

**REPORT ON THE
C-21/ ALLERTON/ PRENCE/ CUSHMAN SITE
KINGSTON, MASSACHUSETTS**

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INTRODUCTION

The Allerton/ Prence/ Cushman site, hereafter called the C-21 site, was fortuitously found by a combination of chance and happenstance. Mr. Orfeo M. Sgarzi had purchased a parcel of land in 1972 from Elizabeth and Raymond Brock where they decided to build their home. The four acre parcel was located on a small knoll overlooking the Jones River in Kingston, Massachusetts (**Figure 1**) (Note: all figures are presented at the end of the report in **Appendix A**). Topsoil was machine stripped in some areas of the lot in April of 1972 and preparations were made to build the Sgarzi's house. Sgarzi's architect Christopher Hussey, found evidence of Native and Colonial artifacts on the property in an area about 30' in diameter located about 40 feet west of a burned nineteenth century farmhouse (the Cushman farm) (Melville 1976: 333; Deetz 2000: 220). Hussey's maternal grandfather was Sidney Strickland, the excavator of the John Howland home site on Rocky Nook in the same town, and fortunately he had the knowledge and interest in archaeology to recognize potentially significant artifacts. He brought his finds to Plimoth Plantation and showed them to the assistant director, an archaeologist named James Deetz. Deetz recognized the colonial artifacts as dating to the seventeenth century and possibly representing a significant colonial site. That was the start of a few months spent racing bulldozers and years of only partial reporting about what was found at this very significant site.

Researchers eventually determined that what they had found was the remains of what was possibly one of the first houses built outside of the immediate bounds of Plymouth Plantation in what was then the frontier of the fledgling English colony, Kingston, Massachusetts. Research determined that the site was probably the lost homesite of Isaac Allerton, Plymouth Colony's merchant and representative to their backers in England. For a short while, it became the home of one of Plymouth Colony's most important governors, Thomas Prence, and finally was acquired by Allerton's son-in-law Thomas Cushman, a man who was destined to replace the Elder William Brewster as the Colony's spiritual guide.

Even in the middle of the nineteenth century, the location of Allerton's house was still orally recorded in the town of Kingston. Henry Cushman, in his "Memoir of Isaac Allerton", reported the following in 1854:

"The location of Mr. Allerton's house at "Rocky Nook," in Kingston, is still pointed out; and, from the geographical and topographical position of Jones River, and the country round about, it is obviously correct. The house was situated near the marsh, and not far from the celebrated "Elder's Spring," (so called from Elder Thomas Cushman, who lived near it,) about fifty rods from the highway, and in a northerly direction from the present dwelling house of Thomas Cushman, Esq. Mr. Allerton afterwards sold his house and land at Rocky Nook "vnto my well beloved sonne-in-law Thomas Cushman, of New Plymouth;" and it was occupied by the latter till the time of his death. For many years past there has been no house standing on the spot, but the location is often visited by antiquaries and descendants of the Puritans." (Cushman 1854: 266).

The following document is the author's modest attempt at pulling together as much of the known information on the site and its excavation into one preliminary final report. It is not the last word, it is not the first word, but hopefully it may lay the groundwork for more research on a site that is

immensely important to the history of archaeology as the first identified post-in-ground structure identified as such in New England.

Site Occupants: Isaac Allerton

The first known Colonial owner of the property was Mayflower passenger, Isaac Allerton. Allerton is believed to have been born in 1586, and he identified himself as “of London” in his betrothal to Mary in 1611 when living in Leiden. He married Mary Norris, who was born in 1587/ 88 in Newbury, Berkshire, England, on November 4, 1611 in Leyden, Holland. Allerton lived in the Pieterskerkhof, near St. Peter’s Church while in Leiden, becoming a citizen of the city in 1614. He worked as a tailor in Leiden and took on an apprentice in 1619. Mary and Isaac had three children who lived (Bartholomew, Remember, and Mary) while a fourth died and was buried at St.Pancras, Leiden on February 5, 1620, and a fifth was stillborn on December 5, 1620 in Plymouth Harbor after the colonists arrival. Bartholomew was born about 1613 and he subsequently moved back to England, marrying first Margaret then and Sarah Fairfax, dying in Bramfield, Suffolk in 1658. Remember was born in Leiden about 1615 and she married Moses Maverick sometime before May 6, 1635, dying at Marblehead between September 12, 1652, and October 22, 1656. Mary was born about 1617 in Leiden and married Thomas Cushman in Plymouth about 1636. She died on November 28, 1699, earning her the appellation of being the last survivor of those who arrived on Mayflower.

The Allerton also brought with them an servant named John Hooke Mary died two months later on February 25, 1621 during the first winter when a number of the other Plymouth colonists also died, including Allerton's servant. In a politically and financially shrewd move, Isaac was remarried to Fear Brewster, daughter of the Elder William Brewster, in 1626. Together they had Sarah and Isaac. Sarah was born about 1626 and appears to have died young before marrying. Isaac was born about 1630 and eventually graduated from Harvard in 1650 and died in Westmoreland County, Virginia in 1702.

Allerton served as assistant to the governor from 1621 to 1631 and again in 1634. He received 7 acres in the 1623 colony division of land and in the 1627 division of cattle he is listed with wife Fear and Children Bartholomew, Remember, Mary and Sarah. He was dismissed as an agent to the Plymouth government in 1631 for conducting some shady deals that had the potential of hurting the colony, subsequently arriving in Marbehead where he managed his fishing fleet.

He may have remained in Plymouth Colony as late as 1638 because he was rated for public use of corn in 1633, was an assistant to the governor in 1634, took 27 pounds of Plymouth's beaver to sell in 1634, is known to have land granted to him in 1635/ 36 and had land in Kingston specifically identified as belonging to him in 1637. This land was described as being in the hands of Thomas Prence by the next year though, indicating he may have permanently left the colony by 1638. An agreement was also recorded on November 24, 1633 that “Alice Grinder acknowledgeth herselfe to be the serv[ant] of Mr. Isaack Allerton for fiue yeares next ensuing, during w[hich] terme the said Isaack to maintaine the said Alice food [and] raymt competent for a servant, [and] at the end thereof the said Isaack to guie her two sute[s] of appell. This maid serv[ant] was left here by Mr Joh. Graunt, master of the James for Mr Allerton, in his absence.” (Records of the Colony of New Plymouth Volume 1: 20). Bradford recorded sometime before 1650 that “Mr. Allerton's wife died with the first, and his servant John Hooke. His son Bartle is married in England but I know not how many children he hath. His daughter Remember is

married at Salem and hath three or four children living. His daughter Mary is married here and hath four children. Himself married again with the daughter of Mr. Brewster and hath one son living by her, but she is long since dead. And he is married again and hath left this place long ago.” (Johnson 2006: 432).

He remarried for a third time to Joanna Swinnerton, widow of Job Swinnerton who was admitted to Salem in 1637, between 1634 and 1644, possibly at Marblehead, Massachusetts. He was deposed at Boston on September, 26. 1639 and identified himself as being of New Plymouth and aged about 53 years. Isaac and Joanna removed to New Haven, Connecticut by 1646, because in this year he asked his former associates, the Undertakers in Plymouth, to sell his lands, goods and cattle to clear all his debts in that colony. His house and land in Plymouth on the south side of the road was specifically identified to be used to pay the 10 pound debt to the London Merchants in 1645 (Records of the Colony of New Plymouth Volume 1: 130).

He remained in New Haven for the rest of his life, continuing to act as a merchant, making trading ventures to New Amsterdam and possibly the West Indies. He built a large house, reportedly with four porches and numerous fireplaces, on two acres of land near the creek at what would become the northwest corner of Union Street, between Cherry Street on the north, and Fair Street on the south. He died on February 12, 1659 in New Haven, Connecticut and is believed to have been buried at Center Church on the Green in New Haven. As an example of his station in the community, after his death his widow sheltered Edward Whaley and William Goffe, the judges who sentenced Charles I to be beheaded. The two were being pursued by the agents for Charles II in order to return them to England for trial in 1661.

Site Occupants: Thomas Prence, Thomas Cushman and Mary Allerton Cushman

Thomas Cushman was the son of Robert Cushman, Plymouth's chief agent in London until his death in 1625. He was from Canterbury, co. Kent and lived with the Separatists in Leiden. He arrived in Plymouth with his son Thomas aboard the Fortune in November of 1621 carrying with him the patent for the New Plymouth Colony. Robert left 14 year old Thomas in the care of Governor William Bradford and returned to England in December 1621, never to return to the New World.

Thomas and his father each received 1 acre of land during the 1623 division. Robert's land was on the south side of Town Brook and measured 8 rods along the bay and 20 rods inland. Thomas' land was immediately north of Second Brook. Both acres were returned to the Colony in 1632 because they were never built on. During the 1627 cattle division, Thomas was in Lot 11, Governor Bradford's. He received a 20 acre lot during the 1627/8 land division. His lot was 20 rods broad by 160 rods long near the Ferry site in Duxbury, on the opposite side of the Jones River from Isaac Allerton's land in what is now Kingston. Allerton's land amounted to 160 acres (**Figure 2**). In 1633/ 34 Allerton turned his land in Kingston and his house in Plymouth over to the Colony to help pay the backer's in England. This sale was again acknowledged in 1645, when the Undertakers of Plymouth's debt, sold that land to their English backer's representative Edmond Freeman:

"MEMORAND also the said Willm Bradford Edward Winslow Thomas Prence Miles Standish John Alden and John Howland do also seuerally and respectively for themselues their heires Execute and

Administrate pmise and graunt by these prnts vnto the said Edmond ffreeman his heires and Assignes to pcure a sufficient euedence or deede vnder the hand and seale of the said **Mr Isaack Allerton for the further confirmeing and establishing the Estate of the foresd Mr Prences ffarme at Joanes Riuer and the foresd house in the Towne of Plimouth prized at Tenn pound£** And in the meane season to defend the title of the said p'misls wth their app'teices vnto the said Edmond ffreeman his heires and Assignes foreuer Or els in default of pcuring such said Evedence or deede from the said Isaack Allerton Then to giue the said Edmond ffreeman such further or other assurance as shalbe thought fijtt by Mr John Winthrope or any others according to law And the said Willm Bradford Edward Winslow Thomas Prence Miles Standish John Alden £ John Howland do enter into an assumpsit of one hundred and seauenteene pound£ vnto the said Edmond ffreeman his heires and Assignes for the pformance thereof wthin the space of twelue months next ensuing the date hereof And do also seflally further pmise to seale and delifl pticuler deeds of the pticuler pcells of land£ before acknowledged to be bargained £ sold when they shalbe therevnto required but at the pper cost£ and charges of the said Edmond ffreeman his heires or Assignes. And shall also cause their wiues respectiuey to acknowledg the sd sales seflally." (Records of the Colony of New Plymouth Vol. 1, 1645: 130).

The 1628 grants stipulated that the land needed to be built on within four years or it would revert to the colony, making it probable that Allerton's house was built between 1628 and 1632. At some point, Allerton was renting the farm to Thomas Prence (governor of the colony in 1634, 1638, and 1657-1672). Prence was recorded as living at this farm at least from 1634-1636 when Bridget Fuller was granted the meadow land in front of her house to the homestead of Thomas Prence. It is believed that her house was within 2-3 lots, maybe 1000', of the Allerton grant. Thomas Cushman married Mary Allerton in 1636, and the couple is believed to have lived in Plymouth on what is now North Street. They sold this house to William Lettice in 1641/ 42 (house, garden plot, 7 acres wherein Andrew Hallet lately lived) which Cushman had probably bought after 1637 (the year when Hallett came to the colony). The couple may have then moved north onto Cushman's parcel of land on the north side of the Jones River in what is now Duxbury.

Thomas Prence sold the Allerton farm in 1645 to John Beachamp (another of the backer's representatives):

"MEMORAND the same day That Mr Thomas Prence doth acknowledg That for & in consideracon of the sum of one hundred fourty £ fiue pound£ allowed him in payment to Mr John Beachamp vpon the said account Hath freely and absolutely bargained and sold vnto m' Edmond ffreeman All that his house and garden place and barne in Plymouth wth the doores locks glasse and all the shelues in each roome as now they are & tenn acres of vpland in the woods and about fiue acres at the second brooke eleauen acres or there about by John Barnes land & **One ffarme at Joanes Riuer wth the house doores locks glasse shelues as now they are wainscot table board two bedsteads wth all the outhouseing and fence wth the additions of vpland adjoyneing and six acres of meddow at the great meddow** wth all and euery their app'tences and all his Right title and interest of and into the said p'miss and euery pt and pcell thereof wth their appurtefices To haue and to hold the said house £ garden place barne tenn acres of land & in the wood & eleauen acres or there about by John Barnes land fiue acres or thereabouts at the second brook one ffarme at Joanes Riuer wth the houses outhouses fences and additions of land together wth the six acres of meddow at the great meddow and all the

aforesaid p'misses w* all and euery their appurtenances Tnto the said Edmond ffrccman his heires and Assignes foreuer to the onely pper use and behoofe of him the said Edmond ffreeman his heires and assignes foreuer." (Records of the Colony of New Plymouth Vol. 1, 1645: 130).

The land was sold by Freeman to William Paddy and Thomas Willet in 1648:

"MEMORANDUM the third of ffebruary i648 that Mr Edmond ffreeman seni of the towne of Sandwidg in the Coliny of Newplymouth in New England in america gen doth acknowlidg that for and in Conclideration of the full Sum of threescore and fifteene pound sterling to him alredy payed by Mr Thomas Willit and Mr William Paddy of the towne of plymouth in the Coliny aforsaid marchants hath ffreely and absolutly barganed and sould an house and land at Joaneses Riuer somtimes apertaineing vnto Mr Isaack Allerton being bounded with the lands of mrs ffuller on the one side and with the lands of Clement Briggs and Christopher winter on the other side the nether end buting vpon Joaneses Riuer aforsaid and so extending it selfe in length vp into the woods with all the out houses or housing ffence or ffencing and meadow land whether marsh or vpland with all the aditions and Enlargments of land formerly or laterly aded or graunted therunto of any kind further of or nearer hand and all the aforsd p'miss with all and euery thair apurtenances in as full maner in euery Respect as the house and land aforsaid was made ouer and confermed vnto the said Mr Edmond freeman to haue and to hold vnto the Id Mr Thomas willit and Mr William paddy to them and thair heaires £ assignes for euer vnto the onely p'per vse and behoofe of them the sd Mr Thomas Willite and Mr William paddy to them and their heaires £ assignes for euer." (Records of the Colony of New Plymouth Vol. 1, 1645: 133).

Thomas Cushman purchased the property from William Paddy and Thomas Willet on October 20, 1653:

" Memorand : That Captaine Thomas Willett of the Towne of Plymouth . . . and M' William Paddy of the Towne of Boston . . . marchant Doe both acknowlidg that for and in consideration of the summe of seaventy and five pounds to them in hand paid by M' Thomas Cushman of the Towne of Plymouth in the Jurisdiction of Plymouth aforsaid yeoman wherwith they Doe acknowledge themselves satisfied , . . Doe bargaine sell enfeofe and confeirme from them the said capt: Willett and William Paddy and their heires to him the said Thomas Cushman and his heires and assignes forever All that their house and land lying and being Scittuate att Joaneses River in the Towneshipp of Plymouth aforsaid which they the said capt : Willett and William Paddy bought of M" Edmond ff reeman of Sandwidge as appears in the court records ; which was formerly the house and land of M" Thomas Prence somtimes of Plymouth aforsaid; and Originally was the house and land of M"" Isaak AUerton ; being bounded with the lands of Mrs ffuller on the one side and of Clement Briggs and Christopher Winter on the other side ; the nether end abutting upon the river aforsaid and soe extending itselpe in the length up into the woods with all the meddow land either mersh or upland adioyneing and belonging therunto with all the outhouses barnes stables fences and all other appurtenances belonging therunto with all the additions and enlargements either of vpland or meddow land nearer hand or further of att any time added graunted or any way appertaining unto the said house and land with all the said capt : Willett and William Paddy their right title and enterest of and into the said p"mises or any pte or pcell therof." (Records of the Colony of New Plymouth Volume 1 1653: 56)

When the 6 lots were granted to Allerton, the lots measured 20 rods side (320' wide) so 6 lots would be 1920' wide along the water and the length of each was 160 rods, 2560' (1/2 mile) inland. Between 1648

and 1650 each "Ancient Lot" was allowed an addition of the same breadth and 1/4 of a mile in length (80 rods) which made an addition of 0 acres to each lot, so by 1653, the amount of land that Cushman purchased was 180 acres.

In 1686, the dimensions of Elder Cushman's 6 lots were as follows: Samuel Fuller on South Side and Joseph Howland on North side, by an old ditch at the foot and by a stake and a heap of stones at the head, being 12 score pole from foot to head and from said ditch at the foot or skirt of the square ranging 6 score pole to the North and to a White oak marked on four sides thence turning and running 12 score (240) pole to a pine tree marked on 4 sides then running 6 score (120) pole to a heap of stones and stake mentioned

North side: 120 pole 1980'
South Side: 120 pole
East Side: 240 pole 3960'
West Side: 240 pole
7840800 square feet 180 acres

Elder Thomas Cushman's will and probate are presented in **Appendix B**. When Elder Cushman died in 1690 he left the following land to his children:

To Thomas Cushman his son 2 lots 20 acres (with additions) each lying on the south side of Joseph Bradford and the 20 acre lot on East Side Jones River by the Bridge
To Isaac Cushman his son 1 lot (20 acres) North of Samuel Fuller Land
To Elkanath Cushman his son 1 lot (20 acre) adjoining Isaac Cushman
To Eleazer Cushman his son the rest of his lands (2 lots) also his dwelling house

In the immediate area of his house on the Jones river he left 80 acres of upland and meadow which he divided among his sons. In Middleboro, Massachusetts, he left land at Namasket Pond and land which he called part of the 16 shilling purchase also in Middleboro. There was also an addendum to his will which stated that he had left out 100 acres of land in Plymouth on Colchester Brooke which he left to be divided among his sons. His total estate was valued at 49 pounds and 19 shillings with the highest valued item being neat cattell valued at 13 pounds. Of the 72 probates on file in Plymouth for the years of 1684 to 1695, only 26 had estates valued less than Cushman's. Almost all of the items in his inventory appear to be commonly occurring ones in inventories of the period with only his library of books appearing out of place. It was valued at 4 pounds and it appears that he valued it so highly that he listed within his will as to be distributed to his sons. The size of his inventory indicates that in all likelihood, he had a small house, possibly only one or two rooms.

Site Occupants: Post Thomas and Mary Cushman (1691-1972)

Dell Upton conducted an extensive deed search to trace the land after the Elder's death. He found that the property with the house fell to Eleazer who sold this house lot to Joseph Mitchell in 1717/18 along with 28 acres of land adjacent to it and 6 acres of marsh in another location. The bounds at this time ran from the head of Elder Spring, running west about 30 rods to a stone set in the ground at the range of Elkanah Cushman's land, running along his land 12 rods to a red oak marked with stones then southeast about 48 rods to a marked pine tree at the corner of Jacob Mitchell's land running by his land

to a take and stones at John Gray's bound, this being its eastern corner bound, then compassing a strip or meadow between the meadows of John Gray and Job Cushman, and finally running up Elder Spring Creek to the beginning included were the "housing and fence upon said Ind and meadow" (Deed E. Cushman to Mitchell, Plymouth County Deeds 3/17/1717-18 V. 14, p.6)

The parcel then was transferred as follows:

- 1721 to Elisha Bradford (Deed of Mitchell to Bradford (2/20/1720-21, Deeds V. 15, p.135)
- 1728 to Seth Chipman (Deed Bradford to Chipman (4/3/1728 Deeds V. 25, p. 22).
- 1730/31 to Abiah Wadsworth in (Deed Chipman to Wadsworth (1/27/1730-31) Deeds V.26, P. 59)
- 1739 to Ebenezer Cobb (Deed Wadsworth to Cobb (4/17/1739) Deeds V. 32, P. 203)
- 1802 to Seth Cobb (Will of Ebenezer Cobb 1801, probate case No. 4500 Old Series, Will probated 12/12/1801; Division made 4/24/1802)
- 1821 to Margaret Cobb, his widow (Will of Seth Cobb, probate case No. 4610 Old Series, Division of Dower 2/6/1837) and Oliver Cobb, his son
- 1837 Henry Cobb
- 1882 daughter Mary Elizabeth inherited the land (Will of Henry Cobb 1882, probate Case No. 283, New Series)
- 1910 she exchanged it with her brother John W. Cobb (Deed of Elizabeth Cobb to J. W. Cobb (4/11/1910) Deeds V. 1048, P. 524)
- 1919 who left it to his wife Mary Emma (J.W. Cobb to M.E. Cobb (4/11/1910) Deeds V. 1048, p. 525) (Will of John W. Cobb 1919, Probate Case No. 27517 New Series)
- 1935 to Marian C. Dries (Deed of Mary Cobb to M.C, Dries (11/2/1935) Deeds V. 1698, P.178)
- 1935-1961 the title was changed to the names of both Marian C. Dries and Elizabeth A. Brock
- 1961 it was changed to just Elizabeth Brock (Deed of M.C. Dries and E.A. Brock to E.A. Brock (11/8/1961) Deeds V. 2895, P.134)
- 1968 changed to Elizabeth Brock and Raymond J. Brock (Deeds E.A. Brock to E.A. And R.J. Brock (11/3/1968) Deeds V. 3483, P.396)
- 1972 Mr. and Mrs. Sgarzi bought it (Deed of E.A. And R.J. Brock to O.H. And G.B. Sgarzi (4/3/1972) Deeds V. 3764, P.204)

The Cushman house was probably removed by Thomas's son Eleazer ca. 1691 when Mary Cushman moved to the family house in Plymouth.

DEETZ EXCAVATIONS

Deetz began excavations in late April of 1972 with the establishment of a grid of five foot squares, a total of 30 squares, across the 30 foot area where Hussey had found the artifacts (Deetz 2000: 223) (**Figure 3**). The plan was to excavate each square by hand using a trowel or sharp-edged shovel with any recovered artifacts being placed in paper bag labeled with the appropriate location information (Deetz 2000: 224). The intersection of each square was augured to determine the depth of the topsoil, which was found to generally be 9-12" in depth. Augering identified rocks in the north central portion of the grid and two to three foot deep dark soil deposits in the western area (Deetz 2000:223). The initial test pit was a five foot square located in the deep soil area and soon a seventeenth century seal and baluster topped spoon was discovered (**Figure 4**). Excavation began as intended with the careful excavation of each five foot square, but pressure from the contractors to complete the work so that the

house construction could start, soon resulted in a compromised methodology where the topsoil was quickly hand stripped by the archaeologists and then sifted by local middle school students (Deetz 2000: 225). Ultimately, the Sgarzi's decided that the site was too important to destroy with their house, and subsequently had it moved 20' to north to avoid the site (Deetz 2000:228).

FEATURES

Deetz's 1972 excavations identified at least 28 features (**Figures 5 and 6**), some of which appear to have been given a feature number but were subsequently determined to be unworthy of further comment (**Table 1**). Two sections of trench from possible fencelines, four house corner post holes, two

Table 1. Features from the C-21 site

Feature	Interpretation	Date
1	North Footing Trench/ Slot fenceline	Post 1675/ Second Occupation
2	Cellarhole	Post 1675/ Second Occupation
3	Palisade Trench/ Deep Fence Trench	Pre 1675/ First Occupation
4	Slot fenceline	Pre 1675/ First Occupation
5	Hearth	Pre 1675/ First Occupation
6	North Footing Trench/ Slot fenceline	Post 1675/ Second Occupation
7	North Yard Pit	Prehistoric?
8	North Yard Pit	Prehistoric?
9	Unknown	Unknown
10	Woodchuck Run	
11	North Yard Pit	Prehistoric?
12	Pit	Prehistoric
13	Small Depression in Cellar	Post 1675/ Second Occupation
14	Small Depression in Cellar	Post 1675/ Second Occupation
15	Small Depression in Cellar	Post 1675/ Second Occupation
16	Small Depression in Cellar	Post 1675/ Second Occupation
17	Small Depression in Cellar	Post 1675/ Second Occupation
18	Unknown	Unknown
19	Unknown	Unknown
20	Unknown	Unknown
21	Unknown	Unknown
22	Post Hole	Pre 1675/ First Occupation

23	Post Hole	Pre 1675/ First Occupation
24	Corner Post	Pre 1675/ First Occupation
25	Corner Post	Pre 1675/ First Occupation
26	Post Hole	Pre 1675/ First Occupation
27	Corner Post	Pre 1675/ First Occupation
28	E-shaped footing	Pre 1675/ First Occupation

possible shed or lean to post molds, another small post mold, a cobble hearth, and an E-shaped series of sill/ joist stain, were all associated with the first occupation which is believed to have begun as early as the late 1620s and was associated with the Allerton, Prence, and the early Cushman occupation. The cellarhole and a fenceline slot-trench were associated with the second occupation by the Cushmans. Several pit anomalies in the north yard and one anomaly in the west yard are believed to be prehistoric in origin. The occurrence of ceramic and tobacco pipes in th features are presented in **Appendix C**.

Prehistoric Features (Features 7, 8, 11 and 12)

Four features are identified as possibly being of Native origin. Most were located to the north of the main excavation area and one was located in the west yard (**Figure 7**). The North yard features appear to be shallow basins and th west yard feature appears to be a pit. It was reported that one cremation burial was found during the excavation and pieces of cremated human cranium are present in the Plimoth Plantation collection.

Colonial Features

The colonial features appear to represent two subsequent houses that were constructed on the property. The first is believed to have been built by Isaac Allerton ca. 1630 and was occupied until at least 1675. This house is represented by the following features:

- four principle postholes at the corners of the house (F. 24, 25, 27, and 28)
- two to three secondary postholes for a leanto or shed on the south side of the house (F.22, 23, and 26)
- a possible palisade or large animal fenceline (F. 3)
- a lighter slot trench fenceline (F.4)
- a cobble hearth (along the east wall of the house between F.24 and F.27)
- an E-shaped soil stain that was identified as possible evidence of sills and joists resting on the soil surface (associated with F.28)

The original post in ground house may have been removed from the site after 1675 based on the occurrence of North Devon Gravel-Tempered pottery from F.3 and a new house either with wooden sills resting on the ground or with a light fieldstone foundation was constructed. Alternately, once Thomas Cushman acquired the property in 1653, he may have removed the original house and built a larger one for his large family. Feature 3, the trench, may have been filled in later. No foundation trenches of evidence of sill lines were identified and the house is conservatively estimated to have measured at least 20 x 20', although it may have been much larger. This second house was occupied

until the 1690s, possibly until Mary Allerton (the last surviving First Comer, daughter of Isaac Allerton, and wife of Elder Thomas Cushman) died in 1699. This occupation is represented by the following features:

- a large cellar hole (F.2)
- several pits in the cellar hole including a large one that may be a sauce pit (F.20)
- a lighter slot trench fenceline (F. 1/6)

Cellar Hole (Features 2, 13-17, 20)

Stripping revealed that a layer of stones encountered just below the surface (**Figure 8**) turned out to be the walls and fill of a 11 to 12 foot square cellar hole. The cellar hole was initially cross-trenched to establish its walls and then subsequently quickly excavated over the course of a day or so (Deetz 2000: 225). Excavation of the cellar hole resulted in the recovery of a ca. 1690 wine bottle at the bottom of it, indicating that it was filled after this time. In the bottom of the cellar hole several features were numbered and drawn but not described (**Figure 8**). These may be just depressions in the floor or they may be in house storage pits. Feature 20 was a rather large basin-shaped depression in the floor. The cellar may have been accessed by a bulkhead located on at the northeast corner (**Figure 8**).

North and South Fencelines (Feature 1/16)

Parallel to the cellar hole on the north and south sides and spaced 16 feet apart were two dark linear stains with blurred edges, indicating that they had been filled at an appreciable time in the past. These were initially interpreted as the trenches that held footings for foundation stones for the house associated with the cellar hole (Deetz 2000: 226). The northern stain was followed to the west by means of trenches excavated across and perpendicular to it at 3 foot intervals. This trench was found to continue for some distance to the west where it was eventually lost under at the road (Elder Spring Lane) (Deetz 2000:227) (**Figures 9 and 10**). It was determined that this trench was not, in fact, a foundation trench, but was more probably associated with a fence line that ran parallel to the cellar hole. No record appears of the excavation or recording of the southern stain, and it is possible that it either also was a fence line, or that it disappeared soon after the initial discovery.

Ditch Line (Palisade?) Feature 3

Excavation of the dark, deep soil stain in the western half of the stripped area, the area that yielded the seal and baluster topped spoon, found that the initial five foot square had intersected a dark soil stain that ran perpendicular to the grid (Deetz 2000:227). Excavation of this stain revealed a Y-shaped trench that, in his 2000 book *The Times of Their Lives*, Deetz reported for the first time that “The faintest traces of the bases of large round posts could be seen, making it obvious that it had at one time held a substantial palisade” (Deetz 2000:227). No photographs or drawings of these stains survive. The same technique that was used to trace the northern fence line stain, was used to trace this possible palisade trench, except in this case cross-sections were excavated every five feet instead of every three feet (Deetz 2000:227). Deetz reported that at several locations along the trench accumulations of refuse were encountered, possibly indicating the locations of buildings that had been close to the possible palisade line (Deetz 2000: 227). At a point between 300 and 330 feet to the southwest of its starting point, it was found to end abruptly (Melville 1976: 334; Deetz 2000: 227) (**Figure 10 and 11**). Deetz reported that charcoal and evidence of fire were encountered at this point, possibly indicating that a structure that had stood at this location had burned (Deetz 2000:227). A bulldozer was then employed

to strip the topsoil to the east of the line to determine if a corner had been reached, but no evidence of a continuation of the fence line was found (Deetz 2000:227). It is possible that a gate was located at this spot and that the fence continued to the south or even further to the east than Deetz had scraped. It is unknown how far to the east he investigated or if he had stripped any other direction. When the artifacts were analyzed, no concentrations of ceramic were found anywhere along the trench other than near the house.

While Deetz interpreted this feature as a defensive, palisade line, it is much more probable that this was a fenceline that separated the yard south of the house from the western yard. It is possible that animals were kept in the western yard, and this substantial fence was needed to keep swine from burrowing under the fence and into the gardens that would have been located on the south side of the house, or to keep cattle and sheep from pushing their way through a less substantial fence. The fact that this trench was one sided makes it a useless defensive structure and the assumption that the fenceline was started but not finished really does not make any sense. Also, the location of the house against the fenceline with no further traces of the fence to the north, also is defensively weak (as you could easily throw a flaming torch over the fence and light the adjacent house on fire if you really were bent on attacking. It is doubtful that any additional structures were located along the fenceline and the lack of any notes, photographs, or even artifacts from any of the supposed structures makes their existence suspect. It is possible that Feature 4, another possible trench on the east side of the house, represents the northern side of a fenced in farm yard with the house forming the northwest corner of the yard (**Figure 12**).

Hearth (Feature 5)

Cellar hole excavation also resulted in the identification of a stone hearth floor that had been barely cut by the southeast corner of the cellar hole (Deetz 2000:228) (**Figure 13**). The hearth was composed of heavily burned cobbles and was situated at a different angle than the cellar, indicating that it belonged to the earlier house. It was aligned with Feature 3, the deep trench, making it probable that it was associated with that feature.

Original House Corner Posts (Features 24, 25, 27, and 28)

The possibility that two houses were present at the same location was later confirmed when four large post molds measuring up to 10" in diameter and up to four feet below the present ground surface were identified aligned with the hearth and Feature 3 (**Figure 14**). No profile drawings or photographs or any evidence of their excavation appears in the records housed at Plimoth Plantation. These post holes outlined a house measuring 22 by 20 feet with a chimney located at the eastern gable end.

Leanto Shed Post Holes (Features 22, 23, and 26)

No information exists for the depth or even the exact size of these possible post holes. Their existence is only known due to the fact that they were recorded on the site plan (**Figure 14**). They may be interpreted as forming a low lean to on the south side of the house, possibly for chickens, firewood, or general storage. This possible leanto is depicted on the Glassie reconstruction (see below), so their existence and possible association with the original house must have been known in the 1970s.

Slot Trench Fenceline Eastern Yard (Feature 4)

Not a great deal is known about this feature. It is shown on the plan and is believed to have been

partially excavated (**Figure 15**). It may have extended from the east wall of the original house east into the east yard.

Sill Stains? (Feature 28)

An E-shaped soil stain that was identified as possible evidence of sills and joists resting on the soil surface at the northwest corner of the original house (**Figure 14**). The possible joist stains run east to west and are spaced 3' apart. A posthole appears to be located at the intersection of the north and west sills. For these stains to have survived, the original wood may have been buried either purposefully or accidentally when the later house was erected.

Rock Concentration (Feature 35)

While no notes exist regarding what this feature was, one photograph is in the Plimoth Plantation files showing it (**Figure 16**). The feature appears as a concentration of stones at the topsoil/ subsoil transition. Because of the high feature number, it is assumed that this feature was found close to the end of the season at the site. It may lie along the Feature 3 trench to the south of the house. Visible in the picture is a line laid out with string that may define the Feature 3 trench area. It is unknown what features 29-34 were but it can be assumed that the excavators did not think that they, or Feature 35, were of any significance.

ARTIFACTS

The artifacts recovered from the C-21 site are curated in two locations- Plimoth Plantation and the Kingston Public Library. The Kingston Public Library collection is the result of an agreement between the property owner and the Plantation where the owner kept a small collection of artifacts for display purposes in their basement. When the house changed hands in 2005, the artifacts from the house collection were donated to the library.

Analysis of both collections was done by the author. All the artifacts at Plimoth Plantation except possibly for a box with rusted iron pieces, mostly nails, were paper cataloged in the 1990s. The artifacts from the library were cataloged and a final report on their archaeological collections was written for the library.

A total of 121 artifacts are present in the library collection including both Native and Colonial pieces. A total of 2689 pieces were cataloged from the Plimoth Plantation collection. Additional artifacts (chiefly iron nails) are believed to still remain at the Plantation to be cataloged.

Prehistoric Artifacts

Long before anyone in Europe dreamed of sailing across the Atlantic Ocean, ancestors of today's Wampanoag people lived at the same site where the colonists lived. Evidence at the site points to a history of occupation or at least use, spanning as much as 8,000 years. Granted that there is not a great deal of evidence that can be dated positively to 8,000 years ago at the site, but there is one spear point style that has a date range from 6-8000 years ago. Essentially that window of time means that the specific spear point style was a type that has been found at other sites that date to same time within that time range. There were also two other spear points that date to 7500-6500 years ago (**Figure 17**). This

gives us the general idea that sometime between 8000-6000 years ago people visited the site at least once and were there long enough to have left some of their spear points behind.

The second occupation at the site, which left traces, was some time around 5000 to 2000 years ago. Within this broad expanse of time, eight appear points were left at the site when the occupants left. By this time, people in Mexico were beginning to grow one of the plants which eventually would nuke their way up here to become a very important food crop to the natives and later the English, maize. The final lump of time for which we have evidence of Native people at the site is from 1600 to 400 years ago. From the size of the points found at the site, these people were probably using the bow and arrow. The material for two of the arrowheads found at the site were probably highly valued by their owners as it was made out of a type of chert that is only found in New York State. The other is from a type of stone only found in the Reading area of Pennsylvania. Levanna points, a Late Woodland to Contact Period style, were the most common type (**Figure 17**).

Looking at the distributions of lithic chipping debris and artifacts, four areas of concentration can be noted. The furthest west is located within and adjacent to Feature 12/ 12a and extends up to 10 feet around the feature. The nature of this feature is not known at this time but it obviously is of Native origin. Three quartz CD, 1 biface frag, two quartzite CD, two rhyolite CD, one Braintree Slate CD, and one Black chert CD were found around feature 12 and 1 Rhyolite Cd and one quartz Squibnocket Triangle were found within the feature. Possibly dating it to 5-3500 years ago.

The second concentration is located to the North of the main house site from the 0 north line at East 12-15 to N14. Within this area are three features which may be of native origin (7, 8, 11). one biface was found within feature 11. Nine quartz CD, one Saugus Jasper CD, one levanna, one stark and one biface fragment were found around the features.

The third concentration is obviously of a disturbed nature since it is located within the cellar hole. One Atlantic, one Levanna, one Wayland point, one small stemmed, and two orient Fishtail points were recovered here, but no chipping debris. These points may be occasional finds by the colonial inhabitants of the site and may not be located where they originally were.

The final concentration is located to the immediate northwest of the cellar hole within the north fenceline of the later house. In this concentration were found two rhyolite CD, one Levanna, two biface frags, one quartzite CD, and one Saugus Jasper CD.

The rest of the lithic material was found in the following scattered locations: one Saugus jasper CD in square S2 E2; one Jack's Reef Pentagonal, one Stark, one white chert within the palisade trench; one Jack's Reef notch point, one volcanic CD located to the southwest of the cellar; one quartz CD and one Neville point to the south of the cellar. All of this other material found is within 15 feet of the cellar hole so tray be related to the other concentrations there.

Two other lithic artifacts are of note- a piece of argillite with a hole in it (which may be historic) and one half of a gorget made of soapstone (**Figure 17**). The gorget probably date from the Late Archaic Period (6,000-3, 000 BP) and had incised decoration on it.

The distributions for the Native pottery fragments parallels the lithic distributions to same extent. There are two major concentrations containing over 15 fragments. These are in the area and within Feature 12 and to the northwest of the cellar hole. In the first concentration there were 22 fragments of shell tempered pottery and in the second there were 22. The third concentration of the pottery fragments was to the north of the east, west base line where seven fragments were recovered. The fourth concentration was in the cellar hole where 11 shell tempered and 2 gravel tempered fragments were recovered. The final concentration was to the south and east of the cellar near feature 4 where three shell tempered and 1 gravel tempered fragment was found. Other fragments were recovered in feature 6, which may be rodent created, in the palisade trench and to the west of the trench where two shell tempered fragments were found. Gravel and shell tempered fragments occur together and it is not known if there is any temporal difference in their use at the site.

Native occupation at this site appears to have been sporadic between approximately 8,000 years ago and 3000 years ago. After this time, and especially in the Middle to Late Woodland Periods, the area appears to have been used more heavily. This is the period of greatest overlap in the dates of occurrence for projectile point styles. The Middle to Late woodland is also represented by 92 shell tempered pottery fragments and 5 gravel tempered fragments. There are also at least four native features (7, 8, 11, 12) It is not known what any of these were used for since there are no profiles to show their shapes. There is also the possibility that there was a native burial represented at the site. May 1 1996, Dr. Stephen Pendery of the National Parks Service verified that there was at least one, possibly more Late Archaic cremation burials from the site in the area of features 7, 8, and 11.

The catalog of the prehistoric artifacts is presented in **Appendix D**.

Ceramic Analysis

The excavations at the site yielded an excellent, although small, collection of ceramics used by the household, many of which are temporally diagnostic to that time. Others, such as the redwares, are somewhat less distinctive, but their forms reveal something about dietary practices at the site during this period. The distribution of ceramics and descriptions of the ceramic ware types are presented in **Appendix E and F**.

Looking at the ceramics, three points were focused on. The first is the source of the ceramic wares, the second is the variety and percentages of the wares in the assemblage, and finally the forms of the vessels recovered will be looked at to see how they correlate with the foodways practices of the period. The ceramics from the two occupations are somewhat difficult to separate because of the overlapping time periods for some of them, but they will be attempted to be discussed as separate occupations when possible. Six classes of ceramics were present in the assemblage and will be discussed in the following order: Borderware, Tin-glazed earthenware, Slipware, Stoneware, North Devon wares, and finally, the largest category, Redware. The redware category will be divided into first common redwares, second Italian marble wares, and finally unidentified redware.

As is the rule at any English site, redwares account for the largest percentage of the ceramic assemblage. At the Allerton/ Cushman site, of the 116 vessels, 79, or 68.1%, of those are of redware. While redware is somewhat of a stepchild in ceramic analysis, with not much new research occurring

since Laurie Watkins 1968 pioneer work on New England Potters and their Wares, they are one of the most unbiased ceramic types. Basically everyone used redware vessels for cooking, serving, storing and processing foods, and since they were so common and utilitarian they provide us with a unique look at the foodways at the site. At this site, a wide variety of vessel forms were recovered (**Table 2**).

Table 2. Identified ceramic vessels

Ware	Vessel	MNI	Count
North Devon Gravel Free	Baluster Jar	3	124
North Devon Gravel Tempered	Milk Pan	2	48
Sgraffito	Plate	2	14
	Chamber Pot	1	2
Italian Marbleized Slipware	Plate	1	6
Borderware	Pipkin	2	62
	Porringer	1	18
Midlands Purple	Butter Pot	1	13
Wrotham Slipware	Mug	1	2
Merida	Milkpan	2	79
Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	3	35
Tin-Glazed	Plate	4	18
	Charger	1	13
	Drug Pot	1	4
	Cup	1	13
	Unknown		1
Bellarmino	Jug	2	13
Raeren	Jug	5	30
Hohr	Mug	1	4
Westerwald	Mug	1	4
	Jug	5	32
Redware	Pot	9	119
	Milkpan	26	170
	Jug	4	70
	Jar	17	119
	Small Jar	2	10
	Cup	4	20

	Drinking Pot	5	15
	Holloware	1	1
	Small Holloware	2	2
	Dish	1	1
	Cooking Pot?	1	2
	Alembic?	1	2
	Pan	1	1
	Unknown	1	2
Slip Decorated Redware	Milk Pan	1	2
Whiteware	Unknown	1	2
Total		116	1073

Twenty-eight redware milk pans were present in the assemblage. All but one of these had a plain lead glaze on the interior ranging from a clear glaze to one which has a brown tint to it. One unique specimen was unglazed on the interior and exterior but was burnished on the interior, possibly as a way of making it somewhat water resistant in lieu of glazing. This type of redware has not been reported at any other site at this time and it may represent a vessel in use during the Allerton period at the site. It appears to be Merida ware, a ceramic produced in Portugal for centuries.

Twenty-five pots or storage jars were also present in the assemblage. These vessels which were used to store everything from butter and later to pickles had glaze colors which ranged from clear to a very dark brown almost a black. Many different rim shapes were in the assemblage as well, with some representing forms in use during different parts of the century. While all of the pots bear pronounced rims to enable a cloth cover to be tied over it, three of them bore a rather unique rim shape which was very pronounced. It appears that throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pot shapes and rims evolved from a form with a somewhat bulbous body shape and very pronounced rim sometime around the middle of the century to ones which became increasingly strait sided until in the eighteenth century they hardly had a rim on them at all. A pot of this style has been found at one other site, the Ezra Perry II homesite in Bourne, Massachusetts in a trench feature dated circa 1676.

Two redware cooking pots and one pipkin were recovered and these, along with the three pans or puddings recovered are the only evidence of the use of redware cooking vessels.

Sixteen vessels, 13.8% of the redware, were in the form of serving vessels. Two cups, seven possible drinking pots, three pitchers, two jugs, and two dishes make up this assemblage. Most of them are glazed on the interior as well as the exterior with colors ranging from clear glaze to dark brown to green. Only two of the possible drinking pots appear to be only glazed on the interior. One of the possible serving dishes was decorated with a slip decoration in a star pattern. It appears similar to other American made slip decorated plates in the collections and was probably made in the 1680s based on the fact that it appears that New England potters did not start using this decoration technique until that

time. None of the other vessels were decorated with any sort of slip, and only a few had raised ridges on the exterior.

While none of these redwares can be tightly dated, most appear to represent forms and shapes which were predominant in the middle to late seventeenth century, with a few probably coming from the Allerton period. It is not known where the redwares at the site came from as well. By the middle part of the century the redware kilns were well established in New England so it has been speculated that most of the redwares found on American sites originated from colonial kilns. The large pebble inclusions within some of the vessels at the site also appear to favor a local source for redwares. Perhaps with further study of the redwares from this site, some of the confusion can be settled, since Allerton surely used English made redwares at his homesite and the Cushmans probably used more locally made vessels.

One final redware type is an Italian slipware bowl or dish. This ceramic type dates from 1610 to 1660 and appears to have been widely used on Dutch sites and possibly by colonies such as Plymouth who had trade with the Dutch. It also may have come from England or even from a Venetian ship, at least one of which was known to have traded in New England waters (Wilcoxon 1987:77). Considering the Dutch tobacco pipes at the site there is a strong argument that since the Dutch were trading this ceramic type in the colonies it could have come from that source. The date range for these ceramics overlaps both periods, but Noel Hume states that they appear to be more common in the first half of the seventeenth century and this may place it in the Allerton household, but the argument could be made for it being an artifact of the Cushman's house.

Stonewares comprise the second largest category of ceramics from the site with sixteen vessels or 13.8% of the total ceramic assemblage. Five stoneware types are included within the sixteen vessels but all of them appear to be German gray stonewares with various glazes and decorative techniques. Stonewares produced in the Westerwald region of Germany represent seven vessels. . Five of these are in the form of jugs, two of which are decorated with only cobalt and three which are decorated with cobalt and manganese. The use of the manganese on the jugs and mugs from the Westerwald region is known to be a decorative technique which began around 1660 to 1665 (Noel Hume 1970, Hurst et al 1986: 222) so at least three of these jugs can be associated with the Cushman period based on glaze color alone. The other two which have cobalt decoration appear to be a very bulbous form which is 2 1/2' wide at the rim with a 6" diameter body. One of the jugs of this type is probably a middle to late century form as compared to examples found in New York (Wilcoxon 1987: 74). The other vessel appears very similar to an example from Belgium and is dated at 1600-1625 (Hurst et al 1986: 225). This vessel is obviously from the Allerton period.

The decorative techniques on the later century vessels are of two sorts, one of which has been described as the "snowshoe" pattern by Baker working on the collections at the Clarke and Lake site in Maine, and the other is a molded rosette. Both of these decorative techniques were employed on vessels at the Cushman and the Clarke and lake Company site which dates from 1654 to 1676. This technique appears to represent a middle century form possibly after the decorations on the vessels were stylistically freed from the panels which contained them in the earlier period. The other two Westerwald vessels are mugs of form well known to archaeologists dealing with late seventeenth to eighteenth century sites and date to the Cushman period.

The second type of stoneware is of a small bulbous variety made in the Frenchen region of Germany which is the same locale that the well known Bartmankrugs, A.K.A. Bellarmines, were also made. These vessels are in the form of bottles similar in shape to the Bellarmines except they do not bear the molded masks and medallions of the Bellarmines. In their place they are plain or one has a molded rose shape on it. One of the jugs is a very squat, possibly 8 inches high, brown glazed vessel which appears characteristic of the type which would have been produced in the Allerton period between 1600 and 1625 or possibly 1634. The jug with the molded rose appears to be a product of Frenchen that was copying the Rareren vessels of the last half of the 1500s. Both of these vessels date to the Allerton period.

Two of the well-known Bellarmine bottles were recovered. One bears rather well molded arms from an unidentified city and the other is fragmentary and cannot be identified at this time. The first one with the well molded arms probably dates from the Allerton period and the other may date to either period. . While all of the above described stonewares can be attributed to Germany, one of them is a product of the Normandy region in Northern France. Normandy stoneware is characterized by the dark purple brown fabric and is either glazed with a brown glaze or is unglazed. In England it commonly occurs from approximately 1550 through the 20th century. The earliest dated North American assemblage is from Samuel de Champlain's Habitation of 1604 at Sainte-Croix in Maine. The vessel form appears to be a storage jar and is unglazed. It is unknown what period of occupancy this vessel is from, but the vessel from the site appears to have fairly strait sides, which is similar to examples from Champlain's Habitation so it may date to the Allerton period. Vessels such as this have been noted as having been found in England throughout the centuries so this vessel may have come indirectly from France through England, or it may have .come from the French in Maine, since Allerton was involved in the Maine fur trade.

The second type of stoneware not attributable to Germany is a product of the Raeren region which is situated in Belgium very close to the German border. The form is a jug with a molded design below the rim and around the midsection. Jugs of this type are very rare and as far as is known at the present time have not been reported at another North American site. The decorative type which appears to be representative of this type was developed by Jan Emens in the 1570s and continued until the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Obviously from the early date of this rare vessel it is most likely that it dates to the Allerton period, especially since it is of such a highly valued ware and may have even been brought over with Allerton on the original crossing

The next class of ceramics to be looked at are the North Devon gravel tempered and gravel free wares. . Two North Devon gravel tempered milkpans comprise the vessels of this type of ware. These were produced in the Devon region of England from 1660-1700. Three Baluster jars make up the North Devon Gravel Free wares. These were used for storing liquids and date from c. 1600-1680 and closely resemble Baluster jar fragments recovered from the Ezra Perry II site in a 1673 context. The baluster jars from the Allerton/ Cushman site could date to either period.

Three varieties of English slipware are present at the site. The first is a Wrotham slipware mug. This ceramic was produced from 1612 to 1700 and is noted for its dark glaze and trailed slip design. This vessel may date from either occupation, but it appears stylistically similar to a mug recovered at the Ezra perry II site which was occupied from 1673-1723.

The second variety is Sgraffitto which occurs in the form of two plates and one pot. None of the fragments are really large enough to discern what the design was but one of the plates bears a curved linear and punctate design. This ceramic type was made in the Devon region of England from 1650 to 1710 and as a result would belong to the Cushman period.

The final form of English slipware is combed slipware in the form of two mugs. This ceramic type was first produced in 1670 and gained in popularity in the colonies before it was no longer produced in 1795. It was also produced in the Devon region of England and belongs to the Cushman period.

The next ceramic type is one of the least reported in New England. This is an English ware known as borderware. Borderware was produced in the border area of northeast Hampshire and west Surrey especially during the 16th and 17th centuries and ceased in the early 18th century (Pearce 191992: 1). The bodies of the borderwares are of a cream to off-white fabric with green, brown and yellow glazes being the most commonly occurring. One yellow glazed pipkin cooking pot of a style produced from 1600-1640 and one dark olive glazed pipkin of a form dating from 1650-1700 are present in the Allerton/ Cushman collection. While many of the sites in Plimoth Plantations collections contain this ware, the author was unable to find any identified pieces from other published North American sites. It is similar to some of the other European Utility wares of the period such as French Saintonge ware and Dutch utility wares, but the vessel forms are distinctly English. The yellow glazed vessel appears to date from the Allerton period while the olives glazed pipkin dates from the Cushman period. One porringer with an apple green glaze appears by the glaze color to be different from the English borderwares judging by the glaze color and may be a product of the Saintonge region in France. Buff bodied earthenware from France have been found at at least one other English site of the seventeenth century. That is the Cushnoc site in Augusta, Maine. This vessel probably dates from the Cushman occupation.

The final category of ceramics from the site are tin-glazed earthenwares. All except one appear to date from the Cushman period. There were three plates with various decorative techniques employed on them. Only four vessels have been definitely identified at this time. One is a Blue and white decorated plate which has a body form associated with English producers from the late seventeenth century. One charger was identified from the site with a blue dash design on the rim. This type of decorative technique was employed in the 1660s and onward in England. Finally one drug pot of a form dating from approximately 1660 and one ointment pot of a type dating from the first half of the seventeenth century decorated on the exterior with blue and white.

The ceramics which are the most likely to date from the Allerton period are as follows:

- 2 unglazed and burnished redware milkpans
- 1 Westerwald Jug
- 1 Raeren jug
- 2 Frenchen bottles
- 1 Baartmannkrug bottle
- 1 Normandy Stoneware
- 1 Tin-glazed ointment pot
- 1 Borderware pipkin

For a total of 10 vessels

The ceramics which could be from either period are:

- 78 assorted redware vessels
- 1 Wrotham slip decorated mug
- 3 Baluster Jars
- 1 Italian Marbleized ware platter
- 112 assorted Redware vessels

Which is a total of 83 vessels.

The ceramics which date to the Cushamn period are:

- 4 Westerwald jugs
- 2 Westerwald mugs
- 1 Bellarmine bottle
- 2 North Devon gravel tempered milk pans
- 2 Sgraffitto plates
- 1 Sgraffitto pot
- 2 Combed slipware mugs
- 1 Borderware pipkin
- 1 Saintonage Porringer
- 3 Tin-glazed Plates and Platters
- 1 Tin-glazed drug pot

For a total of 20 vessels.

To summarize the ceramics form the site before moving on to the status of the occupants at the house, the ceramic assemblage will be divided into three groupings those used for cooking, storage and serving. The ceramics used for cooking were of borderware and redware. There were four pipkins, three pan or puddings and two possible redware cooking pots. This grouping is the smallest of the three as would be expected since most of the cooking was done in cast iron pots and copper or brass kettles and in Thomas Cushman's inventory of 1691 he is noted as having brass, iron pots and kettles and other iron vessels listed which amounted to 4 pounds 7 shillings.

The storage grouping included 30 milkpans of redware and North Devon gravel tempered ware, 24 pots or storage jars, three North Devon gravel free baluster jars and six stoneware jugs or bottles. This is the largest group of vessels and they were mostly used for storing letting cream settle in, such as the milkpans, and for storing dairy and other liquid products.

The serving category is the second largest with a total of 40 vessels. Eight redware and stoneware jugs, six redware, tin-glazed and stoneware, and slipware mugs, 2 tin glazed and Sgraffitto plates, eight redware and stoneware jugs, two redware and tin-glazed serving dishes, seven redware possible drinking pots, two redware cups, two redware pitchers, one tin-glazed charger, one redware pot, and two tin glazed drug or ointment pots.

Tobacco Pipes

The tobacco pipes were the first ceramic assemblage looked at specifically as a way of investigating to what extent the Isaac Allerton occupation is represented at the site. This was done using pipe bowl

shapes and maker's marks to discern when they were in use and by using histogram comparisons with other sites of the stem bore sizes.

Five hundred and seventy eight clay pipe stem fragments were recovered during the excavations with the majority of them being of the 7/64" size. As can be seen from the histogram comparison with other sites dating from approximately 1630 to the end of the century, the percentage of the various size stems appears to support the hypothesis that the site was initially Isaac Allerton's and later was Thomas Cushman's. Of the 429 pipe bowl fragments recovered, seventy can be identified to a particular pipe bowl shape. Ten appear to be from small belly bowls dating from 1600 to 1640, 20 appear to be from medium sized belly bowls dating from 1650 to 1680, 27 appear to be from large belly bowls dating also from 1650 to 1680, and 13 are of the heeless funnel shaped variety dating from 1680 to 1710 (**Figure 18**).

The maker's marks also coordinate well with the date ranges for the shapes of the pipes from the site. Two heels from unknown shaped bowls bear a crowned Tudor Rose on their bases . This mark appears to be Dutch and dates from 1590 to 1670. Seven stems bear the marks of LLewellin Evans who was Bristol pipe maker from 1661 to 1689 and five bear routing around the stems which is similar to that found on the Evans pipes and is attributable to the Bristol makers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Five stems bear the marks of the Fleur-de-Lis which has been attributed to the Dutch and dating from approximately 1650 to the 1670s . There is one bowl which bears the initials EB on the base of the heel which probably belongs to Edward Bird who was a pipe maker in Holland before 1630 and who continued producing until 1665. Another Dutch mark from a heel is an eight pointed star stamped on the base and dates from 1620 to 1660. Several bowl heels bear marks which are not attributable to any specific maker at this time, all of which are on the base of the heels. They are the initials HK, the initials IS, who may be John Symonds who was making pipes at Bristol in 1651 or John Sinderling who also was making pipes in Bristol 1668-99, and the initials RB which may be Richard Berryman who was making pipes at Bristol from 1619-1652 or Robert Browning who made pipes in Bristol from 1669 until sometime before 1706. There is also a rather unique teardrop shaped heel on a bowl which has a shape which is datable from 1620 to 1660. This heel bears a shape which appears to be similar to Dutch examples from the first half of the seventeenth century. .

Two redware pipe bowl fragments were recovered also. One is a heel fragment which appears to be from a medium sized belly bowl and the other more remarkable fragment has an incised design on its side which identifies it as being a product of Virginia. Dr. Stephen Pendery who has done a great deal of work on redware pipes in New England, stated that the motif may be of the running deer motif .

One other pipe stem is present in the assemblage and even though it is not of clay it is worth noting here. This is a fragment of gray green steatite or soapstone, native made pipe stem. While this pipe may have been used by the Wampanoag inhabitants of the site prior to the 1616 to 1618 epidemic, there is also the strong possibility that it was used either by the Allerton or Cushman families. Soapstone pipes

are noted in at least one probate inventory of the period. This was in the 1643 inventory of William Kemp. William Wood, an observer of the colony in 1634, noted that: "From hence (the Narragansetts) they have their great stone pipes, which will hold a quarter of an ounce of tobacco, which they make with steel drills and other instruments.....they can imitate the English mold so accurately that were it not for the matter and color it were hard to distinguish them. They make them of black and green stone; they are much desired of our English tobacconists for their rarity, strength, handsomness, and coolness." (Wood 81). Stone pipes have also been recovered from other sites within the former Plymouth Colony such as the RM site in Plymouth and the Winslow site in Marshfield, Massachusetts. From this previous discussion of the pipes from the site, the dating of the site is confirmed, including the earlier Allerton period. It also touched upon the distances from which some of the artifacts used on the site came from. The Bristol and Holland pipes begin to illustrate some of the European sources for the material while the Virginian redware pipes and the native made soapstone illustrate the colonial which was occurring.

Six hundred and sixty-three seventy-eight clay pipe fragments with measurable bores were recovered during the 1972 excavations at C-21, the Allerton/ Cushman site. The majority of the pipe stems were of the 7/64" size.

C-21 Pipe Bore Diameters

	Stem and bowls
9/64"	60/ 9.1%
8/64"	206/ 31.1%
8/64" Redware	2/ .3%
7/64"	314/ 47.4%
6/64"	78/ 11.8%
5/64"	1/ .2%.
4/64"	2/ .3%
Total	663/ 100.2%

As can be seen from the histogram comparison with other sites dating from approximately 1630 to the end of the century (**Figure 19**), the percentage of the various size stems appears to support the hypothesis that the site was initially Isaac Allerton's and later was Thomas Cushman's. Of the 429 pipe bowl fragments recovered, 67 can be dated by either their bowl shape or maker's mark.

C-21 Dates for Clay Pipes Recovered Based on Pipe Bowl Style and Marks

1590-1645 star on heel (1620-1650 bowl shape)	1
1590-1670 Crowned rose (1620-1650 small belly bowl)	2
1610-1640 teardrop heel.....	1
1619-1652 RB (1620-1650 small belly bowl).....	1
1620-1650 small belly bowl.....	7
1630-1650 EB	1
1630-1660 Dutch baroque	3
1640-1660 medium belly (RC).....	1
1650-1670	1
1650-1670 heelless funnel (Pipes B).	2

1650-1680 medium belly bowl (Pipes I, J).....	8
1650-1685 Tudor rose	1
1657-1700 WK	1
1660-1680 medium belly bowl.....	2
1660-1690 heelless funnel.....	7
1661-1681 LE	8
1680-1710 large belly bowl.....	5
1680-1710 heel less funnel.....	9
1680-1710 spurred heel.....	5
1690-1710 spurred heel.....	1
Total	66

C-21 Dates for Pipe Bowl Styles Based on Oswald and Duco
Oswald Pipes (Figure number and example number)

39-5	1640-1660	1
45-6	1650-1670	1
41-26	1650-1670	2
39-6	1660-1680	2 (Pipes L)
39-x	1660-1680	4 (Pipes K)
40-x	1660-1680	2
42-x	1660-1690	6
41-25	1660-1690	1
39-7	1680-1710	1 (Pipes Q)
39-8	1680-1710	7
39-9	1680-1710	6 (Pipes M)
41-26	1680-1710	9
42-19	1690-1710	1 (Pipes N)
Dutch after Duco		
23	1620-1650	10
26	1650-1675	1 (Pipes P)
54	1650-1680	1

Summary

1620-1650	10/ 18.2%
1640-1675	5/ 9.1%
1660-1690	16/ 29.1%
1680-1710	24/ 43.6%
	55/ 100%

The summary of the identifiable pipe bowl styles, based on Oswald for the English pipes and Duco for the Dutch, indicates two periods of occupation at the site with a possible period of abandonment between them. The first period was between 1620 and 1650 while the second period began sometime after 1650, and possibly after 1660 and lasted until the end of the century. This fits in well with the interpretation of the site as initially being Allerton's for a short period of time in the 1630s, suffering

from a period of abandonment in the 1640s and part of the 1650s, and subsequently becoming the homesite of the Cushman's until the end of the century.

The maker's marks also coordinate well with the date ranges for the shapes of the pipes from the site. One large belly bowl style pipe bowl bears a single raised dot on its right side, probably part of a five-dot pattern called the Tudor Rose or Mulberry (Pipes S). This decorative technique was initially used by the Dutch in the 1630s, but eventually spread to England in the 1650s. It is believed to have been produced to the end of the century, at least after 1685 (Faulkner 172). Two heels from small belly bowls bear a crowned Tudor Rose on their bases (Pipes G). This mark appears to be Dutch and dates from 1590 to 1670. Eight stems or bowls bear the marks of LLewellin Evans who was Bristol pipe maker from 1661 to 1689 (Pipes D and O). Three stems are in the Dutch Baroque style dating from approximately 1630 to the 1660s (Pipes E). There is one bowl which bears the initials EB on the base of the heel which probably belongs to Edward Bird who was a pipe maker in Holland before 1630 and who continued producing until 1665. Another Dutch mark from a heel is an eight pointed star stamped on the base of a small belly bowl pipe and dates from 1620 to 1660 (Pipes A). Another maker's mark, this time on the back of the bowl, is the initials WK for William Kinton, a Bristol pipe maker from 1657-1700 (Pipes C). The initials RB (Pipes H), which may be Richard Berryman who was making pipes at Bristol from 1619-1652 were found on the base of a small belly bowl pipe. The initials RC within a circle of dots was found on the base of a medium sized belly bowl stylistically datable by Oswald to 1640-1660 (Pipes F). RC may be Richard Cable, c. 1643, who was a Bristol pipe maker. There is also an interesting teardrop shaped heel on a bowl that has a shape that is datable from 1620 to 1650. Oswald illustrates a Bristol pipe with a similar shaped heel that he dates from 1651-1714 (Oswald 33). Noel Hume illustrates a similar shaped heel on a bowl on which he places a date of 1610-1640 (Pipes R).

Two redware pipe bowl fragments were recovered also. One is a heel fragment that appears to be from a small to medium sized belly bowl and the other more remarkable fragment has an incised design on its side that identifies it as being a product of Virginia. Dr. Stephen Pendery, who has done a great deal of work on redware pipes in New England, stated that the motif might be of the running deer motif.

One other pipe stem is present in the assemblage and even though it is not of clay it is worth noting here. This is a fragment of gray green steatite or soapstone, native made pipe stem. While the Wampanoag inhabitants of the site prior to the 1616 to 1618 epidemic may have used this pipe, there is also the strong possibility that it was used either by the Allerton or Cushman families. Soapstone pipes are noted in at least one probate inventory of the period. This was in the 1643 inventory of William Kemp. William Wood, an observer of the colony in 1634, noted that: "From hence (the Narragansett) they have their great stone pipes, which will hold a quarter of an ounce of tobacco, which they make with steel drills and other instruments.....they can imitate the English mold so accurately that were it not for the matter and color it were hard to distinguish them. They make them of black and green stone; they are much desired of our English tobacconists for their rarity, strength, handsomness, and coolness." (Wood 81). Stone pipes have also been recovered from other sites within the former Plymouth Colony such as the RM site in Plymouth and the Winslow site in Marshfield, Massachusetts.

The distribution of the pipe pieces with measurable stem bore diameters (**Table 3**) shows that in most features and locations 8/64" and 7/64" stem bores predominated, indicating a consistent

Table 3. Distribution of pipe fragments with measurable stem bores

	9/64"	8/64"	7/64"	6/64"	5/64"
Cellar	15/ 19.7%	48/ 24.8%	68/ 24.4%	9/ 20.5%	3/ 50%
Feature 3	1/ 1.3%	12/ 6.2%	10/ 3.6%	4/ 9.1%	0
North Fenceline	0	16/ 8.3%	22/ 7.9%	5/ 11.4%	1/ 6.7%
North yard	2/ 2.6%	14/ 7.3%	20/ 7.2%	2/ 4.5%	0
South Yard	7/ 9.2%	23/ 11.9%	38/ 13.6%	5/ 11.4%	1/6.7%
West Yard	5/ 6.5%	16/ 8.3%	20/ 7.2%	2/ 4.5%	0
Feature 4	0	2/ 1%	4/ 1.4%	0	0
Feature 11	0	0	1/ .4%	0	0
General	45/ 59.2%	62/ 32.1%	90/ 32.2%	1/ 2.2%	1/ 6.7%
Total	76	193	279	44	6

contemporaneous use of all of these features. It also supports the probability that the cellar hole was filled with material from the yard area. The pipe bores of each size are discussed further below.

5/64"

Total: 6

Total for cellar: 3

Total for palisade: 0

Total for feature 1: 1

Total for south yard: 1

Total for north yard: 0

Toatal for West yard: 0

Total EU 2 General: 1

The distribution of 5/64" stems reveals a scattered distribution with no concentrations. Fragments were recovered from Feature 1, from the north yard and from the south yard (N=1 per area). Three fragments were recovered from the cellarhole as well. The presence of the fragments in the cellarhole indicate that occupation at the site may have continued into the early 18th century. The low percentage of occurrence of stems of this size indicates that late 17th to early eighteenth century occupation of the site was limited and that the site was likely abandoned around this time. This meshes well with the historical interpretation which hypothesizes that the structure was abandoned and perhaps torn down after the death of Mary Chilton in 1699. It is also interesting to note that one stem to bowl juncture fragment was recovered that bore a raised dot, possibly a Tudor Rose, motif, placing this bowl in the 1650-1690 range, thus indicating that 5/64" stem bores were used earlier than conventionally believed.

6/64"

Total: 44

Total for cellar: 9

Total for palisade: 4

Total for south yard: 5

Total for north yard: 2

Total for West yard: 2

Total for feature 1: 1

Total for North footing trench: 4

Total EU 2 General: 1

Stems of the 6/64" stem bore were distributed primarily in the south yard, the Feature 3 trench and the north fence line. The majority of the fragments were recovered from the cellarhole (N=9). This is the second lowest stem bore occurrence for the cellar hole, possibly indicating a more limited degree of occupation during the 1680-1710 period, again supporting the hypothesis that occupation likely stopped after Mary Cushman's 1699 death. Three 6/64" Dutch Baroque decorated stems were recovered, having been found in Feature 3 trench (1) and from the Feature 1 fenceline (N=1).

7/64"

Total 279

Total for cellar: 68

Total for south yard: 38

Total for north yard: 20

Total for West yard: 20

Total for North footing trench: 12

Total for palisade: 10

Total for Feature 1: 10

Total for Feature 4: 4

Total for feature 11: 1

Total EU 2 General: 90

Stems with 7/64" bore were the most common type recovered (N=279). 7/64" stem were distributed predominantly in the cellar hole (N=68), and the south (N=38), north (N=20) and west yards (N=20). Lesser amounts were recovered from Feature 3 trench (N=10), Feature 1 fenceline (N=10), Feature 4 pit (N=4) and Feature 11 pit (N=1). The distribution of fragments indicates activity and trash disposal around the Cushman house and helps to establish the date of use for the Feature 3 trench as being in the later 17th century, possibly at the time of King Philip's War in 1675-1676. The presence of so many 7/64" stems also helps establish that the period from 1650-1680 was likely the major occupation focus of this site with occupation beginning slightly before this and continuing for a slight amount of time after.

The majority of the 7/64" bore datable bores were recovered from the cellar hole. This included two 1660-1690 bowls (Oswald Type 42), two 1680-1690 bowls (Oswald Type 40), 1 redware stem fragment (late 17th century), and 4 bowls bearing the mark of Llewellyn Evans (1661-1688).

Unfortunately, many of the bowls had no more locational data recorded other than EU2 General Excavation, meaning they came from anywhere on the site. These included one 1660-1690 bowl (Oswald Type 42), 1 redware stem fragment, one LE bowl fragment, 1660-1680 Dutch pipe bowl fragment, and one bowl fragment with a star incised on the heel. One 1660-1690 bowl was recovered from Feature 3 trench (Oswald Type 42). One 1660-1690 bowl was recovered from Feature 4 along with one 1620-1650 bowl bearing a crowned rose on the heel. The north yard yielded one 1660-1690

bowl (Oswald Type 42) and one 1619-1652 bowl (Oswald Type 57). The north fenceline yielded one 1660-1690 bowl (Oswald Type 42) and one 1680-1690 bowl (Oswald Type 40). The south yard yielded one 1680-1690 bowl (Oswald Type 40) and bowl with RC stamped in a circle on the heel. The west yard yielded one stem with Fleur-de-lis stamped on it, a Dutch motif dating to the middle to late seventeenth century, and one redware pipe stem fragment.

7/64" Pipe Bowls

General

- 1 Oswald 42 1660-1690
- 1 redware late 17th century
- 1 LE 1661-1688
- 1 Duco 26 1660-1680
- 1 star on heel late 17th century

Cellar

- 2 Oswald 42 1660-1690
- 2 Oswald 40 1680-1690
- 1 redware
- 4 LE 1661-1688

Feature 3

- 1 Oswald 42 1660-1690

Feature 4

- 1 Oswald 42 1660-1690
- 1 crowned rose 1620-1650

North fenceline

- 1 Oswald 42 1660-1690
- 1 Oswald 40 1680-1690

North yard

- 1 Oswald 42 1660-1690
- 1 Oswald 57 1619-1652

South yard

- 1 Oswald 40 1680-1690
- RC in Circle late 17th century

West yard

- 1 redware late 17th century
- 1 fleur-de-lis mid to late 17th century

8/64"

- Total: 193
- Total for cellar: 48
- Total for south yard: 23
- Total for West yard: 16
- Total for north yard: 14
- Total for palisade: 12
- Total for north footing trench: 11
- Total Feature 1: 5

Total feature 4: 2

Total EU 2 General: 62

Pipe stems with 8/64" stem bores were the second most common type recovered. The majority were recovered from the cellar hole (N=48) with approximately half as many being recovered from the south yard (N=23). The west (N=16), north yards (N=14), Feature 3 trench (N=12) and north fenceline (N=16) all yielded more than 10 stem fragments. Feature 4 was the only other specific location that yielded any 8/64" fragments (N=2). The distribution of 8/64" fragments indicates activity foci in the west and south yards with a lesser focus on the other areas. As these are generally an earlier stem size (1620-1650) this may indicate that some of Isaac Allerton's activities may have taken place in one of these areas as well. Unfortunately, 8/64" stem do not appear to only date to the 1620-1650 period, as a number of bowls that stylistically date to later decades had 8/64" bores. The majority of these were recovered from the cellar hole where one redware stem, four LE stamped bowls (1661-1688), six 1660-1680 bowls (Oswald Type 40), one 1650-1670 funnel shaped bowl and fleur-de-lis stamped stem were recovered. Feature 3 trench also yielded one 1660-1680 bowl (Oswald Type 40), while the south yard yielded one 1620-1714 bowl, possibly the earliest type recovered, indicating that some Allerton era deposits were located here.

Cellar

1 redware

4 LE

1 fleur-de-lis

6 Oswald 40 1660-1680

1 funnel shaped 1650-1670

general

2 Oswald 40

1 funnel

Feature 3

1 Oswald 40

South yard

1 1620-1714 bowl

9/64"

Total: 76

Total for cellar: 15

Total for south yard: 7

Total for West yard: 5

Total for north yard: 2

Total for pallisade: 1

Total EU 2 General: 45

Like the 8/64" stems, the greatest concentration of 9/64" stems, outside of the cellarhole (N=15), was in the south yard (N=7). This again may help to identify the activity areas associated with the Isaac Allerton occupation at the site. The west yard yielded a few fragments (N=5), as did the north yard (N=2) and the Feature 3 trench (N=1). There were fewer fragments of this size stem than most other

sizes, except 5 and 6/64", possibly indicating that early 17th century occupation is better represented than very late 17th century or early 18th century. One pipe bearing an EB in a circle on its heel was recovered from somewhere in the EU2 area. This bowl was manufactured by Edward Bird from 1630-1665. One other 9/64" bowl was from a 1660-1690 heeless funnel pipe (Oswald Type 41) recovered from the EU2 area.

Overall the distribution of pipe stems and bowls indicates that cellar contains a mixture of stems from different periods, supporting the idea that it was filled with yard scrapings, but Feature 3, the feature interpreted by Deetz as being an uncompleted palisade trench dating to the Allerton occupation, appears more probably to have been filled in the later 17th century, possibly at the same time that the north fenceline was erected. Another interesting finding is that the south yard appears to have been a focus area of refuse disposal throughout the occupation. It is more common on colonial sites to see an abundance of refuse in the north yard.

From this previous discussion of the pipes from the site, the dating of the site is confirmed, including the earlier Allerton period. It also touched upon the distances from which some of the artifacts used on the site came from. The Bristol and Holland pipes begin to illustrate some of the European sources for the material while the Virginian redware pipes and the native made soapstone illustrate the colonial that was occurring.

The evidence for the three to four year occupation of the site by Isaac Allerton and his family appears limited to four post holes, a hearth, stains from the sills of the house, a few pipe bowls and stems, and a few vessels which appear to have belonged to his family. Most of the material recovered from the site appears to belong to the Thomas and Mary Cushman family period which is sensible since they lived at the site nineteen times longer than the Allerton's did. Both Thomas and Mary were Mayflower passengers, although they were both fairly young when they crossed the Atlantic and Mary Cushman was actually the last Mayflower passenger to die. They spent their childhood and early life in the Plimoth Plantation itself until their marriage around 1636. At this time they moved to Thomas' land on the North side of the Jones river. They remained at this site until 1653 when they moved to the south side of the river onto Mary father's former land.

Faunal Analysis

As can be seen in **Table 4**, faunal remains were concentrated in the cellar hole, probably representing a combination of yard scrapings and deposition of bones from the people removing

Table 4. Distribution of faunal remains

Species	Cellar	W. Yard	F. 11	E. Yard	N. Yard	F. 1	F. 3	F.4	F. 14	F. 6	F. 13
Cattle	5/ 43	2/6	1/5	0/3	0/5	0/4	0/10	0	0/2	0	0
Sheep	20/15	2/1	1/1	1/3	0/3	1/1	0	0	0	0	0
Pig	68/31	7/0	2/1	1/3	3/0	0/2	2/0	0	0	0	1/0
Deer	3/15	1/1	0/6	1/0	0/2	0	0/1	0	0	0	0
Chicken	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Duck	3	0	2	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
Goose	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Turkey	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Bird	24	0	4	3	0	1	0	5	0	0	0
Painted turtle	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Snapping turtle	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sturgeon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Eel	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cod	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fish	5	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	243	26	24	17	15	10	13	9	2	1	1

the house and possibly living nearby. The second highest concentration was in the west yard, where most of the refuse of all classes was concentrated, followed by Feature 11, a basin shaped feature in the north yard. Two possible Native features, Feature 4 and 6, contained no European domestic species, supporting the idea that they predate European occupation. In these features, avian remains were the only pieces found in Feature 4 and one piece of sturgeon scute was the only piece from Feature 6.

Swine accounted for the majority of the highest identifiable amount of faunal remains with 134 identifiable pieces coming from a minimum of 13 individuals (**Table 5**). The complete list of

Table 5. Faunal remains from the C-21 site

Species	NISP/ %	MNI/ %
Cattle	69	3
Sheep	54	4
Pig	134	13
Deer	31	2
Medium Mammal	176	
Large Mammal	42	
Chicken	2	1
Duck	9	1
Goose	9	2
Turkey	3	1
Bird	15	
Painted turtle	2	1
Snapping turtle	2	1
Sturgeon	1	1
Eel	1	1
Cod	1	1
Fish	8	
TOTALS	512	31

faunal remains is presented in **Appendix G**. A total of 13 individuals were identified. The age profile indicates that one was under 70 days old and probably represents a stillborn newborn piglet (**Appendix G**). The remaining individuals were split between those slaughtered close to the prime age of 18-20 months (n=6) and at an older age of over 26 months (n=6) with two of the later being much over 26 months. It appears that whoever was depositing the swine remains at the site, either the Cushmans or whoever removed the house and filled the cellar hole, was practicing some intensive swine husbandry. Swine are commonly slaughtered around 18 months when they have the most meat versus fat. As they get older, the produce more fat than meat. Whoever was raising these swine may have either been

maximizing the fat production for the production of lard, or they may have used the filling of the cellar hole as a time to dispose of remains from swine that were culled from the sounder of swine they were raising.

Cattle were the next most common species identified and the species that provided the most meat to the household. A total of 69 pieces representing three individuals were found. The ages, based on epiphyseal fusion and tooth eruption and wear, were under 1 ½ years, over at least 2 ¾ years, and over 4 years (**Appendix G**). They appear to represent a calf, an older individual, and one in its prime. This age distribution is consistent with raising them for dairy and meat purposes.

Sheep were also common with a total of 54 pieces from four individuals being identified. These animals were slaughtered at under six months, over 40 months, over 43 months, and over 58 months (**Appendix G**). This is consistent with a pattern of slaughter related to wool production versus meat production, where they would be slaughtered at a younger age. The very young individual represents a lamb, possibly eaten as a cull or a treat.

Surprisingly, deer were also common at the site. Some of the deer may represent remains left by native inhabitants, but it is just as probable that they were hunted by the occupants of the site. A minimum of two individuals were identified, one around a year and a half and the other between 6 and 8 years old. The presence of these deer remains is indicative of a thriving deer population in the area and the relative rural character of what was called North Plymouth in the 17th century.

The remaining species, except for the chicken remains, probably represent species caught locally by the Native and colonial inhabitants. They appear to have made up a smaller percentage of the diet than the three main domestic mammals.

The presence of abundant faunal remains in the cellar hole, some which showed evidence of rodent gnawing while others do not (**Table 6**). Indicates that the cellar was probably filled with

Table 6. Modification present on faunal remains from the C-21 site

Species	Chewing	Cutting	Chopping
Bos taurus	1		3
Ovis aries	6		7
Sus scrofa			2
Odocoileus	1	1	1
Totals	8	1	13

a combination of yard refuse from the topsoil and muck heaps, as well as fresh material, especially in the form of the swine remains, which did not bear any evidence of rodent gnawing.

The occurrence of elements from all parts of the body for the cattle, sheep, and deer remains (**Table 7**) indicates on site butchery and consumption. The the occurrence of only head, lower

Table 7. Body part representation for the main meat producing species at the C-21 site

Species	Head	Rib/ Vertebrae	Forlimb	Hindlimb	Lower limbs
---------	------	----------------	---------	----------	-------------

Bos taurus	16	2/8	5	3	23
Sus scrofa	13			1	5
Ovis/ Capra	3	6/ 2	2	3	15
Odocoileus	9	1/ 3	2	4	9

limb and the low occurrence of hindlimb elements for the swine remains indicates on site butchery but consumption elsewhere. This may have occurred if the meat was being smoked fore preservation or the torsos without the heads and lower limbs, were being sold. Again, it points towards intensive husbandry of the swine remains versus the more typical husbandry represented by the other domestic species.

Forty pieces of calcined medium and large mammal bone were also recovered. these are interpreted as being the result of periodic cleaning of the colonial hearths. Six pieces of marine bivalve shells were also found. The species present are quahog, oyster, surf clam, and soft shell clam. These species could have been collected from the Jones River for the oysters and in Plymouth Harbor for the remaining species.

Metal and Glass Analysis

Relatively few pieces of domestic refuse other than ceramics, pipes, and faunal remains were recovered (**Table 8**). The paucity of these types of artifacts probably indicates that the house was cleaned out and systematically removed versus having collapsed or being destroyed by fire. Items related to husbandry were limited to horse related items (horseshoes, bit, stirrup, and decorative harness tack) and a dung fork (**Figure 20**). Tools recovered consisted of a chisel, an auger bit and a sickle. The sickle was found in the upper portion of Feature 3 and must have been thrown away when the trench was filled (**Figure 20**). Sewing items were limited to a single pair of scissors and several pins. Along with sewing were a

Table 8. Metal and glass artifacts

Class	Artifact	Count
Husbandry		7
	Horseshoe	2
	Horse Bit	1
	Brass Harness Tack	2
	Stirrup	1
	Pitchfork	1
Tools		3
	Auger	1
	Chisel	1
	Wedge	1
	Sickle	1

Sewing		7
	Scissors	1
	Pins	6
Kitchen		68
	Brass Kettle Scrap	34
	Knife	7
	Latten Puritan Spoon	1
	Seal Top Spoon	1
	Silver Hexagonal Handle Spoon	1
	Iron Hearth Shovel	1
	Wine Bottle	11, 1 complete bottle
	Case Bottle	2
	Thin Bottle	4
	Cast Iron Kettle	4
	Cast Iron Trivet	1
Clothing		7
	Brass Buckle	2
	Clothing Eye	2
	Clothing Hook	3
Other		15
	Brass Scrap	1
	Silver Tack	1
	Unidentified iron	2
	Lead Bale Seal	1
	James I Farthing	1
	Lead Alloy Fragment	1
	Spilled Melted Lead	1
	Glass Bead	1
	Flint Debris	4
	Bifacial Gunflint	1
	Coal	1
Architectural		154

	Brick	6
	Flat Glass- Modern	95
	Flat Glass- Patinated	8
	Wire Nails	9
	Machine-Cut Nails	9
	Hand Wrought Nails	24
	Door Latch	1
	Iron Spike	2
Total		261

few clothing related items- iron hooks and eyes, probably for a coat, and a molded brass buckle for a belt (**Figure 22**).

Kitchen related items were more plentiful Several spoon fragments were found including a silver hexagonal shaped handle and a late 17th century Puritan spoon handle. A complete slipped in stalk spoon bearing traces of tin wash (dating it after 1650) was found adjacent to Feature 3 (**Figure 22**). The glassware found, a complete ca. 1690 wine bottle and fragments of a case bottle, another wine bottle, and a small bottle, would have also been used in the kitchen and on the table (**Figure 23**). An almost complete iron hearth shovel (**Figure 23**), a fragment of a trivet, and fragments of a cast iron kettle were also found.

Several iron knives and many brass kettle fragments were also found. These, along with the lead bale seal and the Venetian glass bead, hint at a possibility that Thomas Cushman was involved to some degree with trading with the Native people. Kettles were often cut up to make ornaments and arrow heads and knives, cloth, and beads were very popular trade items. At the Howland house site and the mouth of the Jones River, lots of evidence of possible trade was also found. It is known that Howland was an associate of Cushman's, so the two may have worked trade together.

Architectural items were, as always on colonial sites, very common. Of the many bricks found, only a few were saved. Also found were nails from various periods, a possible door latch, and pieces of modern and ancient window glass. It is believed that there probably are other architecturally related artifacts at Plimoth Plantation that have not been examined yet.

Other artifacts that do not fit into one of the above categories were a James I copper farthing in unworn condition, a few pieces flint debris and a bifacial gunflint, a lead alloy (pewter?) fragment, spilled melted lead, a piece of modern brass scrap, a silver tack, and a piece of coal.

Artifact Distribution

Refuse distribution was found to be heaviest to the west and north of the house with artifacts from the western yard crossmending with pieces from the cellar hole. This was interpreted possibly as the result

of the use of soil and refuse from the west yard as cellar fill when the site was abandoned. A series of distribution maps for various artifacts is presented in **Appendix F**. Overall, unless the recording methods used in the 1970s were in error, the distribution is consistent for most classes. Only the North

Devon Gravel Free ceramic distribution was anomalous, showing a concentration in the east yard as well as the west yard.

ARCHITECTURE

The original Allerton house is interpreted as possibly being constructed as an earthfast structure using a plank frame construction technique. It measured 20 x 22' with a possible lean to extension on the south side (**Figure 24**). This structure was replaced with another that was on a slightly different alignment. The second structure is believed to have been built after the Cushmans acquired the property in 1653. It measured at least 24 x 24' and no evidence of the hearth was found (**Figure 24**). 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) 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). and 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 seventeenth 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 seventeenth 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 manner identified during Lombard's excavations of the "Aptucxet Trading Post" in 1926-1927 (although it was not identified as such) (Lombard 1953). This indicates that this house was originally constructed as a vertical plank house which had plaster added to the interior at a later date.

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 either with the inclusion of wattle and daub walls or through the infilling of a space between inner and outer walls with brick nogging or any sort of grasses such as has been theorized for other early structures such as the Ezra Perry II house (aka Aptucxet Trading Post Museum) in Bourne (Lombard 1953). The interior of the vertical plank walls were whitewashed and the exterior was covered with horizontal clapboards, most probably of split oak. The roof is theorized to have been thatched with traces of that original thatch possibly having been identified in 2010 when the more modern siding on the exterior east wall was removed and the side was reshingled. The hearth is theorized to probably have had wattle and daubed walls on the south, west and north sides and the chimney hood would have been timber framed and wattle and daubed. The theory that the hearth and chimney were constructed in this way is based on the recovery of fragments of burned daub during the 2010 excavations and the lack of any daub on the main walls of the house. The south wall of the hearth would have acted as a windbreak for drafts entering the house from the door, which appears to have been located in relatively the same location that it is today.

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). 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).

Paul Chase, when he reviewed 17th century probates, found that in Plymouth Colony most houses through 1675, appear to have been of a single room design (Chase 1985: 60). Chase also noted that one-room houses appear to have been more common for individually with estates valued at or under 90 pounds, the amount which appears to mark the difference between the wealthy and the common people in seventeenth century Plymouth Colony (Chase 1985: 62).

In Massachusetts Bay, single bay cottages were common throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth (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 of the 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 in much of England, 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: 76). During the period 1600 to 1637, 40 cottages on Brigstock Little Park, Northhamshire measured 3 x 3.6 m (10 x 12') and cottages built on the waste at Urchfont, Wiltshire between 1606-1639 averaged 3 x 4.25 m (10 x 14') and the simple late 17th and 18th century cottages probably cost between £3-24 to build (Barnwell and Airs 2006: 76). (Barnwell and Airs 2006: 79).

People's concept of space was different in the past, and while we look at a house that measures 12' x 18' and say how small it is, the original family probably felt that it suited their needs for shelter and warmth. The fact that the house was small from the start and did not grow appreciably indicates that the people who built it were not wealthy but were probably middling farmers, a conclusion supported by the artifacts recovered from the Knoll House site excavation. Wealthier individuals would have probably chosen to build a standard central chimney hall and parlor house or to soon add on to the cottage to develop it into a larger, fairer house. It appears that the small pioneer home that was built by Isaac Allerton, continued to be lived in until the late 17th century when the Cushman's replaced it with what may have still been a small house, but one that had a cellar beneath it.

PLIMOTH PLANTATION RECONSTRUCTION

The story of the 1972 excavations at the Sgarzi lot was not over. Recognizing that he had something that had not been identified in Plymouth Colony before, a house built with its corner posts buried in the ground, Deetz then pursued what the original house would have looked like. Deetz's findings were confirmed by Fred W. Charles, a specialist in English architecture, who said that the form and construction technique was typical of dwellings used by Pilgrim contemporaries in the East Anglia and Gloucestershire areas (Melville 1976:334). Pilgrim carpenter Francis Eaton was from Bristol England, in the same area that Charles had identified as having a small cottage post-in-ground vernacular architecture tradition. At the same time, in 1972, deed research by Dell Upton determined that the land originally was owned by Pilgrim Isaac Allerton who was granted 6 lots in the area in 1627/ 28 with the requirement being that he build on it within four years or risk loosing it (Upton 1972).

Deetz considered it very probable that Isaac Allerton had the house built ca 1628-1632 and that his house was of a post-in-ground style, a style commonly found in southern states but up to this point had

not been found in New England. Deetz interpreted the Isaac Allerton house represented the first type of permanent housing used by pilgrims: a one room structure with a loft reached by a ladder, a form that later evolved into a common room plus sleeping chamber for parents (Melville 1976: 340). Deetz then collaborated with Dr. Henry Glassie of the University of Indiana, to recreate the house, first on paper and then as a full-scale reconstruction at Plimoth Plantation (Melville 1976:334) (**Figure 24**).

In 1973, Plimoth Plantation undertook building a reconstruction of the Allerton house (**Figure 24**). The construction at the Plantation was supervised by Eric Ekholm and the only measuring device used was the cubit tick, a standard measure varying between 18 and 22” (Melville 1976: 334-335). Red oak was used for the four corner posts, this being obtained from the Davison-Dennett sawmill on Brookdale Avenue in Kingston, and the ends were charred before being buried four feet in the ground (Melville 1976:335). Vertical studding between the posts was placed 1 cubit apart and wattle in the form of slender branches of alder, chokecherry and maple basket were woven together between the studs (Melville 1976: 335). The wattle was then covered with a mixture of clay, straw and dung and the entire exterior sheathed in cedar clapboards. One six foot high door was located at the front right corner, opening into a bay walled on one side by the right house wall and in the front by the chimney wall. The floor was covered with clay to a depth of six to eight inches and the hall was divided into two rooms with a loft area that could be completely shut off in the coldest weather (Melville 1976: 335). The Allerton house, reconstructed as the Billington House at Plimoth Plantation due to the available location within the reconstructed town, had a total floor area of 440 square feet, making it of a size that would comfortably fit within the Sgarzi's new garage (the Sgarzi's house had a floor area of 2000 square feet) (Melville 1976: 335). Roof of the original Allerton house was probably either thatched with reeds from the Jones River or covered with planks. The reconstructed Plimoth Plantation house was thatched with reeds from the Eel River by a thatcher from Donegal, Ireland (Melville 1976: 335).

While Deetz has reported the most basic information regarding his precedent setting 1972 excavations at the Allerton site, a full excavation report has not been attempted before the present study. What this report will attempt to do is to gather the information available in the form of photographs, the site plan, and the actual artifacts themselves, and weave them into a story that places the site and all of its findings within a local, regional and national context. It is hoped that by doing this, the most accurate report on this significant archaeological site can be generated.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The remaining uncataloged pieces from Plimoth Plantation's collections should be analyzed with the results being added to the present work. It is also recommended that properties immediately around the C-21 site be tested to determine the extent of the deposits associated with the house. This testing could take the form of Ground Penetrating Radar and field excavations. It is also recommended that the property owners in the neighborhood be notified and consulted to see if they have found anything potentially significant on their properties during the course of yard, construction, and garden work. The Kingston Historical Commission is encouraged to maintain a good, open dialog with the current owners of the site to insure that the site can be further preserved in place. The site itself remains intact in the south yard of the current house and appears to extend to the south and east of the original property. Archaeological investigations should be conducted in those areas to determine how intact those deposits may be.

CONCLUSIONS

The C-21 site is an important archaeological site for a number of reasons. It was professionally excavated and even though the collection suffers from a lack of field notes, the artifacts were labeled with locational information and an overall site plan was drawn and photographs were taken. As a result, it still maintains a high degree of integrity regarding its previously excavated data. It was the first New England site, and one of the earliest New World sites, to be identified as post-in-ground and the findings formed, and continue to form, the basis of the vernacular architecture program at Plimoth Plantation. It appears to be a potentially significant Native site with possible burials being present. Finally, it is just a really great archaeological site, nice early ceramics, nice early pipes, a clear archaeological signature, and a strong association with important historical figures in Plymouth Colony's history.

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