squibnocket Triangle	2				1	
Quartz Small Stemmed					1	
Quartz Levanna			1			
Quartz Core			1			
Quartz Biface			1			
Quartz Debitage	3	3	9	1		2
Quartz Shatter	2	1	5	3		1
Totals	7	4	17	4	2	3

The recovered assemblage indicates that quartz cobbles, which were most probably acquired from the beach, were reduced to make projectile points during the Late Archaic (3,000-6,000 BP) and the Late Woodland (1,000-350 BP) periods. The reduction sub assemblage (shatter, flakes, flake fragments,

preform/ biface, core) indicate the initial and final stages of the reduction of flakes struck from a cobble core into finished projectile points. This indicates that the site was probably part of a larger base camp versus a small resource procurement camp.

Small Stemmed and Squibnocket Triangle points are temporally diagnostic of the Late Archaic period in New England prehistory. Archaeologists working in the 1980s pushed back the earliest dates for Small Stemmed points to the second or third millennium before present (Thorbahn 1982, 1983). Researchers characterize Small Stemmed points into four varieties (termed Small Stemmed I-IV in the MHC Guide to Prehistoric Site Files and Artifact Classification System [1984]) which are grouped together into two categories- squared to rectangular stems and rounded stems.

Some researchers see Small Stemmed points as a backwards extension of the Orient and Susquehanna Broadspire traditions into early 5th millennium essentially making them an early intrusive element of this tradition (Hoffman 1985: 59; Ritchie 1969:214; Snow 1980:228). Ritchie sees this as "unquestionably happening" as he believed this quartz pebble-based technology moved into New England from somewhere to the south, probably the Mid-Atlantic, along coastal plains and via large river valleys. Snow states that this tradition may have been intrusive from the lower Susquehanna into southern and eastern New York, New Jersey and New England. Dincauze feels that this may have happened but favors an indigenous development in southern New England that evolved out of the Neville/ Stark/ Merrimack sequence (Dincauze 1975, 1976). The later is likely as the Small Stemmed of the points appear to generally resemble these antecedent forms. Small-Stemmed, or Narrow-Point tradition artifacts, should be viewed as a pan-Northeastern phenomenon, deriving from the northeastern Middle Archaic. Recently, Boudreau, suggested that the Small Stemmed point was not a projectile point at all and that the bifaces recovered from sites and labeled "Small Stemmed" are in fact rejected points and drills (Boudreau 2008). Boudreau states several of his assumptions regarding projectile point requirements including what he sees as the need to "maintain predictable missile flight paths virtually, broken points had to be replaced with points virtually identical in haft element and weight" (Boudreau 2008: 12).

One quartz Small Stemmed point was recovered from Area 5. The point is mostly complete, only missing its terminal end, and is 5 cm long and 2 cm wide.

Also occurring with Small Stemmed points are small cordiform triangular points, generally called Small Triangles or more commonly Squibnocket Triangles. Squibnocket Triangles have bases that are usually concave but occasionally straight with an equilateral to isosceles triangle blade. Width ranges from 1.3-2.5 centimeters and length ranges from 2-4 centimeters with a length to width ration of 1:1 to 2.5:1 (MHC 1984: 98-99). The temporal range for these points is generally the same as the second category of Small Stemmed points, 5000-3000 years BP. The most common materials for these points is quartz and argillite with some quartzite and volcanics being used. Ritchie named these points after their type site on Martha's Vineyard (Squibnocket Ridge) where he found them associated with materials radiocarbon dated to 4190 +/- 100 BP from the nearby the Vincent site (Ritchie 1969: 244). He also noted their occurrence at the Wading River site on Long Island with Wading River Small Stemmed points (Ritchie 1959). Ritchie noted several subtypes occurring in Massachusetts, but he found no evidence that these "variations on a basic form have either cultural or temporal significance." (Ritchie 1997: 127). A similarity to the Beekman Triangle points, temporally associated with the

Laurentian Tradition, of the Hudson Valley was also noted, possibly providing an antecedent form for the New England Squibnocket Triangle (Ritchie 1997:128).

Three Squibnocket Triangle points were recovered, two from Area 1 and one from Area 5. Two of the points are fragmentary, represented by a half and an ear, probably resulting from breaks incurred during production, while the third is complete.

Levanna points are large triangular-shaped points produced in the Late Middle Woodland period. By the Late Woodland period, 1,300-400 BP, these were the only form of projectile point being produced until the Madison point (a narrower Levanna variant) circa A.D. 1350. Madison points occur primarily in New York State and have not been recognized as a significant point in eastern Massachusetts assemblages. The blade shape of Levanna points approaches an equilateral triangle and the bases are concave to straight and often have asymmetrical ears. Blade length ranges from 2.2 to 7.5 cm, width ranges from 2.5 to 7.5 cm and the length to width ratio ranges from 1: 1 to 1.5: 1 (MHC 1984:131). Ritchie found that approximately 70% of those he examined were equilateral triangles with the remainder being defined as broad isosceles triangles (Ritchie 1997: 31). He also found that nearly 80% had a basal concavity that was nearly V-shaped, often with prominent corner ears which were occasionally asymmetric, while the rest had straight bases (Ritchie 1997:31).

One quartz Levanna point base and midsection was recovered from Area 3. This point may have been broken during the hunt and the broken end, still in the arrow shafts, may have been returned to the site and discarded.

Rhyolite

A total of 56 rhyolite artifacts were recovered with the majority coming from Areas 5 and 7, the Southeast Corner of the house and the Northeast Yard (Table 7). Rhyolite made up the majority of the

Table 7. Rhyolite recoveries

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Rhyolite Poplar Creek					1		
Rhyolite Debitage	5	1	6	1	22	2	18
Totals	5	1	6	1	23	2	18

lithic assemblage recovered, but had a limited variety of artifact classes as compared to the quartz assemblage (Rhyolite- 2 classes, Quartz- 5 classes). This may indicate that the rhyolite was used for a more limited number of artifacts, was used more conservatively, or that its use resulted in less waste than the quartz.

All but two pieces of the recovered rhyolite were gray to dark gray in color, the remaining pieces being dark purple gray and maroon. Gray to dark gray is a common color for rhyolite that can be recovered from the local glacial drift and as cobbles along the nearby beaches.

A total of 24 flakes and flake fragments retained striking platforms, allowing an investigation of the reduction processes represented at the site (Table 8). The majority of the flakes bore striking

Table 8. Platform angles and flake lengths

Platform Angles	Count	Flake length	Count
Early Stage		Early Stage	
60-70 degrees	11	2-3.7 cm	15
Middle Stage		Middle Stage	
40-50 degrees	9	1-1.9 cm	3
Late Stage		Late Stage	
20-35 degrees	4	.1-.9 cm	3

platform angles indicative of early to middle stages of the reduction process and their lengths were indicative of early stage reduction. Cortex was present on two pieces. The recovered rhyolite assemblage indicates that rhyolite cobbles, likely acquired from the beach, were initially reduced elsewhere to remove the cortex and the roughed bifaces were returned to this site for at least the initial reduction to produce projectile points.

One rhyolite projectile point, an Early Woodland Poplar Island/ Rossville point was recovered from Area 5. Rossville points are diamond-shaped bladed contracting stem points with a convex to often pointed base. The shoulders are weakly defined or nonexistent. These points can range from 3 to 6.5 centimeters long, making them a smallish point, with a length to width ration of 1.5:1 to 2.5:1 (MHC 1984:116-117). Native knappers produced these points from 2450 to 1600 years BP (Fiedel 2001:108). Quartz and quartzite are common raw materials, but local volcanics were also used. These points are not considered common in eastern Massachusetts. Cape Cod examples are finer made than those of other areas, possibly showing a reliance on this technology in this area. They also tend to be longer and thinner than other examples with quartzite being the raw material most frequently used (MHC 1984:117). The under-representation of these point types in collections may be the result of examples being identified as other projectile point styles such as Starks and possibly Small Stemmed IV. They can be distinguished from Starks on the basis of their steeply angled cross-section and maximum blade width being located at the midpoint and from the Small Stemmed by their weak shoulders.

Quartzite

One green gray quartzite flake fragment was recovered from Area 2.

Saugus Jasper

Saugus Jasper is a pseudo-jasper that outcrops in Saugus, Massachusetts. It is reddish brown in color and often contains veins of white to off-white quartz running through it. One complete Saugus Jasper flake was recovered from Area 6. Saugus Jasper was commonly used in the Middle Woodland period.

Granite

One rounded cobble was recovered from Area 1. The stone has been pecked around the outer circumference and in general form it resembles a chunky stone. Chunky was a game played by Native people. The chunky stone was rolled on the ground and spears were tossed at it. The winner was the one whose spear landed closest to the stopped stone (**Figure 18**).

The stone measures 10 cm in diameter and is 5.5 cm thick.

Hornfels

Hornfels are dark gray to black metamorphosed lithics formed by the baking of sedimentary deposits by cooling bodies of magma and are found in quarries in the Blue Hills outside of Boston. One complete hornfels gouge dating from the Late Archaic period was found just outside of the front door of the house on the south side. It was found possibly incorporated into the foundation of the house. It measured 21 cm long by 4.5 cm wide.

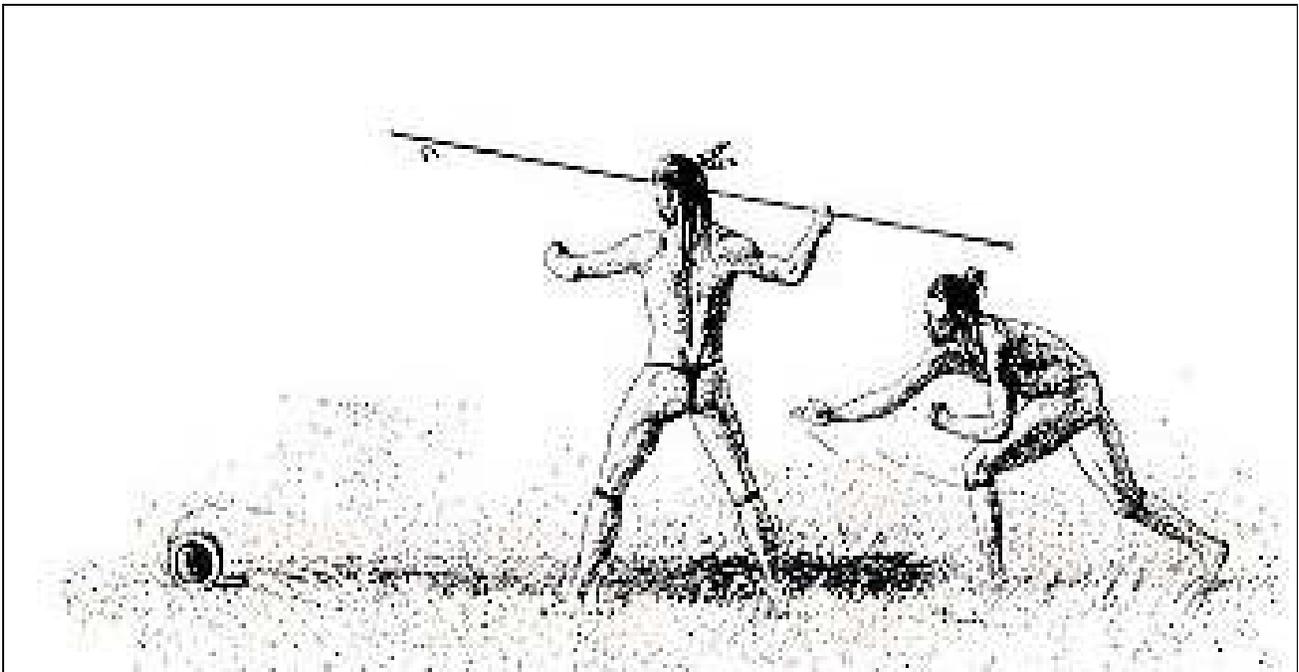


Figure 18. Natives playing chunky (Deuel, T., 1968. American Indian Ways of Life. Illinois State Museum Story of Illinois No. 9, Springfield)

Historic Artifacts

Household Equipment

Historic Ceramics

Ceramic analysis focused on functional and temporal analysis of the recovered wares. Functional analysis includes the identification of the types of vessels present as well as how the wares can be used as socio-economic indicators. Ceramics in general have the potential to yield information on market distribution systems, food processing, preparation, consumption and other aspects of foodways

behavior. Ceramics were also used for status display and possibly ideological statements (Spencer-Wood 1984: 33). The ceramics recovered from 19th century sites are assumed to largely have been acquired from those that were available at the local market economy with some percentage possibly being acquired as gifts, heirlooms or through some form of secondary recycling. The ceramics that are recovered archaeologically are the result of consumer choices of goods available in the market and the loss and selective discard patterns of the past inhabitants of the site (Spencer-Wood 1984: 33, 34). The types and styles of ceramics used by a household are influenced by an indeterminate number of interrelated factors including site location, availability of goods, occupation, ethnicity, economic level, social status, family status, religious and political affiliation and individual preferences (Spencer-Wood 1984: 34).

As a way of understanding the interrelationships between features and anomalies identified during the Site Examination, attempts were made to cross-mend sherds of vessels from various contexts across the site. Assemblages recovered from intact feature contexts were analyzed to determine a likely date of deposition for the material and to determine their probable function as part of the working household. It was hoped that enough feature contexts could be identified to examine the changing nature of the household overtime and to compare these changes to larger local, regional, and national trends.

In general, extraneous material comforts such as decorative, although not necessarily expensive, pressed glass, floral painted versus undecorated ceramics and the presence of tea wares indicates an economic expenditure towards indulgence, something more than just the penultimate basic needs, versus subsistence or utility. One can easily do with wooden bowls and no tea, so the presence of items such as fashionable, decorated ceramics and tea wares must indicate a desire for something more than the basic necessities of life by the inhabitants of a site. For example, in the 1840s hand-painted pearlwares were nearly twice as expensive as undecorated pieces and transferprinted wares were over twice as expensive (Miller 1991). By purchasing transferprinted wares versus undecorated wares, the inhabitants (especially the women who were the primary purchasers of such goods) may have been trying to say something about their real or perceived status. The expenditure of household funds on items such as the latest in consumer goods is difficult to reconcile with a desire for self-sufficiency during the Victorian Age, it was not possible to aspire to be both self-sufficient and socially respectable.

Analysis began with the identification of the ware (creamware, whiteware, pearlware, redware, etc.). Minimum vessel counts were generated for each class and a functional analysis of the types of vessels (cups, bowls, saucers, etc.) was carried out. Additionally, the types of decorations (undecorated, hand-painting, transfer printing, etc.) present on the wares were examined and compared to determine if any matched sets were present or if the vessels appear to be mis-matched sets. The presence of matched sets over mis-matched pieces may help to better assess the socio-economic status of the household over time. Matched sets may indicate a desire by the inhabitants to own proper service sets and likely indicate that the individuals purchased the pieces specifically for the motif and with the desire to have a matched set. Mis-matched vessels may indicate that the pieces were either purchased with no real desire for the order and propriety implied by matched sets, that the pieces were purchased piece meal over an extended period of time, which may have resulted in the inability to find matching pieces when the time came to purchase another piece. Alternately, mis-matched sets may be a sign that the pieces were donated to the family and were not purchased at all. This would be especially true if the pieces

were found to show a time lag between the occupation of the site and the types of ceramics present (i.e. older ceramics donated to a poorer family from a middle class family after that style had gone out of fashion).

There are three general classes that ceramics fall within, being distinguished by the amount of time that they have spent in the kiln. These are earthenwares, stonewares and porcelain, with each being higher fired and thus more water resistant. Earthenware and stoneware were recovered from the Site Examination testing. Earthenwares can be characterized 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, glass-like 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 such as creamware, pearlware, whiteware and ironstone. Some of these varieties have distinct temporal ranges, while others continued in production virtually unchanged for centuries.

Earthenware

Redware

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 17th 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. Several Charlestown potters are known including John Parker, who, in 1750, is known to have sold to Barnstable and Harwich as well as Duxbury and Daniel Parker Jr. in 1832 (Watkins 1968: 45). Additionally it is known that Noah Bradford, son of Noah Bradford, potter, of Kingston, Massachusetts, operated a pottery in Barnstable from 1819-1830 that he had bought from Prince Nye (Watkins 1968: 45).

Redwares were very utilitarian and the vessels recovered indicate that they were being used for food storage (pot), dairying (pot, milk pan), cooking (pan, tall pan), liquid serving and consumption (bottle, cup, mug), hygiene (chamber pot), and decoration (flowerpot).

A total of 828 fragment of redware were recovered from across the project area (Tables 9 and 10) with the majority of the redware being recovered from the North Yard Midden and secondarily from Areas 5 and 7.

Table 9. Distribution of redware fragments across the project area.

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Redware	442	17	52	81	116	12	89
Redware- Slip Decorated	9		2		6		2
Redware Tile			1				
Totals	451	17	55	81	122	12	91

Table 10. Redware surface finishes

Surface Characteristic	Count
Burned	3
Interior and Exterior Unglazed	6
Interior and Exterior Surfaces Missing	415
Interior Missing Exterior Unglazed	23
Interior and Exterior Glazed	227
Interior Missing Exterior Glazed	6
Interior Glazed Exterior Missing	44
Interior Glazed Exterior Unglazed	91
Exterior Slip Decorated	4
Interior Slip Decorated	12

Fragments not used for MNV calculation

Fragments that had their interior and exterior surfaces missing and those that had their interior surfaces missing but were unglazed on the exterior were not used to calculate a minimum number of vessels for the redware. This was due to the fact that it could not be determined from which other category of surface characteristics those fragments came. The burned fragments were also not used to calculate the minimum number of vessels.

Interior and Exterior Glazed Vessels

A total of 227 fragments, 27.5% of the total of fragments used to calculate the redware MNV, were glazed on the interior and exterior. Vessels glazed on both sides are most often associated with liquid serving and consumption (bottle, teapot, cup, mug, drinking pot, jug, pitcher), consumption (bowl), and hygiene (chamberpot, basin). A total of 17 vessels were identified for this category (Table 11). These included mugs, chamberpots, and a bottle. Vessel fragments were concentrated in the North Yard Midden and around the Hearth.

Table 11. Recovered redware vessel lot characteristics

Vessel	Color	Type	Size
1	Brown	Mug	
2	Brown Yellow	Mug	
3	Dark Olive Brown	Holloware	
4	Dark Red	Bottle	
5	Dark Red	Mug	10 cm Body Dia
6	Exterior Dark Red Interior Olive Yellow	Mug	10 cm Body Dia
7	Exterior Very Dark Brown Interior Mottled with Speckles	Chamberpot	20 cm Body Dia
8	Exterior Very Dark Brown Interior Red Yellow	Mug	10 cm Body Dia
9	Mottled Dark Red Brown	Chamberpot	
10	Mottled Light Olive Brown and Dark Yellow Brown	Chamberpot	22 cm Body Dia
11	Orange	Mug	10 cm Body Dia
12	Red	Chamberpot	20 cm Body Dia
13	Red Yellow	Chamberpot	22 cm Body Dia
14	Red Yellow with Brown Speckles	Mug	10 cm Body Dia
15	Strong Brown	Chamberpot	20 cm Body Dia
16	Very Dark Brown	Mug	10 cm Body Dia
17	Very Dark Brown	Chamberpot	

Interior Glazed Vessels

A total of 91 fragments, 10.1% of the total of fragments used to calculate the redware MNV, were glazed on the interior and unglazed on the exterior. Vessels glazed on only the interior are most often associated food preparation (pans, tall pans), dairying (milk pans), and storage (pots). These are wares that were utilitarian in function and were glazed to prevent liquids from wicking from the interior to the exterior. A total of 10 interior glazed only vessels were identified (Table 12).

Table 12. Interior glazed vessels

Vessel	Color	Type	Size
1	Brownish Yellow with Brown Splotches	Flatware	
2	Dark Brown	Pot	20 cm Body Dia
3	Dark Yellow Brown	Pan	
4	Light Red	Pan	
5	Mottled Dark Yellow Brown and Yellow Brown	Pan	
6	Mottled Dark Red Brown	Pot	24 cm Body Dia
7	Red	Pot	
8	Red to Strong Brown	Pan	26 cm Rim Dia
9	Very Dark Brown	Pot	20 cm Rim Dia
10	Yellow Red	Pan	

The majority of the vessels were pans, baking and possibly milk pans, and four pots. The fragments were concentrated in the North Yard Midden and the Hearth.

Interior Slip Decorated Vessels

Fragments of four exterior and two interior slip decorated vessels were recovered (Table 13). Slip decorated redware was first made in the colonies in the 1680s and continued in use into the 19th

Table 13. Interior glazed vessels

Vessel	Color	Slip Decoration Location	Type	Size
1	Strong Brown	Exterior	Cup	
2	Yellow Red	Exterior	Cup	12 cm Rim Dia
3	Dark Red	Exterior	Bowl	14 cm Rim Dia
4	Yellow Red	Exterior	Chamberpot	22 cm Body Dia
5	Yellow Red	Interior	Pan	
6	Strong Brown	Interior	Pan	

century. These vessels are believed to date to the middle to late 18th century. Fragments were evenly split between the North Yard Midden and the Hearth.

Unglazed Vessel

One fragment of one unglazed flowerpot and one possible planter were recovered from the North Yard Midden and from the Northeast Yard.

Tin-enameled

Tin-enameled wares (also called tin-glazed, or delftware) were produced in Spain, France, Portugal, Holland and England. At present it seems that those from England comprise the vast majority of these wares found on early 17th century English colonial sites. Tin-enameled wares are semi-soft bodied earthenwares that 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 17th century are chargers, flat broad platters, with floral or pomegranate decorations in the center and blue dash decoration along the rims (Hume 1969:108). These were made from ca.1620 to 1720. 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 1969:205). These were produced from ca. 1580 to 1640. They were replaced by plain white pots of a squatter shape later in the century. As with other ceramic types that lasted for a long period, the decoration of this ware degraded throughout the century as demand and availability of them increased.

A total of 51 fragments were recovered, most of which had a tan to buff-colored paste and were glazed white or blue and white or red (**Figure 19**). Vessel forms represented eating, drinking, and hygiene wares (Table 14).

Table 14. Tin-enameled vessels

Vessel	Color	Type	Size
1	White	Holloware	
2	Blue and White	Plate	
3	White and Red	Cup	4 cm Base Dia
4	White	Plate	16 cm Rim Dia
5	Blue and White	Punch Bowl	22 cm Body Dia
6	White	Chamberpot	22 cm Rim Dia

Fragments were recovered from the North Yard Midden and around the Hearth. The vessels are probably all of English manufacture and date to the middle to late 18th century.

Jackfield

Jackfield was produced in England between 1745 and 1790. It is easily recognized by its purple or gray paste covered with a black glossy glaze. Jackfield ware was produced in Shropshire after 1750 by Maurice Thursfield and by Thomas Wheildon in Staffordshire (Noel Hume 1969: 123). Wheildon's Jackfield has red body and glossier glaze. The principal ware produced in Jackfield were tea wares and pitchers and they are common in America on sites dating to the 1760s (Noel Hume 1969: 123).

A total of 1 piece of Jackfield was recovered. Vessel form was limited to a holloware from Area 3. This fragment bore a dark purple to gray paste.

Slipware-Staffordshire

Slipwares are ceramics with an earthenware base and coated with a yellow lead glaze which is then brown trailed or combed decorated. This ceramic type was produced first by the Romans but became popular during the reign of Charles I (1630-1685). Slipware produced in the Staffordshire region of England were exported to the North American colonies from the late 17th century until the American Revolution (c.1675-1775). It is a thin, buff-bodied ware coated with slips and decorated with trailed, combed and marbled designs. By the late 17th century, exported slipware was generally used by less affluent classes of society (poor to middle class) as well as in taverns and as a general rule, finely decorated examples date earlier than more coarsely decorated ones. Vessel forms included drinking



Figure 19. Representative examples of the ceramics recovered (Top Row Left to Right: Westerwald Stoneware, Scratch Blue decorated White Salt-Glazed Stoneware; Tin-Enameled; Bottom: Standish Hotel Whiteware Fibre pattern)

vessels (cups, tygs, mugs, posset pots, puzzle jugs) and dishes/ plates, as well as a wide variety of other forms that are less commonly recovered archaeologically (bowls, drug jars, honey pots, teapots, jugs, candlesticks, chamber pots) (Noël Hume 1970).

A total of 6 pieces of Staffordshire slipware were recovered. The vessel forms were limited to one pan, one cup and one chamberpot. Fragments were recovered from Areas 1, 2, 4, and 7. One piece of buff earthenware with an interior slip decoration was also recovered from Area 1. This fragment was dark brown with a yellow trailed slip decoration. It may also be a Staffordshire slipware.

Italian Marbled Slipware

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 create a marbleized slip (Hume 1969:77). 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 (Wilcoxon 1987:77).

One fragment of a North Italian Marbled Slipware dish was recovered from Area 4. It dates to the Brewster occupation.

Creamware

While English folk and Colonial settlers were content to use redwares for their utilitarian needs, there was always a market for “white wares”, beginning with the importation of Oriental porcelain. But porcelain was expensive and the availability was limited, which led to the development of tin-glazed soft-bodied delft wares which copied the motifs and forms of the more expensive porcelains. By the middle 18th century, the English’s quest for a less expensive light-glazed ware similar to Chinese porcelain was brought one step closer by Josiah Wedgwood’s perfection of Creamware in 1762 (Noel Hume 1970:125). This ceramic type was not pure white, but had a light to deep yellow tint to the glaze and pooled green in the crevices of the vessels. Creamware was produced until 1820 and was generally replaced by a whiter “pearlware” that began production in the late 18th century. Early Creamware had a deep yellow tint which, by 1775, was refined to a lighter yellow by the use of kaolin clays in the manufacturing process. Decoration on Creamware was limited to some molding, hand painting and transfer printing to a much smaller degree. Miller and Hunter (1990) summarized Creamware edge treatments thus:

1750-1775 Molded Whieldonware

1766-1790 Queen's ware

1766-1820 Royal Pattern

1765-1790 Feather edge

A total of 146 fragments of Creamware were recovered with the majority coming from Areas 4, 3, and 1 (in that order) (Table 15).

Table 15. Creamware distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Creamware	31	2	40	41	18		14

Vessel forms were limited to one plate, one saucer, one cup, one chamberpot, and a bowl, with the majority of the fragments being too small to identify to any specific vessel form. One cup bore exterior red hand painted decoration and another bore a line of molded pearls at the rim, identifying it as Leedsware.

Pearlware

Pearlware is said to be the most common type of ceramic encountered on early 19th century sites, being produced from 1774-1840 (Noël Hume 1970:130). Where the glaze of creamware pooled green in the crevices of the foot ring on the bottoms of vessels, pearlware pooled blue. Pearlware was used on a wide variety of forms from chamberpots to eggcups, but it is most frequently encountered in the form of plates and saucers decorated with blue or green shell edging around their interior rims.

A total of 80 pieces of pearlware were recovered with the majority coming from the south and west house foundations (Area 4), followed by the North Yard Midden (Area 1) and the Hearth (Area 3) (Table 16).

Table 16. Pearlware distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pearlware- Undecorated	2			18			
Pearlware- Polychrome Hand Painted	2				1		
Pearlware- Blue and White Hand Painted	6		3	13	1		1
Pearlware- Polychrome Hand Painted				5			
Pearlware-Blue Edged	4			12			
Pearlware- Green Edged	1						
Pearlware- Transfer Printed Blue and White			2				2
Pearlware- Black and White Hand Painted							
Pearlware- Molded			5	5			
Totals	15		10	43	2		3

Decorative techniques used on Pearlware and Whiteware, are more temporally sensitive than the wares themselves. Blue or green shell edge-decorated wares first appear in Wedgwood's 1775 and Leeds' 1783 pattern books and became one of the standard products of the Staffordshire potteries in the 19th century. This is believed to be due to the fact that they are the least expensive decorative table ware available (Miller and Hunter 1990). Initially both green and blue were used on the edges, but by 1840 green-edged had become rare with blue shell-edged remaining in production until the 1860s. By the

later part of the 19th century the production of shell-edged wares had discontinued, but blue-edging, edging that was just blue but that lacked the earlier molded edging, continued until the 1890s.

Pearlware, and later whiteware, were also decorated by hand-painting. Two general types were used: thin-lined and broad-lined (Price 1979). Prior to 1835 polychrome hand-painted designs were executed in mustard yellow, mocha brown and burnt orange, but after 1835 brighter colors such as grass-green, golden yellow, red and powder blue were used. The singular use of blue painted designs, intended to mimic porcelain designs, occurred on earthenware from 1775-1840 and was eventually replaced by transfer printing by 1815. After 1820 until approximately 1830, blue floral designs were executed with a bolder stroke and are easily distinguished from the earlier technique.

Transfer printing was the decorative technique that replaced hand painting after the 1830s. This technique was first used in 1784 with the first colors being blue, black and sepia and was followed by red and yellow in 1848 and then brown and green in 1852 (Miller 1987). The earliest patterns were Chinese until 1805 when the development of copper plate engraving allowed the creation of finer lines and more variation in color tone. After 1830 the quality of design and color intensity declined and multicolor under glazing was developed in 1848. Color is considered the most temporally sensitive property of this decorative technique.

A total of 11 pearlware vessels were identified (Table 17). Vessel forms were limited to table and tea wares and included cups, saucers, plates, a tea pot, and a tureen.

Table 17. Pearlware vessels

Vessel Number	Decorative Technique	Form	Date Range
1	Blue Edged	Plate	1790-1840
2	Blue Edged- Molded	Plate	1790-1840
3	Green Edged	Plate	1790-1840
4	Blue and White Hand Painted	Cup	1775-1840
5	Blue and White Hand Painted	Saucer	1775-1840
6	Polychrome Hand Painted	Cup	Post 1835
7	Polychrome Hand Painted	Saucer	Post 1835
8	Dark Blue Transfer Printed	Cup	c. 1830
9	Dark Blue Transfer Printed	Plate	c. 1830
10	Molded	Tea Pot	
11	Molded	Tureen	

Whiteware

Pearlware was replaced in approximately 1820 by a very white refined earthenware commonly called whiteware. Whiteware continues to be produced today. Plain, undecorated whiteware was produced throughout the century, starting after 1820 and was considered the cheapest version of this type of

whiteware. Blue and black florals covering most of the decorated surface predominated on hand painted whitewares in the first quarter of the 19th century. Slightly later, a finer sprig pattern in either monochromatic or polychromatic forms was produced until around 1890 with polychromes more popular, but less common, from 1830 to 1850 (Miller 1987). Blue edging, similar in execution and design to that used on pearlware, continued on whitewares most commonly with unscaloped, unmolded or impressed rims, overall much simpler than the earlier pearlware versions.

A total of 396 fragments of whiteware were recovered, chiefly from Areas 1, 6, and 4 but generally common in all areas except the Hearth (Area 3) (Table 18). Much of the whiteware is believed to

Table 18. Whiteware distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Whiteware- Undecorated	51	5	9	22	25	16	40
Whiteware- Blue Edged	3						
Whiteware- Annular	2						
Whiteware- Polychrome Hand Painted	8	1					
Whiteware- Blue and White Hand Painted	1	1		4		1	
Whiteware- Black Transfer Printed	2			4	2		
Whiteware- Blue Transfer Printed	1	4	1	4		28	
Whiteware- Brown Transfer Printed	58	16			2	2	
Whiteware- Majolica	66		1	9	2		
Whiteware- Textured Exterior	2						
Whiteware- Decaled						1	
Whiteware- Gilded						2	
Totals	195	27	11	43	31	50	40

be the result of the deposition of refuse from the Standish Hotel after the site was abandoned. This is especially true for whiteware recovered from Areas 2 and 6 and to a lesser degree, to the upper layers of many of the areas. The whiteware from the Standish Hotel period is either undecorated or is decorated with brown floral or blue “fiber” patterns (**Figure 19**).

A total of 34 whiteware vessels were identified (Table 19). Vessels associated with the Standish Hotel took the form of tablewares (blue and brown transfer printed and undecorated) and chamberpots (brown transfer printed and undecorated). The majolica wares may also be associated with the hotel.

Table 19. Whiteware MNV

Vessel Number	Decorative Technique	Form	Size
1	Annular	Cup	
2	Blue and White Hand Painted	Cup	10 cm Body Dia
3	Blue and White Hand Painted	Saucer	
4	Black Transfer Printed	Saucer	
5	Black Transfer Printed	Cup	
6	Blue Transfer Printed	Cup	10 cm Rim Dia
7	Blue Transfer Printed	Saucer	18 cm Rim Dia
8	Blue Transfer Printed	Plate	22 cm Rim Dia
9	Blue Transfer Printed	Plate	24 cm Rim Dia
10	Blue Transfer Printed	Dish	12 cm Rim Dia
11	Blue Transfer Printed	Bowl	22 cm Rim Dia
12	Blue Transfer Printed	Saucer	14 cm Rim Dia
13	Brown Transfer Printed	Saucer	
14	Blue Transfer Printed	Chamberpot	
15	Decaled	Plate	26 cm Rim Dia
16	Blue Edged	Plate	
17	Green Hand Painted	Cup	
18	Brown Transfer Printed	Cup	10 cm Body Dia
19	Gilded	Saucer	16 cm Rim Dia
20	Polychrome Hand Painted	Cup	10 cm Rim Dia
21	Polychrome Hand Painted	Cup	
22	Majolica	Cup	
23	Majolica	Tea Pot	
24	Majolica	Bowl	
25	Majolica	Pitcher	
26	Textured	Vase	
27	Undecorated	Cup	
28	Undecorated	Plate	
29	Undecorated	Saucer	
30	Undecorated	Bowl	

31	Undecorated	Plate	
32	Undecorated	Mug	
33	Undecorated	Soup Bowl	
34	Undecorated	Chamber Pot	

A maker's mark of "FIBRE/ A. SHAW & SONS" was present on the backs of the blue transfer printed vessels from the Standish Hotel deposits. Anthony Shaw used this mark in the very late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

Ironstone

Ironstone is a high-fired earthenware that approaches, but never quite reaches, the hardness of stonewares. Ironstone was developed to compete with the whiteware market. With the final development of thin whiteware, the thicker ironstone was relegated to products such as plates, pitchers and bowls, chamber pots and other heavy utilitarian wares. Ironstone was first introduced by Charles Mason of Staffordshire, England in 1813 and was shipped to American markets by 1842. Ironstone was decorated in the same ways as Whiteware. Additionally it was often left plain or molded with leaves, ribs, or flowers. Plain wares were produced for the entire time span of Ironstone production, whereas molded ironstone with sharp angles, and hexagonal or octagonal body forms were popular from the 1840s through the 1880s. After 1860 embossed plant elements became popular and in the 1860s and 1870s, luster decorated "tea leaf" patterns were popular.

Ninety-three fragments of ironstone vessel were recovered principally from the Area 7 (Table 20). A total of five vessels were identified, including an undecorated plate, cup, and chamberpot, as well as a pitcher and a cup with molded decoration.

Table 20. Ironstone distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ironstone	1	1	2			8	78

These vessels may date either to late in the Soule occupation or more probably to the Standish Hotel refuse deposition events.

Yellowware

Yellowware is earthenware produced to replace the unfashionable redware, as a new kitchen utility ware. It has a hard, pale yellow body that is covered with a yellow or a clear glaze and often with blue, black or brown and white bands. It may also have a blue, green, or black dendritic mocha decoration or a dark mottled brown glaze. The annular decoration with or without the mocha was produced from 1840-1900.

Clear-glazed yellowware was produced in many utilitarian forms including bowls, plates, jugs, and bottles. Yellowware was introduced to America from England in the latter 1820s and was eventually produced by various firms in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Vermont, New York, and Maryland from

the 1840s to the 1850s (Leibowitz 1985). The maximum popularity of yellowware was in the period from 1860-1870. Even though its popularity waned by 1900, it was continually produced into the 1930s. English-made yellowware has a yellow glaze, while American-made yellowware has a clear alkaline glaze. Four temporal trends have been identified for yellowwares (Leibowitz 1985):

1830	Plain, no decoration, no foot formation, no lips, hand thrown
1840	Annular banded and dendritic (mocha) decoration
1850-1870	Coarse, heavy yellowware predominantly in the Midwest, cream and buff color to rich canary yellow
1860-1900	Pressed or molded yellowware, scenes and floral decoration

Excavations recovered eight pieces of yellowware from Areas 4 and 5. The vessels identified were a bowl with molded decoration and an undecorated bowl. The undecorated vessel may date to the Marshall Soule occupation while the molded bowl probably came from the Standish Hotel.

Stoneware

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. Stoneware products often took the form of heavy, utilitarian objects such as mugs, jugs, crocks, churns, pitchers, inkwells and oil lamps. Four general types of surface treatments can be present on stoneware: Unglazed/Plain, Salt-Glazed, Albany-Slipped and Bristol. Unglazed stoneware is considered relatively rare (Stelle 2001). Salt glazing was commonly used in all periods of production and was often used in combination with Albany Slip, with salt glazing generally being less popular after the 1860. Albany Slip is described as a hard, chocolate brown glaze produced by natural clays found in the Albany region of New York (Stelle 2001).

Albany Slipped

Fifteen fragments of an interior Albany-Slipped whiskey jug were recovered from Area 2 and one from Area 7. This vessel is believed to date to the Standish Hotel deposition events.

White Salt-Glazed Stoneware

While Germany was the best known stoneware producer in the 17th and 18th centuries, other countries, especially England, began to try their hand at this craft. The most important development in England's stoneware industry was the perfection in 1720 of a thin bodied white salt-glazed stoneware. This ware became common tableware by the middle 18th century and soon took away much of the trade from the tin-enameled producers (Noël Hume 1970:115). Common shapes included plates with molded rim decorations and cup and saucers with a scratch blue decoration. This later decorative technique became popular in the mid 18th century, especially in the third quarter.

One hundred fifty-eight fragments of white salt-glazed stoneware were recovered from the across the project area (Table 21) (**Figure 19**). The majority came from Areas 1, 4, and 5 (the North Yard Midden, the South and the East Foundations) where the presence of these ceramics indicates at least a pre-1800 date for the construction of the building.

Table 21. White Salt-Glazed Stoneware distribution

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	69	7	13	43	24	0	2

Vessel forms consisted of at least one scratch-blue decorated cup and one scratch blue decorated saucer, a mug with molded bands on the exterior, and an undecorated bowl, cup, saucer, and tea pot.

Westerwald

Another type of stoneware was a German product of the Westerwald region. These vessels 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. By the late 17th and especially the 18th century, they were distinctly debased. After approximately 1660 manganese was also used in conjunction with cobalt in the decoration of these vessels (Hume 1969:281).

A total of five fragments of Westerwald stoneware representing a minimum of three vessels were recovered from Area 1 (n=3) and Areas 2 and 4. Fragments of a mug with cobalt decoration, were recovered from Areas 1 and 2, a fragment of a jug with molded rosettes was recovered from Area 1, and a fragment of a cobalt and gray with stamped decoration chamberpot was recovered from Area 4. The mug and chamberpot are believed to date to the eighteenth century while the jug with the rosettes is believed to date to the seventeenth to eighteenth century (**Figure 19**).

Nottingham

Another potter began his own variety of stoneware in England in the late 17th century. James Morley, who was sued in 1685 by Dwight, began making a smooth brown stoneware with a glossy surface in the form of mugs, bowls, pitchers and double handled loving cups (Noël Hume 1970:114). While these wares were made initially in Nottingham, they were also produced throughout the 18th century in Burslem and other locations in Staffordshire and Derbyshire as well as Swinton in Yorkshire (Noël Hume 1970:114). Products of Nottingham are readily identifiable by a thin white to gray line separating the body and the glaze.

Four fragments of a Nottingham stoneware mug were recovered from the North Yard Midden (Area 1).

Other Stoneware

One fragment of a possible French stoneware jug or bottle was recovered from Area 2. French stoneware was manufactured in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the village of Frenchen near Cologne.

One fragment of a Black Basalt teapot lid was found in Area 1. Black Basalt represent a dry-bodied stoneware that was manufactured by Josiah Wedgwood beginning in 1750. These represent some of the most expensive ceramics that could be purchased at the time.

Four fragments of an exterior glazed, interior unglazed buff-colored bottle were recovered from Areas 3 (n=3) and 1. This bottle is believed to date to the nineteenth century and is of the type used to hold

ginger beer. Three fragments of a gray stoneware bottle were recovered from Areas 3 (n=2) and 1. This bottle would also been used to hold ginger beer.

Porcelain

Porcelain is the final class of ceramic. Porcelains are ceramics that have been fired to such high temperatures, over 1400 degrees Celsius, that they vitrify or become glass like. Ceramics of this type were produced in China as early as 1000 B.C. It was not until 1708/ 09 that a porcelain industry was developed in Europe (Turnbaugh 1985:19). In lieu of the scarcity and high price of Chinese porcelains, many potters began experimenting with other ceramic type, such as tin-enameled, creamware, pearlware and white-salt-glazed stoneware, that mimicked porcelain's whiteness and decorative elements. Common types of porcelain encountered on seventeenth to nineteenth century sites include: Dehua White China (1640-1750), a thick white porcelain decorated with applied elements; Ching Blue and White China (1644-1912), a thin porcelain decorated in blue with a rust colored band on top of the rim; Porcelain (1700-1780), a thin porcelain decorated with under glaze blue and overglaze red enamel; Ching Polychrome (1700-1750), a thin porcelain decorated in over glaze red and gold; Batavian/Brown Porcelain (1740-1780), decorated on the exterior with a brown glaze and the interior with blue under glaze or polychrome overglaze decoration; Powder Blue Porcelain (1700-1750), decorated on the exterior with a blue glaze and on the interior with overglaze enamel painting; Polychrome Porcelain (1680-1850), decorated with opaque overglaze enamels and gilding in a variety of colors; English Soft Paste Porcelain (1742-1800), with a hard compact chalky appearing body and decorated with under glaze navy to dark blue; Bone China (1749-1900), a nearly translucent porcelain decorated with overglaze polychrome, gilding, or left undecorated; and Canton Porcelain (1800-1860), a bluish white glazed porcelain decorated with distinctive blue under glaze decoration.

Twenty-seven fragments of porcelain were recovered from the site with the majority having been found in Area 1 and 3 (the North Yard Midden and the Hearth) (Table 22). Decorative techniques employed

Table 22. Porcelain distribution

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Porcelain- Undecorated	2		7	1			1
Porcelain- Polychrome HP	5			1			
Porcelain- Blue and White HP	1	1	2	1			
Porcelain- Gilded	3						
Porcelain- Enameled	9						
Totals	20	1	9	3	0	0	1

consisted of uncolored molded decoration, polychrome hand painting in the Bone China style, blue and white hand painting in the English Soft Paste style, gilding, and enameling. These styles date from the eighteenth to early nineteenth century. A total of nine vessels were identified (Table 23).

Table 23. Porcelain vessels identified

Vessel Number	Form	Decoration	Location
1	Holloware	Enameled	Area 1
2	Plate	Blue and White Hand Painted	Area 1, 2
3	Saucer	Blue and White Hand Painted	Area 1, 3, 5
4	Cup	Blue and White Hand Painted	Area 1
5	Cup	Polychrome Hand Painted	Area 1
6	Cup	Polychrome Hand Painted	Area 1
7	Doll's Saucer	Undecorated	Area 1
8	Doll's Saucer	Enameled	Area 1
9	Cup	Gilded	Area 4

Ceramic Summary

A total of 124 vessels were identified (Table 24) with the majority (n=37) being for tea consumption and other liquid consumption (n=23) and serving. These categories also had the wide variety of ceramics being utilized for those purposes. The second largest category was for food preparation and service (n=36), especially pans for baking.

Table 24. Ceramic vessel classes recovered

	Liquid Stor.	Liquid Serv.	Tea	Food Stor.	Food Prep.	Food Serv.	Hygiene	Dec.	Hollow
Redware	1	10		4	8	1	8	2	1
Tin- Enameled		2				2	1		1
Jackfield									1
Staffordshire Slipware		1			1		1		
Slipware- Italian						1			
Creamware			2			2	1		
Pearlware		1	6				4		
Whiteware		3	18			10	2	1	
Ironstone		3				1	1		
Stoneware- Albany	1								
Stoneware- WSG		1	5						
Stoneware- Wester.	1	1							

Stoneware-Ful.									
Stoneware-Nott		1							
Stoneware- Frenchen	1								
Stoneware- Gray	1								
Stoneware- Buff	1								
Black Basalt			1						
Porcelain			5			1		2	1
Totals	6	23	37	4	9	18	18	5	4

In an attempt to move beyond mere description when reporting ceramic occurrences from archaeological excavations (e.g. "15 pieces of creamware, 4 pieces of pearlware and one piece of ironstone were recovered") to an explanation of why they occurred, Dr. James Deetz formulated a series of propositions regarding the use and distribution of ceramics in Plymouth Colony between the years 1620 and 1835 (Deetz 1972). Deetz's propositions were based on ceramics recovered from numerous excavations he directed while at Plimoth Plantation in the 1950s to late 1960s. He stressed the relationship between behavior and its material products and how the acquisition, use and ultimate disposal of artifacts, such as ceramics, all resulted from certain aspects of the lifeways of their owners (Deetz 1972: 15). Deetz's propositions were as follows:

- 1) Ceramics are a functional component of a cultural system
- 2) Three successive cultural systems were operative in New England in the period 1620-1835
- 3) In all three cultural systems the presence of ceramics is a function of four factors: availability, need, function, and social status
- 4) Ceramics in Plymouth will exhibit a threefold division in time, corresponding to the three successive cultural systems in operation in New England (1620-1660, 1660-1760, 1760-1835), and within each time period there will be greater internal consistency than between time periods
- 5) The pattern of ceramic use for the first period will reflect ceramic usage of the Stuart yeomen foodways subsystem as well as that of the first settlers of Plymouth
- 6) Ceramics of the second period will show differences in terms of use and type, reflecting divergences from the parent culture. They will also exhibit strong conservative tendencies in stylistic and functional trends
- 7) Ceramics of the third period will show a greater homogeneity and will reflect a more structured pattern of use than those of the earlier period. 1760-1835 shows major shift in pottery types
- 8) There will be a marked increase in the rate of change in ceramic types during the third period, and domestically produced ceramics will decrease in relative quantity.

The colonists who settled in Plymouth arrived with the baggage of their medieval heritage and their Stuart yeoman ways. They were not totally representative, but were basically less prosperous Stuart yeomen and husbandmen. They were conservative, potentially self-sufficient, and greatly influenced by religious attitudes. This way of life continued relatively unchanged and unchallenged for nearly a generation, until the Puritan Revolution in the 1640s led to dramatic reduction in emigration. This led to depressed economic conditions, shortages of imported goods and a cultural isolation that led to a slow but steady divergence from the earlier yeomen lifeways.

The century between 1660 and 1760 saw the isolated New Englanders develop a distinctive Anglo-American folk culture that was different from the English culture in the motherland. After 1760 and until 1835, American culture was impacted by the emergence of a Georgian tradition, which was Deetz's third period.

The Georgian tradition was characterized by symmetrical cognitive structures, homogeneity in material culture, progressive and innovative world view, and an insistence on order and balance that permeates all aspects of life and contrasted sharply with earlier medieval tradition (Deetz 1972: 18). This Georgian tradition was truly the first popular culture in America and served to dissolve regional boundaries and re-Anglicized the American culture.

Three general groups of ceramics were identified by Deetz as having been excavated in Plymouth Colony:

Group 1 Fine imported wares

French stoneware, scraffito, delftware, marbled slipware, trailed slipware, mottled ware, agateware, Wheelton type wares, Jackfield type wares, porcelains, creamware, pearlware

Group 2 coarse imported, undecorated wares

Borderware, North Devon gravel-tempered wares, undecorated redwares

Group 3 Coarse domestic redware

undecorated and later slip-painted and trailed types

Deetz's first period (1620-1660) was characterized by a low occurrence/ minimal need for ceramics within the Stuart yeoman foodways system. Wares that occur during this period were limited to Group 1 French stonewares, Group 2 Borderwares and undecorated redwares. Ceramics were limited to their use in dairying and as drinking vessels.

Deetz's second period (1660-1760) saw a marked increase in the occurrence of fine imported ceramics of Group 1 (delftware, combed slipware, Westerwald stoneware predominantly, supplemented by mottled ware, dipped white stoneware, North Devonshire scraffito ware), a decrease in Group 2 Borderwares with a concomitant increase in North Devon Gravel Tempered wares, and a growing increase in the use of Group 3 domestically produced redwares. Ceramics were still used for dairying, but by 1650 there was a marked shift in balance of power from the clergy to the merchants which was indicative of growing trend toward secularization of certain aspects of culture (Deetz 1972: 27). Supplies were arriving in renewed quantities after the 1660 Restoration, and a greater variety of

European ceramics being used in the colonies is not surprising. Another change was the increasing reliance on ceramics as flatwares, dishes and plates, versus their earlier use as hollowares.

Finally, the third period was characterized by a complete replacement of all the earlier types by the developing English refined earthenwares- creamware and then pearlware. The Georgian world view, which was of a more orderly relationship between man and his artifacts, could account for it as well, as it possibly created a situation where there was now one plate, one cup, and one chamberpot relationship per person. Ceramic usage now conformed more closely to our 21st century concepts of the place of ceramics in culture (Deetz 1972: 32).

As a way of understanding the interrelationships between features and anomalies identified during the I Site Examination, attempts were made to cross mend sherds of vessels from various contexts across the site. Assemblages recovered from intact feature contexts were analyzed to determine a likely date of deposition for the material and to determine their probable function as part of the working household. It was hoped that enough feature contexts could be identified to examine the changing nature of the Brewster/ Soule households overtime and to compare these changes to larger local, regional, and national trends.

Overall the ceramic assemblage bespeaks of a households or successive households that were well-off with a variety of imported ceramics being used on the tables and probable domestic wares serving in the kitchen and for hygiene purposes. The variety of social vessels- tea wares, cup and jugs, may indicate that the household served as a gathering place for people in the community.

Glass

Glass artifacts that were expected to be encountered include flat glass from windows, mirrors, picture frames and lanterns, curved glass from bottles and hurricane lamp chimneys, pressed glass from candlesticks, oil lamps, tablewares, and decorative items and buttons. Glass fragments were analyzed in much the same way as the ceramics with vessel types and manufacturing techniques being identified and cross mending within and between contexts being attempted. The identification of patent medicines, fairly ubiquitous artifacts from sites occupied from the middle 19th to early twentieth centuries, represents a shift from herbal remedies among rural inhabitants toward those provided by medical science and may help to indicate the degree of market involvement by the inhabitants of the site.

A total of 637 fragments of a minimum of 50 glass vessels were recovered. The majority of the hand blown fragments came from Areas 1 and 3; the majority of the mold blown pieces came from 1, 3, and 6; and the majority of the machine-made fragments came from Areas 4, 6, and 7 (Table 25).

Table 25. Vessel glass recoveries

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hand Blown	90	47	63	42	7	49	7
Etched				1			
Mold Blown	40	5	60	29	5	39	2

Machine-Made	14	3	12	59	1	40	16
Melted						1	1
Hip Flask						1	
Lead/ Pewter Bottle Top						2	
Tin Cover							1
Total	144	55	135	131	13	132	27

Hand blown vessels included hurricane lamp chimneys, which were scattered across the project area, a possible lamp globe or fish bowl that probably dates from the Standish Hotel period, eighteenth and nineteenth century drinking and wine glasses and possible seventeenth to eighteenth century case bottle fragments (Table 26). A bottle seal bearing the mark of a French champagne

Table 26. Glass vessel fragment recoveries

Manufact. Tech.	Color	Type	Location
Hand Blown	Aqua	Bottle	1
	Clear	Drinking Glass	2
	Clear	Drinking Glass	3
	Clear	Globe/ Fish Bowl	6
	Clear	Hurricane Chimney	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7
	Clear	Wine Glass	1
	Dark Green	Medicine Vial	1
	Dark Green	Wine Bottle	1
	Dark Olive	Wine Bottle	1, 3
	Dark Olive	Case Bottle	3
	Dark Olive	Champagne Bottle Seal	3
	Dark Olive	17 th Century Wine Bottle	5
	Light Aqua	Small Bottle	5
	Light Olive	Thin Bottle	2
Mold Blown	Olive	Thin Bottle	2
	Aqua	Round Bottle	3
	Clear	Water Bottle	5
	Clear	Drinking Glass	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
	Clear	Drinking Glass, Ribs	3

	Clear	Whiskey	5
	Clear	Wine Glass	6
	Clear	Whale Oil Lamp	6
	Clear	Jar	6
	Dark Green	Square Bottle	3
	Dark Green	Liquor Bottle	6
	Dark Olive	Champagne Bottle	3
	Dark Olive	Square Bottle	3
	Dark Olive	Medicine Bottle	3
	Dark Olive	Wine Bottle	7
	Light Aqua	Spring Water	3, 6
	Light Aqua	Ink	6
	Light Aqua	Square Bottle	1
	Light Aqua	Paneled Bottle	1
	Light Aqua	Crystal Bluing	6
	Olive	Octagonal	5
	Olive	Wine Bottle	6
	White	Unknown	1
	Brown	Whiskey	3
Machine Made	Blue	Bottle	1, 6
	Brown	Liquor Bottle	6
	Clear	Drinking Glass	1, 2, 3, 7
	Clear	Crystal Bluing	6
	Clear	Paneled	1
	Clear	Drug Bottle	6
	Clear	Soda Bottle	6
	Light Aqua	Paneled Bottle	6
	Light Aqua	Medicine Bottle	6
	Olive	Medicine Bottle	6
	Solarized	Paneled Bottle	3
	Solarized	Whiskey Bottle	5

manufacturer dates from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century and is most probably associated

with the Standish Hotel. Overall, most of the bottles identified probably arrived at the site as a result of rubbish disposal by the owners of the Standish Hotel (**Figure 20**), but a few, such as the seventeenth century wine bottles, the case bottles, and some of the mold blown bottles, were used and discarded at the site by various occupants.

Also included in the vessel glass category are a metal hip flask, a lead or pewter bottle top, and a tin bottle cover. All these artifacts date from the Standish Hotel period.

Cooking equipment and eating utensils

Artifacts from this class were recovered from across the site with the majority being recovered from around the Hearth, in Area 1 and in Area 6 (Table 27) (**Figure 21 and 22**). These artifacts arrived in the archaeological record as a result of occupation loss and disposal and refuse disposal related to the Standish Hotel.



Figure 20. Standish Hotel related bottles (Top: possible Standish Spring Water bottle; Middle: Whiskey Bottle; Bottom: Crystal Bluing Bottle)



Figure 21. Cooking related items (Top: Trivet; Bottom: Kettle leg)



Figure 22. Cutlery (Top Row Left to Right: Puritan Spoon Handle, Puritan Spoon Bowl; Middle Row Left to Right: Silver Spoon Handle, Iron Knife; Bottom Cache of spoons from Hearth Area)

Table 27. Cooking equipment and eating utensils distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Brass Vessel	1						
Silver Spoon	1						
Puritan Spoon	2						
Spoon			7				
Knife	1			1			
Hearth Chain	1						
Kettle	2		1	1			
Pail	1		1			7	
Kitchen Grinder						1	
Stove Part				2			1
Trivet			4				
Totals	8		13	4		8	1

The brass vessel, which was a sheet brass possible pot, the silver spoon, the Puritan spoons, the knives, the hearth chain, the trivet, and the kettle fragments are believed to have been used by the occupants of the house from the Brewster to Soule periods. The remaining items are believed to have arrived at the site as a result of refuse disposal from the Standish Hotel, except for the collection of spoons from the Hearth Area (Area 3) which were buried together is a sort of cache after the abandonment of the house. These may represent local children playing at the site and burying "treasure", a treasure that they forgot to recover. One of the most interesting items is the Puritan spoon handle and bowl. Puritan spoons have ovoid bowls and straight, unadorned handles that are believed to be reflective of the Puritans' preference for plain and simple things. The bowl has a maker's mark, an IC and a cross, on the inside near the terminus with the handle. These spoons date from the 1660s to 1680s.

Furniture Hardware

This class was represented by three furniture escutcheons, one of which probably dates to the eighteenth century while the other two date to the late nineteenth to twentieth centuries, one drawer handle from the eighteenth to nineteenth century and a brass possible bed curtain ring (**Figure 23**). These were used to hold curtains that served both to create privacy in bed and also to keep out drafts and keep in heat. The use of curtain rings dates from the 17th to 18th centuries.

Sewing Equipment

Six sewing pins and a thimble were found in Area 1 and two sewing pins were found in Area 5 (**Figure 24**). This distribution may be the result of house cleaning that resulted in the accidental disposal of the pins into the North Yard Midden when the floor was being swept or were the result of the disposal of the contents of a box or bag when the property changed hands from the Brewsters to the Soules.



Figure 23. Furniture escutcheons (Top: 20th century; Bottom: 18th century)



Figure 24. Sewing Equipment

Writing Equipment

One slate pencil was recovered from Area 1. This artifact is evidence of literacy in this household. These were used for scratching numbers or letters onto a writing slate.

Heating Residue

Heating residue took the form of charcoal and coal. Charcoal was concentrated in Areas 1 and 7 while coal was concentrated in Areas 3 and 5 (Table 28). It is believed that the charcoal was used as the main heating source at the site and that the coal represents waste deposited at the site either from the Standish Hotel or from the house located to the immediate south.

Table 28. Heating residue distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Coal	457	27	33	14		12	344
Charcoal	21		142	68	77	1	1

Personal

Coin

Two copper based coins were recovered from the site. Both were found in Area 4 near the location of the front door. The first is a large cent dated 1803 and the second is a Liberty cent dated 1827 (**Figure 25**). These may have been placed in this location as good luck tokens or as protection from evil spirits entering the house. Alternately, they may have been lost by someone sitting or working near the front door.

Tobacco Pipes

Clay tobacco pipes are, to the archaeologist, one of the most commonly occurring objects on colonial sites and easily dated by their maker's 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 has been refined since.

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. Dating artifacts is never as easy as Harrington and Binford felt that it could be. This is especially true after 1800 when stems of the 4/64" and 5/64" bore were being made simultaneously, thus negating the use of stem bores for sites occupied after 1800.



Figure 25. Coins (Top: 1803; Bottom: 1827)

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 be indicative of specific countries of origin including England, Ireland, America or Canada large bored stems mainly of the 8/64" variety and small sized bowls similar to those shown in Hume's work (Noel Hume 1969: 303).

Archaeologists recovered a total of 84 pipe fragments during the Site Examination. Sixty-six of these were stem fragments with measurable bore diameters (Table 29). The majority of the stems

Table 29. Gross pipe fragment occurrences.

Artifact	Count
Stem with 8/64" bore	2
Stem with 7/64" bore	4
Stem with 6/64" bore	4
Stem with 5/64" bore	32
Stem with 4/64" bore	24
Bowl Fragments	15
Stem Fragment	1
Totals	82

had either 5 or 4/64" diameter stem bores, placing them in the 1710-1850 period. Ten stems were recovered that dated from the early to late seventeenth century (Table 30). These larger bore stems

Table 30. Tobacco pipe distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4/64" stem bore	18	1	1	2	2		
5/64" stem bore	20		5	2	1		4
6/64" stem bore	2	1					1
7/64" stem bore	2						2
8/64" stem bore	1		1				
Bowl Fragment	5		2	1	7		
Stem Fragment	1						
Totals	49	2	9	5	10		7

were recovered from Areas 1 (n=5), 2 (n=1), 3 (n=3), and 7 (n=3). Stems with smaller bores were concentrated in Areas 1 (n=38), 2 (n=1), 3 (n=6), 4 (n=4), 5 (n=3), and 7 (n=4). This distribution closely matches that of the larger bore pipes, providing good evidence that the house that Marshall

Soule lived and died in was either the same house built by the Brewsters or at least rested on the same location.

No complete bowls were found, but the fragments recovered are datable to the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries (Table 31). The earliest bowls and a decorated stem were found in Areas 1, 3, and 5 (Figure 26).

Table 31. Decorated stems and bowls

Style	Date	Location
Small Belly Bowl	First half 17 th century	Area 5
Rouletted Rim	17 th century	Area 1
Rouletted Stem	17 th century	Area 3
Heeless Funnel	17 th -18 th century	Area 3
Heeless Funnel	1720-1820	Area 1
TD Stamped on Spur	18 th century	Area 1
TD Stamped on Bowl	18 th century	Area 1
Molded Bowl	Early 19 th century	Areas 2, 5
Large Bowl	19 th century	Area 3

Eighteenth century bowls were found in Area 1, while 19th century bowls were found in Areas 2, 3, and 5. The bowls and decorated stems again match the distribution seen in the stems with measurable bores, supporting the conclusion that the original Brewster house was either the same house lived in by the Soules or at least stood on the same site.

Clothing Items

Twenty buttons and eight buckles were recovered. No matching buttons were located but the assemblage was found to have been made of a wide variety of materials (Table 32). The buttons date to the 18th to early 19th centuries and had been used on men's coats and pants, underwear, and women's dresses and coats.

Table 32. Buttons recovered

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bone Buttons	1	2	3	1			
Molded Glass Buttons							1
Brass Disc Buttons	2		1	2	1		1
Brass Stamped Buttons				1			
Pewter Disc Buttons	1						
Pewter Molded Button			1				

Iron Buttons	1				1		
Shoe Buckle	4				1		
Iron Buckle	3						
Total	12	2	10	6	3		2

Buckles were used on hats, shoes, knees, belts, and harnesses in the 18th century. After about 1815, the use of shoe, knee and hat buckles went out of fashion and were then used for belts and harnesses. A total of six buckles and four buckle tongues were recovered. During the 17th and 18th centuries the material that your shoe buckles were made of reflected your social class. Cast silver were used by the gentry, brass and copper by those below them, pewter on the those below them, and iron on the simple laborer's feet (Noel Hume 1969: 86). The recovery of brass buckles from the site, which date to the 18th century, indicates that the inhabitant was a man of middling wealth. The size of the buckle indicates that it was probably a knee or small belt buckle. The iron buckles are harness buckles that probably date to the late 17th to 19th centuries (**Figure 27**).

Shoe Leather

Five fragments of shoe leather were recovered from Area 3 and two fragments were found in Area 4. They both appear to be hand stitched and date to the first half of the nineteenth century.

Construction Class

This class is composed of artifacts related to the construction of the structures that stand or have stood on the site. It consists of the following sub-classes: brick, mortar, nails, window glass, window leads, and iron hardware.

Nails and fasteners

Nails are designated by their “penny” size, which refers to how much it costs to purchase 100 of each nail size. A two penny nail would cost two pennies to purchase 100 while a 10 penny nail, due to its larger size, would cost 10 pennies to purchase 100. The abbreviation “d” is used for penny, thus a “10 penny” nail is abbreviated “10d”. The “d” used in the abbreviation comes from the Roman word for a coin, denarius, thus the “d”. Fourteen sizes of hand-wrought nails were identified at the site. These range in size from small brads to 30d nails. The majority of the nails were of the 3d (1 1/4” long) size.

Hand-wrought nails were made by specific craftspeople called “nailers” in the 17th and 18th centuries. Nailers took long thin rods of iron and hand formed each individual nail. The resulting nail is distinctive from later machine-made nails in that the shank of the former is square in cross-section and tapers to a sharp point. The heads of hand-wrought nails are large and broad, often with four distinct blows of the headers hammer visible, giving them a distinctive “rose head” appearance.

The shanks of machine-cut nails are rectangular in cross section, which is a result of the cutting of nail blanks from a flat sheet of iron versus hand hammering each nail. Machine cut nails initially were individually headed but later, by the 1820s, had roughly rectangular machine-stamped heads. While hand-wrought nails and spikes were produced since ancient times, by the late 18th century they were replaced by partially machine cut nails between 1790 and 1825, with the machine cutting the nail



Figure 26. Decorated tobacco pipes (Top: 17th century Rouletted stem; Middle Left to Right: 18th century stem/ bowl junction, 19th century stem/ bowl junction; Bottom: early 19th century bowl)



Figure 27. Shoe Buckles

shanks and a human finisher applying the heads by hand. By 1825 machines had been developed to crudely make the heads and by 1840 the heads and shanks were completely machine-made. Machine-cut nails continue to be produced to the present time. Eventually, by 1890s, round-shanked wire nails, which were first produced in the 1850s, began to dominate the nail market, replacing the machine-cut nails and continuing in use to this day.

A total of 732 hand-wrought nails or hand-wrought nail fragments were recovered (Table 33). The overall total included nail shank fragments with intact heads and 267 complete hand-wrought nails. A total of 1301 machine-cut nails or nails fragments were recovered with 494 complete nails.

Table33. Nail distribution

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hand-Wrought Nails	374	15	64	200	62	3	14
Machine-Cut Nails	485	170	178	331	63	30	25
Wire Nails	10	48	10	1		1	

Hand wrought and machine-cut nails were concentrated in Areas 1 and 4 while wire nails were concentrated in Area 2. The difference in distribution is the result of the fact that the hand wrought and machine cut nails date to the period of occupation while the wire nails date to the period when material from the Standish Hotel was deposited at the site.

Both whole nails, nail shank fragments and nail shanks with heads attached were recovered. A minimum number count of nails based on a count of the whole nails and the nail shanks with heads attached gives a figure of 632 hand wrought nails and 1052 machine-cut nails being present in the collection.

Nail sizes correspond to their uses, with smaller nails used for fastening thinner wood and larger nails used for fastening thicker wood. A modern day rule of thumb is that in fastening sheathing, shingles, clapboard, etc., the nail should be at least three times longer than the thickness of the sheet or board being fastened. This means that the 2d to 6d nails, the majority of those recovered, were being used for fastening wood that was .3 to .6" thick, which would be appropriate for clapboards or shingles with the smallest size used on lathe as well. The larger nails would have been used for larger pieces of wood. It is generally recommended that 8d nails should be used to nail 1" stock, sheathing, rough flooring and window and door trim. The use of 10d nails is limited to toe-nailing frames, and framing in general. Other sizes used in framing are 16d, 20d and 60d. Larger stock, such as 2-3" thick pieces, are nailed with 16-60d nails. The paucity of hand wrought nails of 10-30d size may be related to the use of trenails/ trunnels and the vertical plank construction used for the earliest phases of the house.

Table 34. Nails recovered

Size	Hand-Wrought Nails	Machine-Cut Nails
2 cm/ 2d	6	10
2.5 cm/ 2d	3	5
3 cm/ 3d	72	96
3.5 cm/ 3d	27	157
4 cm/ 4d	25	30
4.5 cm/ 5d	4	7
5 cm/ 6d	15	28
5.5 cm/ 7d	16	18
6 cm/ 7d	34	28
6.5 cm/ 8d	21	23
7 cm/ 9d	29	51
7.5 cm/ 10d	5	5
8 cm/ 12d	6	28
8.5 cm/ 12d		4
9 cm/ 16d	3	1
11 cm	1	1
11.5 cm		1
12 cm	1	

The distribution of machine-cut and hand wrought nails at the site indicates similar uses and construction techniques utilizing both types of nails. Smaller nails were used on shingles and clapboards while larger nails were used for framing.

Bricks

As early as 1625 there were English laws regulating the dimensions for bricks as 9” by 4 1/2” by 3” high (22.9 x 11.4 x 7.6 cm), which was very similar to the 1700 dimensions for statute (a.k.a common) bricks which was 9 x 4 1/2 x 2 1/4” (22.9 x 11.4 x 5.7 cm)(Cummings 1979:118). The Massachusetts Bay Colony set regulations on brick sizes in 1679, stating that the molds for bricks must be 9” long, 4 1/2” wide and 2 1/4” high, but, as William Leybourn observed in 1668, molds of such size seldom produced bricks of such size due to drying and burning (Cummings 1979:118). The firing of a single brick clamp results in three different types of bricks: Clinker- those that lie closest the fire which have a glaze on them; those that lie next in the clamp which are of second quality; Samuel or Sandal-bricks- those that lie at the outside of the clamp and which are soft and will dissolve in the weather (Neve 1736).

The bricks used for the Brewsters and Soules were likely made locally. As early as 1629, clamps were established in Salem, Massachusetts for the manufacture of bricks and roof tiles, while in the same year there is a singular, unique record of 10,000 bricks being imported into the colony (Cummings 1979:119). Measurable bricks from the Allerton-Cushman Site in Kingston, Massachusetts (c1650-1690), ranged in width from 9 to 11.5 cm, 4.8 to 6.1 cm in height, and 17 cm long. The single measurable brick from the Ezra Perry II (Aptuxet Trading Post Museum Site) in Bourne (c. 1670-1720) measured 10 cm wide, 6.35 cm high, and 20 cm long. Later sites, such as the Lot Harding House in Truro, Massachusetts (1746 to present) had bricks measuring 8.6 to 10.9 cm wide, 4.3 to 5.7 cm high and 18.2 to 18.8 cm long and the Duxbury Second Meeting House (1708-1785) bricks were 8.5 to 11 cm wide, 4.3 to 6.2 cm high, and 14 cm long. All of these bricks roughly fit within the known 17th and 18th century brick regulations. The bricks recovered from the Wing Fort House averaged 16.5 to 19.7 cm long (6.5 to 7.7 inches), 7 to 11 cm wide (2.7 to 4.3 inches) and 3.7 to 6 cm high (1.5 to 2.4 cm). As a point of comparison, bricks from the 19th century Samuel Fuller House site in Kingston, Massachusetts measured between 18.2 to 18.8 cm long, 8.8 and 10.9 cm wide, and 4.3 to 5.5 cm high, very similar to the Lot Harding bricks.

A total of 3,554 brick fragments were recovered during the Site Examination testing. Six hundred sixty-six fragments could be measured for either width or height. Thirty-eight mostly complete bricks were recovered from which measurements for length were obtained.

When compared with the bricks recovered from the other sites discussed above (Table 35) it can be seen that the bricks from the house most closely match those from the Ezra Perry II house and the

Table 35. Comparison of brick sizes between 17th to 19th century sites

Site	Length Range	Width Range	Height Range
Allerton/ Cushman Site (1650-1690)	17 cm	9-11.5 cm	4.8-6.1 cm
Ezra Perry II (1670-1720)	20 cm	10 cm	6.35 cm
Lot Harding Site (1746-Present)	18.2-18.8 cm	8.6-10.9 cm	4.3-5.7 cm
Duxbury Second Meeting House (1708-1785)	14 cm	8.5-11 cm	4.3-6.2 cm
Samuel Fuller House (1830-1890)	18.2-18.8 cm	8.8-10.9 cm	4.3-5.5 cm
Richard and Ruth Taylor (1640-1800)	20 cm	8-13.5 cm	4-7 cm
Brewster Site (ca.1630-1851)	17.5-23 cm	7.9-10.9 cm	3.1-7.1 cm

Richard and Ruth Taylor Site. This offers support for 17th century and 18th to 19th century builds at the site. Bricks such as these were made of local clay mixed with sand, gravel, and even larger pebbles and small rocks to act as aggregates to give strength to the clay. The molding process was begun by drenching a wooden mold into water and then placing it on a table covered with a thin layer of sand. The mold was then filled with a large glob of clay and a board was run either vertically or horizontally across the upper face to level the mold off. The mold was then removed and the brick was paled in the sun to dry before it was fired. Firing bricks involved stacking them up in a specific manner, building what is referred to as a clamp. Wood was placed within the clamp, around the bricks, and the whole thing was set on fire and allowed to burn until the bricks were hard. Bricks that were fired close to the

heat source tend to be blackened on their faces that faced the fire, often bearing a vitrified, glass-like surface finish, while those that were farther from the direct heat were more evenly colored. The bricks that were closest to the flames tended to warp and often deformed to some degree.

Mortar

Associated with the brick were fragments of shell-tempered or shell-lime and sand-tempered mortar. The majority of it was found in the cellar hole. This is interpreted as indicating that the cellar was used as the repository for mortar removed from old bricks when the chimney was dismantled in the late 18th to early 19th century. Local sources of limestone that could be calcined to produce lime were difficult to find in Massachusetts. Edward Johnson reported in 1650 that “the country affords no lime, but what is burnt of Oyster-shells” (Cummings 1979: 122). As Johnson reported, people burned sea shells to produce lime which was mixed with the clay to produce mortar. Lime was necessary for the mortar to make it waterproof, as without lime, a good rainstorm would wash the mortar out of the masonry and the whole construction would soon come crashing down. The shells that were reduced to lime came from a variety a sources. In 1694 a large storm resulted in a plethora of shells on the beach. Local officials soon declared that none of the shells, nor any of the lime that was subsequently made from the shells, could be shipped out of Lynn under punishment of a fine (Jenison 1976: 22). Shells were also mined from Native American shell middens such as was done in 1667 by Thomas Batt, a hide tanner in Boston. Batt used a Native shell midden located on the west side of Beacon Hill to create the lime pits he used for dehairing hides (Jenison 1976: 22). Another source of shells were live shellfish beds. This practiced was discouraged due to the harm done to the shellfish, as such was the case in 1728 in Providence, Rhode Island where oyster beds were being raided (Jenison 1976: 22). By the early 18th century, local lime sources had been discovered and shell lime was less often used, as evidenced by a 1724 decree that mussels in Massachusetts Bay should no longer be used for making lime or anything else except for eating and bait (Kimball 1922: 36).

The presence of shells in mortar should not be taken as absolute proof of the use of shell lime mortar. Shells may have been added to mortar as a filler or an aggregate, or may have accidentally been mixed into the mortar (Jenison 1976: 24).

A total of 224 fragments of shell-tempered and 985 fragments of sand tempered mortar were recovered, principally from the Hearth Area (Area 3) but also from across the project area (Table 36). The distribution supports the idea that the original house stood on or very close to the house that the Soules lived in.

Table 36. Mortar distribution.

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mortar - Sandy	66	11	629	243	23	4	9
Mortar- Shell	5	8	70	119	21		1
Totals	71	19	699	362	44	4	10

One piece of clay was recovered from Area 7. The clay may have been used to set bricks.

Flat Glass and Window Leads

A wide variety of colors of flat glass were recovered, ranging from light aqua to very dark olive. The range of glass colors is likely related to windows being replaced during the life of the house and to the lack of consistency in color for hand made window glass due to variations in impurities and manufacturing. All of the quarrels, the small diamond-shaped panes used to make a 17th to early 18th century window, would not have come from the same manufacturer and the later house may have reused some of the earlier windows. This would have led to a variety of shades of green being present even in one window.

A total of 2512 pieces of flat glass were recovered from around the house. The majority of these were colored light aqua (Table 37).

Table 37. Window glass and leads

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Flat Glass	593	53	409	1067	282	29	79
Lead Kame	4			5	5		

Associated with the glass were 14 pieces of lead originally used to hold the diamond-shaped quarrels in place. Their distribution was outside the existing structure, possibly indicating that they were removed from that structure. These window kames are H-shaped in profile and are commonly found on houses dating to the 17th to early 18th century. They were eventually replaced with casement windows bearing rectangular panes similar to those found in houses today. These turned leads generally date from the 17th into the first half of the 18th century (Hume 1969:233).

Other Architectural

The majority of the remaining architectural items that were recovered date from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century and were probably deposited at the site as a result of the Standish Hotel's use of the site as a refuse disposal area. Artifacts include shade brackets, lightning rod insulators (**Figure 28**), a padlock and keys, barn door hardware, architectural wood with wire nails in it, a doorstop, and a hook. Some of the remaining artifacts may date to the Soule occupation of the site such as the shutter hardware, wood screws, hinges, and the flashing (Table 38).

Table 38. Other architectural hardware

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Wood Screw	1		1	2			
Hardware	1						
Hinge			2				
Shutter Latch			1				
Shutter Pintle				1			
Shade Bracket			18				

Door Stop			1				
Tin Flashing	1			5			
Lead Flashing						1	
Lightning Rod Insulator	2					6	
Lightning Rod Bracket	1						
Padlock Key	2		1				
Padlock						1	
Architectural Wood		23	2				
Hook					1		
Barn Door Hardware						1	

Labor and Technology

Transportation Equipment

Two 18th to 19th century horseshoe fragments and four horseshoe nails may have been deposited at the site during the Soule occupation. The remaining artifacts from this category (oar locks and boat nails), are believed to have arrived here as a result of the activity at the Standish Hotel (Figure 29).



Figure 28. Lightning rod insulators



Figure 29. Transportation related artifacts

Tools

Tools that were recovered are believed to have been used by the Soules. They included an ax, scythe, wedge, fire shovel and ferrule for an unknown tool (**Figure 30**).

Subsistence

Procurement Equipment

Twenty-six procurement items were recovered (Table 39) (**Figure 31**). The fishhooks are believed to be associated with Marshall Soule and they would have been used to catch large fish such as cod or mackerel. The lead sprue is believed to date to the late Brewster occupation and possibly (in the case of the piece from Area 3) from the Marshall Soule occupation. The .22 cal shell and the brass shotgun shell are believed to date to the twentieth century, possibly to the period after any activity, except for the occasional hunter, occurred at the site.

Table 39. Procurement items

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gunflint	9		2				1
Flint Fragment	1	1					1
Lead Sprue	2		1				
Brass Shotgun Shell						1	
Fish Hook	1		5				
.22 cal shell		1					

The gunflints were all of the gunspall type and occurred in two colors: tan and gray. Gray is usually associated with flint coming from England while tan is associated with French flint. Flint occurs in Europe most commonly in the form of nodules which erode out of chalk cliffs. The nodules often end up at the bottoms of rivers and beaches at the bases of such cliffs.

There are three main types of gunflints which have been reported in the literature. The first is the bifacial gunflint, which has also been called the Nordic gunflint. These are believed to have been manufactured in the Jutland in Denmark and can be identified by the fact that they are flaked on both faces of the flint. Witthoft dates these to 1620-1675 (Witthoft 1966:22). This is a form which was also used by New World Natives when first producing gunflints. The only other Plymouth Colony site which has yielded a bifacial gunflint is the Allerton-Cushman (C. 1630-1632, 1650-1690) site in Kingston, Massachusetts. Apparently, this being the earliest type of gunflint, it would be associated with early sites.

The second type of gunflint is called the gunspall or Dutch flint. In the 1970s much debate had gone on as to whether or not these were actually produced in Holland as Witthoft states. Stephen White convincingly argued that they were in fact a product of England which was replaced circa 1780 by the blade technology for producing gunflints. Gunspalls result when short flakes are struck either from the concave or convex surface of a flint core. They are bulbous near the point of impact, taper to a feather edge, and have been described as wedge shaped. The flake is usually trimmed about the sides and near



Figure 30. Tools (Top: Ax head; Bottom: Scythe)



Figure 31. Procurement equipment (Top: Lead sprue from shot manufacture; Middle: Spall type gunflints; Bottom: Mackerel hooks)

the bulb forming a rounded heel while the termination is usually left thin and square. The thin termination strikes the battery. Witthoft feels the Dutch were the main producers of them, and that they date from 1650 to 1700. While Witthoft's assertion that they were produced only by the Dutch has been overruled, the date he gives for their introduction is believed to be essentially correct. These were felt to have replaced the bifacial gunflints as lithic technology became more efficient in producing a working gunflint in the shortest amount of time. This was the most commonly occurring form of gunflint at the RM/ Clarke site (1630-1676) in Plymouth, Massachusetts.

The final type of gunflint is the blade or French gunflint. These were in production by 1643 in France, and it is felt that the English adopted the technology in the later part of the 18th century. This technique produces a superior product with less waste than the spall gunflints. The blades are long, prismatic flakes, triangular or trapezoidal in cross-section, which have been struck from a polyhedral core with a hammer. Generally they have one facet on their ventral side and two or three on the dorsal side. Their production began as early as 1643 at Meusnes in France and are generally produced out of tan or blonde flint, characteristic of the region. They are believed to have replaced the gunspalls by 1750.

The gunflints recovered are believed to date to the Brewster occupation of the site.

Faunal Remains: Bone/ Shell

Analysis of the faunal remains sought to examine the site inhabitants' involvement in the larger local and regional markets by examining the degree to which the Brewster/ Soule households raised and butchered their own livestock versus what they may have purchased from neighbors or from the larger markets in Duxbury or Plymouth. The recovery of a wide variety of elements (cranium to tail vertebrae, upper and lower elements of legs, phalanges) from a species likely indicates that the species was raised on site and butchered there or that it was purchased whole and butchered on site. The faunal elements recovered when species are butchered and consumed on site differ markedly from instances where only specific elements are purchased at a market or from a neighbor. In the latter case, only specific elements are present with many of the less desirable elements (tail vertebrae, lower legs, phalanges) being absent.

There are two schools of thought on the nature of rural farming in the 19th century. One school believes that all American farmers, regardless of proximity to markets, were capitalists whose economic decisions were greatly influenced by market forces. The other school sees small, rural inhabitants not as capitalists but as subsistence farmers, who valued their independence over consumption of market products. This school believes that rural inhabitants preferred to produce their own goods to the point that they produced everything they could by themselves and purchased whatever else they needed from their neighbors. In this instance, trade between neighbors took the form of reciprocal exchanges of goods and labor in which tradition, family loyalty, neighborliness and self-sufficiency was valued over profit and regulated economic decisions (Henretta 1978; Kulikoff 1989; Rothenberg 1981).

Evidence of the vertebrate and invertebrate portion of the diet of the occupants of the site was represented by both bone and shell remains. A total of 3363 fragments of shellfish and 610 fragments of animal bone were recovered.

Shellfish

Seven species of shellfish were identified: soft shell clam (*Mya arenaria*), surf clam (*Spisula solidissima*), quahog (*Mercenaria mercenaria*), oyster (*Crasostrea virginica*), blue mussel (*Mytilus edulis*), razor clam (*Ensis arcuatus*), and moon snail (*Lunatia heros*) (Table 40). All species could have been collected at low tide around the Nook.

Table 40. Shellfish distribution

Species	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Moon Snail	6		2	2			
Blue Mussel			2	1	6		
Razor Clam			1				
Soft Shell Clam	447	28	2066	84	112	16	51
Quahog	69	5	20	15	6	2	2
Oyster	3		3	1			
Surf Clam	65	1	331	10	4		
Coral				1			

The majority of the shellfish remains were recovered from the area of the hearth where it formed a deposit that appeared to be located beneath the hearth stones and chimney base. This may be evidence of rebuilding of the hearth. The single piece of coral recovered may have arrived at the site through the voyages of Marshall Soule.

Excavations recovered a total of 610 pieces of bone from across the project area with the majority being concentrated in the North Yard Midden and the Hearth (Table 41). The human remains consisted of a single tooth with a large cavity. It is assumed that the tooth was pulled by one of the inhabitants and discarded.

Table 41. Distribution of faunal remains

Species	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Human	1						
Burned Medium Mammal	1				1		
Calcined Medium Mammal	24	1	4	1	4		
Calcined Sheep			1				
Calcined Rabbit	1						
Mammal			1				
Mouse			1				
Rat		1	1				

Rabbit			1		1		
Skunk					2		
Large Mammal Flatbone	12						
Large Mammal Longbone	11	1		1			1
Cattle	38	1	36	13	5	1	1
Medium Mammal Flatbone	22	4	12	10	11		
Medium Mammal Longbone	36	1	4	6	7		2
Sheep	10	2	17	13	11	2	
Swine	34	1	41	16	15	1	
Calcined Medium Bird	1						S
Small Bird Longbone	1		2				
Medium Bird Longbone	31		22	3			1
Large Bird Longbone	1		5				
Chicken	5		20	4	3	1	
Duck	7		7	3			
Goose	5		20	5	6		
Turkey					1		
Plover	1						
Fish	2		3	1			
Cod	1						
Halibut	1	1					
Total	246	13	198	76	67	5	5

Small mammal remains such as the skunk, mouse, and rat may have been commensural species that lived around and under the house and entered the archaeological record through change as opposed to having been consumed.

The species represented were dominated by domestic mammals (cattle, swine, and sheep), domestic and possibly wild birds (chicken, duck, goose, turkey, and plover), and wild fish (cod, halibut).

The domestic mammals were represented by a variety of elements from throughout the skeleton, indicating that they were most probably raised and slaughtered on the site. Both young and old individuals were present, indicating a husbandry system that consumed younger individuals which

were favored for their softer flesh, and older individuals who had gone past their prime years for breeding or draft.

Other artifacts

A variety of other artifacts were recovered (Table 42), most of which are believed to be the result either of the Standish Hotel refuse disposal or are more modern refuse.

Table 42. Other artifacts

Artifact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Iron Rod	1		1	1			
Iron Wire	1		6	5	5		
S-Shaped Iron	1		1			1	
Iron Flat Fragments	13		5		2	1	5
Iron Can	20	8	3	35		4	
Iron Disc	3	1					
Iron Pipe		1					
Iron Spring				4			
Tin Washer							1
Brass Scrap	2			1			2
Brass Fitting			1				
Aluminum Pull Tab	1						
Lead Scrap	2	1	2	3			

Research Topic: Self-sufficiency

One of the research questions for this project involves the degree to which the families at the site, which was living only a few miles outside of Duxbury center, was involved with the local market economy. This question relates to the Brewster and Soule's degree of self-sufficiency. Rural inhabitants could and often did produce their own food, fuel, and furniture but few researchers believe that they were totally self-sufficient. The stereotypical New England Yankee, self-sufficient, independent, and self-reliant is more a romantic notion than a fact. Rural inhabitants, especially those who live close to an urban core, must have sold produce or labor to pay their taxes and procure a limited range of high utility commodities such as imported ceramics. Food, firewood, and clothing do not survive well archaeologically, but those that do survive are mass-produced, such as glass, ceramics and metal. In many ways this does not make consumer goods purchased at the market a good indicator of the overall standard of living enjoyed by the people who used them. Overall it has been found that consumer produced goods accounted for only a small percentage of total household expenditure in the 19th century (Friedlander 1991; Klein 1991).

If the purchase of consumer goods was a high priority for householders it would be reflected in high percentage of consumer goods within an assemblage. On the other hand, if the purchase of consumer goods was not a high priority for household occupants then the percentage, quality, and types of market-produced goods would reflect their philosophical choice.

The question is whether and to what degree did rural inhabitants made economic decisions that would maximize their profits and increase their purchases of consumer goods in order to maintain economic independence and preserve strong relations with their neighbors.

Research Topic: Wealth

The overall theoretical basis of the Site Examination at the Brewster homesite was to examine how the physical remains recovered (artifacts, and architectural evidence) can be linked to processes such as status display, wealth, and economy in the 17th to 19th centuries. The examination of status and wealth will follow the theoretical and methodological basis outlined by Gibb (1996).

The study of consumer behavior attempts to link artifacts to historical processes such as status, display, and class conflict and are accessed by analysis of house siting, the creation, maintenance and modification of architectural spaces, internment of dead and ceramic selection (Gibb 1996:2). Consumer behavior researchers such as Gibb see these as direct attempts by the household to maintain their identities and/ or to achieve identities and forms to which they aspire with household members making decisions guided by prescribed roles within larger social, cultural and economic contexts (Gibb 1996 2, 16). Gibb (1996) proposed a wealth based examination of the artifacts, architecture, and layout of historic archaeological sites. His essential point is that the artifacts we collect from a site represent expended wealth that are discarded because they no longer held any value as wealth, no longer could be used to produce wealth, and had stopped articulating the identities or values of the owner (Gibb 1996: 43). The household serves the purpose of providing a bridge between reality of the individual or group situation and the ideals for which they strive (Gibb 1996: 25). The material culture of the household "... gives physical form to abstraction of culture mediating contradictions between real and ideal by providing stability and convincing arguments for the reality, validity and achievability of those ideals" (Gibb 1996: 25). Items of material culture are purchased as a means of achieving an economic goal (e.g. purchasing hoes to grow salable crops) while other items (e.g. above subsistence level quality ceramics) create the illusion that the subject is achieving an ideal, reinforcing the notion that the ideal is achievable (Gibb 1996: 25). Artifacts of similar form and function found among households that are similar in terms of self perceptions are measurable in terms of economics, ethnicity, naturalism and religion while aberrant artifacts may represent efforts at redefinition, a striving for an ideal state as perceived by the subject (Gibb 1996: 25). The act of purchasing items of material culture either for practical subsistence or for consumption is a process by which an individual or group creates and recreates its identity. This reminds us who we are as individuals and material consumption, in particular, is a way for the group to declare identity, goals, and values (McCracken 1998). The household and its portable items of material culture represent the wealth of the household and the kinds, relative proportions of materials, and ways in which they were used. As such they indicate the householders' efforts to define self to self as well as to larger community (Gibb 1996: 41). For example, in and of itself, a redware pot is relatively inexpensive, but it can be used for dairying to create a salable product to bring more wealth into the household. Alternatively, clothing may be a necessity, but the purchase of extra and finer clothes provides a "saving account" that could be

bequeathed at the death of its owner (Lemire 1990). Faunal remains indicate efforts to acquire energy through food consumption and ultimately produce wealth through activity; but studying the kill-off patterns can also indicate the husbandry practices and possible sources of income for the household.

Wilks has pointed out some of the limitations of a consumer behavior model of studying historic households and houselots. In the first instance he argues, the household is not a corporate entity with well-defined bounds, so, unlike a corporate model, household boundaries are ill-defined. The household is not isolated and autonomous, but is embedded within a wider reference of social and economic networks; individuals within the household have different degrees of household membership; the household economy is always abridged by law, custom, community; and there is no function that is universal to all households (Wilks 1990). Unlike a corporate entity whose motivations can be read out of a corporate philosophy, householders' motivations are not directly retrievable from the archaeological record. Finally, both internal and external influences such as social class, ethnicity, and family marketing efforts are not controlled in the consumer behavior model, making it analytically weak in many instances. (Henry 1991).

Analysis of recovered cultural material focused on four main classes of excavated materials: ceramics, glass, architectural remains, and faunal remains. These classes have been found to first, be the most commonly recovered classes on historic archaeological sites and second, to hold the most potential for helping to investigate some of the research questions posed for this project.

Research Topic: Vernacular Architecture/ Housing

Unlike clothing and other perishable elements of culture, housing is usually well represented and more visible archaeologically, suggesting to some researchers that housing is the most sensitive indicator of class, in contrast to ceramics, glass, or faunal remains (Soltow 1992: 131). Catts and Custer (1990: 227), for example, found that 450 square feet formed a convenient dividing line between the houses of the poor and those of the middle class. The examination of the size, structure, and layout of the Brewster/ Soule households can provide insight into the social class and status of this industrial period working class family. Conversely, some investigators see status as best indicated by social status followed by the quality of the house or residential area (neighborhood) (Spencer-Wood 1984: 35).

The archaeological signature that would be left at the site of William Brewster's house if it fit the pattern of other early Plymouth Colony houses, might 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 site's visibility "the actual amount of physical remains, however clearly or ambiguously they may be perceived" (Deetz 1977:94).

In his study of 17th-century Plymouth Colony probates researcher Paul Chase, found that up to about 1675 most houses appear to have been of a single room design (Chase 1985: 60). Love Brewster's relatively modest probate may support the probability that his house was also a single room. Chase also noted that one-room houses appear to have been more common with estates valued under £90, an amount that marks the difference between 17th-century wealthy and poor in Plymouth Colony (Chase 1985: 62).

While there was a diversity of origins for the carpenters and housewrights who resided in Plymouth Colony, the houses that were built in the early colonies were often designed and built by the farmers themselves and represent examples of vernacular architecture. Richard Candee (1967, 1969) was one of the first architectural historians to suggest that the Dutch origins of many of the early colonists had to be taken into account when considering the surviving and recorded architectural styles present. The First Comers who arrived in 1620 had spent a 12 year sojourn in Holland before arriving. For example, in the first decade of settlement in Plymouth colony, there were a total of 457 immigrants, 94 of whom had solely Dutch backgrounds, and the ratios were even higher in the first years, (Candee 1967: 11) surely must have been influenced by the houses they saw and inhabited during that time. The first building erected in Plymouth was begun on December 25, 1620 when men were sent out "some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry" the sawn boards, riven pale or clapboards, and other "stuff for building" indicating a strong possibility that the first house was plank framed (Candee 1967: 11). Subsequently a shed "wattled up with boughs" was built against one side of the first building (Candee 1967: 11). The building had a wooden or wattle and daub chimney added to it and a thatched roof, as it is known that a fire in the building "broke out of the chimney into the thatch" (Candee 1967: 15).

Daubing was known to have been used somewhere on the buildings as in February of 1621 Winslow reported that a storm "caused much daubing of our houses to fall down" (Candee 1967: 15). Constructing a house using vertical planks was a common feature of Dutch architecture in the early 17th century and one that appears to have been brought to New England by the colonists who had lived in Holland. Building a house using vertical planks involves the use of wide sawn boards used to cover a frame of widely spaced vertical timbers placed at the corners of the structure. The vertical planks are spiked to the horizontal sill and holes are drilled into the top plate and trunnels are driven in to secure them. Framed houses require more joints than planked houses and thus are more costly to build with regards to time and expense. Holes for casement windows were sawn, possibly after erection, and the frames were affixed to the boards.

This method of construction was rare in 17th century New England, being limited in the early decades to Plymouth Colony and the northern corner of Rhode Island (which was settled by colonists from Plymouth Colony). Over 90% of surviving structures in Plymouth Colony prior to 1725 were built in this manner (Candee 1967: 41). Vertical planked structures were known to have been built as early as 1622 in Plymouth. When the fort on what is now Burial Hill was constructed in 1622 it was described by a Dutch visitor as being "built of thick sawn planks stayed with oak beams" (Candee 1967: 18). All the documented Plymouth Colony houses of plank construction had boards that were 1 1/4" thick and had their edges half beveled together (Candee 1967: 45). The exterior of these structures were covered with clapboards and the interiors were not plastered but were often wainscoted at the edges of the vertical board with a molding plane.

In Massachusetts Bay, the agreement for the building of the meeting house in Manchester, built in 1719, specified "that the house shall be planked and not studded" (Cummings 1979: 89). The highest concentration of vertical plank houses is found to the North of Boston around Cape Ann but not one dates before 1680 (Cummings 1979: 89). The walls of the house were not insulated with the inclusion of wattle and daub walls or through the infilling of a space between inner and outer walls with brick

nogging. The interior of the vertical plank walls were whitewashed and the exterior was covered with horizontal clapboards, most probably of split oak.

In Massachusetts Bay, Abbott Lowell Cummings has noted that “a significant portion of surviving 17th century two-room, central-chimney houses...commenced life as dwellings of single-room plan. Clearly the immediate need for shelter under pioneer conditions...seems to have dictated for many of the settlers at every class and economic level a simple single-unit dwelling for a start, to be soon enlarged as their situation in life improved.” (Cummings 1979:22). Cummings found that the earliest surviving houses of one room plan in Massachusetts Bay had been enlarged several times in their existence. The expansion began longitudinally and then laterally with a lean to addition to the rear (Cummings 1979:23).

In Massachusetts Bay, single bay cottages were common throughout the 17th century and into the 18th (Cummings 1979: 22). A 1640 contract stipulated that the house to be built was “16 foot long and 14 foote wyde...the Chimney framed without dawbing to be done with hewen timber.” (Cummings 1979: 22). Cummings found that of the 79 dwellings whose dimensions were recoded in documents from 1637 to 1706, 39 were single-bay cottages with only two being less than 15 feet square (Cummings 1979: 22). Seventeen measured from 22-28 feet long and 18-20 feet wide (Cummings 1979: 22). These small houses appear to be limited to individuals with limited means with estates ranging from £15-163 (Cummings 1979: 22). This was not always the case though, as deputy to the General Court John Whipple also had a single-bay house (Cummings 1979: 22). In England it has been found that during the Late Medieval to Post-Medieval period the single chimney/ hearth house was the most common form, making up to 70% of the houses during this period (Barnwell and Airs 2006). There has also been found a clear relationship between the number of fireplaces and the wealth of the occupants, a trend that continued into the Victorian period when the average laborers cottage measured 12' square (Barnwell and Airs 2006:776).

V. CONCLUSION

Site Examination testing was conducted at the Brewster/ Soule Homesite in the fall of 2012. The Site Examination was designed to "give a preliminary definition of the size, data contents and spatial arrangement of artifacts and features for the purpose of assessing the site's integrity, research potential and significance in order to make an opinion of the potential eligibility of the site for inclusion in the National Register" (950 CMR 70.04: MHC).

Determination of Site Significance

The determination of the significance of the site was made by examining the size, data contents, and spatial arrangement of artifacts and features with the final product being a recommendation regarding the potential eligibility of the site for inclusion in the National Register (950 CMR 70.04: MHC).

Site Boundaries

Archaeologists found that the site was bounded by areas of disturbance caused by soil removal in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century and by the property bounds. The area to the immediate west and north of the homesite are believed to have been heavily impacted by soil removal. The south side of the house effectively represents the southern property bound of the site and the eastern edge of the site was found to contain little artifactual material.

Site Integrity

An assessment of the site's integrity was made through the excavation of the excavation units across the site. The site was found to be mostly intact with some evidence of post occupation soil removal and refuse disposal. The site was found to contain several intact features: a hearth and foundation walls, a well, and a deposit of seventeenth to nineteenth century refuse in the North Yard. Judgments regarding the integrity of the site were based upon the content and extent of the intact activity areas, stratigraphy or horizontal separation of materials, and the preservation of features and organic material. Given the content and preservation of the spatial arrangement of artifacts and feature, the site is identified as having a high research potential and significance.

Research Potential

Research potential for this site was assessed by examining how individual artifact classes, and the site as a whole, can add to what is known and what can potentially be known about farmsteads and their place in the local, regional, national and international markets, history, and culture during the 17th to late 18th century. This site is believed to have something important to add on a local, regional or national level. This farmstead is considered significant because it has intact, spatially and temporally distinct features with a good documentary record of the occupants living at the site.

Research questions investigated by the Site Examination included the general questions of wealth, self-sufficiency, vernacular architecture, and farmstead studies. In particular, we asked:

1. What was the nature of the relationship between the Brewster/ Soule households and their neighborhood and town spheres of interaction?

Based on the archaeological evidence, the 17th and 18th century Brewster and the 19th century Soule's economic life is believed to have been closely tied to the local and national economy. Artifacts

recovered also indicate that both families had access to, and enjoyed the use of, imported ceramics for use on their table and imported food stuffs such as tea.

2. To what degree was the family self-sufficient and to what degree did they rely on the larger local, regional, national and international markets?

The families raised and consumed their own domestic mammals (cattle, sheep, swine) and possibly a variety of poultry. At the same time, they were dependent on local and foreign markets for their ceramics. They appear to have purchased English, German, and Chinese ceramics for use on their table and probably Massachusetts-made redwares.

3. What was their socio-economic level (wealth) and how did it manifest itself in their consumer choices (ceramics, glass, and faunal)?

The 17th and 18th century Brewsters are believed to have been in the middle to lower upper class of Duxbury society, at least until the last Brewster inhabitants of the site (who appear to have had economic troubles based on the historic record). Their dress included items of brass and pewter and their tablewares included Chinese porcelain and black basalt wares. Their shoe buckles appear to be middle class brass with no silver being recovered. The ceramic assemblage in general conforms to Deetz's findings that ceramics of the third period (1760-1835) show a greater homogeneity and reflect a more structured pattern of use than those of the earlier period and show major shift in pottery types (Deetz 1972:15). The ceramics from the site reflect mainly what Deetz identified as Fine imported wares (delftware, marbled slipware, trailed slipware, Wheildon type wares, Jackfield type wares, porcelains, creamware, pearlware) with a small amount of Coarse domestic redware (undecorated and later slip-painted and trailed types). The recovered ceramics are reflective of the dual uses of ceramics at the site and in society in general: public table display and private food preparation and hygiene.

Glass ware showed a surprising paucity of wine and case bottles, possibly indicating that the bottles used on the table were refilled from wooden casks or were refilled at the local tavern or inn.

The projected size of the house as evidenced by the foundation indicates a cottage size house, probably originally one to two rooms like the Howland house at Rocky Nook and subsequently being expanded into a hall and parlor type in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The faunal remains indicate that they consumed mostly older animals as a result of a husbandry system that stressed the products of young to mature cattle and sheep and which culled older, presumably poorly producing individuals. The consumption of swine at the prime of their lives as well as older individuals indicates a swine husbandry system that placed an emphasis on meat versus tallow, again with older individuals being consumed when they ceased producing. Younger individual of all of these species were also consumed, possibly representing males culled out to be consumed at special occasions such as Easter or Christmas. The lack of dairy vessels in the ceramic assemblage may reflect the raising of cattle for sale versus dairy purposes.

In Gibbs' (1996) interpretation of wealth as reflected by artifacts and architecture, it appears that the Brewsters were fairly well-off and wished to express their real or perceived wealth by building a larger house and using finer ceramics to declare identity, goals, and values.

The Soules are believed to have been lower to lower middle class, especially during Marshall Soule's occupation of the site. They appear to have continued to live in the same house that the Brewsters had, possibly making minor improvements such as replacing windows or rebuilding the chimney. The artifact assemblage exhibits a much more limited social status than the Brewster's with possibly a few pieces of porcelain and abundance of common pearlwares and whitewares. Marshall Soule is recorded to have been an avid shellfisher and this may be reflected in the abundance of shellfish remains recovered from the Hearth Area.

Conclusion

It is believed that the remains that were uncovered at the Brewster/ Soule site as a result of the diligent and careful work of the volunteer archaeologists in 2012, has a high potential of representing either the original Brewster house that was subsequently lived in by succeeding generations of Brewsters and later Soules, or that the foundation and hearth that they uncovered were built on the same footprint as the earlier house.

Support for this conclusion can be found in the fact that very little earlier material was found beneath the floors of the house, indicating the refuse disposal was consistently outside of the house. If an earlier house had existed to the south of the present site, the most logical place due to the topography of the property, then refuse would have been disposed of to the north of the house, right onto where our excavations took place. Seventeenth and eighteenth century artifacts were consistently found to the north of the north wall of the house in the area identified as the North Yard Midden, an area of refuse disposal that appears to have been consistently used from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

The dimensions and layout of the house appears consistent with seventeenth century traditions and it seem to closely match the presumed layout that can be garnered from an examination of probate records. The only discrepancy appears in Love Brewster's probate which appears to indicate a chamber on the second floor as opposed to a loft.

Recommendations

The site holds high potential for further research. A more complete examination of the Hearth and Foundation Area would help to better date the construction or renovations that occurred at the site and possibly offer more support for the conclusion that the site represents the Brewster's as well as the Soule's house site. Further excavations could also help determine if a cellar hole is present at the site as indicated by nineteenth century accounts. It may be that the cellar hole is present but has been filled in to the extent that we were not able to locate it during our limited excavations. Further excavations could also be carried out to the north of the 2012 excavations to ensure that that area is in fact disturbed. It would also be worthwhile to discuss the possibility of conducting limited testing on the adjacent Kelso property, to determine if the distribution of seventeenth century material extends that direction as well.

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APPENDIX A

"I am to begin this year [1643] with that which was a matter of great sadness and mourning unto them all. About the 18th of April died their Reverend Elder and my dear and loving friend Mr. William Brewster, a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the gospel's sake, and had borne his part in weal and woe with this poor persecuted church above 36 years in England, Holland and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling. And notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was near fourscore years of age (if not all out) when he died. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest; to die in his bed, in peace, amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him, and he again recomforted them whilst he could. His sickness was not long, and till the last day thereof he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more than half a day, and then failed him, and about nine or ten a clock that evening he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long as a man fallen into a sound sleep without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better ...

"I should say something of his life, if to say a little were not worse than to be silent. But I cannot wholly forbear, though happily more may be done hereafter. After he had attained some learning, viz. the knowledge of the Latin tongue and some insight in the Greek, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue, he went to the Court and served that religious and godly gentleman Mr. Davison, divers years when he was Secretary of State. Who found him so discreet and faithful as he trusted him above all others that were about him, and only employed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecy; he esteemed him rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness, in private he would converse with him more like a friend and familiar than a master. He attended his master when he was sent in ambassage by the Queen into the Low Countries, in the Earl of Leicester's time, as for other weighty affairs of state; so to receive possession of the cautionary towns, and in token and sign thereof the keys of Flushing being delivered to him in Her Majesty's name, he kept them some time and committed them to this his servant who kept them under his pillow, on which he slept the first night. And at his return the State honoured him with a gold chain and his master committed it to him and commanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they rid through the country, till they came to the court. He afterwards remained with him till his troubles, that he was put from his place about the death of the Queen of Scots; and some good time after doing him many faithful offices of service in the time of his troubles. Afterwards he went and lived in the country, in good esteem amongst his friends and the gentlemen of those parts, especially the godly and religious.

"He did much good in the country where he lived in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practice and example, and provoking and encouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers to the places thereabout and drawing on of others to assist and help forward in such a work. He himself most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his ability. And in this state he continued many years, doing the best good he could and walking according to the light he saw, till the Lord revealed further unto him. And in the end, by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people in silencing the one and persecuting the others, he and many more of those times began to look further into things and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings, and the burthen of many antichristian corruptions, which both he and they endeavoured to cast off; as they also did as in the

beginning of this treatise is to be seen.

"After they were joined together in communion, he was a special stay and help unto them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's Day (which was a manor of the bishop's) and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge, and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England. And when they were to remove out of the country he was one of the first in all adventures, and forwardest in any charge. He was the chief of those that were taken at Boston [England], and suffered the greatest loss, and of the seven that were kept longest in prison and after bound over to the assizes. After he came into Holland he suffered much hardship after he had spent the most of his means, having a great charge and many children; and in regard of his former breeding and course of life, not so fit for many employments as others were, especially such as were toilsome and laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentation.

"Towards the latter part of those twelve years spent in Holland, his outward condition was meand he lived well and plentifully; for he fell into a way (by reason he had the Latin tongue) to teach many students who had a desire to learn the English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facility, for he drew rules to learn it by after the Latin manner. And many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him as they had time from other studies, some of them being great men's sons. He also had means to set up printing by the help of some friends, and so had employment enough, and by reason of many books which would not be allowed to printed in England, they might have had more than they could do.

"But now removing into this country all these things were laid aside again, and a new course of living must be framed unto, in which he was in no way unwilling to take his part, and to bear his burthen with the rest, living many times without bread or corn many months together, having many times nothing but fish and often wanting that also; and drunk nothing but water for many years together, yea till within five or six years of his death. And yet he lived by the blessing of God in health till very old age. And beside that, he would labour with his hands in the fields as long as he was able. Yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every Sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministry. He did more in this behalf in a year than many that have their hundreds a year do in all their lives.

"For his personal abilities, he was qualified above many. He was wise and discreet and well spoken, having a grave and deliberate utterance, of a very cheerful spirit, very sociable and pleasant amongst his friends, of an humble and modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, undervaluing himself and his own abilities and sometime overvaluing others. Inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation, which gained him the love of those without as well as those within; yet he would tell them plainly of their faults and evils, both publicly and privately, but in such a manner as usually was well taken from him. He was tenderhearted and compassionate of such as were in misery, but especially of such as had been of good estate and rank and were fallen unto want and poverty either for goodness and religion's sake or by the injury and oppression of others; he would say of all men these deserved to be pitied most. And none did more offend and displease him than such as would haughtily and proudly carry and lift up themselves, being risen from nothing and having little else in them to commend them but a few fine clothes or a little riches more than others.

"In teaching, he was very moving and stirring of affections, also very plain and distinct in what he taught; by which means he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in ripping up the heart and conscience before God in the humble confession of sin, and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon of the same. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener and divide their prayers, than be long and tedious in the same, except upon solemn and special occasions as in days of humiliation and the like. His reason was that the heart and spirits of all, especially the weak, could hardly continue and stand bent as it were so long towards God as they ought to do in that duty, without flagging and falling off.

"For the government of the church, which was most proper to his office, he was careful to preserve good order in the same, and to preserve purity both in the doctrine and communion of the same, and to suppress any error or contention that might begin to rise up amongst them. And accordingly God gave good success to his endeavours herein all his days, and he saw the fruit of his labours in that behalf."

William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, ed.
Samuel Eliot Morison (New York: Knopf, 1991), p. 324-328

APPENDIX B

Plymouth Colony Records 115-117

WHEREAS William Brewster late of Plym. gent deceased left onely two sonnes surviueing vizt Jonathan the eldest "and Loue the yeonger And whereas the said William died intestate for ought can to this day appeare The said Jonathan and Loue his sonnes when they returned from the buriall of their father to the house of Mr William Bradford of Plymouth in the p'sence of Mr Ralph Partrich Pastor of Duxborrow Mr John Reynor Teacher of the Church at Plymouth and Mr Edward Buckley Pastor of the Church at Marshfeild and many others being exhorted to honor their Reflend father wth a peaceable pceeding about the diuision of his estate between them. The said Jonathan first answered for his part that although hee were the elder yet was willing to deuide lands and goods equally betweene himself and brother. And if in case any difference should arrise betweene them that it might be sooner suppressed said he heere are four of my fathers deere and auncient fiends vizfl Mr Willm Bradford then Governor of Plymouth Mr Edward Winslow of Marshfeild Mr Thomas Prence of Plymouth aforesaid and Captaine Miles Standish of Duxborrow. And if my brother please to accept my motion whereinsoeifl we shall differ we will stand to their award wch shalbe as firme as if it had beene done by our father To all wch the said Loue Brewster condiscended to the greate satisfaccon of the whole Assembly the said freinds of his father being there also p'sent who willingly engaged themselues therein to the utmost of their power. And whereas afterward difference arose betweene the said brethren Jonathan and Loue in diuers pticulers about the late dwelling house of their said father at Duxborrow wherein the said Loue dwelt and had down from his marriage to that instant also about certaine accompt wherein Jonathan was made debtor to the estate in a large sume e Herevpon according to pmise they referring themselues to the said speciall and most intimate friends of their said father the said Edward Winslow afterterwards Gounor of Plymouth Mr Willm Bradford Mr Thomas Prence and Captaine Miles Standish aforesaid haueing heard diuers thinges alleadged on Loues behalf to proue that the said House and half the Lands of the said Willm belonging therevnto aswell as any other the lands of the said Willm deuided or to be deuided with an entire half part of the estate of the said William was giuen to the said Loue and Sarah his wyfe vpon a Couenant of Contract of marryage to be due at the death of the said William Brewster now deceased. All wch was offerred to be prooued legally if neede require by solemne pmise though not in writing The said Jonathan also offerring to take off vpon oath the greatest pt of the said debts. also {d The said Edward Winslow Willm Bradford Thomas Prence £ Captaine Miles Standish being well acquainted wth their said case aswell by diuers thinges heard from their reflend father in his life as by the evedence now offerred to be pduced on both sides determyned as followeth And first of all for the said debts wch were alleadged against the said Jonathan the elder brother by the said Loue the yonger as aforesaid we conceiue that if their father had not acquitted them before his death yet hee would need haue charged his eldest sonn wth them in regard of his greate charge of children and so beleueing it was donn actually or intentiuey or both we discharged Jonathan of all the said debt his brother made him debtor to the estate aforesaid except foure pounds sterling wch wee award him to pay his brother Loue in consideracon of the wintering of some cattell wch the said Jonathan had the sommering vpon the diuision and for the dyett of Isaack Allerton a grandchild of the said Willni wch he had placed wth his sonn Loue to table And because hee was the first borne of his father we gaue him his fathers Armes and also a two yeare old heiffer ouer and aboue his part of the deuideables of the said estate. And for the Dwelling house aforesaid of the said Willm wherein the said Loue Brewster resided we were so well acquainted wth the purpose of the Id Willm now deceased and the evedence offerred for prooffe seemed to us so strong as wee beleueing the said Willm had actually

or intentiuely or both giuen the said house to his sonn Loue and Sarah his wyfe and their heires {d Wee the ^ Edward -William Thomas and Myles awarded the said dwelling house to. the said Loue and Sarah his wyfe and their heires {d together wth half the said Estate of Lands goods and cattells except before excepted and aswell such other lands as are not yet diuided blonging to the said Willm as a Purchaser of the Patent t Plantacon of New Plymouth aforesaid as that at Duxborrow whereon hee liued And whereas some difference might haue arrisen about the diuision of the said Lands at Duxborrow Mr Willm Vassell being requested to surveye the said Lands he made a diuision of yt in two parts being an hundred It eleauen acres of vpland or thereabout^ vizj to Jonathan Brewster an sixtie eight agrees or thereabouts wch lay entire together next a dwelling house wch the said Jonathan had built on the said land by the leaue of his said father and all the meddow on that side a creeke (wch diuideth the greatest part of the said land) below a Bridg on the way betweene the houses of Jonathan and Loue his brother And to Loue Brewster fourty three acres of vpland or there abouts adjoyneing to his dwelling house whereof thirty acres was cleered land and almost all in tillage the other thirteene being woodland as it was deuided in the said Plott drawne by the said Surveighor and marked out and allowed by us except a pcell of land about three quarters of an acree pte in the garden of the said Jonathan and pt in a Swamp adjoyneing wherein onely the *said Jonathan had Water to his house as it was marked and staked by us *199 Also we gaue vnto Loue Brewster all the meddow on that side the Creek adjoyneing to his land where he liueth and also that smale pcell woh lyeth aboue the Bridg betweene their two houses before expressed And the reason wherefore we gaue Loue the lesse quantitie was and is because the quallity of Loues land in goodness is equall to the quantitie of Jonathans as we judg And that this is the full determinacon of vs the said Edward William Thomas and Myles vpon the referrence aforesaid of the said Jonathan and Loue as wee are pswaded in our consciences to be equall and just haueing to our best abillities faythfully discharged our duties towards God their deceased father our former worthy frend and towards Jonathan and Loue his onely children remayneing In Witness thereof we haue put to our hands and ordered it to be put upon the Records of the Gouverment. finished at Plymouth the xxth August 1645.

WILLIAM BRADFORD EDW: WINSLOW

THO: PRENCE MYLES STANDISH.

APPENDIX C

William Brewster's Inventory

The inventory of the goods of William Brewster, deceased 1644

Note: inventories are valued in pounds (L), shillings (s) and pence (d). There were 12 pence (or pennies) to a shilling and 20 shillings to a pound.

	L	s	d
Inpris 4 paire of stockings	00	04	00
It 3 wascoasts and a pair of drawers	00	06	00
It 1 old gowne	00	09	00
It 1 blew cloth suite	00	15	00
It 1 old suite turned	00	05	00
It 1 black coate	00	01	06
It old cloathes	00	03	00
It 1 black cloth suite	00	06	06
It 1 paire of greene drawers	00	01	00
Item 1 paire of leather drawers	00	00	06
It 1 list wascoate	00	00	06
It 1 trusse	00	00	06
It 1 black coate	00	10	00
It 1 black stuff suite	00	10	00
It 1 black suite & cloake	01	15	00
It 1 dublett	00	01	06
It 1 peere of stockings	00	01	00
It 1 black gowne	02	10	00
It 1 black hatt	00	04	00
It 1 olde Hatt	00	00	06
It 2 pere of gloves	00	01	00
It 1 paire of shooes	00	03	06
It 2 paire of shooes	00	01	00
It 1 sheet	00	01	00
It paire of canvas sheets	00	12	00
It 1 paire of old sheets	00	06	00
It 1 paire of sheets	00	07	00
It 1 old paire of canvas sheets	00	04	00
It 1 paire of little sheets	00	09	00
It 1 single sheets	00	06	06
It 1 diapr cloth	00	07	00
It 1 sherte	00	04	06
It 1 shert	00	01	00
It 1 canvas sheete	00	06	00
It 1 pillow beere	00	02	00
It 1 paire of fine sheets	00	15	00
It 1 paire of courser sheets	00	12	00
It 1 paire of pillow beers	00	06	00
It 1 towell	00	01	00

It 1 pillow beers	00 02 00
It 1 towell	00 01 00
It 12 handkercheefs	00 08 00
It 14 handkercheefs	00 03 00
It 1 find handkercher	00 03 00
It 1 table cloth	00 03 00
It 1 little table cloth	00 02 00
It 6 towells	00 04 00
It 1 old pillowbeere	00 01 00
It 3 hand kerchers	00 00 08
It 1 wrought capp	00 06 00
It 1 laced capp	00 02 00
It 1 quilted capp	00 01 06
It 2 old capps	00 00 06
It 1 ruffe band	00 02 00
It ruff ript out	00 02 00
It 6 bands	00 01 00
It 1 red capp	00 00 08
It 1 budell of linnen raggs	00 00 04
It 2 gerdles	00 01 00
It 2 paire of thinn stockings	00 01 00
It 1 knitt cap	00 01 00
It 1 paire of garters	00 00 04
It 1 knife	00 00 03
It a table and forme	00 15 00
It 1 pistoll	00 07 00
It 1 silvr beaker & a spoone	01 05 06
It 1 little trunck	00 00 06
It 1 bagg & a felling axe	00 00 10
It 1 little desk	00 01 00
It 1 chest	00 10 00
It 1 brod chest	00 08 00
It 3 cusheons	00 06 00
It 1 greene cusheon	00 00 06
It 1 settle bed	00 10 00
It 1 chaire	00 04 00
It 1 paire of bellows	00 01 06
It a fire shovell & tongues	00 02 00
It 1 chamber pott	00 03 00
It 1 pewter bottle	00 00 06
It 2 pewter cupp & spoons	00 02 00
It 1 combe	00 00 04
It 2 brushes	00 00 04
It 1 candle stick and snuffer	00 02 00
It 1 lampe	00 00 09

It 1 boxe	00 00 03
It sizzers	00 00 04
It 1 paire of black silk stockings	00 01 06
It a dagger & knife	00 02 00
It tobaccoe case &	00 00 03
It 1 case of bottles	00 04 00
It 2 boxes	00 02 00
It 1 rapier	00 01 00
It 2 hammers	00 00 06
It 1 earthen pott	00 00 04
It a feather bed & bolster	02 05 00
It 1 blankett	00 10 00
It 1 old white rugg	00 03 00
It 1 white rugg	00 15 00
It a feather bed boulster & pillowes	03 00 00
It 1 greene wascoate	00 02 00
It 2 blankets & rugg	00 12 00
It a peece of blankett	00 00 06
It 1 greene rugg	01 05 00
It 3 curtaines valence & rodde	00 06 00
It 1 earthen pott wth suger	00 01 06
It tobaccoe & some pipes	00 01 06
It 1 old hed peece	00 00 08
It a burneing glasse	00 00 06
It a tobaccoe box & tongs	00 00 03
It in silver	00 17 00
These goods were praised by Capt Miles Standish & mr John Done May 10th 1644	

At his house at Duxborrow praised by mr Thom Prence & Capt Miles Standish may 18th 1644.

Inpris a feather bed & boulster a pillow & straw bed	02 10 00
It 1 white rugg	00 10 00
It 1 old white irish blankett	00 05 00
It 1 white english blankett	00 10 00
It 1 sword	00 01 06
It 1 chamber pott	00 01 06
It 1 table without frame	00 03 00
It 1 bedstead & settle	00 15 00
It 1 stoole	00 00 04
It 1 deske	00 01 00
It old Iron	00 00 08
It vallens curtaines & rodde	00 03 00
It a bras hooke to hang a hat upon	00 00 04
It white capp	00 00 08
It 1 paire of sheets	00 06 00
It a towell	00 00 03

It a trusse	00 02 06
It an old trunck	00 04 00
It 1 old greene cusheon	00 00 03
It 1 pewter bottle	00 00 03
It 2 little chatachismees	00 00 04
It 1 lambeth on the will of man	00 00 02
It 1 morall Discourse	00 00 02
It Discovery of spanish Inquisicon	00 00 03
It Johnson on 18th math	00 00 04
It remaynes of Brittain	00 01 00
It Description of new England	00 00 04
It 1 violet color cloth coate	01 05 00
It 1 Costlett	00 10 00
It a table & forme	00 10 00
It 1 chaire	00 01 00
It a little table	00 02 00
It 1 settle bed	00 02 00
It 2 chaines	00 08 00
It 2 old shares & 1 Coulter	01 00 00
It 1 yeok of oxen 10 yeare old	16 00 00
It 2 yoke of oxen yeonger	28 00 00
It 1 two yere old stere	02 10 00
It 1 old cowe	04 10 00
It 1 red cowe	04 10 00
It 2 yeong Cowes	08 00 00
It 1 lame cowe	01 10 00
It 2 yearling heiffers	02 10 00
It 1 calf unweaned	00 08 00
It half a yeong sowe	00 08 00
It 1 shoate & a half	00 09 00
It a pigg	00 01 00
	L s d
The totall is	107 0 8
Myles Standish Tho: Prence	

An Inventory of the latten books taken by mr Bradford mr Prence and mr Reynor May 18th 1644.

	L s d
Inpris Nova testamenti Malarato	01 04 00
It Tromelius & Junius biblia sacra	00 18 00
It Beza nova testament lat & Cre	01 00 00
It Centuria Selecta	00 08 00
It Calbin duodecim prphet	00 15 00
It Clavis scripture flacio illirico	00 15 00
It Peter Martyr Com prio ad Corinthos	00 08 00
1 Musculus Isaiaam & Romanos	00 12 00

It Regneri prandini	00 02 06
It Gecolumnadij in Jeremia	00 03 00
It Crisostm mattias & Joannes	00 0 00
It Musculus Psalmos Davis	00 12 00
It Calvi ad Daniel	00 05 00
It Calvin on Isaye	00 15 00
It musculus ambos Epist ad Corinthos	00 08 00
It Molleri ad Psalmos	00 10 00
It Lanaterus Esechieli	00 05 00
It Zanchij ad Ephe	00 06 00
It Syntagma amudo polo Syntagmatis theologis Christianos	00 10 00
It Sulteti Isaiam	00 05 00
It Purei Hoseam	00 01 00
It Gualterin Delverin nov testa.	00 01 06
It Psalm Pagnij	00 02 06
It Pareus in Genosa	00 08 06
It Piscator in Nova Testament	00 17 00
It Pareus ad Romanos	00 05 00
It Pareus ad Priorem Corinthos	00 04 00
It Calvin Eze vigint print	00 03 00
It Tabula Analytice Stephano	00 01 06
It Cartwright harma 4 Evangl	00 05 00
It Pascillia Hemnigm	00 01 00
It De vera Jes Chr. Religione	00 01 00
It Erasmus in Marcin	00 01 00
It Parkerius politica Eccle	00 05 00
It Piscator in Genesn	00 02 00
It Kykermano Systema Physica	00 03 00
It Beza Confess Christ	00 02 04
It Rollock in Dany	00 02 06
It daven in prio Juni	00 02 00
It Thom Thomaseus Dix	00 02 00
It Bastwick Apologeticus	00 00 06
It Machavelii princeps	00 01 8
It Elenchus papistice Bastwick	00 00 06
It Rollock ad Psalmos	00 02 06
It Rainoldi de romane Eccles	00 02 06
It Calvin in Josua	00 01 00
It Syntagma vigandus	00 01 06
It Epistola Apologetica	00 01 06
It Paraphrasa Ersmus in Luke	00 01 06
It latin gramatica	00 00 06
It Hebrew gramat	00 00 06
It Camden Brittain	00 03 00
It Rollock ad Romanos Ephes	00 03 00

It Dixtio: triglots 00 01 06
It Buxtorff lexicon 00 04 06
It Cartwright proverbia 00 07 00
It Junij ad eccliam Dei 00 00 03
It Tyrocinia 00 00 04
It Poemata Heringij 00 00 02
It Ad Revrendismos patres eccliam
Anglicann 00 00 06
It Amesij contra Grevin Co 00 00 06
It Hypomneses 00 00 03
It Antichristus prognostica 00 00 04
It Narmonin Evengelin 00 00 06
15 19 04
An Inventory of the English bookes taken by mr Bradford & mr Prence
It 1 English Bible latten letter 00 08 00
It 1 English bible 00 6 00
It a new Testament 00 05 00
It mr Ainsworths Psalmes in prose &
meter 00 02 00
It 1 new testament 00 01 04
It Major Coment new testament 00 12 00
It Hexapla upon Daniell 00 05 00 It 2 volumes of mr Perkins 01 10 00
It mr Hernes works 00 05 00
It Babingtons works 00 08 00
It Cartwright against Remists 00 08 00
It Byfeild on Coloss 00 05 00
It Dodoner Herball 00 06 00
It mr Rogers on Judges 00 06 00
It mr Richardson on ye state of Eur 00 04 00
It Knights Concord 00 05 00
It Calvin on Isay 00 06 00
It Willett on Roman 00 06 00
It Grensames workes 00 10 00
It Bodens Comon weale 00 08 00
It Willet on the 1st Samuel 00 04 00
It Surveyor by Ratborne 00 03 00
It Willet on Genesis 00 07 00
It Seneca workes 00 06 00
It Wilcocks on Psalmes 00 06 00
It Cottons Concordanc 2 volumes 00 12 00
It Scholasticall Discourse about the
Crosse 00 04 00
It Taylor upon Tytus 00 05 00
It Hill upon life Ever 00 05 00
It Wilsons Dixonor 00 06 00

It Waimes Christia Synagogue 00 02 00
It Gibbines question & disputacons 00 02 06
It Calvin Harmon Evan 00 06 00
It Defence of Synod of Dort byRobin 00 02 00
It Messelina 00 03 01
It Downams Warfarr 2 prt 00 04 00
It Barlow on 2 Tymothy 00 02 06
It Cartwright agst Whitgift 2 prt 00 02 00
It Jackson agst misbeleefe 00 02 00
It Granger on Eccl 00 02 00It Brightman revel 00 05 00
It Birdag Anti 00 02 00
It Byfeild on 1 pet 00 05 00
It Weymes on Image of God in man 00 02 00
It Parr on Romans 00 05 00
It Robinson observacons 00 02 00
It right way to go to worke 00 02 00
It Byfeilds sermons on 1 peter 00 05 00
It Dod on Comand'ts 00 02 06
It Mayor on Catholick Epistles 00 03 00
It Taylor parable on the sower 00 02 00
It Narme of Chri: strarr 00 02 00
It Morley of truth of religion 00 03 00
It Attersons badges of christianyty 00 02 00
It Downam consolatrix 00 03 00
It Elton on 7 Romans 00 02 06
It a declaracion of Quitill question 00 02 00
It Byfeild on 3 of Peter 00 01 06
It 7 prbleames against Antechrist 00 01 00
It Dike upon Repent 00 01 06
It Sibbs Soules Comfort 00 03 06
It passions of the mynd 00 01 06
It 5 books of sermons stichet together 00 01 00
It Constitucons & Cannons of bb: of
Cant 00 00 02
It Wittenhall Discovery of abuses 00 01 00
It Rollock on Thessal 00 02 00
It Heaven opened by Coopr 00 02 00
It Treasury of Similes 00 04 00
It Downefall of popery 00 02 00
It Saints by calling by Wilson 00 02 00
It Wittenhall discov'ry of abuses 00 02 00
It Udall on Lamentacons 00 01 04
It Dyocean Tryall 00 00 06It Sparks ag'st Albin 00 02 06
It Wottons Defence of Perkins Refor
Catholike 00 02 06

It Brinslow on Ezech 00 03 00
It Defenc of ministers reasons 00 01 06
Is Downam ag'st Bath & Wells 00 01 06
It A Discourse of troubles Chu: of
Amster 00 01 00
It mr Smyths 3 treatises 00 02 06
It Discourse of equivocation 00 01 06
It mr Smyths paroliles 00 00 08
It a peticon for reformacon 00 00 06
It a primer of Chri: Relig 00 00 09
It a Discourse of varianc betweene
pope & venet 00 01 00
It Broughton on lament 00 01 00
It Perkins pm Sat Sophist 00 00 06
It a Discourse of adoracon of Reliq'us 00 01 00
It Trew marks of Catholike Church 00 00 06
It a Quodlibet to bewarr of preists 00 00 04
It justifysacon of sepracon 00 02 00
It Stocks answeere to Campion 00 02 00
It Dike on the heart 00 02 00
It Perkins on 11 Hebrewes 00 03 02
It Bayne on Ephes 00 02 00
It Dike on repent & Ch. temptations 00 02 00
It Bolton on true happynes 00 01 06
It Downame ag'st Beller 00 01 08
It Wotton on 1 John 00 02 00
1 Gouge Armor of God 00 02 00
It Plea for Infants 00 01 06
It Dod on Comand'nts 00 03 00
It Rollock on effectually calling 00 01 10
It Calling of Jewes by smyth 00 01 00
It Prin Antearminescence 00 01 08 It Discovery by Barrow 00 03 00
It Ainsworth Defence of scripture 00 01 06
It 2 Downams Reply ag'st Bath 00 03 00
It Admonition to Patli'nt 00 01 06
It Refutacon to Gifford 00 02 06
It Perth Assembly 00 01 06
It Defence of the Ministers reasons 00 01 06
It Treatise of ministry of England 00 01 00
It cassander Anglicans 01 01 08
It Downams warfarr 00 05 00
It the meane of mourneing 00 03 00
It Hackhill History of Indyes
It Sweeds Intellegencer 00 01 06
It Comunion of saints 00 02 00

It Abridgment of ministers of Lincolne 00 01 06
It Jacob attestation 00 01 00
It modest Defence 00 03 00
It exposicon of Canticles 00 01 00
It Whitgifts answer to a libell 00 01 06
It a reply to a libell 00 02 00
It Dupless of a Chur 00 02 00
It Perkins on Jude 00 02 00
It Downams 4 treatises 00 02 00
It deareing on Hebrews 00 03 00
It A Collection of Englands
Deliv'rancs 00 01 06
It 1000 notable things 00 01 06
It Riches of elder ages 00 02 06
It Dod on Comand'nts 00 01 06
It Sweeds Intilligencer 00 01 06
It tymes turne coate 00 00 06
It A continuacon of adventur of Don
Sebastian 00 00 04
It Surveyor Dialougs 00 01 00
It Apology Chu of England ag'st 00 01 06 Brownists
It Kings Declaracon about Parli'nts 00 00 02
It Scyrge of Drunkerds 00 00 02
It Syons Plea 00 02 00
It Elton of Comand'nts 00 02 00
It treatise of Chr Religion 00 02 00
It a battaile of Palatinate 00 01 06
It treatise 122 psalm 00 00 06
It Concordance of yeares 00 00 06
It Cesars tryumphs 00 00 02
It A Dialogue concerneing
Ceremonies 00 00 04
It Essayes about a prisoner 00 00 03
It Politike Diseases 00 00 06
It Exposicon of iturgie 00 00 08
It magnifycent entertaynement of
King James 00 00 06
It a modest Defence 00 00 06
It Essex practise of treason 00 00 06
It prosopeia 00 00 02
It Withers Motto 00 00 04
It Standish for woods 00 00 06
It a Recantacon of A Brownist 00 00 04
It a supply to German History 00 01 00
It of the use of silk wormes 00 00 06

It newes from verginia 00 00 06
It newes from Palatinate 00 00 04
It Hacklett 00 02 00
It Byfeild on the Oracles of God 00 03 02
It Gods Monarchy Devells Kingdome 00 00 04
It New shreds of old Share 00 00 06
It Davids musick 00 00 06
It Discharg of 5 imputacons 00 01 00
It Horne sheild of the Rightous 00 01 00
It Ruine of Rome 00 01 06It Downame on 15 psalm 00 01 06
It Pisca Evangelica 00 01 06
It virell on Lords prayer 00 01 06
It answeare to Cartwright 00 00 06
It Broughton on Gods Divinitie 00 01 00
It Bayne tryall of Christ state 00 01 06
It Wheatley on Gods husbandry 00 01 00
It Exposicon on Revelac 00 01 00
It Perkins Reformed Catholik 00 01 06
It Johnsons & Withers works 00 02 00
It 10 sermons of the supper 00 01 06
It Civill conversacon Gnahzo 00 02 00
It Smyths Plea for infants 00 00 06
It Bacons prficiency in learneing 00 02 00
It Arguments ag'st seinge 00 01 06
It Theologicks 00 00 06
It Eming on James 00 01 06
It Catholike Judg 00 01 00
It the spirituall watch 00 01 00
It reasons for Reformacon of Chur of
England 00 00 06
It a looking glass ag'st Prelates 00 01 00
It sermon of Bishop of London 00 00 06
It Resolucon for kneeleing 00 00 06
It 2 exact Discovery of Romish
Doctrine 00 00 04
It warr was a blessing 00 00 06
It midland souldier 00 00 04
It humilitie Christians life 00 00 06
It Church Deliv'rance 00 01 00
It Coment on Ecclesiac 00 00 06
It Prerogative of Parli'nts 00 00 06
It Temple on 20 psalm 00 01 06
It Abbott sermon 00 00 03
It Soules implantacon 00 03 04It a treatise of Stage pleas 00 00 03
It Apologie of Brownists 00 00 04

It State mistery of Jesuits 00 00 06
It Dike schoole of affliccon 00 02 00
It Sibbs Comfort 00 01 06
It Taylor on 32 psalm 00 02 00
It Parable of the vine by Rogers 00 02 00
It Apologeticall reply by Damfort 00 02 00
It Divers books sticht together 00 02 00
It Broughton of lamentacon 00 00 06
It a good wyfe 00 00 03
It Northbrook against Images 00 01 06
It Tryall of truth by Chibbald 00 01 00
It the tryall of truth 00 00 04
It the paterne of true prayer 00 01 06
It houshold government 00 01 06
It Blackwells answers 00 00 04
It Aristotles probleames 00 00 06
It Symers Indictment 00 00 04
It Johnsons Psalmes in meeter 00 00 04
It Mores discovery 00 00 03
It a sermon 00 00 02
It a refutacon of tolleracon 00 00 06
It Aphorismees of state 00 00 02
It of union betweene England &
Scotland 00 00 06
It Rates of popes custome house 00 00 04
It of Pope Joane 00 00 04
It a dialogue betweene a gent & a
preist 00 00 04
It against kneeleing 00 00 03
It Perkings on fayth 00 00 03
It bacons Apologye 00 00 03
It a history of Mary Glover 00 00 03
It a bundle of smale books & papers 00 02 00It Defyance of Death 00 01 00
It a christians apparelling 00 01 06
It Perkins on repentan 00 00 08
It Essays by Cornwallis 00 01 06
It Spirituall stedfastnes 00 00 08
It a manuell 00 00 06
It a briefe of bible 00 00 06
It Jacob on 2d Comand'nt 00 00 04
It a pill to purg popery 00 00 02
It withers 00 00 04
It cathologue of nobillyty of England 00 00 03
It english votaryes 00 00 06
It Sibbs yea & amen 00 01 06

It Sermons by Rollock 00 01 00
It Kinges Bath 00 00 08
It Great Assise by Smyth 00 00 08
It martin on Easter 00 01 00
It Smyth on 6 of Hosea 00 01 06
It Discription of world 00 01 00
It cantelus cannon of Masse 00 01 00
It Perkins of Repentanc 00 00 06
It God's m'rcy & Jurasa misery 00 00 06
It silv'r watch bell 00 00 06
It 7 sermons by WB 00 00 06
It Burton ag'st Cholmely 00 00 06
It Sibbs Saints p'rvilidges 00 01 01
It Sibbs Riches of mercy 00 01 01
It Regla vite 00 01 01
It Pilgrims p'fession 00 00 08
It sermon at Pauls cross 00 00 04
It nature & grace
It Perkins of Predestinacon 00 00 06
It Spirituall trumpett 00 00 08
It vox Regis 00 00 06It Barrowes platforme 00 00 06
It exposicon of Lords prayer 00 00 06
It Comon weale of england 00 00 06
It right way of peace 00 00 06
It 4th prt of true watch 00 01 00
It Johnson on Psalmes 00 01 00
It Byfeild paterne of 00 01 00
It a help to memorye 00 00 06
It Duke prmises 00 00 06
It prposicons by John Sprint 00 00 11
It the morality of law 00 00 06
It Cases of Consciens by Per 00 01 00
It Discovery of famyly of love 00 00 06
It Sermon of Repentanc 00 00 06
It Sermon at Pauls crosse 00 00 06
It Sibbs spirituall maxime 00 00 09
It memorable conceits 00 01 00
It God and the King 00 00 04
It Smyth on Riddle of Nebuchadne 00 00 08
It Estey on Comand'nts & 51th Psalm 00 01 00
It Christians Dayly walk 00 01 06
It exposicon off 11 & 12 Revelacon 00 00 06
It treatise of english medicines 00 00 06
It a Dialogue of Desiderias 00 00 06
It a supplycacon to the King 00 00 06

It Abba father 00 00 06
It Abrahams tryall Decouse 00 01 00
It Jacobs ladder 00 01 06
It Perkins of Imagina 00 00 06
It Burton Christi question 00 00 06
It a toyle for 2 legged foxed 00 00 06
It a Cordiall for comfort 00 00 06
It Zacheus conversion 00 02 01
It spirituall touch stone 00 00 03It Dearings advantage 00 00 06
It England Summons 00 00 06
It Burton wooing his Chur 00 00 04
It goulden Key 00 01 00
It remedy against famine & warr 00 00 06
It treatise against popery 00 01 00
It treatise of Gods Religion 00 00 08
The totall of both latten & English
books amounts to the sum of 42 19 11
The totall both of goods & bookes
amounts in all to 150 00 07

APPENDIX D

The Sad Case of Thomas Granger

7 September 1642:

And after ye time of ye writig of these things befell a very sadd accidente of the like foule nature in this govermente, this very year, which I shall now relate. Ther was a youth whose name was Thomas Granger; he was servant to an honest man of Duxbery, being aboute 16. or 17. years of age. (His father & mother lived at the same time at Situate.) He was this year detected of buggery (and indicted for ye same) with a mare, a cowe, tow goats, five sheep, 2. calves, and a turkey. Horrible [249] itis to mention, but ye truth of ye historie requires it. He was first discovered by one yl accidentally saw his lewd practise towards the mare. (I forbear perticulers.) Being upon it examined and comitted, in ye end he not only confest ye fact with that beast at that time, but sundrie times before, and at severall times with all ye rest of y" forenamed in his indictmente; and this his free-confession was not only in private to ye magistrats, (though at first he strived to deny it,) but to sundrie, both ministers & others, and afterwards, upon his indictmente, to ye whole court & jury; and confirmed it at his execution. And wheras some of ye sheep could not so well be knowne by his description of them, others with them were brought before him, and he declared which were they, and which were not. And accordingly he was cast by ye jury, and condemned, and after executed about ye 8. of Septr, 1642. A very sade spectakle it was; for first the mare, and then ye cowe, and ye rest of ye lesser catle, were kild before his face, according to ye law, Levit: 20. 15. and then he him selfe was executed. The catle were all cast into a great & large pitte that was digged of purposse for them, and no use made of any part of them.

Upon ye examenation of this person, and also of a former that had made some sodomiticall attempts upon another, it being demanded of them how they came first to ye knowledge and practice of such wickednes, the one confessed he had long used it in old England; and this youth last spoaken of said he was taught it by an other that had heard of such things from some in England when he was ther, and they kept catle togeather. By which it appears how one wicked person may infecte many; and what care all ought to have what servants they bring into their families." (Bradford 1856: 397).

Bradford, William

1856 Of Plymouth Plantation. ed. By Charles Deane. Privately printed, Boston.

APPENDIX E: Love Brewster's Will and Probate

Will of Love Brewster

The last Will and Testament of Love Brewster Deseassed exhibited at the generall Court holden at New Plym: the 4th of March 1650 upon the oath of Captaine Miles Standish

Witnesseth these presents that I Love Brewster of Duxburrow in New England and in the goverment of New Plym: being in pfect memory doe ordeaine & appoint this to bee my last will and Testamente And first my will is that if the lord shall please to take mee out of this life that my body bee buried in a decent mannor and that my funerall expences bee taken out of my whole estate; Next my will is; That all my Just and lawfull debts bee paied out of the Remainder of my said estate allso I give unto my Children that is to say Nathaniell Willam Wrasteling and Sara each of them a kettle and further my will is that my three sonns shall have each of them a peece that is to say a gun; allso I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Sara Brewster all the Residue of my whole estate both goods and Chattles and land at Duxburrow for her bringing up of her and my Children the time of her life and after her decease I doe give the aforsaid lands to my eldest sonn and heire apparent Nathaniell Brewster and in Case god should take him away out of this life without Issew I give and bequeath the said lands at Duxburrow to my second sonn Willam Brewster and in like case to my youngest sonn Wresteling Brewster; And for those books I have that my wife would destrubute them to herselfe and Children at her discretion allso my will is and I doe by the same give unto my three sonns equally to be devided amongst them all such land as of Right due to mee by Purchase and first coming into the land Which was in the yeare 1620 allso I doe make Constitute and appoint my beloved wife Sara Brewster sole executrix of this my last will and Testament in Witnes Wherof I have put to my hand and Seale this sixt of october 1650

Witness heerunto Love Brewster

A true Inventory of the estate of Love Brewster of Duxburrow late deseassed taken by mr Willam Collyar and Captaine Miles Standish January the last day 1650 And exhibited to the Generall Court holden at New Plym: the 4th of March in the yeare aforesaid upon the oath of Sara Brewster.

videlect

in the first Rome

ten pewter dishes or platters.

It 3 pewter basons

It 3 fruit dishes

It 3 saucers

It 2 porengers

It one quart pott

It one pint pott

li s d

It one Candlestick

03 16 00

It one wine Cupp

It one sault seller

It one sucking bottle

It halfe a pint pott

It 9 spoones and a peece of plate

It a table frame and forme

00 14 00

It 2 Cradles

00 05 00

It a payle a sifting trough and a Rowling pin	00 05 00
It a halfe bushell a peck and a table Chaire	00 05 00
It one tray	00 01 06
It one forme and 2 old stooles	00 02 00
It 9 trenchers	00 00 09
It one seive 2 Riddles	00 03 00
It one bucking tubb 2 beere Rundiets one feirken with a cover	00 10 00
It one payer of scales one spade 2 wooden spoones	00 04 06
It one dripping pan	00 10 00
It one spitt	00 02 06
It one frying pan	00 02 00
It an Iron to keep up the fier	00 02 00
It a gridiron	00 02 00
It a paier of broken tonges a broken fireshovell a fierforke	02 06
It a paier of pothanger a paire of pothookes an Iron bar one pound	00
It 3 peeces	03 06 00
It 2 powder hornes a flask a shott bagg one paier of bandeleers	00 10 00
It one pistoll	00 06 00
It 3 pound of powder	00 06 00
It 22 pound of shott	00 06 04
[90] It 3 pound of great shott	00 00 10
It 3 Iron potts	02 00 00
It 3 wedges weying 16 pound	00 08 00
It one Iron lampe one Iron stiring stick	00 02 06
It a snashell of a bridle	00 00 06
It one Rapier blade	00 05 00
It one Morter	00 02 00
It one skillet	00 02 00
It one smothing Iron	00 02 00
It one stone pott	00 00 06
Bookes	
It Mr Greenhams workes	00 10 00
It 2 books of the Comaundements by Mr Dodd	00 04 00
It Downhams Consolations	00 03 00
It Cottens Concordance	00 06 00
It one part of Mr Perkins works	00 08 00
It Calvin upon Esaiah	00 05 00
It Mr herons work	00 05 00
It the five books of Moses	00 10 00
It Downhams life everlasting	00 03 00
It Broughton on the lamentations of Jeremy	00 06 00
It of the spanish Inquisition	00 00 04
It ten smale torne books	00 02 06
It mr Baals Caticisme	00 00 06
It mr Whettunsall	00 00 06

It Duty of Constable and housholder	00 00 06
It 4 smale books at 6d pr booke	00 02 00
It Downhams Warfare	00 02 06
It Deffence of a petition for Reformation	00 01 06
It a Comentary on Philemon	00 01 06
It a Dicsonary	00 00 06
It a book of husbandry	00 10 06
It another smale book of husbandry	00 00 06
It Reasons descused	00 01 06
It a ffrench dicsonary and another dicsonary	00 02 00
It mr Downham on AntiChrist	00 01 00
It Jackson on unbeleefe	00 01 06
It Gorg his Armor	00 02 00
It swords Intelegencer	00 01 06
It a bible	00 12 00
It mr Ainsworth in answare to Sr ffrancis hastings	00 01 06
Clothes beding &c	
It 2 suites and a Coat	03 00 00
It 3 paier of shooes and 3 paier of stockens	01 00 00
It one pr of boots	00 13 00
It one hatt	00 05 00
It new Cloth or a suite	01 16 00
It silk & buttens	00 02 00
It a wastcoat of penestone	00 08 00
It 2 shirts	00 08 00
It lockorum for 2 shirts	00 15 00
It 4 handkerchifes six bands and six Capps	00 14 00
It 4 feather beds and boulsters	10 00 00
It 3 shagg Ruggs 3 plaine Ruggs two blankits	04 00 00
It 3 pr of sheets	03 10 00
It 2 pr of pillow beeres 2 table Clothes and seaven dosen and an halfe of napkins	02 00 00
It 3 Chists & one box	02 00 00
It one settlebedd one standing bedd one settle	02 00 00
It 3 kettles & one brase pan	05 00 00
It one warming pan one Candlestick one old kittle	00 15 00
It a Cart & an horse furniture for the Cart	01 10 00
It ten hoes 6 Reaphookes 7 augers one hatchet 3 axes and other lumber	02 00 00
It one plow Cheine one share one Ring for a Coppyeok & a double hooke	00 15 00
It a Cherne a butter Tubb an old trunck an old hoggs head an old Chest	01 00 00
It 3 pillows	00 10 00
It 3 Cowes	15 00 00
It one yearling	01 10 00
It one sow and 2 shoats	01 10 00
It poultry	00 10 00
[91] It 9 bushells of wheat	02 00 06

It 5 bushells of Rye	00 17 06
It 14 bushells of Indian Corn	02 02 00
It one bushell of pease	00 04 00
It 3 pecks of barley	00 02 00
It one peck of naked oates	00 01 06
It halfe a bushell of Mault	00 02 00
It 2 forkes Rakes a ladder and other lumber	00 10 00
It 14 pound of Cotten woole	00 14 00
It ten pound of sheeps woole	01 00 00
It 4 pound of linnin yarne	00 08 00
It sope	00 00 04
It sault and a tubb	00 01 06
It a Case without bottles	00 02 00
It an old frying pan	00 01 00
It 3 old tubbs	00 03 00
It 3 ewesheep	04 10 00
It 3 weathers	03 00 00
Suma Totalis	97 07 01

Willam Collyar Myles Standish

(Plymouth Colony Wills and Inventories, Vol. 1, pages 89, 90 and 91 & The Mayflower Descendant, Vol. 2, pages 203-206)

APPENDIX F. Will and Probate of Nathaniel Brewster

Nathaniel Brewster

THE INVENTORY & WILL OF NATHANIEL BREWSTER

In Inventory of the estate of Nathaniel Brewster late of Duxbury deceased exhibited to the Court held at Plymouth the second of November 1676 on the oath of Wrassteling Brewster.

	L s d
Impr: 1 mare and horse Colt	02 00 00
Item to two 3 year old steers and vantage	04 00 00
Item to 1 Cow	02 00 00
Item to 3 sheep and an halfe	01 01 00
Item to two 2 year old swine and 2 of a year old	03 00 00
Item a paire of holland sheets & 1 paire of Cotton and linnine sheets	02 05 00
Item to six diaper Napkins 2 towells 1 Table Cloth	00 13 00
Item 1 bed 1 bolster 1 pillow and 2 pillow beares	03 12 00
Item to one blankett	00 14 00
Item to all his wearing Clothes shoos stockens shirts hatts	12 00 00
Item to one saddle 1 bridle and a saddle Cloth	00 17 00
Item to two potts Iron, 1 paire of pothookea 1 dripping pan 1 frying pan	01 00 00
Item 1 [-pott?] and fendor 1 paire of tonges 1 fier shouell	00 14 00
Item to one brasse sklett with a frame	00 04 00
Item 2 pewter platters 1 quart pott & a bason 1 porrenger 2 saweers	00 17 00
Item to 2 earthen dishes 1 tray 1 paile 1 earthenpott	00 05 06
Item 2 Chests 1 box 1 deske	00 17 00
Item 1 plow Iron and Chain & staple 1 Ringe and two old axes	01 02 00
Item Indian Corne by estimation 45 bushells and Wheat barley pease and oates [vnthrashed?]	06 15 00
Item a Gun	01 04 00
Item 1 heding kniffe 1 Coopers axe 1 croase 2 addses	00 08 00
Item calvins Comentary vpon Izaih	00 07 00
Item halfe a Cannoo & halfe a riddle	00 10 00
Item 1 kettl	00 05 00
Item 7 pounds of sheeps woole	00 07 00
Item flax 00[...MS torn...]	
Item lumber 00[...MS torn...]	

Aprised by Willam Paybody this 11th of October Anno 1676.

Nathaniel Brewster

October 11, 1676

THE WILL OF NATHANIEL BREWSTER

I Benjamine Bartlett being with Nathaniel Brewster to visitt him being sicke I advised him to settle matters relateing to his worldly estate; to preuent differences heerafter; and hee seemed to be very willing to attend the motion; and said that if it should please God to take mee away after my debts be payed, I will Giue all that I haue to my wife; this land heer is none of mine, to dispose off; Butt there is some att the falls that shee shall haue;

Benjamine Bartlett made oath to the aboue written that it is the substance and purpott of the Last Will and Testament of Nathaniel Brewster deceased and that hee wrote the same; about a fortnight after his death;

Wrastling Brewster the brother of the said Nathaniel Brewster gaue free Consent and Concurred with the said Will; Before the Court held att Plymouth the second of Nouember 1676;

Testified by Nathaniel: Morton Secretary