

**A REEVALUATION OF THE JOHN ALDEN
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE (DUX-HA-3)**

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ABSTRACT

This report analyzes the archaeologically derived artifactual and architectural data gathered by Roland Robbins during his 1960 excavation at the John Alden site in Duxbury, Massachusetts and their subsequent interpretation by Mitch Mulholland in 1995. It is this author's belief that the architecture of the site has been mis-interpreted for the past 40 years and that past artifactual analysis has dated the deposits in the cellar hole too early. It is this authors belief that the site does represent the home of John Alden of the Mayflower, but that it did not look like the way it has been popularly architecturally interpreted and was, in fact, his home for most if not all of his life in Duxbury. This report does not seek to destroy beliefs concerning John and Priscilla Alden, but merely to gain a better and truer understanding of their lives as represented at this site.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The artifacts recovered by Robbins in 1960 from his excavations at the John Alden house were primarily found in the filled-in cellar hole beneath the west end of the foundation he uncovered. Because the cellar hole would not have been filled in during the life of the house, it can be logically assumed that the filling of the cellar hole occurred after the house was no longer lived in. As a result, the artifacts recovered from here represent two different, and not necessarily separable, assemblages. On one hand, there are those that either accidentally or purposefully were deposited in the cellar during its life, such as small artifacts that fell through the floorboards above into the cellar and materials that were stored here but not taken out when the house was abandoned. On the other hand, there are those artifacts that were considered rubbish and subsequently were thrown into the open cellar hole as trash. This may have happened after the house had fallen down on its own after being abandoned for a number of years, or, if the house had been dismantled and its building materials recycled, then the open cellar hole would have been filled in with broken brick, plaster, nails, unwanted ceramic artifacts and just general trash.

Because the cellar was in existence during the life of the building and the fact that many of the artifacts that ended up in the cellar hole when it was filled in came from the house itself, it is believed that analysis of the cellar assemblages can provide information on both the date of construction and more assuredly, the date of the end of the occupancy at the site. Unfortunately, most of the artifacts are currently housed at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst and were not available for actual hands-on analysis at the present time, so some identifications must be considered tentative. Robbins published enough pictures, and analysis undertaken by Mitch Mulholland at the University of Massachusetts Amherst to enable this researcher to draw some general conclusions concerning the age of this site and the date when it was abandoned.

II. CHAPTER 1

Typical Early to Mid-seventeenth Century Assemblage

In order to understand the artifact assemblage present in the Alden cellar hole and its ability to help us date the site, one needs to know what the typical assemblage from a first to second quarter of the seventeenth century Plymouth Colony site should look like. Clay tobacco pipes and ceramics make up the focus of the following discussion, as these artifacts have a better potential than glass or iron artifacts to provide close dating for the site.

Looking at the assemblages from some of the early colony sites, we can hypothesize about the type of artifact assemblage that would be diagnostic as having come from a site occupied from 1630-1650. The sites looked at were Cushnoc, the Thomas Clarke homesite, the Isaac Allerton homesite and the Edward Winslow homesite in Marshfield, Massachusetts. Essentially two classes of artifacts were believed to be temporally diagnostic to identify site that was occupied during the first half of the seventeenth century. Both of these classes are relatively utilitarian and were fairly indiscriminately disposed of by their users.

A. Clay Tobacco Pipes

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

$9/64$ "	1580-1620
$8/64$ "	1620-1650
$7/64$ "	1650-1680
$6/64$ "	1680-1710
$5/64$ "	1710-1750
$4/64$ "	1750-1800

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

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

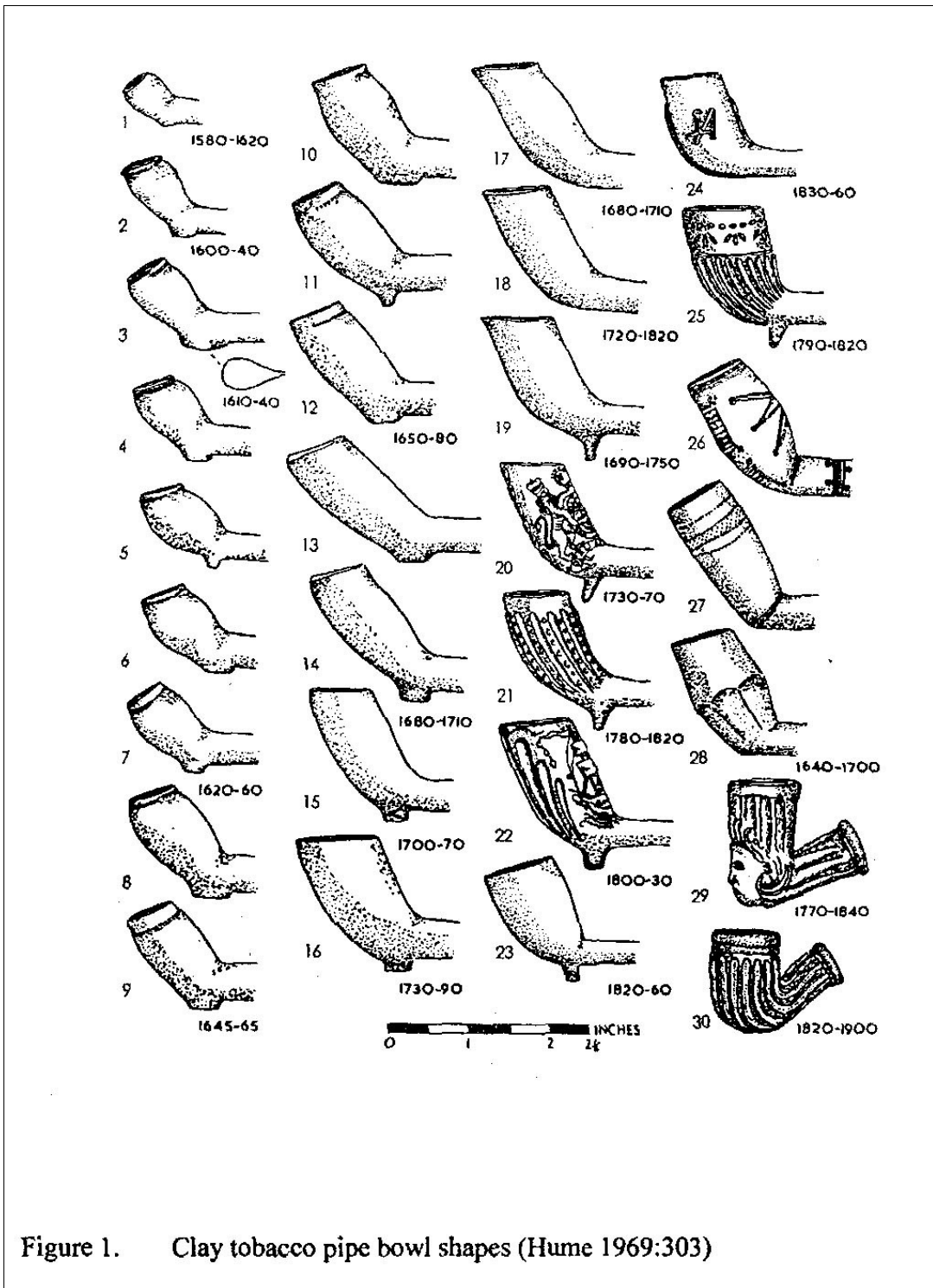
These percentages all represent the popularity of the sizes at the median date of production. In the early years of the different size's production there would have been a greater percentage of the earlier sizes bores. As one moves through the production period the earlier sizes would be phased out and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

Bearing in mind the imprecision of stem bores as an absolute dating tool, what can be accomplished using these stem bores is to see when the range of activity at the site occurred. Sites with small percentages of 9/64" stems, large percentages of 8/64" stems and a small percentage of 7/64" stems can be assumed to have their maximum period of occupation between the 1620 to 1650 period.

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

Median dates such as these do help somewhat when attempting to determine if the site dates to a specific possible owner's period of occupation. For example, if one believes that the site is that of a farmer who the documents say lived at his home from 1635-1687, the median occupation date of the site based on the documents is 1661. If one looks at the pipe stems and uses the formula and the median date is 1740, then the researcher becomes suspicious of the plausibility of the site being that specific farmer's house. Of course, a good archaeologist is not merely going to look only at the clay pipes to interpret or date a site, they will look at all the artifacts from the site and then be more confident in assigning a specific site to a specific occupant.

The bowl styles which would date to this period are outlined by Hume (Hume 1969:302) (Figure 1). The styles from England have been studied extensively by Adrian Oswald in his monumental work on the Bristol pipe makers (Oswald 1975). The pipe bowls from this period would be characterized by a diminutive size, but not as small as those from the 1580-1620 period. Their bowls tilt forward away from the smoker and they usually have rather larger heels which are the portions of the bowls on the underside. Later bowls became larger and the heels shrunk until late in the seventeenth century they sometimes have disappeared altogether. The clay pipes from a site dating from 1635-



1650 would be expected to be composed of large bored stems mainly of the 8/64” variety and small sized bowls similar to those shown in Hume’s work. Using his work, the various bowls and many bowl fragments found at a site can be used to support or refute the chronology of the site or features based on the stem bore diameters. In its most basic sense, clay pipe bowl sizes increased throughout the seventeenth century. Along with the increased bowl size went a change in shape. The earliest bowls are small bulbous “belly” bowls with relatively narrow bowl openings. Over time the bowls remained bulbous but then grew larger and the diameter of their bowl openings increased (Figure 1).

B. Ceramics

The ceramic types that would prove to be very diagnostic to the early seventeenth century can be ascertained by looking at the assemblages from the Allerton, Clarke, Edward Winslow and Cushnoc sites. James Deetz, in 1972, used many of the sites excavated by Plimoth Plantation Inc. to create a serration of the use of ceramics in Plymouth Colony from 1635-1685 (Figure 2). As can be observed by looking at this chart, from the two earliest sites listed, the Edward Winslow site (C-14) and the Thomas Clarke homesite (C-01), redwares predominate followed by what he called “white sandy wares”, North Devon sgraffito and brown German stoneware. While in its most basic sense, Deetz’s work is correct, careful reexamination of the collections and more secure identifications of materials have produced a more refined view of the ceramics of the early colony. This chart shows the early seventeenth century ceramics from three of the sites studied.

1. Earthenwares

a. Redware

At the sites being used in this discussion, redwares dominate the assemblages as can be seen in Figure 3. Redware is the broadest variety within the ceramic class of earthenwares. 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° 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. Some of these varieties have distinct temporal ranges, while others continued in production virtually unchanged for centuries. Redware is the largest and most commonly occurring type of earthenware encountered on European Colonial sites.

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

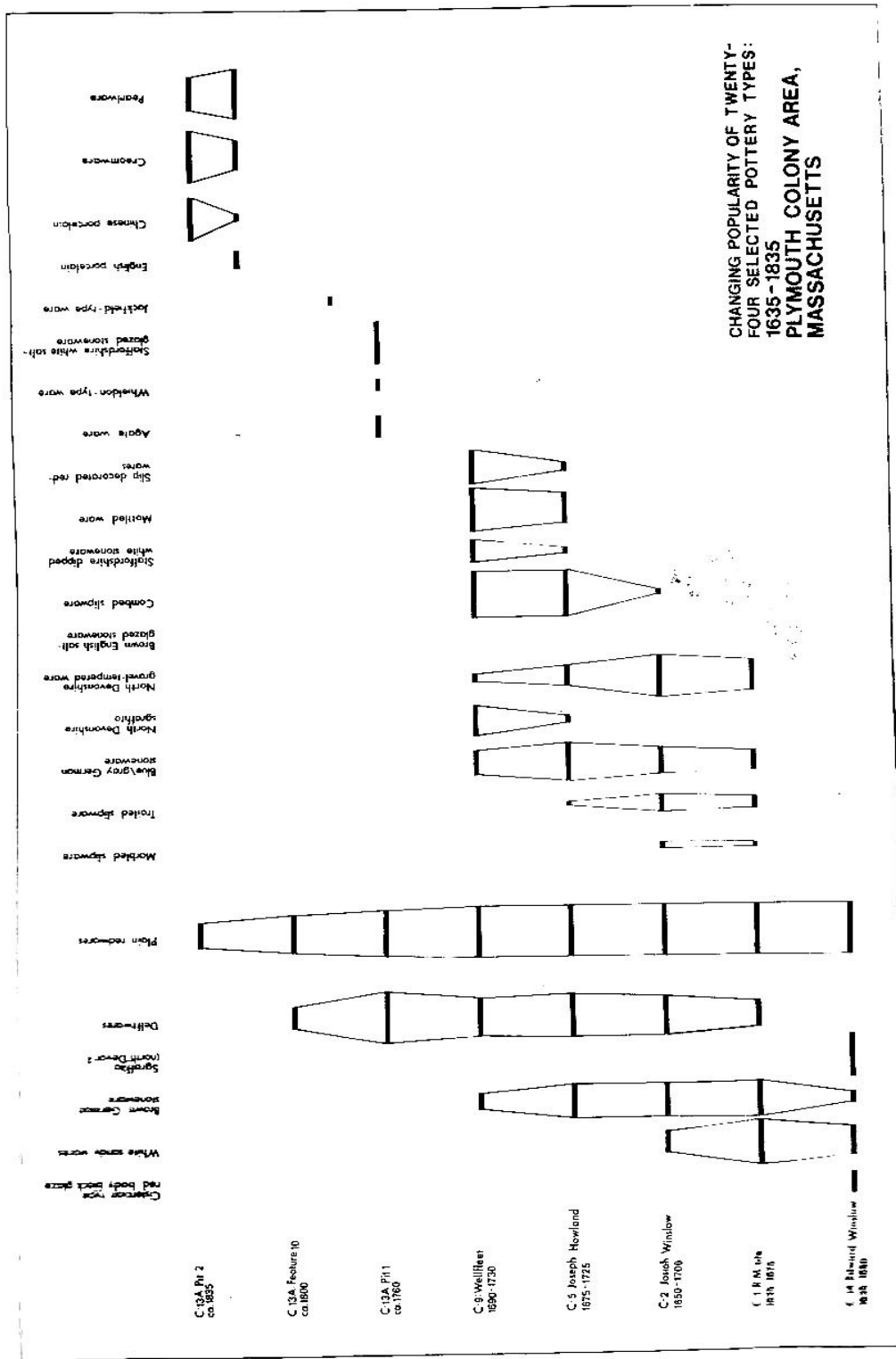


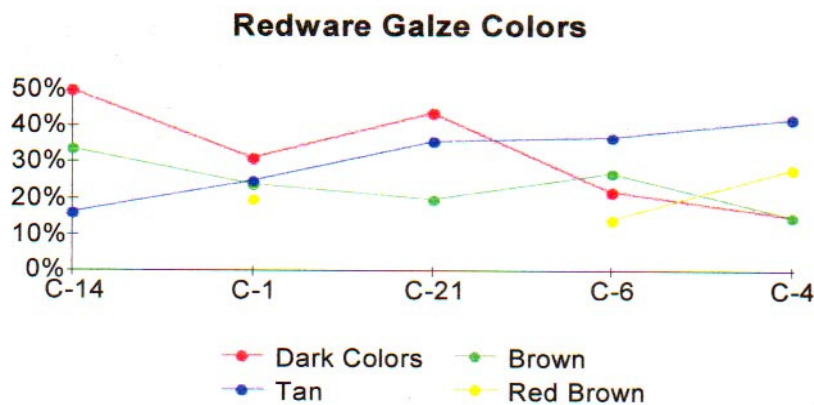
Figure 2. Plymouth Colony ceramic seration (Deetz 1973:21)

perpetuated by New England potters (Turnbaugh 1985:216-217). Her date ranges for wares made in England date from ca. 1200 to 1795 and those in New England from ca. 1650 to 1815. Unfortunately Turnbaugh's work suffers from several serious drawbacks. English and Colonial wares are virtually indistinguishable from each other, unless one performs complex trace mineral tests to determine the source location of the clays used. As a result, unless one knows that the redwares present at a site are definitely of colonial manufacture, they can not be used to reliably date a site. Turnbaugh also sets beginning date of manufacture for the colonial potters much too late. She herself notes that potters were established in Charlestown Massachusetts by 1635 and it is known that potters were at work in Virginia by 1622 at the latest (Turnbaugh 1985:209). I feel that, unless the date range for the habitation of a site has been set prior to the use of Turnbaugh's dates, they can not be considered a reliable means of identifying a site as dating to the early or late seventeenth century when no other artifacts are present.

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

This can be seen in Figure 4, which graphs the occurrence of redware glaze colors at various sites in Plymouth colony, this generally holds true. The brown glazes remain

Figure 4



Winslow (C-14) 1630-1650

Clarke (C-1) 1630-1676
Bradford (C-6) 1682-1745

Allerton (C-21) 1630, 1650-1690
Bartlett (C-4) 1679-1730

Studying the English ceramic traditions which formed the precedent for colonial potters work, Turnbaugh identified 12 redware traditions in England which she felt were present throughout the century while the dark glazes decrease and light glazes increase. Red brown glazes appear rather sporadic in their occurrence. This may indicate that the occurrence of red-brown glazed vessels is a later seventeenth into eighteenth century occurrence, although it is interesting that they were not found at the Allerton site that was occupied until circa 1690. On an early seventeenth century site, one would expect there to be a high percentage of dark brown glazes and a lower percentage of light brown/ tan glazes.

b. Borderware

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

c. West Country Wares

Many of the red bodied earthenwares which reached New England came from the southeast of England in the West Country (Devonshire and perhaps Dorset) (Hume 1970:102). These included tall black glazed mugs with two or more handles called tygs which were produced from the 1400s to ca. 1650 and slipwares produced at Wrotham in Kent from 1612 to 1700 (Hume 1969:102). Wrotham slipware had a glaze that was darkened and a thinned clay solution, called a slip, was applied in sprig molded pads containing initials and dates (Hume 1969:103).

The West Country of England, mainly around the towns of Barnstable, Biddeford and Great Torrington also produced a type of earthenware that has come to be known as North Devon gravel free ware. This ware is easily distinguished by the color of the exterior versus the interior. The exterior was fired in an oxidizing atmosphere in the kiln and as a result it attains an orange or red. These vessels were fired upside-down in the

kilns, with result being the interior having been fired in a reducing atmosphere, free from oxygen. As a result the interior is often a gray fired body with a mottled yellow to olive

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

d. 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 wares from England comprise the vast majority of these wares found on early seventeenth century English colonial sites. Tin-enameled wares are semi-soft bodied earthenwares 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 seventeenth 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. 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. 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.

e. North Italian red 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 marbled 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 marbled slip (Hume 1969:77). Common vessel forms of this ware appear to be "costrels", which were used much like canteens, and dishes. Italian marbled slipware occurs at numerous seventeenth century sites in the Northeast (Wilcoxon 1987:77).

2. 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° 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.

a. Frenchen and Westerwald

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

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

The second type of German ceramics were those produced in the Westerwald region. These were most commonly made in the form of jugs that were decorated with cobalt blue and a salt glaze on a gray stoneware body. Over time the finely executed decorations and lines on Westerwald vessels became degraded much in the same way that the Bellarmine's decoration deteriorated. By the late seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century, they were distinctly debased. After approximately 1660 manganese was also used in conjunction with cobalt in the decoration of these vessels (Hume 1969:281).

3. French Ceramics

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

The second French ceramic is from the Allerton site and is a product of Normandy. This dark purple brown-bodied stoneware is possibly a narrow necked jar. This form was produced from the early to late seventeenth century (Hurst 1992:101). Fragments of

other vessels of this type have been found at Champlain's 1604 habitation at Sainte-Croix in Maine. Since Allerton had dealings with the trading and fishing ventures in Maine, it is possible that he received the vessel there.

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

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

III. CHAPTER 2

Recovered Artifact Assemblage

Robbins' 1960 excavation at the Alden site was focused on the cellar hole and sparse foundation remains that were encountered as a result of probing. Subsequently, the artifacts recovered do not reflect the entire occupation and use history of the site but only the final abandonment date and the debris found within the foundation. The artifacts he found primarily came from the cellar hole and as a result they can give us a rough idea of the occupation period for the site and a finer idea of the date of the site's abandonment.

By looking at the earliest (oldest) artifact(s) recovered, we can arrive at a date before which the site was probably not occupied, a *terminus ante Squam*, since the artifact could not have been lost or discarded before that date, but could have been discarded anytime after. By looking at the latest (most recent) artifact(s) recovered, we can arrive at a date before which the site was probably not abandoned, a *terminus post Squam*, since the artifact could not have been discarded or lost before that date but could have been lost any time after. For example, if a certain type of ceramic was recovered that we know was begun to be made around 1620 is recovered and another type is recovered from a cellar hole that we know was made after 1670, then we can estimate that the site was occupied sometime after 1620 and that the house ceased to be used sometime after 1670.

By using a number of different artifactual categories (clay tobacco pipes, ceramics, glass, metal) we can refine the date and state with more assurance when the occupation of the site occurred. This data can be further strengthened by reviewing the historical records that pertain to the property such as will, probate inventories and land transactions.

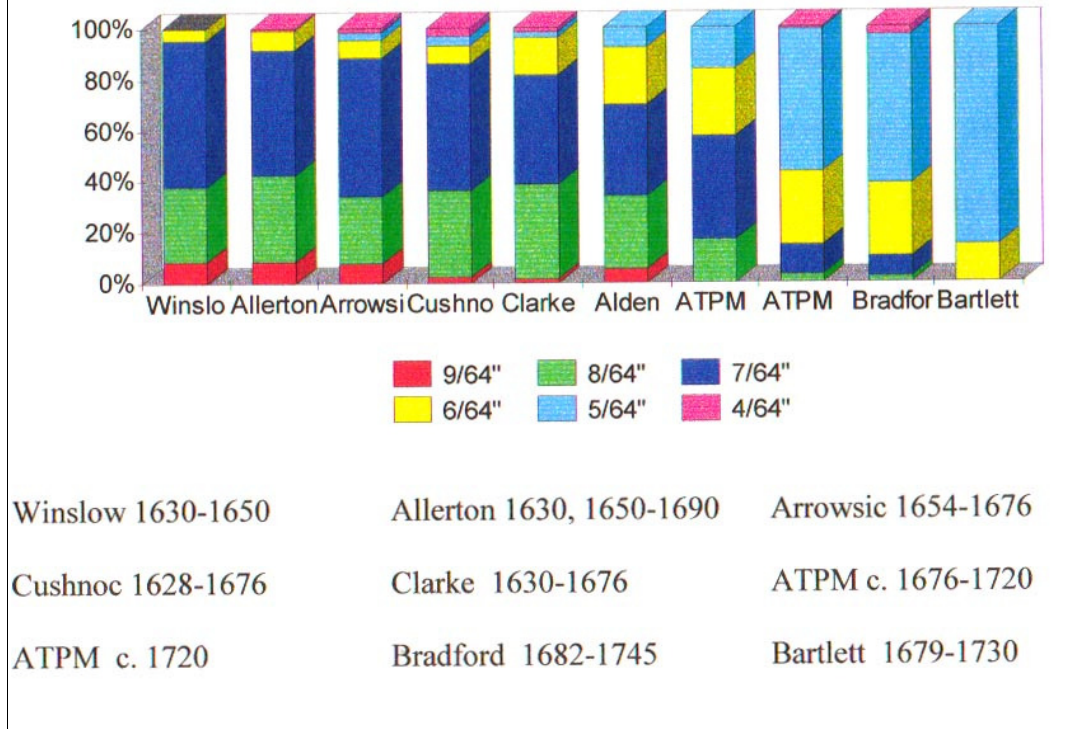
This was the technique that I used to date the Alden site. I reviewed as much information as I could find concerning the various artifact classes recovered and presented by Robbins and used these to determine the earliest and latest dates that the site was occupied.

A. Clay Tobacco Pipes

The 84 clay tobacco pipe fragments recovered by Robbins help to support the idea that the site is the home of John Alden and they also help to establish a date when the cellar hole was filled. By comparing the distribution of the stem bores of the pipes with the distributions from a number of other Plymouth Colony sites, the assemblage is able to be placed between the William Clarke site c. 1630-1676) and the Aptucxet trading Post Museum/ Ezra Perry II yard assemblage c. 1676-1720) (Figure 5).

This means that the assemblage from the cellar hole has more of the 9 and 8/ 64" bore pipe stems than a site occupied solely in the late seventeenth century but has less than a site completely excavated and dating from circa 1630 to 1676. This can be interpreted as meaning that the Alden site does have an earlier component that is not as readily recognized in the cellar hole assemblage, due to its late deposition. If more excavations were carried on around the structure, I believe that more of the earlier, larger bore pipe stems would be recovered.

Figure 5



Using the Binford formula for estimating the median date of the assemblage, 1662.88 was arrived at. This fits in well with a proposed occupation range of 1635-1687 (median 1661). Using a slightly different formula that involves counting the number of fragments of each bore, multiplying this number by the median date for each bore range, adding the figures up for each bore size and dividing the sum by the number of fragments, I arrived at a date of 1661.

Another way to date tobacco pipes is through the identification of the pipe bowl styles. The styles of the pipe bowls illustrated by Robbins (Figure 6a) represent a heelless funnel bowl style on the left dating between 1660 and 1690, and a medium sized belly bowl on the right dating between 1660 and 1680 (Crass 1988:85) (Figure 6b).

Analysis of the clay tobacco pipes indicate that there was occupation at the site prior to 1650, but the majority of the clay pipe fragments recovered and the two complete bowls, represent later seventeenth century occupation, c. 1660-1690.

B. Ceramics

Most of the ceramics recovered from the cellar hole took the form of redwares, many of which either were unglazed or had lost their glazes and have been labeled “temporally non-diagnostic” by Mullholland (Mullholland 1999:245). Analysis of the redware

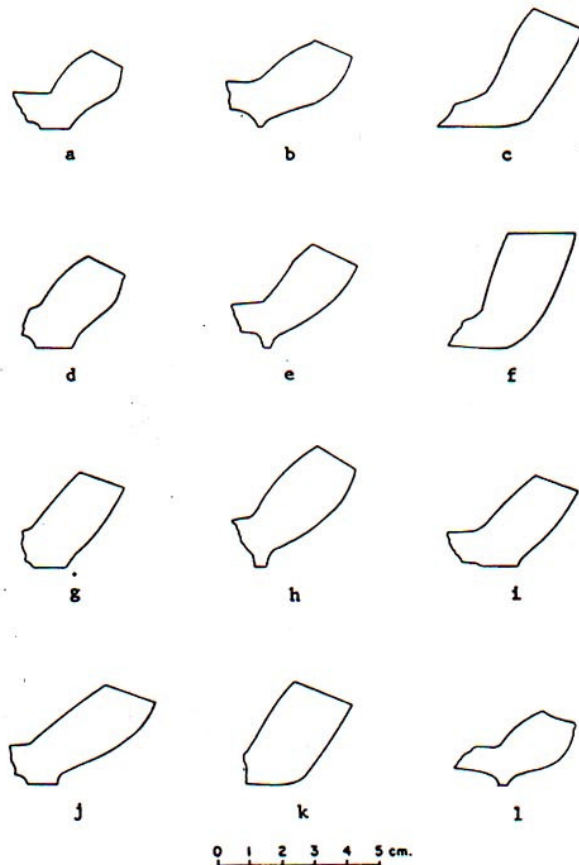
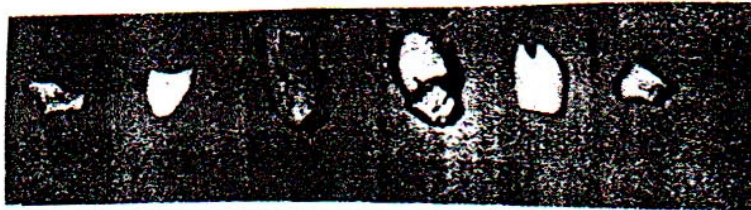


FIGURE 1. Standard bowl typology used for analysis of white clay pipes from Green Spring Plantation, Virginia. Typology based on Oswald (O) and Walker (W) types. a, O-5 (c. 1640-1660); b, O-17 (c. 1640-1670); c, O-26 (c. 1680-1710); d, O-6 (c. 1660-1680); e, O-18 (c. 1660-1680); f, O-27 (c. 1730-1760); g, O-7 (c. 1660-1680); h, O-19 (c. 1690-1710); i, W-18 (c. 1660-1680); j, O-9 (c. 1680-1710); k, O-25 (c. 1660-1680); l, W-9 (c. 1640-1660).

Figure 6. Tobacco pipes

assemblage will have to wait until the material is again in the possession of the Alden Kindred.

As for the remainder of the ceramics, variety is rather sparse and somewhat confusing. Only five other types of ceramics were identified in the collection: tin-enameled earthenware, North Devon gravel tempered ware, Iberian storage jar, Buckley ware, and Westerwald stoneware. None of the ceramic types, other than the preponderance of redwares, predicted by the examination of other pre-1650 Plymouth Colony assemblages were identified, particularly the Borderware, which is very diagnostic of this period. The tin-enameled ceramic sherd recovered will, like the redware, have to wait until the collection can be studied first hand to identify its origin and date.

1. North Devon Gravel-Tempered

North Devon gravel-tempered ware was manufactured in North Devon, England and begins to appear on American sites in the last quarter of the seventeenth century (Hume 1969:133). The earliest site in Plymouth Colony on which this ware has been found is the William Clark site in a circa 1670 context and form although this ware has also been recovered from the Howland and Josiah Winslow sites. Hume states that this ceramic is relatively uncommon on sites dating before 1680 (Hume 1969:133). North Devon gravel tempered ware usually takes the form of cream pans, jugs and small storage jars. The general date range for this ceramic is 1650-1775 with the bulk of it occurring on American sites after 1670-1680. One fragment of it is visible in Robbins' pictures (Figure 7). This vessel, which appears to be a cream pan, has a form that is attribute by Watkins to the period 1680-1765 (Watkins 1956:56)

2. Iberian Storage Jar

Robbins recovered 89 fragments of coarse earthenware that can be identified as an Iberian storage jar. Many of these fragments cross-mend and probably represent one vessel which was either stored in the cellar or was thrown in almost complete. Robbins illustrates the cross-mended fragments (Figure 8a). Iberian storage jars, also called Spanish olive jars, are one of the most widely occurring Spanish ceramic to be found in the New World having been used by the French and English as well as the Spanish (Deegan 1987:31). These vessels were used to transport, wine, olive oil, olives and fish. Generally, Iberian storage jars were either globular with a round or pointed bottom. The form appears to represent what has been identified by Stephen James as a Form III Middle style jar (James 1988) (Figure 8b). These jars have been recovered from a 1724 Spanish wreck off the coast of the Dominican Republic and in South Carolina (Deegan 1987: 34). This form has a wide date range from at least 1570 to at least 1724.

Iberian storage jars have been recovered in New England from Pemaquid, Maine in an eighteenth century context and from the circa 1628 to 1676 Plymouth Colony trading house at Cushnoc in Augusta, Maine (Bradley and Camp 1994: 112-115; Cranmer 1990:86).

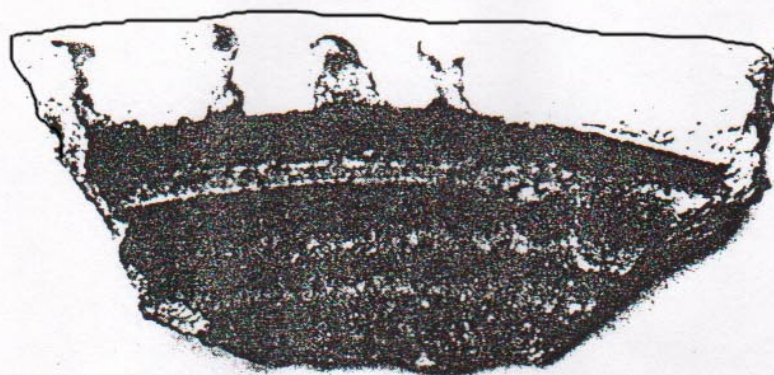


Figure 7. North Devon gravel tempered ceramics from the Alden Site (Robbins 1969: 34)



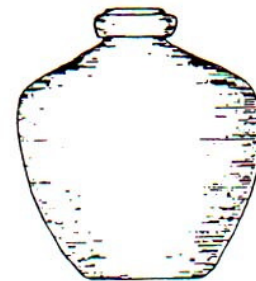
Form I



Form IV



Form II



Form III

Figure 8. Iberian storage jars

3. Buckley Ware

During his examination of the ceramics from the site, Mulholland identified "...possibly a few fragments of Buckley..." which he dates to the "seventeenth century" (Mulholland 1999:246). Buckley ceramics were manufactured in the vicinity of Buckley in North Wales, England, being produced no later than 1720 until the 1770s (Bradley and Camp 1994:159). This ceramic type is very distinctive with the body being composed of a mixture of yellow and red clay, with a thick, almost black, glaze. The form of these vessels is predominately large food storage and cooking vessels.

Hume stated that he had not noted this ware in contexts dating earlier than 1720, but did say that he had heard of some being found on a late seventeenth century site (Hume 1969:133). If this ceramic is indeed Buckley, then it either represents occupation of the site into the eighteenth century or contamination of the site after it was abandoned with eighteenth century material.

4. Westerwald Stoneware

One fragment of Westerwald stoneware with an incised geometric motif was recovered outside of the cellar hole near the foundation. Although it is not known at present what the form of this vessel is, incised Westerwald often occurs in the form of mugs and tankards and dates from 1700-1775 (Hume 1969: 282-283). Like the Buckley wares, this again may be evidence either of later occupation at the site or of contamination after abandonment.

As a result of the limited amount of analysis that was possible to be done using Robbins' work and Mullholland's more recent reanalysis, it appears that many of the ceramics that can be identified at the present time date to the later seventeenth century. None of the ceramics that I have seen on earlier seventeenth century Plymouth Colony sites appear in this assemblage with the exception of the large number of redwares. The Iberian storage jar, fragments of which have been recovered at the Plymouth Colony trading house at Cushnoc, could date to any time throughout the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Unfortunately neither of these ceramics is as temporally diagnostic as the other types discussed previously.

The occurrence of at least two types of ceramics more distinctive of the eighteenth century, the Westerwald and the Buckley, also poses a problem that further analysis may help to solve. At the present time I think it can be tentatively said that the ceramics present seem consistent with a late seventeenth century filling of the cellar hole.

C. Bottle Glass

Mostly dark wine or liquor bottle glass from globular wine bottles was recovered. These date to after 1640 when this type of bottle was first introduced (Hume 1969: 60). When the collection is looked at more closely, it is hoped that the body shapes of some of the bottles will be determinable (Figure 9). This will help to better date the bottles. Fragments from one square case bottle were also recovered (Mullholland 1999:246).

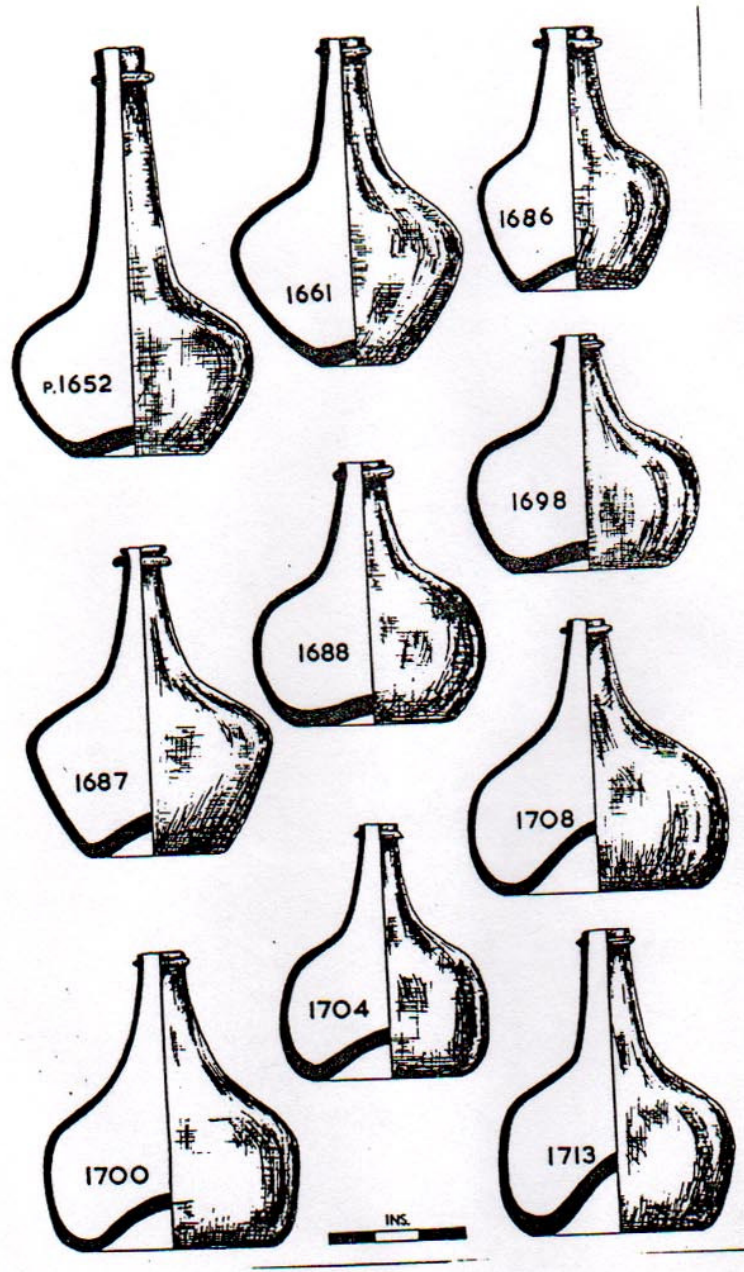


Figure 9. Wine bottle forms (Hume 1969:63)

D. Metal

Robbins recovered one pair of iron scissors (Figure 10). The style of scissors is dated by Noel Hume to the middle 17th century (Hume 1969:232) (Figure 10b). They look very similar to the several pairs that were presumed to have been present in the William Clark house that burned in 1676.

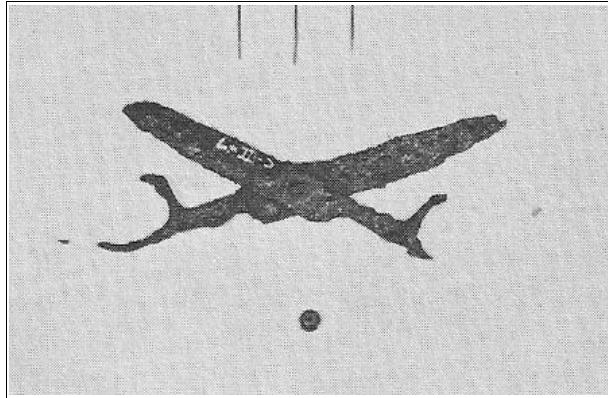


Figure 10. Scissors recovered from the Alden site (Robbins 1969:32)

The military equipment recovered, especially the snaphaunce lock parts, the gun fork and the pike head, represent artifacts that help to support an earlier date for the structure. The snaphaunce parts probably represent one old gun that was broken down so that parts could be used to repair other pieces or merely to store it. The snaphaunce is represented by one lock plate, one battery on which the flint would strike, one jaw screw which would serve to keep the flint in the jaws and one possible dog catch which was used to hold the cock back (Figure 11a and b). Snaphaunces were Dutch inventions and as a result this piece can be almost certainly said to have been made in Holland (Bradley and Camp 1994: 69). Snaphaunces were produced from the late sixteenth century until approximately 1620 (Hume 1969:213). It is not uncommon to find snaphaunce parts on archaeological sites in New England. The lock plate from a snaphaunce pistol was recovered from Arrowsic (1654-1676) and Hume reported that two examples were found in early eighteenth century contexts in Williamsburg (Baker 1985:49; Hume 1969:213). Essentially it appears that these pieces were so well made that they were used until they were no longer serviceable.

Mulholland identified the gun rest pictured on page 33 as being the only known example from New England (Mulholland 1999: 247). One other gun rest is in the collections at Plimoth Plantation having been recovered from the Howland site (1650-1680). They continued to be used in the colonies until the late seventeenth to eighteenth century when gun styles had evolved to the point that a long barreled piece was no longer needed.

As pike heads have not been extensively recovered from New England contexts, in fact this is the only example I know of except for one possible one from Maine (Faulkner 1987:269), it is rather difficult to find information concerning their dating (Figure 12a). It is known that Plymouth Colony maintained a company of pike men until at least the late seventeenth century but these soldiers never served the same purpose as they had in Europe. In the Old World, pike men served to protect the musketeers from advancing cavalry, but, seeing how cavalry charges never fit in with Native and non-native conflicts

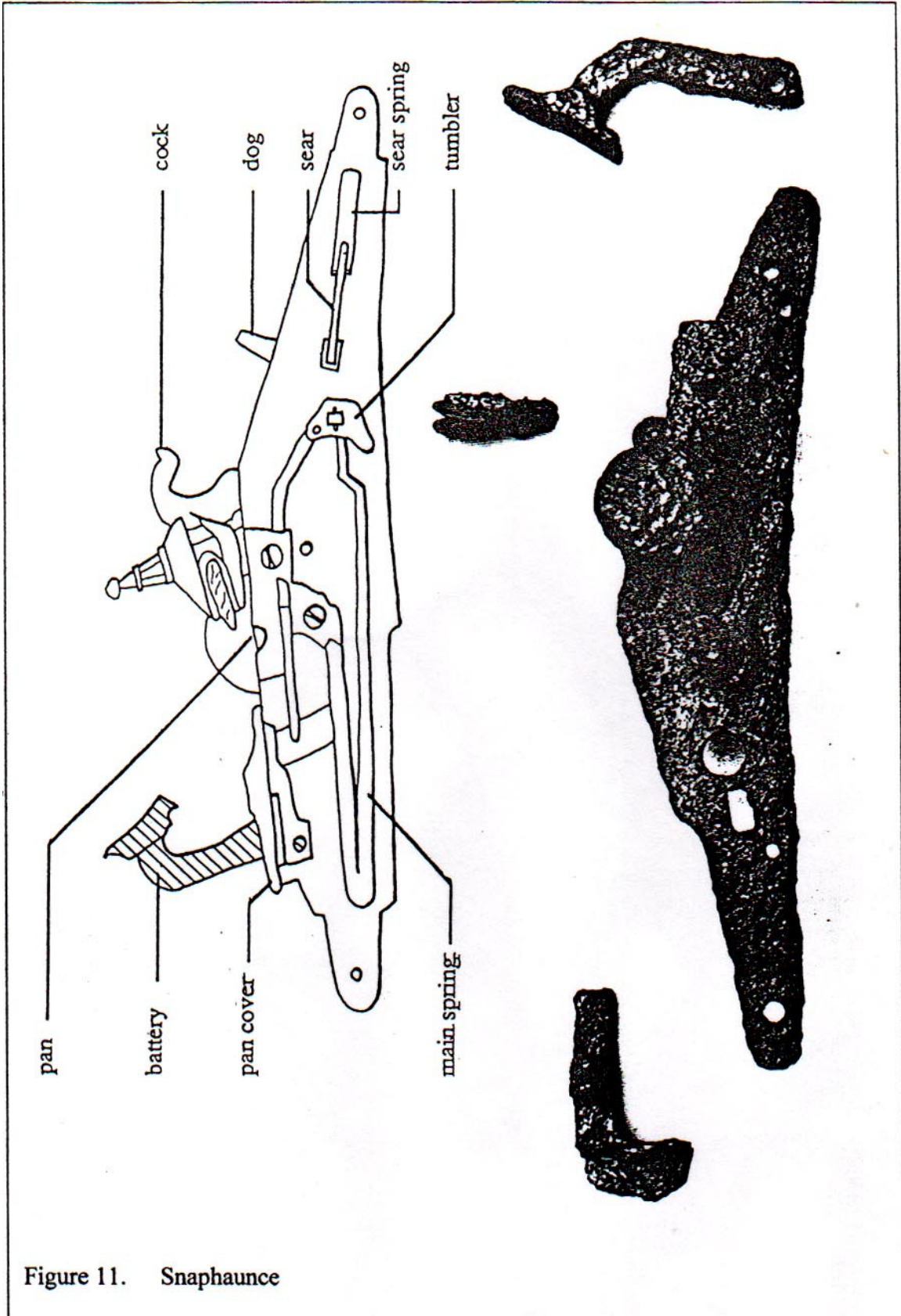


Figure 11. Snaphaunce

in New England, they had lost much of their purpose. The item identified as a “pike” head that was recovered from the Alden site, differs significantly in form from others that have survived and are now in museum collections or have been recovered from the excavations at Jamestown in Virginia (Figure 12b). Four pikes or short pikes have been identified in the Plymouth Colony probate records from the years 1633-1692.

The Alden “pike” head is composed of a blade snapped at the midsection attached to a sleeve that would have fit onto the end of the wooden pole. The known examples of pike heads do not have the socketed hafts, but appear to sit atop a wooden shaft with formidable reinforcement straps extending from the head down the wooden shaft. These straps were designed so that the pike could not be sliced through by the sabers of the cavalry. The example from the Alden site may not be a pike head at all but more likely is a “pattacen” also called a partizan. Partzans were officers weapons with shafts about 6-7 feet long and symmetrical leaf shaped heads (Peterson 2000: 95). It is known that these types of spears were present in the colony because in 1651, one was noted in the probate inventory of William Hatch of Scituate (PCR Vol 1 217). Partzans were also noted as being purchased by the Massachusetts Bay Colony “2 partizans, for capten and lieftenant.” (Peterson 2000:96).

The horseshoe pictured by Robbins (Figure 13a) is of a type that Hume states was made in the middle to probably late 17th century (Hume 1969:238) (Figure 13b).

Three coins were recovered by Robbins, two Charles I Rose farthings, dating from 1636 to 1644, and one New England Oak Tree silver dating from 1660-1667. The Rose farthing was first made in 1637 when the harp that was traditionally on the reverse of the coins was replaced with the rose. These continued to be made until 1644 when Parliament declared that no more licensed coins should be struck (Hume 1969:155).

Massachusetts, in response to currency shortages due to the English Civil War, struck its own coinage beginning in 1652 with the New England twopence, threepence, sixpence and shilling denominations. Upon the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, Charles II attempted to halt the production of coinage in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Coins continued to be cast, but they all bore the 1652 date in an attempt to fool the king. The Oak Tree sixpence was the third design to be used and can be dated to 1660-1667 (Baker 1985:43).

Lead kames, such as those that were recovered, were used to hold diamond shaped pieces of glass called quarrels in place in windows. While not datable by themselves, except to say that they date to before the use of rectangular paned double-hung sashes in the eighteenth century, kames often contain the date of manufacture on their inner surfaces. Kames with dates have been recovered from the Ezra Perry (ATPM) site and were stamped “1675”. Kames dating to the 1620s were recovered from the Martin’s Hundred site in Virginia (Hume 1996: 53). It is possible that the kames from the Alden site may bear dates indicating when they were installed in the house. Three temporally diagnostic buckles were recovered by Robbins (Figure 14a). These buckles appear similar in style to one illustrated by Hume which he dates to the second half of the seventeenth century (Hume 1969:85) (Figure 14b).

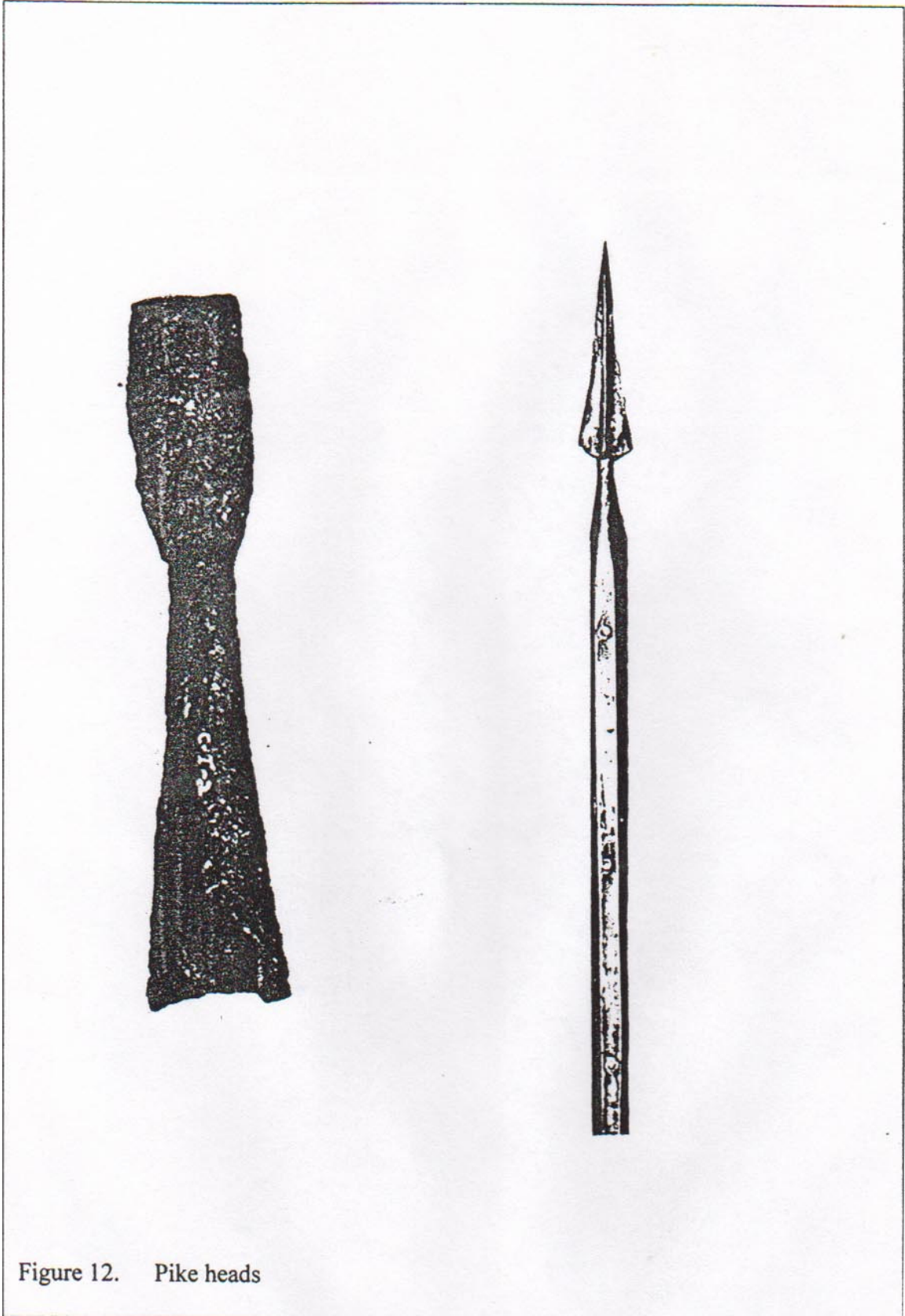


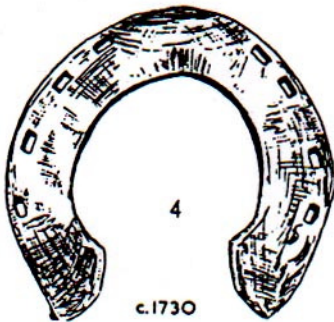
Figure 12. Pike heads



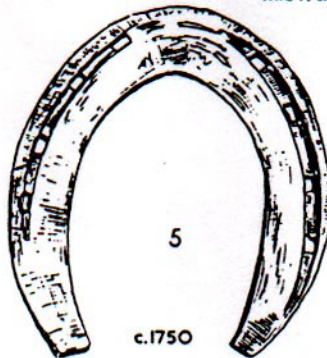
Early 17th Cen.



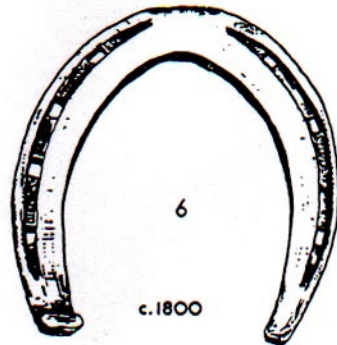
Mid 17th Cen.



c.1730

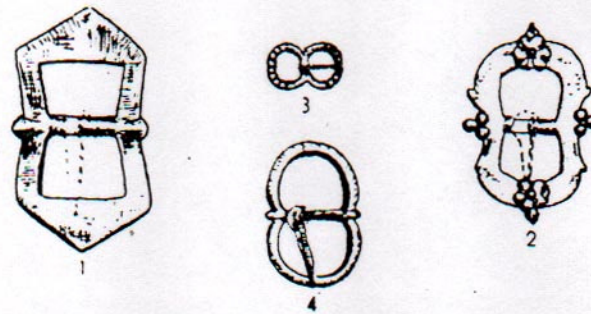


c.1750



c.1800

Figure 13. Horseshoes



Apparel buckles and other fastenings. 1-4. Figure-8 types for belts (Nos. 1, 2, and 4) and spurs (No. 3), all brass with iron tangs—Nos. 1 and 2, second half of the 17th century; No. 3, late 16th-17th century; No. 4, 18th century.

Figure 14. Buckles

The final artifact class that was looked at for this study were the spoons recovered. Fragments of four spoon handles and one oval shaped spoon bowl were recovered from the cellar hole (Figure 15). In the first half of the seventeenth century, spoons were generally very similar in appearance as they had been for the previous two hundred years. Spoons commonly had fig shaped bowls, rounded or hexagonal stalks and commonly, some type of knob or decoration at the terminal end. Spoons were made in brass, silver, pewter and latten, which is an alloy of copper, zinc and iron. Latten, while being used for spoons as early as 1578, was not widely used until after 1650 (Baker 1985: 35). The spoons from the Alden site are all made of latten and it appears from the picture in Robbins' book that they were covered with a tin wash. Tin washing was done to help avoid the unpleasant taste associated with the copper in the latten. Four different spoon types are present in the collection. Two have finials in the form of a strawberry or acorn and a seal and baluster at the end of their stalks while the other two are plain stalks. One of the plain stalks is a "slipped-in-stalk" form while the other is a "Puritan" stalk, so called because of its plainness.

The dating of these spoons is somewhat problematic because it seems that early seventeenth century spoon molds were still being used in the late seventeenth century. As a result, finial treatments such as the strawberry or the seal in baluster, which various authors stated were no longer used after the mid-seventeenth century (Hume 1969:180; Beaudry 1980:72). But, the fact that these spoons appear to have a tin wash indicates that the must date to after the middle seventeenth century when this technique came into fashion (Beaudry 1980:72). It is not uncommon to find these spoon types on later seventeenth and eighteenth century sites, such as the cellar hole of the Ezra Perry (ATPM) site that was filled circa 1720. Latten spoons are durable and lasted a long time. The slipped-in-stalk spoon was a type that was first manufactured around 1500 and Hume states that they continued to be made until as late as 1657 although Baker states that they were made until circa 1690 (Hume 1969:181; Baker 1985: 35). These spoons did not have any decoration at their terminal ends, but were merely cut at an oblique angle. The example from the Alden house bears a tin wash that indicates that this spoon was made after 1650. The final type of spoon is of a Puritan form. Like the slipped-in-stalk, this spoon bears no decoration at the terminal end. Unlike the slipped-in-stalk, the end is not cut obliquely, but is squared off. These spoons were made from 1640 to 1670 (Baker 1985:35).

The artifacts seem to indicate that the cellar was filled in the late seventeenth century and can not necessarily be used to date the building or life history of the house. The fact that there were no Borderwares found is strong evidence arguing against a pre 1650 date for the site. But, the distribution of the bore diameters of the pipe stems, the presence of the snaphaunce parts and the Charles I coins indicate that occupation was begun before 1650. As has been stated earlier, the cellar hole artifacts predominantly date to the end of the occupation and do not span the entire life of the house, although some earlier artifacts are present.

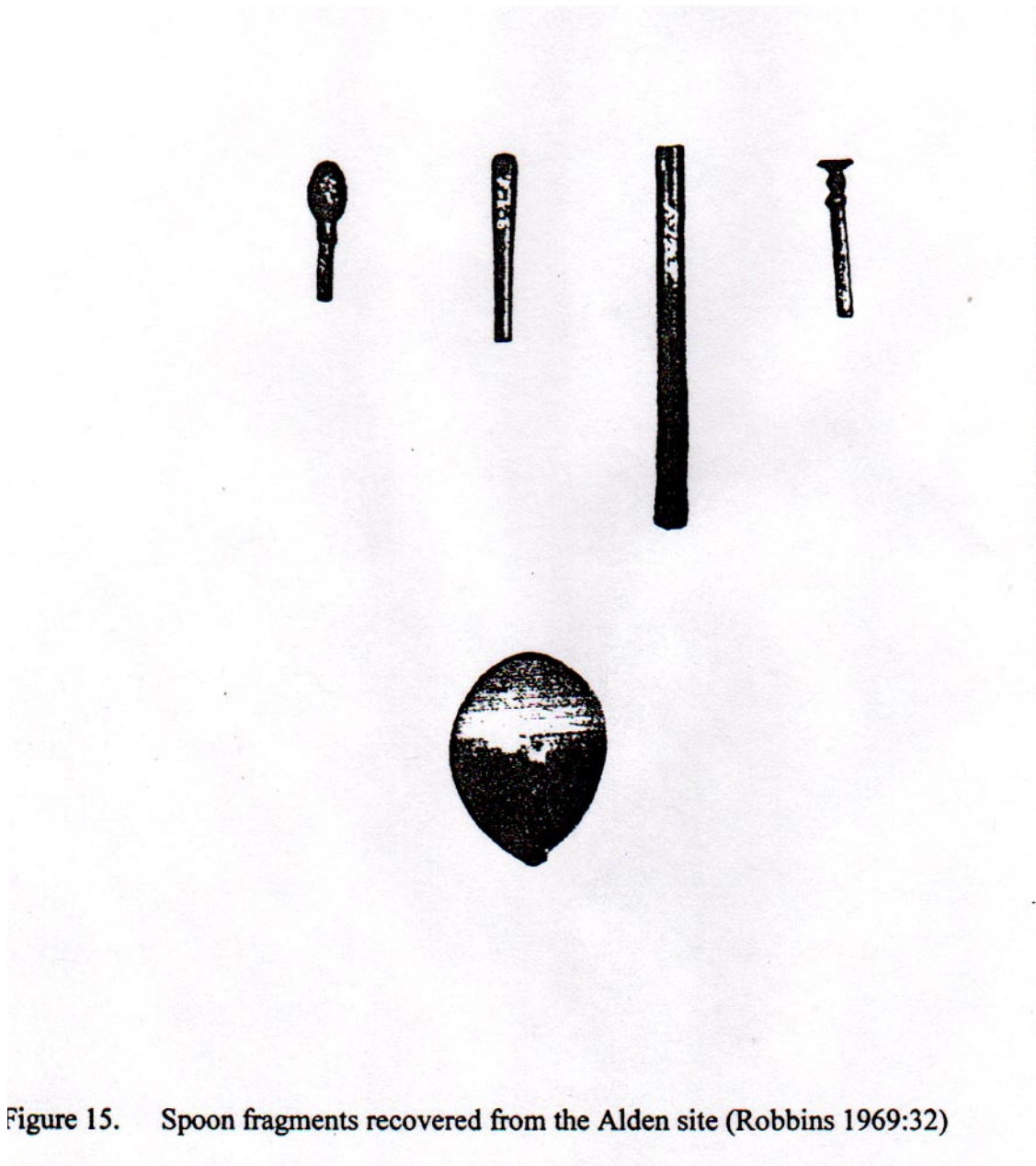


Figure 15. Spoon fragments recovered from the Alden site (Robbins 1969:32)

IV. CHAPTER 3

Architectural Reinterpretation

The archaeological signature that would be left at the site of the Alden house if it fit the pattern of other early Plymouth Colony houses, would be difficult to discover. James Deetz, in 1977, stated that the focus of a site is the "degree to which the pattern of postholes, cellars, and hearths can be 'read' clearly as to how it represents the structure which once stood over it." (Deetz 1977:94). The other aspect is the sites visibility "the actual amount of physical remains, however clearly or ambiguously they may be perceived." (Deetz 1977:94). Archaeologically, the earliest houses that have been excavated within the former colony have had a twenty-foot floor plan similar to the plantation's first common house. Three sites in particular will be discussed: the site of the Cushnoc trading house in Augusta, Maine (1628-1676); the Isaac Allerton homesite in Kingston, Massachusetts (c. 1632-1634); and finally the Thomas Clarke homesite in Plymouth, Massachusetts (c. 1635-1676).

The site of the Cushnoc trading house in Augusta, Maine was 20 feet by 44 feet. (Figure 16a). This site was built as the second trading post erected by the colony in the year following the establishment of the trading house at Aptucxet in 1627. Its founding may have lead to the abandonment of Aptucxet the year after it was built, since the trade appears to have been focused on Maine after 1628. The style of the house appears to have been a cross-passage with a hearth located on the west wall. The chimney was probably constructed of wattle and daub with no bricks used. The doorways were located on the north and south sides (Cranmer 1990:61). There were no footings stones at the site, its construction was essentially the same as that described by Bradford when the Aptucxet house was swept away in 1635. Posts were set in the ground, evenly spaced about 15' apart on all of the sides. There was an 8' square wood lined cellar located in the eastern portion of the house. Surrounding the site on at least the north and west sides was an approximately 3' wide palisade trench.

The second site to be discussed is the homesite of the financial planner of the Plimoth colony, Isaac Allerton in Kingston, Massachusetts. It appears that Allerton and his family moved to the site probably around 1632 and lived there until 1634 at the latest when it was known that he had left the colony. Allerton's daughter Mary and her family, beginning in 1656 until circa 1699, later occupied the site. As a result of the two occupations, it is difficult to distinguish the focus of the Allerton period at the site, but the visibility is high (Figure 16b).

Allerton's house was of a simple 20' x 22' square structure with one large post hole in each corner, possible stains from the floor joists in the north western corner of the house and a fieldstone hearth along the eastern wall measuring approximately five feet long and wide. The entrance to the house is believed to have been located on the south wall perpendicular to hearth, so that the hearth wall would act as a baffle for the wind into the house. A palisade trench was dug to the immediate west of the house but never completed, possibly because Allerton left before he finished it. It is important to note that there was no cellar hole associated with the early house. It is believed that this little

house would have been very similar to those first houses erected by the colonists at Plimoth and in fact has been used as a model for houses constructed at the present day Plimoth Plantation Museum.

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

Thomas Clarke built his home circa 1635-1640 along the north bank of the Eel River in Plymouth (Figure 16c). The initial house constructed at the site is believed to have been an approximately 21 x 24' structure with a hearth on its east wall and the entrance to the south similar to the situation at the Allerton site. This early house is outlined by several postholes on west and north sides of the house.

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

The architectural remains uncovered by Robbins in 1960 look very different from those that one would expect to find at a site first occupied circa 1627-1632. The remains took the form of a rectangular foundation measuring 38 feet long and 10 ½ feet wide with a 6 ½ feet square, 7 ½ feet deep cellar under the western half (Figure 17) (Robbins 1969:15). Much to Robbins' surprise, this was also found to be the dimensions of the kitchen, "boring room" and buttery on the "1653" Alden house, situated approximately 700 feet to the northwest of the site. It was concluded by Robbins and his contemporaries, that the original house of settler John Alden was of these dimensions and that circa 1653 the entire house was moved 700 feet to the northwest and became part of a larger house built also by John Alden.

The architectural form of the house, long and narrow, was soon touted by Dr. James Deetz in 1979 as being an early form of first period architecture (Deetz 1979:55). The form was considered by Deetz to be contemporary with the approximately 20 foot square, single room dwellings recorded in the colonial records and excavated in Plymouth Colony (Deetz 1979:97). Deetz stated that the house was "Ten feet wide and approximately forty feet long, ...had a cellar at one end...[and] traces of a hearth one half the distance from one end to the other. Such an arrangement would suggest possibly a two-room plan, each room ten by 20 feet, although even smaller internal divisions of either or both halves could have existed. the structure was rather narrow...the usual English building unit is sixteen feet on a side or larger." (Deetz 1979:96-97).

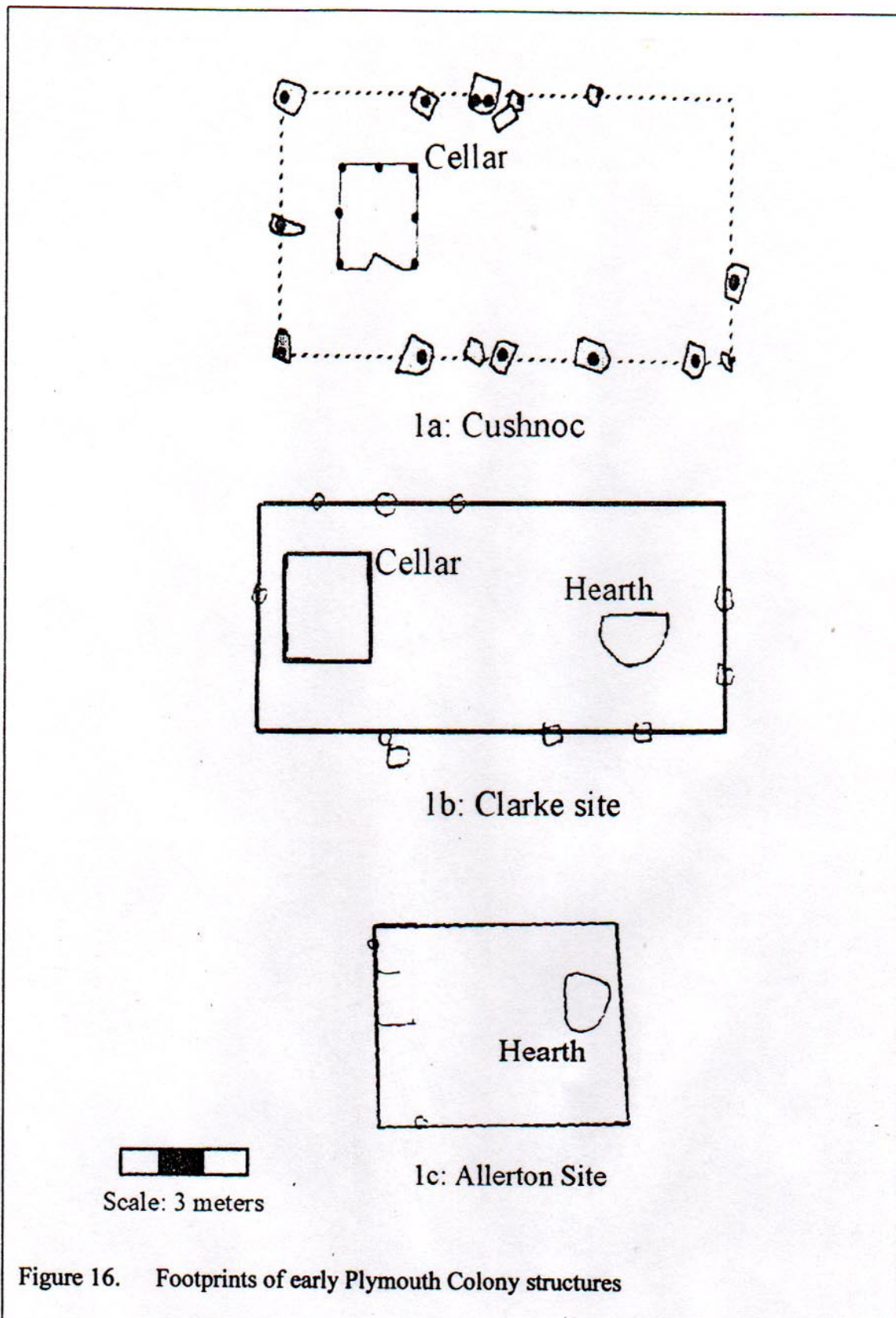


Figure 16. Footprints of early Plymouth Colony structures

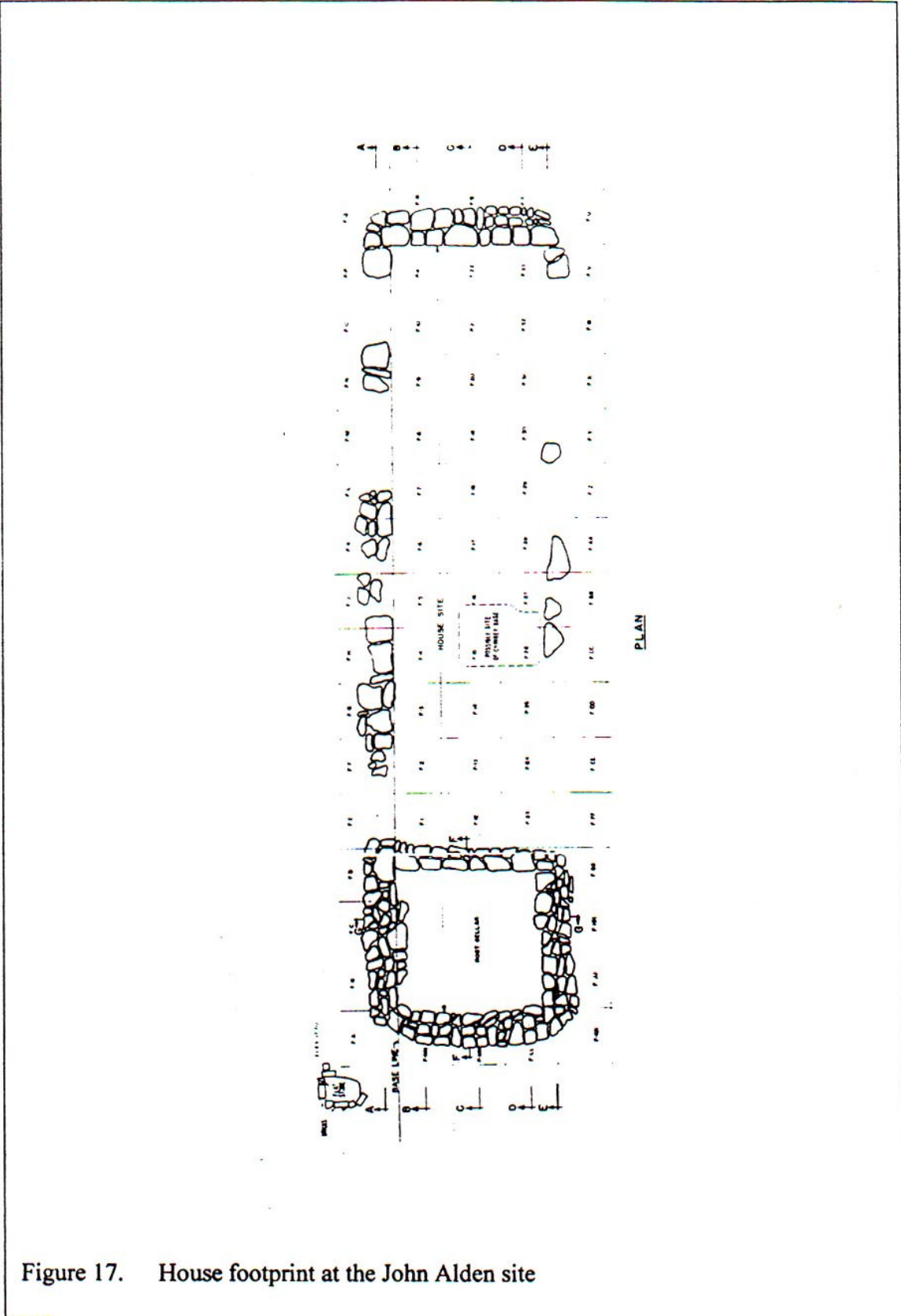


Figure 17. House footprint at the John Alden site

Mulholland summarizes the popular interpretation of the foundations uncovered by Robbins "...the first Alden house was long and narrow after an early English tradition. More common in the Chesapeake Bay area, this impermanent early house form was found with frequency throughout the northeast and perhaps can be traced to fourteenth century England." (Mulholland 1999:237).

Contrary to the interpretation of the Alden house being a long narrow structure that was later incorporated into the "1653" Alden house, I believe that there is a more logical interpretation of Robbins' findings: that the foundation uncovered by Robbins is merely part of a larger structure that he failed to uncover, a structure which was probably the same size and architectural design as the "1653" Alden house. I believe that the *first* house that John Alden built upon moving to Duxbury may have been an approximately 20 x 20 foot square post-in-ground (earthfast) structure similar in configuration to the house that Isaac Allerton built in Kingston (Figure 16b). This house was subsequently expanded to create a central chimney style house with a later, 10 foot by 38 ½ foot addition being placed on the south side. The final form would have been virtually identical to the "1653" house (Figure 18).

Evidence for the post holes of the original square house is most likely still present at the site, and Robbins himself may have discovered some of it when he reported finding a "stone pier" at the northwest corner of his foundation (Robbins 1969: 21). The "stone and brick footing" was found 3 feet northwest of the northwest corner of the house (Figure 17). This footing consisted of a flat stone 17 ½" long and 12" wide (Robbins 1969:21). The author has observed stones of similar size being placed at ground level beneath rotted corner posts at the William Clark site (c.1635-1676) in Plymouth. As the corner posts for the original approximately 20 foot square post-in-ground structure had rotted, the inhabitants placed large flat stones in their place to shore up the house.

Precedent exists in both the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies for an evolution and expansion of a small square house to a larger central chimney style structure like the "1653" house. In Massachusetts Bay, Abbott Lowell Cummings has noted that "a significant portion of surviving seventeenth 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) (Figure 19). J. Frederick Kelly illustrates a good example of this with the Hempstead house (single-room structure built 1643) in New London, Connecticut (Kelly 1963:11) (Figure 19). So as can be seen, the hypothesis that the original Alden house was a square single-room structure that was later expanded has precedent in New England, and is more logical than the creation of a unique, and cramped 38 x 10' structure.

When John and Priscilla Alden moved to Duxbury, sometime between the land division of 1627 and their petition to form a separate parish in 1632, the family consisted of up to

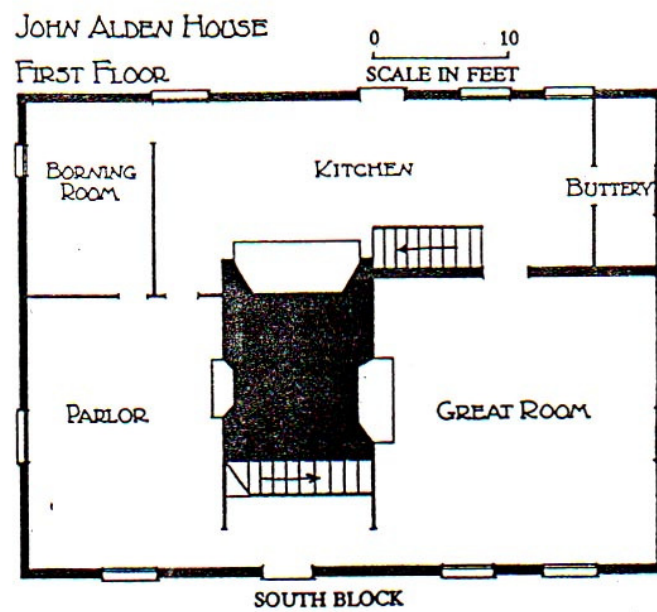
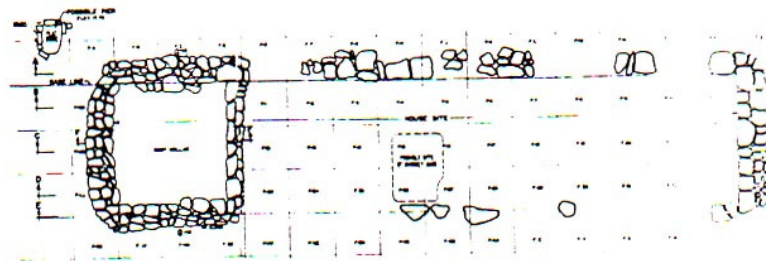
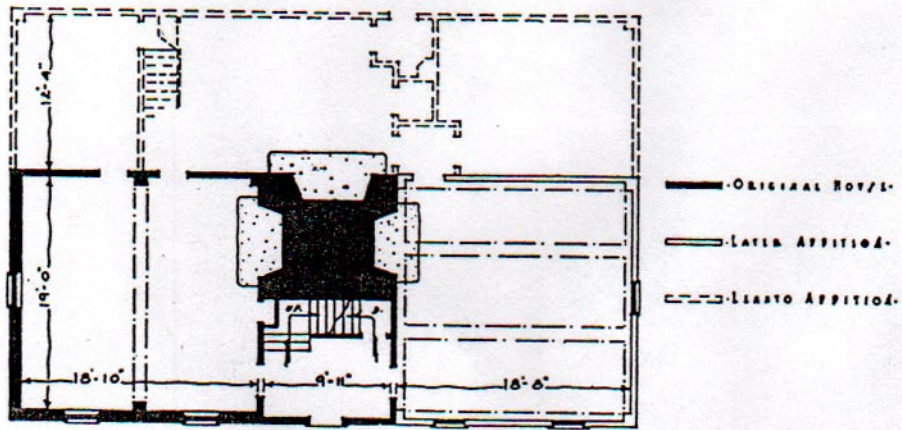
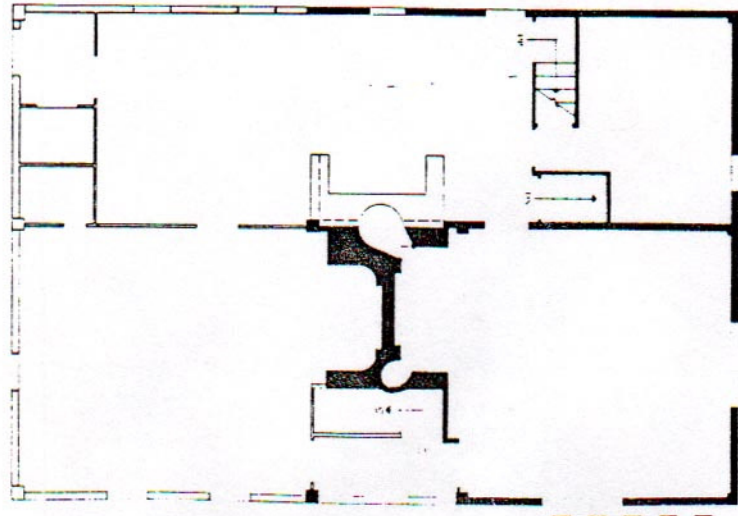


Figure 18. Footprint of “1627” Alden house compared with “1653” Alden House (Robbins 1969:45; Mulholland 1999).



SHEMPSTEAD HOUSE - NEW LONDON

Figure 19. Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut house growth examples

six persons by 1632, as can be seen below:

John	Born c. 1627
Elizabeth	Born c. 1622
Joseph	Born c. 1630
Jonathan	Born c. 1632
Ruth	Born c. 1634
Mary	Born c. 1636
Sarah	Born c. 1640
David	Born c. 1646
Rebecca	Born c. 1648

The house may have become too small by circa 1650 and it was then added to create a central chimney two story structure with the lean to (Robbins' 1627 house) being added at this time, or subsequent to this. The Aldens may have continued to live in this house until John's death in 1687 at which time the house either was allowed to deteriorate or was dismantled, possibly for the construction of the "1653" house. Alternately, following Priscilla's death sometime in the early 1680s, John, who may have been in poor health or infirmed, may have moved in with his son Captain John Alden.

The "1653" house was probably built not by John Alden Senior, but by *Captain John Alden*, possibly in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. If this house was built by Captain John Alden, then it may explain the presence of the halberd recovered from the cellar of this house, now in the possession of Pilgrim Hall museum in Plymouth. The confusion of which John Alden constructed the house can be explained by the fact that it probably was built by John Alden, but not by *the* John Alden. This was also found to be the case when two other sites of houses that were believed to have been built by "Pilgrims" were excavated and analyzed. These houses were the William Bradford site in Kingston, which was found to be the William Bradford III site, and the Robert Bartlett site in Plymouth, which was later identified as the Robert Bartlett II site.

Wentworth states that Captain John Alden was married in 1672 when he was approximately 40 years old, relatively late for the period (Wentworth 1980: 30). She also states that she believes that "There was a long period when Jonathan was the mainstay for the whole Alden family." (Wentworth 1980:29). This may be the reason why Captain John did not marry before 1672, he had too much responsibility to his family. After he married it would have been likely that he would have built himself a house on land given to him by his father. This house was probably the "1653" John Alden house. A construction date of circa 1672 fits well with the architectural studies that have been done on the house. Perhaps it was at this time that the earlier John Alden house site was abandoned with John and Priscilla moving in with the Captain John. The youngest child would have been 24 years old and had married in 1667 with only Mary left at home (Wentworth 1980:22). John and Priscilla, aged approximately 74 and possibly in her 70s, may have left their old house so that they could move in and be cared for by their son Captain Jonathan in his new house.

V. CONCLUSION

The John Alden site represents one of the only known homes occupied by one of the original Plymouth Settlers. As a result, the complete understanding of the architectural, temporal and artifactual evidence present at the site is very important to our understanding of Plymouth Colony itself. Unfortunately, past work at the site has tended to misrepresent the data recovered and has resulted in a muddled understanding of its complexities and potential. It is hoped that the reinterpretation presented here will spur a new desire to renew investigations.

I believe that the original house was a small square single room affair that was later enlarged to accommodate a growing family and then abandoned when Captain John built his house in 1672. This I believe is the most logical and fact based explanation of the architectural record of the John Alden site. The artifacts from the site, especially the clay tobacco pipes, do show, I believe, that the site was occupied during prior to 1650 but that the filling of the cellar occurred after 1650 and probably either circa 1672 or possibly closer to John's death in 1687.

Either upon the marriage of Captain John or after the death of John Alden, the house may have been dismantled and parts of it used by Captain John Alden in his house with most of the material, even the foundation stones of most of the main structure, being removed from the site. Possibly the lean-to addition was the last part of the house to be dismantled and as a result the foundation stones were left here because enough had already been taken. Robbins' excavation of the site focused on the stone foundations that he could identify by subsurface probing, and once the cellar hole had been found, he felt that he had an outline of the whole house. As excavations were concentrated immediately around the foundations, with the exception of the "stone pier" he found no evidence of structural remains to the north and was happy with a 38 x 10" structure.

Future excavations at the site could easily clear up the question of what size house did John Alden build at this site. Perhaps, the excavations would find exactly what Robbins' did and as a result, my hypothesis would be voided, but more likely than not, I believe that future excavations would uncover trash deposits dating to the first half of the seventeenth century outside the house and a much larger floor plan for a centrally placed chimney house.

The site has the potential to provide information regarding the layout of a typical seventeenth century farm and could provide a unique study in the evolution of a settler's house from initial settlement to close to the end of the century. I strongly encourage renewed archaeological fieldwork at the site.

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