

ARCHEOLOGICAL  
COLLECTIONS MANAGEMENT  
AT  
MINUTE MAN  
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

MASSACHUSETTS

VOLUME 3

ACMP Series No. 4

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Editors

with contributions by

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North Atlantic Regional Office  
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U. S. Department of the Interior  
Boston, Massachusetts

1986

Collections represent a valuable resource only if they are properly documented, conserved, and organized in such a manner that their research value is maintained....To maintain their research value, both collections and their associated documentation must be accessible, and they must be protected from deterioration....Without a doubt, there is a crisis in curation (Marquardt et. al. 1982:409, 411).



## Editors' Foreword and Acknowledgements

This is the third volume of the report on the Archeological Collections Management Project for Minute Man National Historical Park in Concord, Massachusetts (hereafter referred to as the ACMP for MIMA). The size of the report dictated that it be printed in four separate volumes, and this one contains chapters on the collections from sites in the Virginia Road and Wayside areas of the Park.

The Tables of Contents for Volumes 1, 2 and 4 are included in this volume so that the reader may refer to the appropriate volume for the chapters on other sites' collections. Each chapter was written to be used independently, although an overall introduction to the project and a history of archeology at the Park are provided in Volume 1 (chapters 1 and 2). Volume 1 also includes a chapter (3) detailing the project's methodology, with an appended glossary of artifact definitions. These chapters should be consulted for general information about project goals, methods, and the final disposition of the collections and associated data.

This report is the culmination of three years of work inventorying and reanalyzing the archeological collections at MIMA. It follows three previous ACMPs for other Parks in the North Atlantic Region, but differs from them in that its scope was broadened to include further analysis of the collections and evaluation of site interpretations to serve as background study for the MIMA Archeological Project, which began fieldwork this summer. We hope that these volumes will serve that function, and that they will aid the Park in the management and interpretation of their archeological sites and collections. We hope also that independent researchers will find the data to be in useful form for their own studies.

There are many people we would like to thank for their work on this project and for helping to produce this volume. The collections discussed in the following chapters were inventoried in 1985 by Jeannine Disviscour and Doreen Crowe. The chapters were written by Darcie MacMahon and the Map Construction text was written by Steve Butler and George Stillson in 1985-86. Steve and George also drafted the figures.

During the first two years, this project was managed by Alan Synenki. In 1985, Alan became the manager of the MIMA Archeological Project, and Linda Towle assumed the responsibility for the ACMP. The ACMP procedures followed for MIMA had been developed under Alan's direction for the ACMPs at other Parks, and all of the Virginia Road and Wayside area sites were inventoried under Alan's direction.

The word processing of these chapters was done by Barbara Kadlec and Antonetta LoCoco, and Debbie Chapman typed the original drafts. Debbie DiRusso also provided secretarial assistance. Without their hard work, this volume would not have been completed. George Stillson has worked diligently to prepare all the artwork in preparation for printing, and has given generously of his time and energy in helping us to finalize this volume.

This project could not have succeeded without the support of the staff at Minute Man National Historical Park. Curator Lynne Leopold-Sharp has been extremely helpful to us, continually going above and beyond the call of duty and exceeding all of our hopes for cooperation and assistance. We also give our thanks to Superintendent Robert Nash, who over the years has provided us with his support and constructive recommendations.

Finally, we extend our gratitude to Frank McManamon, former Chief of the Division of Cultural Resources for the North Atlantic Region of the National Park Service. Frank was instrumental in initiating this project, and has been a major force in seeing it to its conclusion. As an archeologist, he also understood the requirements of dealing with archeological data, particularly data which has been previously excavated, and provided us with the managerial support necessary for the completion of this project.

Linda A. Towle and Darcie A. MacMahon  
Charlestown, Massachusetts  
26 August, 1986

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Linda A. Towle

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Linda A. Towle

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Linda A. Towle

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Chapter 23: MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS  
Darcie A. MacMahon

## Part IV: The Virginia Road Area

The Virginia Road area is located approximately midway between the town centers of Concord and Lexington, Massachusetts, along the North Great Road, or Route 2A (Figures IV.1 & IV.2). The land rises in gentle hills from the Bedford Levels to the north, varying in elevation from 150 to 230 feet above sea level (Figure IV.3). Most of this area is currently within the Lincoln town boundaries, though prior to Lincoln's incorporation in 1754 it was a part of Concord. Today the Concord town line falls just west of Elm Brook, placing the Job Brooks house in Concord.

Within MIMA boundaries, Virginia Road crosses Old Bedford Road, forming a loop which departs from Route 2A for a little over half a mile (Figure IV.1). In 1775, this loop was a part of the Battle Road, along which some of the first Revolutionary skirmishes took place. Several area residents played a role in the Revolution, including Capt. William Smith, Sgt. Samuel Hartwell, and his father Ephraim Hartwell. The homes of two of these individuals, the Smith house and the Ephraim Hartwell Tavern, have been restored by the Park. As the site name implies, Ephraim's home was also a fully operating inn at the time of the Revolution. For these reasons, the Virginia Road area is a major focus of Park interpretation.

Archeological investigations have been conducted at several Virginia Road area sites. This section will report on research at two of the sites: the Ephraim Hartwell Tavern, and the Job Brooks house (Table IV.1). Archeological projects have also taken place at the Samuel Hartwell site and the Smith house. These excavations were undertaken at fairly recent dates by NPS personnel. The resulting collections were handled according to ACMP standards, and therefore did not require treatment during the current ACMP. Further information about these projects is available in the final site reports (MacMahon 1985, Towle and Hsu 1984).

Of all Virginia Road area sites, the Hartwell Tavern has been the most extensively researched by archeologists. Five separate field seasons were conducted by three groups of researchers between 1972 and 1981. Primary findings

included four outbuildings, a road and possible pathway, and various patterns of artifact distribution. Little work was done at the Job Brooks site, but the foundations of a rear lean-to were uncovered. Unfortunately, there is a fair amount of missing field data and artifactual materials from these projects, hindering many forms of site analysis and interpretation. The ACMP has gathered all available information and, when possible, has attempted to reinterpret the archeological data.

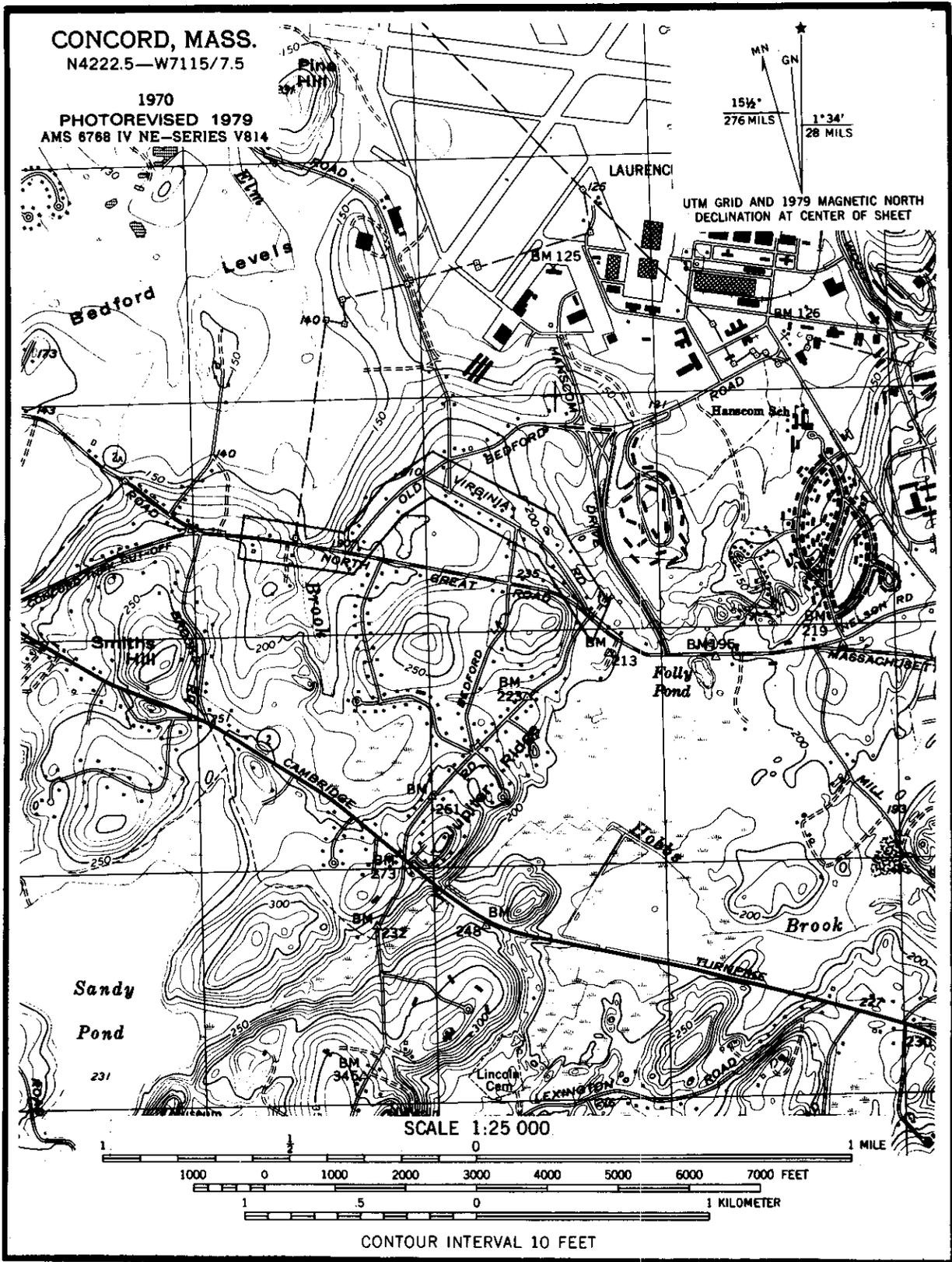


Figure IV.3. U.S.G.S. topographic map, Concord quadrangle; the Virginia Road area of the Park is outlined in the center of the map.

Table IV.1

Site Summary Data

VIRGINIA ROAD AREA

| <u>Site</u>     | <u>Principle Investigator</u> | <u>Affiliation</u>                             | <u>Date(s) of Fieldwork</u>               | <u>Field Notes</u> | <u>Site Map</u>             | <u>Photographs</u>              | <u>MIMA Acc. #</u> | <u>Archeological Reports</u> | <u>Artifact Catalog/Inventory</u> |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|--|---|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Hartwell Tavern | Charles W. Tremer             | Muhlenburg College                             | Summer 1972<br>Summer 1973<br>Summer 1974 | None Found         | For 1972 only (1973:5)      | MIMA.CS.HT. 1-16                | 357                | Preliminary, Tremer 1973     | None                              |
|                 | Thomas Mahlstedt              | NPS/NARO                                       | June 1979                                 | None Found         | Mahlstedt 1979a: Fig. 2     | None Found                      | 367                | Mahlstedt 1979a              | Mahlstedt 1979a: Appendix A       |
| ∞               | Marjorie Pratt                | Pratt & Pratt Archaeological Consultants, Inc. | 6/80-8/80                                 | Partial Found      | Pratt 1981: Figures 2,3,4,5 | Pratt 1981: Figures 8-11, 13-15 | 370                | Pratt 1981                   | Pratt 1981: Appendix              |

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Job Brooks Leland Abel Park Archeologist Fall 1964 None Found None 18 No; Memo 1966 None

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Table IV.2

ACMP Summary Artifact Inventory for:

The Ephraim Hartwell Tavern Site  
The Job Brooks Site

VIRGINIA ROAD Area

| Site:                    | Hartwell<br>Tavern | Job<br>Brooks | TOTALS | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------|--------|------------------------------|
| <b>HISTORIC CERAMICS</b> |                    |               |        |                              |
| <b>Redware</b>           |                    |               |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 122                | 5             | 127    |                              |
| Lead Glazed, 1 surface   | 79                 | 2             | 81     |                              |
| Lead Glazed, 2 surface   | 17                 | 0             | 17     |                              |
| Sgraffito                | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Trailed Slipware         | 11                 | 0             | 11     |                              |
| Jackfield                | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Astbury                  | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 16                 | 0             | 16     |                              |
| Total Redware            | 245                | 7             | 252    | 20.9%                        |
| <b>Tin Enameled</b>      |                    |               |        |                              |
| Delft                    | 1                  | 0             | 1      |                              |
| Rouen/Faience            | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Total Tin Enameled       | 1                  | 0             | 1      | 0.1%                         |
| <b>Coarse Buff Body</b>  |                    |               |        |                              |
| Combed Ware              | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Dotted Ware              | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| N. Devon Gravel          | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Mottled                  | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Total Coarse Buff Body   | 0                  | 0             | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Creamware</b>         |                    |               |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 5                  | 0             | 5      |                              |
| Shell-Edged              | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Other Edge Decorated     | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Handpainted              | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Annular                  | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                              |
| Total Creamware          | 5                  | 0             | 5      | 0.4%                         |
| <b>Pearlware</b>         |                    |               |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 38                 | 1             | 39     |                              |
| Shell-Edged              | 3                  | 0             | 3      |                              |
| Other Edge Decorated     | 1                  | 0             | 1      |                              |
| Handpainted              | 5                  | 0             | 5      |                              |
| Annular                  | 1                  | 0             | 1      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 24                 | 0             | 24     |                              |
| Other                    | 2                  | 0             | 2      |                              |
| Total Pearlware          | 74                 | 1             | 75     | 6.2%                         |
| <b>Whiteware</b>         |                    |               |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 480                | 4             | 484    |                              |
| Shell-Edged              | 20                 | 0             | 20     |                              |
| Other Edge Decorated     | 3                  | 0             | 3      |                              |
| Handpainted              | 12                 | 0             | 12     |                              |
| Annular                  | 3                  | 0             | 3      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 86                 | 1             | 87     |                              |
| Other                    | 19                 | 0             | 19     |                              |
| Total Whiteware          | 623                | 5             | 628    | 52.1%                        |

VIRGINIA ROAD Area

| Site:                          | Hartwell<br>Tavern | Job<br>Brooks | TOTALS      | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| <b>Other Earthenware</b>       |                    |               |             |                              |
| Whieldon                       | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Lusterware                     | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Agateware                      | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Rockingham/Bennington          | 8                  | 0             | 8           |                              |
| Yelloware                      | 78                 | 9             | 87          |                              |
| Other                          | 31                 | 4             | 35          |                              |
| Total Other Earthen.           | 117                | 13            | 130         | 10.8%                        |
| <b>Porcelain</b>               |                    |               |             |                              |
| Undecorated                    | 12                 | 1             | 13          |                              |
| Underglaze HP-monochro         | 8                  | 0             | 8           |                              |
| Underglaze HP-polychro         | 1                  | 1             | 2           |                              |
| Overglaze HP-monochrom         | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Overglaze HP-polychrom         | 1                  | 0             | 1           |                              |
| Gilted                         | 1                  | 0             | 1           |                              |
| Transfer Printed               | 5                  | 0             | 5           |                              |
| Other                          | 2                  | 0             | 2           |                              |
| Total Porcelain                | 30                 | 2             | 32          | 2.7%                         |
| <b>Stoneware</b>               |                    |               |             |                              |
| Nottingham                     | 0                  | 0             | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| Other English Brown            | 0                  | 0             | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| Bellarmino/Frenchen            | 0                  | 0             | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| Westerwald/Raeren              | 0                  | 0             | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| <b>White Salt Glazed</b>       |                    |               |             |                              |
| Plain                          | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Moulded                        | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Scratch Blue                   | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Other                          | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Total White Salt Glz           | 0                  | 0             | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Drybody</b>                 |                    |               |             |                              |
| Black Basaltes                 | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Rosso Antico                   | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Other                          | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                              |
| Total Drybody                  | 0                  | 0             | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Other</b>                   |                    |               |             |                              |
| Utilitarian Import             | 14                 | 0             | 14          |                              |
| Domestic                       | 62                 | 1             | 63          |                              |
| Other                          | 5                  | 0             | 5           |                              |
| Total Other                    | 81                 | 1             | 82          | 6.8%                         |
| Total Stoneware                | 81                 | 1             | 82          | 6.8%                         |
| <b>TOTAL HISTORIC CERAMICS</b> | <b>1176</b>        | <b>29</b>     | <b>1205</b> | <b>100.0%</b>                |
| <b>% of Total Artifacts</b>    |                    |               |             | <b>16.2%</b>                 |

VIRGINIA ROAD Area

Site: Hartwell Job TOTALS % of  
Tavern Brooks Total  
Artifacts

PIPES

|             |    |   |    |      |
|-------------|----|---|----|------|
| White Clay  |    |   |    |      |
| Bowls       | 11 | 0 | 11 |      |
| Stems: 4/64 | 1  | 0 | 1  |      |
| 5/64        | 4  | 0 | 4  |      |
| 6/64        | 1  | 0 | 1  |      |
| 7/64        | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| 8/64        | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| 9/64        | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| INDT        | 2  | 0 | 2  |      |
| TOTAL:      | 19 | 0 | 19 |      |
| Red Clay    |    |   |    |      |
| Bowls       | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| Stems       | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| TOTAL:      | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| Other       | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| TOTAL PIPES | 19 | 0 | 19 | 0.3% |

GLASS

|                       |     |   |     |      |
|-----------------------|-----|---|-----|------|
| Bottle Glass          |     |   |     |      |
| Freeblown             | 1   | 0 | 1   |      |
| Blown in Mold         | 47  | 0 | 47  |      |
| Auto Machine Made     | 592 | 3 | 595 |      |
| Indeterminate         | 2   | 0 | 2   |      |
| TOTAL                 | 642 | 3 | 645 | 8.7% |
| Drinking Vessel       |     |   |     |      |
| Freeblown             | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Machine blown/pressed | 14  | 0 | 14  |      |
| Indeterminate         | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| TOTAL                 | 14  | 0 | 14  | 0.2% |
| Indet. Curved Glass   | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| TOTAL GLASS           | 656 | 3 | 659 | 8.9% |

BOTTLE CLOSURE

|                      |    |   |    |      |
|----------------------|----|---|----|------|
| Ceramic              | 1  | 0 | 1  |      |
| Glass                | 3  | 0 | 3  |      |
| Metal                | 25 | 0 | 25 |      |
| Wood/Cork            | 1  | 0 | 1  |      |
| Synthetic            | 1  | 0 | 1  |      |
| Other                | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| TOTAL BOTTLE CLOSURE | 31 | 0 | 31 | 0.4% |

VIRGINIA ROAD Area

| Site:                           | Hartwell<br>Tavern | Job<br>Brooks | TOTALS      | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| <b>APPAREL</b>                  |                    |               |             |                            |
| Clothing                        | 0                  | 0             | 0           |                            |
| Footwear                        | 111                | 0             | 111         |                            |
| Other                           | 1                  | 0             | 1           |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 20                 | 0             | 20          |                            |
| <b>TOTAL APPAREL</b>            | <b>132</b>         | <b>0</b>      | <b>132</b>  | <b>1.8%</b>                |
| <b>BUTTONS, ETC.</b>            |                    |               |             |                            |
| Button                          | 17                 | 2             | 19          |                            |
| Buckle                          | 1                  | 0             | 1           |                            |
| Other Fastener                  | 1                  | 0             | 1           |                            |
| <b>TOTAL BUTTONS, ETC.</b>      | <b>19</b>          | <b>2</b>      | <b>21</b>   | <b>0.3%</b>                |
| <b>HOUSEHOLD &amp; PERSONAL</b> |                    |               |             |                            |
| Tableware                       | 4                  | 0             | 4           |                            |
| Kitchenware                     | 222                | 0             | 222         |                            |
| Furniture & Hardware            | 4                  | 0             | 4           |                            |
| Lighting Fixtures               | 109                | 0             | 109         |                            |
| Decorative Objects              | 16                 | 0             | 16          |                            |
| Toiletries                      | 11                 | 0             | 11          |                            |
| Stationary                      | 1                  | 0             | 1           |                            |
| Coins/Tokens/Medals             | 4                  | 0             | 4           |                            |
| Personal Objects                | 6                  | 0             | 6           |                            |
| Toys                            | 7                  | 1             | 8           |                            |
| Other                           | 10                 | 4             | 14          |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 122                | 0             | 122         |                            |
| <b>TOTAL H &amp; P</b>          | <b>516</b>         | <b>5</b>      | <b>521</b>  | <b>7.0%</b>                |
| <b>SUBTOTAL</b>                 | <b>1373</b>        | <b>10</b>     | <b>1383</b> | <b>18.6%</b>               |

VIRGINIA ROAD Area

| Site: | Hartwell Job<br>Tavern | Brooks | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|-------|------------------------|--------|--------|----------------------------|
|-------|------------------------|--------|--------|----------------------------|

ARCHITECTURAL MATERIAL

Window Glass

|                |     |   |     |       |
|----------------|-----|---|-----|-------|
| Crown/Cylinder | 1   | 4 | 5   |       |
| Plate          | 918 | 2 | 920 |       |
| Other          | 0   | 0 | 0   |       |
| Indeterminate  | 0   | 0 | 0   |       |
| TOTAL GLASS    | 919 | 6 | 925 | 12.4% |

Nails

|                    |     |     |     |       |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Handwrought        | 7   | 8   | 15  |       |
| Machine Cut I      | 4   | 27  | 31  |       |
| Machine Cut II     | 461 | 32  | 493 |       |
| Machine Cut Indet. | 0   | 35  | 35  |       |
| Wire               | 148 | 1   | 149 |       |
| Indeterminate      | 96  | 12  | 108 |       |
| TOTAL NAILS        | 716 | 115 | 831 | 11.2% |

Screws

|               |    |   |    |      |
|---------------|----|---|----|------|
| Handwrought   | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| Machine Cut   | 14 | 4 | 18 |      |
| Indeterminate | 1  | 0 | 1  |      |
| TOTAL SCREWS  | 15 | 4 | 19 | 0.3% |

Other Hardware

|                       |     |    |     |      |
|-----------------------|-----|----|-----|------|
| Builders' Hardware    | 0   | 0  | 0   |      |
| Window Hardware       | 4   | 0  | 4   |      |
| Door Hardware         | 2   | 0  | 2   |      |
| Electrical Hardware   | 7   | 0  | 7   |      |
| Plumbing Hardware     | 0   | 0  | 0   |      |
| Lighting/Heating Hdw. | 0   | 0  | 0   |      |
| Other                 | 59  | 10 | 69  |      |
| Indeterminate         | 598 | 0  | 598 |      |
| TOTAL OTHER HDWR.     | 670 | 10 | 680 | 9.1% |

Structural Material

|                       |      |   |      |       |
|-----------------------|------|---|------|-------|
| Brick                 | 670  | 0 | 670  |       |
| Mortar/Plaster        | 104  | 0 | 104  |       |
| Wood                  | 11   | 0 | 11   |       |
| Linoleum              | 0    | 0 | 0    |       |
| Stone                 | 10   | 5 | 15   |       |
| Fiber                 | 0    | 0 | 0    |       |
| Porcelain             | 0    | 0 | 0    |       |
| Earthenware/Stoneware | 3    | 0 | 3    |       |
| Synthetic             | 694  | 0 | 694  |       |
| Metal                 | 153  | 0 | 153  |       |
| Other                 | 5    | 0 | 5    |       |
| TOTAL STRUCTURAL      | 1650 | 5 | 1655 | 22.2% |

VIRGINIA ROAD Area

| Site:                            | Hartwell<br>Tavern | Job<br>Brooks | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|--------|----------------------------|
| Other Fastening Devices          |                    |               |        |                            |
| Staples                          | 3                  | 0             | 3      |                            |
| Bolts                            | 4                  | 0             | 4      |                            |
| Wood Fasteners                   | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                            |
| Other                            | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL FASTENING                  | 7                  | 0             | 7      | 0.1%                       |
| TOTAL ARCHITECTURAL<br>MATERIALS |                    |               |        |                            |
|                                  | 3977               | 140           | 4117   | 55.3%                      |
| TOOLS & HARDWARE                 |                    |               |        |                            |
| Hand Tools                       | 4                  | 0             | 4      |                            |
| Machine Parts                    | 6                  | 3             | 9      |                            |
| Domestic Animal Gear             | 6                  | 1             | 7      |                            |
| Transportation Objects           | 2                  | 1             | 3      |                            |
| Weaponry/Accoutrements           | 6                  | 1             | 7      |                            |
| Other                            | 19                 | 0             | 19     |                            |
| Indeterminate                    | 9                  | 0             | 9      |                            |
| TOTAL TOOLS & HDWR               | 52                 | 6             | 58     | 0.8%                       |
| SUBTOTAL                         | 4029               | 146           | 4175   | 56.1%                      |

VIRGINIA ROAD Area

| Site:   | Hartwell<br>Tavern | Job<br>Brooks | TOTALS         | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---|--------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| <b>FUEL &amp; FIRE BYPRODUCTS (Weight in grams)</b> |                    |               |                |                            |
| Coal  | 1215.36            | 0.00          | 1215.36        |                            |
| Charcoal  | 64.61              | 0.00          | 64.61          |                            |
| Ash/Cinders/Clinkers                                | 1152.17            | 0.00          | 1152.17        |                            |
| Wood  | 20.86              | 0.00          | 20.86          |                            |
| Slag  | 2998.41            | 0.00          | 2998.41        |                            |
| <b>TOTAL FUEL &amp; FIRE</b>                        | <b>5451.41</b>     | <b>0.00</b>   | <b>5451.41</b> |                            |
| <b>FLORAL &amp; FAUNAL REMAINS</b>                  |                    |               |                |                            |
| <b>Shell (Weight in grams)</b>                      |                    |               |                |                            |
| Bivalves  | 199.00             | 0.00          | 199.00         |                            |
| Univalves   | 4.00               | 0.00          | 4.00           |                            |
| Indeterminate Shell                                 | 0.10               | 0.00          | 0.10           |                            |
| Other Organic                                       | 0.00               | 0.00          | 0.00           |                            |
| <b>Bone</b>   |                    |               |                |                            |
| Fish  | 1                  | 0             | 1              |                            |
| Whale   | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Human   | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Mammal  | 572                | 0             | 572            |                            |
| Bird  | 11                 | 0             | 11             |                            |
| Other   | 57                 | 0             | 57             |                            |
| Indeterminate                                       | 38                 | 0             | 38             |                            |
| <b>TOTAL BONE</b>                                   | <b>679</b>         | <b>0</b>      | <b>679</b>     | <b>9.1%</b>                |
| <b>Vegetal Material</b>                             |                    |               |                |                            |
| Seeds/Nuts  | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Other Comestibles                                   | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Other Vegetal Material                              | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| <b>TOTAL VEGETAL</b>                                | <b>0</b>           | <b>0</b>      | <b>0</b>       | <b>0.0%</b>                |
| <b>TOTAL FLORAL &amp; FAUNAL</b>                    | <b>679</b>         | <b>0</b>      | <b>679</b>     | <b>9.1%</b>                |
| <b>LITHICS</b>                                      |                    |               |                |                            |
| Fire Cracked Rock                                   | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Unworked Lithic                                     |                    | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Gunflints   | 1                  | 0             | 1              |                            |
| <b>Groundstone</b>                                  |                    |               |                |                            |
| Historic  | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Prehistoric   | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| <b>Total Groundstone</b>                            | <b>0</b>           | <b>0</b>      | <b>0</b>       |                            |
| <b>Chipped Stone</b>                                |                    |               |                |                            |
| Point   | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Biface  | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Other   | 0                  | 0             | 0              |                            |
| <b>Total Chipped Stone</b>                          | <b>0</b>           | <b>0</b>      | <b>0</b>       |                            |
| <b>TOTAL LITHICS</b>                                | <b>4</b>           | <b>0</b>      | <b>4</b>       | <b>0.1%</b>                |

VIRGINIA ROAD Area

| Site:               | Hartwell<br>Tavern | Job<br>Brooks | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------|--------|----------------------------|
| <b>SAMPLES</b>      |                    |               |        |                            |
| Soil                | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                            |
| C-14                | 0                  | 0             | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL SAMPLES       | 0                  | 0             | 0      | 0.0%                       |
| <b>SUBTOTALS</b>    | 683                | 0             | 683    | 9.2%                       |
| <b>GRAND TOTALS</b> |                    |               |        |                            |
| SUBTOTAL HISTCER    | 1176               | 29            | 1205   |                            |
| SUBTOTAL PIPES      | 1373               | 10            | 1383   |                            |
| SUBTOTAL ARCHITEC   | 4029               | 146           | 4175   |                            |
| SUBTOTAL FUELFIRE   | 683                | 0             | 683    |                            |
|                     | 7261               | 185           | 7446   |                            |



## CHAPTER 14

### EPHRAIM HARTWELL TAVERN SITE

#### Introduction

At the time of the American Revolution, Ephraim Hartwell was a well known name in the town of Lincoln, Massachusetts. Through the years, his status in the community had evolved, from "cordwainer" (shoemaker) and "yeoman" to "gentleman" (Luzader 1968:10). This transformation was evident in Ephraim's activities. Among many, these included his service as one of Lincoln's first selectmen, beginning with the town's incorporation in 1754 and continuing in alternate years through 1774 (Toogood 1974:2). Ephraim augmented his position as a town decision maker by taking on roles such as surveyor of highways, tax assessor, county court grand juror, and town Sealer of Leather (Toogood 1974:2). He also continued to farm, and in 1774 owned "the largest tract of tillage land in Lincoln" (Malcolm 1985:60), as well as an impressive livestock inventory including six oxen (Luzader 1972:4). By the time Ephraim wrote his will in 1786, his farm holdings totalled 186 acres (Luzader 1968:10). Amidst all this activity as both a community figure and a farmer, he also operated an inn.



14.1. ACMP photograph of the Hartwell Tavern, 1986.

Today the inn structure still stands, and has recently been restored by the National Park Service (Figure 14.1). It has come to be known as the Ephraim Hartwell Tavern. The title of Tavern is somewhat of a misnomer, since the license for keeping an inn was different from that for keeping a tavern, and to date no contemporary account has been found documenting the name of Ephraim's establishment as a Tavern.

However, the function of an inn overlapped that of a tavern, differing from the tavern in that it also provided overnight accommodations. It has also been pointed out by tavern researchers that in the New England colonies, the terms "inn" and "tavern" became interchangeable during the 18th century. In fact, Toogood has noted that after a 1693 Massachusetts law required both inns and taverns to provide lodging, the two terms became "legally interchangeable" (1974:7), and that this transition was reflected in later legislation as well (1974:8).

Noting these issues, this report will refer to Ephraim's establishment as the Hartwell Tavern in order to be consistent with the Park's terminology and with the archeologists who excavated at the site.

Over the past twenty years, the tavern grounds have been the focus of a number of historical inquiries, including several archeological investigations. The results of these excavations, and the collections which they produced, are the subject of this chapter. The goal is to clear the way for use of the collections and for better interpretation of the site.

Inns and taverns played a vital role in the society of colonial America. Rural inns provided a stopping point for travelers, and for drovers or goods-laden individuals on their way to market (Sabin 1982:42). This expanded the inn's function beyond that of the tavern's more universal function as a gathering place for community events, business transactions, political discussions, gossip, and news distribution (Sabin 1982:2).

The license for keeping an inn was granted to Ephraim in 1756 (Luzader 1972:2, Mulhern and Carroll 1975:29), just two years after Lincoln was incorporated. As was common in that day, he used his own residence for commercial operations. This structure was located on the main road connecting Concord and Lexington, a heavily traveled route variously known as the "County," "Country," or "Bay" Road (Toogood 1974:3), and currently known as Virginia Road (Figure IV.1).

Hartwell's inn operated for thirty-one years. In 1787 Ephraim's son John, the licensee since 1777, renewed the license for the last time (Mulhern and Carroll 1975:29-30). It was thus an established institution by the time of the

Revolution, and existed well into the first years of the new Republic. Situated on the "Battle Road," the inn was part of the landscape during some of the first Revolutionary skirmishes. MIMA has therefore chosen to focus its interpretation on the structure's tavern period identity.

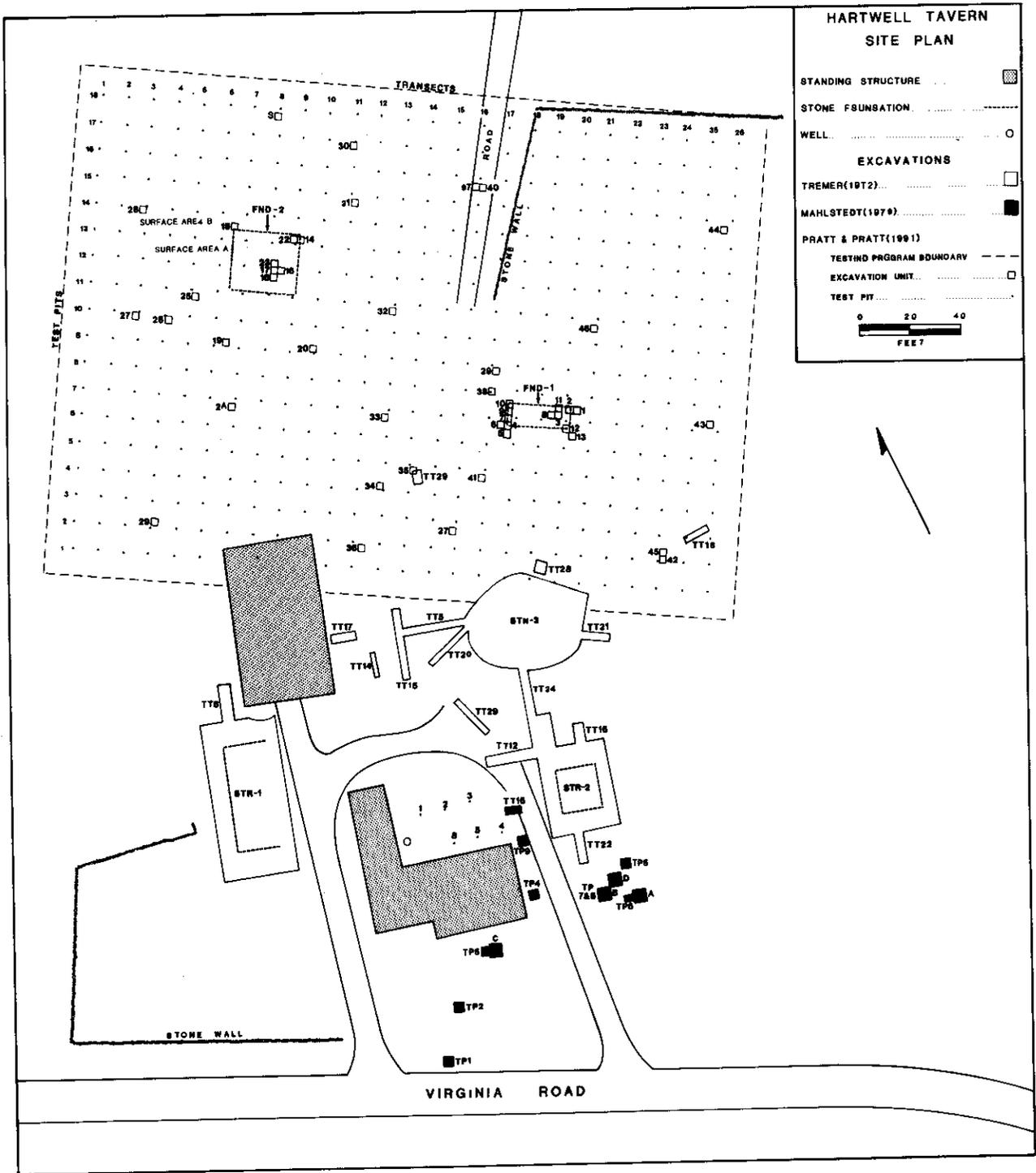
In 1971, MIMA contracted with archeologist Charles W. Tremer of Muhlenberg College to conduct an "archeological investigation of Hartwell Barn" (NPS Contract 14-10-6:990-1635, 1971). The reason for investigating the barn area was not made explicit, neither in the original contract nor in Tremer's subsequent report. The extant barn was built ca. 1938 upon the foundation of the former barn, which had recently been destroyed in a hurricane (Luzader 1972:10). Presumably the Park hoped to aid their interpretation of the property and possibly to date the original barn through the analysis of archeological data.

Tremer began excavations at Hartwell Tavern during the summer of 1972 (Tremer 1973:2), with a field crew composed of Muhlenberg students. By this time, the original objective as set forth in the contract had been altered. According to Tremer, the Park requested that he also explore the site as a whole to locate and identify all original foundations (1973:2). By the end of that summer's field season, Tremer and his crew had excavated large portions of the site in the general vicinity of both barn and tavern (Figure 14.2). Their findings included a possible road and two stone foundations. A site survey initiated the following spring (1973) revealed two additional foundations.

Tremer submitted a preliminary progress report prior to his summer 1973 excavations at Hartwell. This document summarized the findings of the 1972 season and briefly discussed the plans for 1973. However, while it is clear that he excavated at Hartwell in 1973 and 1974 (Mulhern and Carroll 1975:5), no final project report was ever prepared.

A number of years passed before archeological investigations were again initiated at the tavern. In 1979, NPS archeologist Thomas F. Mahlstedt conducted a small scale testing program at Hartwell. This was designed to assess the impact of proposed utility trenches. The testing consisted of ten excavation units placed within the utilities' right-of-way (Figure 14.2). Mahlstedt believed that he may have located part of a "cobble way" in front of the tavern, and recommended further testing (1979a:5). He concluded that the utility trenches would not adversely impact the site's archeological resources (1979a:5).

During the same year, NPS distributed a "Request for Proposal" for some further work to be done at the tavern. The "Scope of Work" outlined a two stage program consisting of a



14.2. ACMP composite site plan, Hartwell Tavern excavations.

"geophysical investigation of potential archeological resources," to be followed by an archeological investigation of the same area (NPS n.d.). Agencies were allowed to bid for either both or just one phase of the project. In the end, two separate contracts were awarded: the first to Weston Geophysical Corporation for the geophysical resistivity survey, and the second to Pratt and Pratt Archeological Consultants, Inc., for the follow-up survey (NPS n.d.).

The Scope of Work also defined the proposed study area as roughly the back half of the property, and included a map which delineated this area. The goals specified for the geophysical survey were to identify and delineate outbuildings and cultural deposits (NPS n.d.). The archeological testing program was not only intended to test the geophysical survey results, but also to locate archeological features and to assess the data in light of knowledge about colonial New England farmsteads and taverns. With the Regional Archeologist, the contractors were to formulate and test a hypothesis concerning historic site feature location (NPS Project Files; Pratt 1981:3-4).

Weston Geophysical's 1980 report summarized the survey results and provided detailed contour maps indicating anomaly locations. They identified sixteen anomalies as having possible cultural origins. Seven of these were especially recommended for further investigation, and were interpreted as four refuse concentrations, a roadway, and two "collapsed buildings with associated pathways or refuse dumps" (Weston Geophysical 1980:10-11). The company's study was based entirely upon remote sensing techniques, with no actual subsurface excavations conducted and no artifacts collected.

The subsequent archeological testing took place in the summer of 1980, utilizing essentially the same study area (Figure 14.2). Marjorie and Peter Pratt directed the fieldwork, and Marjorie prepared the final project report. Through their testing program, Pratt and Pratt were able to identify two foundations, a road, and several refuse areas. The foundations were those which had been discovered by Tremer in his 1973 survey. Marjorie Pratt provided generally detailed discussions of their findings in the final report (1981), and contrasted the results of the survey with those of the preceding geophysical survey (1981:52-66).

The Pratts were the last archeologists to conduct fieldwork at Hartwell. During the 1980-81 restoration of the tavern; however, NPS Historical Architect Orville Carroll came upon archeological materials which he collected and assigned descriptive provenience information. Most of these artifacts came from the cellar floor. Carroll reported that "the dirt floor in the cellar was sifted for artifacts, cleaned of excess

soil and stones, then graded smooth" (1983:2J). Although these materials were not recovered during an archeological project per se, they came from an archeological context, and as such have been inventoried by the ACMP.

It must finally be noted that archeologists from the NPS Eastern Archeological Field Laboratory (EAFL) recently excavated a single test pit in the cellar dirt floor inside the Hartwell Tavern barn. This was done in May of 1985, preceding the Park's installation of an evaporation tank. The memorandum recording its results is included in this chapter as Appendix 14.1.

The Hartwell Tavern excavations are significant for what they reveal about the site itself as well as for the comparative data they provide for other rural New England sites. This report will summarize the previous work done and the current status of the data. In addition, a current site analysis will be offered based upon integration of all available data. This should serve to clarify the record and to suggest possibilities for further research.

## Provenience and Coding System

There were five artifact collections available from the Hartwell Tavern. Only two of these have been definitely linked to archeological excavations: the Mahlstedt collection, and the Pratt and Pratt collection. A third collection was more tentatively linked to Tremer's excavations at Hartwell, and the questions surrounding this connection are discussed in the following Data Problems section. The fourth collection was made by historical architect Carroll during restoration work, and the fifth was a collection of miscellaneous items of unspecified provenience. These latter were found in the collections storage area at MIMA and bore labels reading "Hartwell Tavern" and "Hartwell." The ACMP has inventoried all five collections.

The first step in the inventory was to assign ACMP numbers to all Hartwell Tavern proveniences for which there were materials. These numbers were designed as an eighteen digit code which accomodated the excavator's provenience information. This information appears in the following format:

HT-AAAAAAAA-BBBB-CCCC

where:

HT = Hartwell Tavern,  
AAAAAAAA = Archeological Field Unit (e.g. Test Trench,  
Square, Transect),  
BBBB = Cultural Feature,  
CCCC = Stratigraphic Level.

Appendix 14.2 presents the ACMP codes for Hartwell Tavern proveniences, including original provenience descriptions. Code abbreviations were derived from the excavators' terminology, and thus reflect their varying recording systems. For example, materials recovered during architectural restoration of the tavern were provenienced by general location within the structure. This information, as recorded by the architect, may be found in full next to the codes. In the case of Pratt test pits, which were not dug by level, the stratigraphic level code denotes depth of excavations in inches.

All collections were obtained from storage at MIMA. However, none of the materials had been cataloged by the Park and accession numbers were only recently assigned. These, and the total number of artifacts in each collection as inventoried by the ACMP, are as follows:

| <u>Collection</u>                | <u>Accession Number</u> | <u>Total Items</u> |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Tremer                           | 357                     | 1144               |
| Mahlstedt                        | 367                     | 404                |
| Pratt & Pratt                    | 370                     | 5081               |
| Restoration                      | 350                     | 609                |
| Unprovenienced<br>Materials      | 380                     | <u>23</u>          |
| Total Hartwell Tavern Collection |                         | <u>7261</u>        |

The issues of missing collections, discrepancies in total counts, and other data problems will be addressed in the following section.

## Map Construction

### Introduction

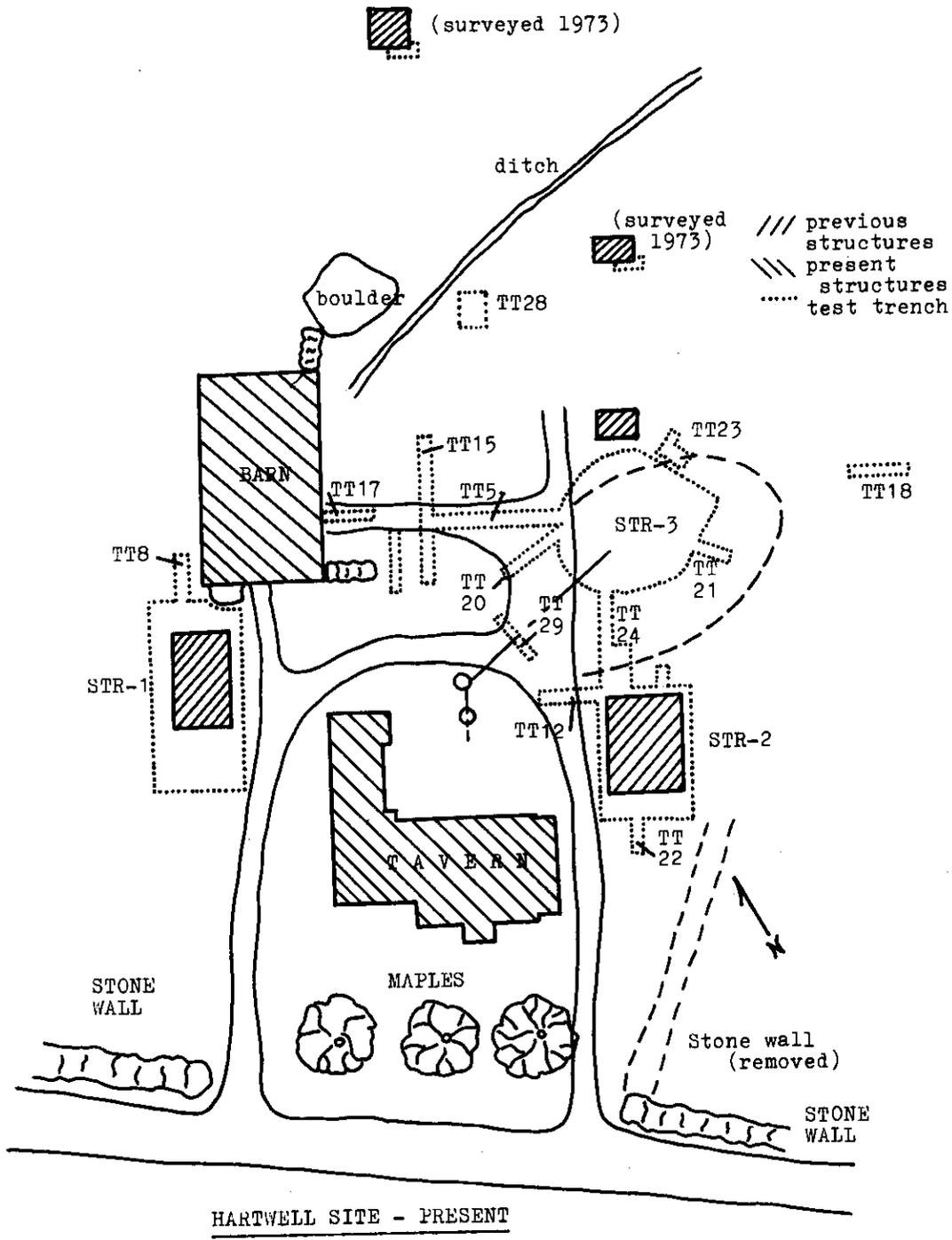
Source maps used in the construction of ACMP maps and illustrations of the Hartwell Tavern were evaluated according to the criteria of completeness, accuracy, accessibility of data, readability, physical condition of map and reproducibility (see Chapter 3, Methodology). The source maps were found in the following archeological reports: Tremer 1973, Mahlstedt 1979a, and Pratt 1981.

Maps, drawings and report narration from the following reports were used to obtain and confirm information concerning the locations and dimensions of structures and features that could not be obtained from the original site maps and reports: Luzader 1972, Mulhern and Carroll 1975, and Carroll 1983. A number of these illustrations will be presented in other portions of this chapter, and their figure numbers will be noted below.

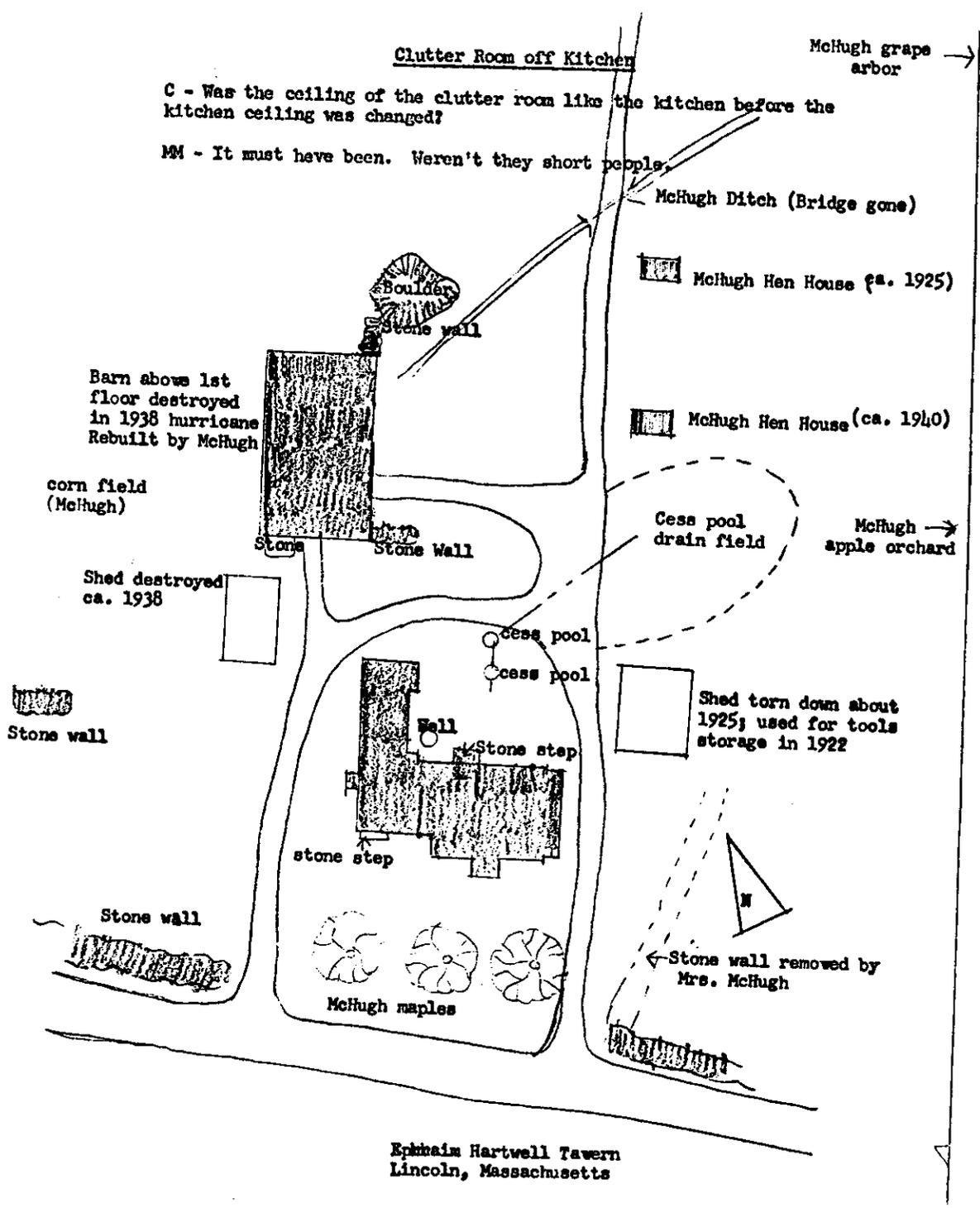
### Evaluation of Source Maps

Tremer's Report: The site map from Tremer's 1973 report was entitled "Hartwell Site - Present" (Figure 14.3). Tremer apparently used as the base map for his plan an illustration from Luzader's report (Luzader 1972:15) (Figure 14.4) since the major features were identical. He then added his test trenches and his STR (Structure) areas. The map illustrated the approximate locations and dimensions of 15 of the 29 test trenches and three excavated areas. The 15 test trenches illustrated on this map included 5, 8, 12, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, and 29. Two other test trenches were indicated, but not numbered. The three foundation areas excavated were labelled STR-1, STR-2, and STR-3. According to Tremer's documentation, STR-1 included test trenches 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11. STR-2 included test trenches 1, 3, 19, 22, 24, and 25. STR-3 included test trenches 13, 20, 21, 23, 26, and 27 (Tremer 1973:11). Standing and archeological structures were indicated on the map.

Tremer's site map did not include a scale. The ACMP calculated a scale of 1 in. = 40 ft. using known dimensions of the barn and tavern. This scale was then used to compare the measurements of test trenches and features documented in Tremer's report to the mapped dimensions. Of the eight test trenches with documented measurements, three had mapped dimensions significantly different from those stated in the report. STR-1 and STR-2 were also mapped differently from their documented dimensions.



14.3. Tremer's original site plan (1973:5).



14.4. Luzader's schematic grounds plan, Hartwell Tavern (1972:15, drawn from Carroll n.d.).

Mahlstedt's Report: Mahlstedt provided a set of maps, figures, and photographs of his archeological investigation at the Hartwell Tavern. These included a schematic map depicting locations and dimensions of ten test pits and four excavation units (Figure 14.9). Three figures illustrated the dimensions and contents of Unit C and Test Pit 3, Units B and D, and Unit A and Test Pit 6. Also included were four photographs of excavation units A, B, C, D and Test Pit A.

In terms of numbers, letters, and symbols, Mahlstedt's schematic map was clear and distinct. However, it did not include a scale. All excavated units and test pits were illustrated on this map. The dimensions of the excavation units were recorded in the report (Mahlstedt 1979a:2). The dimensions of the test pits were taken from Mahlstedt's Figures 3 and 5. However, the locations of excavated areas could only be assumed, with the exception of Test Pit 3 and excavation Unit C which were documented (1979a:2).

Also included in this report was a 1979 sketch plan of the proposed trenching and locations for underground utilities (Mahlstedt 1979a:Figure 1). This plan was very helpful in demonstrating the significant amount of ground disturbance surrounding the Hartwell Tavern and barn area and was considered an excellent reference source.

Pratt's Report: Pratt and Pratt's 1980 investigation involved 468 test pits and 47 three foot squares within a 260 ft. by 200 ft. test area located north of the Hartwell Tavern. Six test pits were also completed in a small area behind the Hartwell Tavern.

The maps and diagrams from Pratt's report (1981) included:

- Figure 2 - Hartwell Tavern study area showing excavation units;
- Figure 3 - showing six test pits behind Hartwell Tavern;
- Figure 4 - dates assigned to test pits within the Hartwell study area;
- Figure 5 - densities of material in test pits within the Hartwell study area;
- Figure 7 - illustration of Foundation 1;
- Figure 11- illustration of Foundation 2.

Figure 2 was an illustration of the 260 ft. by 200 ft. test area. This site plan showed the locations and orientation of the 26 transects established throughout the study area. The locations and dimensions of 47 three foot squares were shown and numbered. The areas of investigation encompassing Foundations 1 and 2 were illustrated, as were Surface Areas A and B. Areas representing resistivity

anomalies were illustrated and numbered. Also illustrated were the remains of a stone wall, a road running parallel to the stone wall, a drainage ditch, and the Hartwell Tavern barn. Although the site plan did not contain a visual scale, it had a stated scale of 1 in. = 10 ft.. Using this scale it was determined that all features were represented accurately. The North arrow on the map was 8 degrees west of true North.

Figure 5 was an illustration of the Hartwell Tavern study area drawn to the same scale as the site plan. It demonstrated and compared the density of materials within test pits. Categories ranging from .0009 or less (low) density to .0100 or more (high) density were distinguished. The map was considered complete and accurate.

Figures 3, 7 and 11 were considered clear, distinct, and consistent, and were useful in the construction of the final ACMP Hartwell Tavern site map. Figure 3 depicted the location of the six test pits completed behind the Hartwell Tavern, shown in relation to the structure. Figure 7 illustrated the locations of test pits and excavated squares completed in and around the structure labelled Foundation 1 (Figure 14.6). Test pits and dirt piles from Tremer's 1973 excavation were also illustrated. Figure 11 reflected the significant amount of activity conducted around and within the structure labelled Foundation 2 (Figure 14.7). As with Figure 7, test pits, excavated squares, dirt piles and test pits from Tremer's 1973 excavation were illustrated.

### Map Construction

The ACMP drafted a composite base map of the Hartwell property which included the information from Tremer's, Mahlstedt's, and Pratt's site maps (Figure 14.2). It included the tavern, barn, driveway and Virginia Road. The dimensions and spatial relationship of these structures and features were taken from architectural drawings included in the 1975 and 1983 historic structure reports. This information was confirmed by an ACMP field survey. The orientation of Virginia Road was taken from the Fairchild Aerial Survey maps of 1971. The location of the stone wall west of the tavern was also established during the ACMP field survey.

The areas of Tremer's 1972 excavation were then added. The dimensions of STR-1, STR-2 and Test Trenches 5, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23 and 29 were based on measurements documented in Tremer's report narration. The dimensions and locations of the undocumented areas were taken from Tremer's site plan using the calculated scale of 1 in. = 40 ft..

Not included on Tremer's map were the areas around Foundations 1 and 2 where the Pratts demonstrated that Tremer

had conducted excavations in 1973 (1981:24-30, Figures 7 and 11). Information concerning locations and dimensions of these areas was not included in Tremer's 1973 report, and therefore was not illustrated on the ACMP composite site map.

The locations of Mahlstedt's excavation units and test pits were taken from his 1979 schematic map. Although this map did not have a scale, Mahlstedt stated that the excavation units, which were expanded from the test pits, were one meter squares. He did not specify the dimensions of the test pits. However, several of the expanded units were depicted in greater detail, with a scale, in Mahlstedt's Figures 3-5 (1979a). These figures indicated that the original test pits measured between 40-50 cm square. Thus while the ACMP composite plan reflects Mahlstedt's schematic map, the actual measurements of the units varied to some degree from this depiction.

The Pratts' 260 ft. by 200 ft. test area was then added which included the 463 test pits placed along 26 transects, and 47 test squares. Other illustrated features included the road located 220 feet northeast of the tavern, the stone wall running parallel to the road, and the outlined areas of investigation around Foundations 1 and 2. These two areas were taken from Figures 7 and 11 (Pratt 1981:25, 32). All other information was taken from Figure 2 (Pratt 1981:3). The six test pits and the well located on the north side of the tavern were placed according to Pratt's Figure 3 (1981:7).

It must be noted that all Pratt test pits were indicated schematically as a single dot. These dots were obviously not to scale, but rather indicated test pit locations. Actual test pit dimensions varied between 8-16 in. in diameter (Pratt 1981:6), or up to approximately 40 cm in diameter. This is comparable to the size of Mahlstedt's test pits.

The ACMP composite site plan thus distinguished the three excavations, the standing structures, the stone foundations and the well.

A second ACMP illustration was prepared to show the significant amount of non-archeological ground disturbance which has occurred on Hartwell Tavern property. This is presented in the Data Problems section of this chapter (Figure 14.10). It illustrated the following features:

- 1) a 100 foot utility trench,
- 2) a 165 foot utility trench,
- 3) a 6 ft. by 19 ft. fuel oil tank,
- 4) a water line,
- 5) two 6 ft. 6 in. wide leaching pits,
- 6) two cesspools,
- 7) a drain field and drain line, and
- 8) a drainage ditch.

The lengths and locations of the utility trenches and leaching pits were based on information from the 1983 completion report of the restoration of the Hartwell Tavern (Carroll 1983). The orientation of the drainage ditch was taken from Pratt's Figure 2 (1981:3). The locations and dimensions of the remaining features were based on the drawing entitled "proposed trenching for underground utilities" completed by Orville Carroll in 1979 and presented in Mahlstedt's report (1979a:Figure 1). Other features which were illustrated included the stone wall west of the tavern, the road north of the tavern located by the Pratts, and the stone wall parallel to the road.

The ACMP created a third illustration depicting test pit artifact densities within the Pratts' test area, and it is presented in the ACMP Interpretation section of this chapter (Figure 14.12). This was based on an ACMP revised version of Pratt's Figure 5. Within the 260 ft. by 200 ft. test area, the 26 transects were labelled and the test pit densities, ranging from low to high, were numbered 1 to 4. The following features and structures were also illustrated:

- 1) Foundations 1 and 2,
- 2) the drainage ditch,
- 3) the barn,
- 4) the road north of the tavern, and
- 5) the stone wall parallel to the road.

Test pits interpreted as cluster centers were also distinguished. This figure will be further discussed in the ACMP Interpretation section of this chapter.

## Data Problems

Archeological investigations of the Hartwell Tavern have been quite extensive. Each has had its own set of goals and methodologies, as designed by the three different excavators. During the course of the ACMP, it became apparent that a variety of problems existed with the data from each excavation. These included issues concerning both excavation methodology and documentation, and the artifact collections themselves. Discussion of the problems is important, as they provide background information for site interpretation and for future research. In this section, data problems will be reviewed by individual excavation.

### Tremer's Excavations

Excavation Methodology and Documentation: Of all tavern excavations, Tremer's were the most extensive in the areas surrounding the house and barn. Unfortunately, a comprehensive understanding of this work has been hindered by a general lack of documentation. In fact, a preliminary "Progress Report," submitted by Tremer between the first and second years' field seasons (Tremer 1973), was the only record available for any of his work. No further reports seem to have been written, in spite of the fact that he conducted two subsequent excavations at Hartwell during the summers of 1973 and 1974 (Mulhern and Carroll 1975:5).

The ACMP also searched for Tremer's original field data, notes, and maps. To date these documents have not been located, neither at Muhlenberg College, where Tremer was employed at the time, nor at MIMA. In 1979, former NPS Archeologist Thomas Mahlstedt contacted Tremer by phone and reported that:

Tremer has offered to xerox and send to us a copy of the field notes pertaining to the excavations he conducted at Hartwell Tavern prior to the termination of his contract. Presently, these notes are at the archeological laboratory at Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa. (Mahlstedt 1979b).

Apparently these field notes were never received. Several NPS researchers have more recently contacted Tremer (ACMP MIMA Correspondence File n.d.), and he was hopeful about locating the Hartwell field materials and forwarding copies. At the time of this writing, however, such copies have not been received.

The complete lack of field documents and of excavation reports for the last two of three field seasons made it

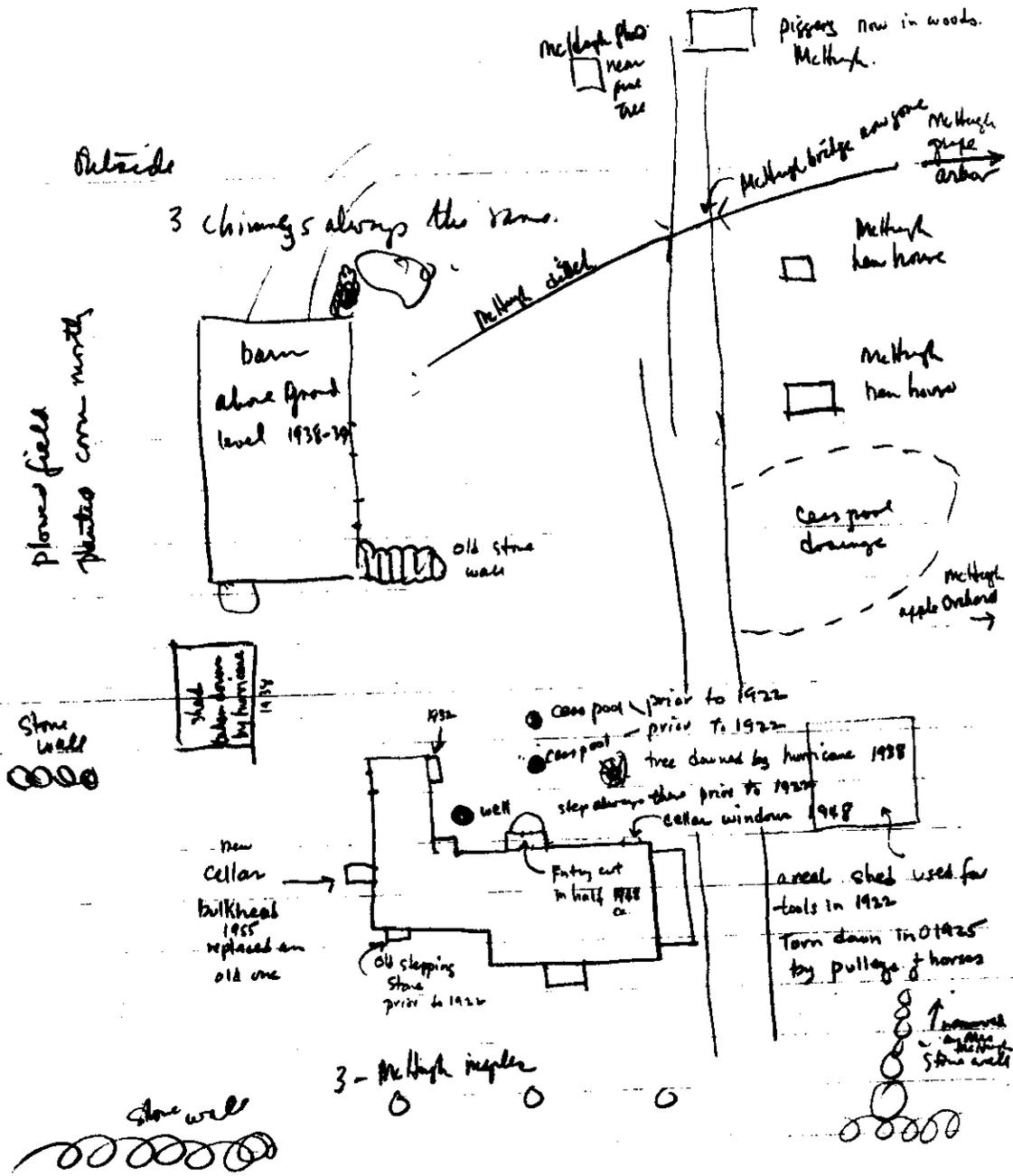
difficult, if not impossible, to determine the full scope of Tremer's excavations. A site plan which appeared in the first season's progress report was the most informative source available regarding the horizontal extent of the 1972 investigations (Figure 14.3). Appearing on this map were most, although not all, of the excavation units discussed in the report text. They seem to reflect a general excavation methodology of test trenching in areas of interest.

The text itself did not review Tremer's test trenching methodology, but it seemed clear that no systematic form of horizontal control, such as a grid system, was established. Instead, excavation areas were probably designed to first locate structural features, and then were expanded to reveal them in full. Figure 14.3 documents their configuration.

While the 1973 site plan was an important record of Tremer's excavation locations, its accuracy was somewhat questionable. The map's dimensions, including those of excavated features, were directly correlated to the schematic grounds map drawn by NPS historian Luzader (Figure 14.4). This in turn essentially duplicated a sketch plan drawn by NPS architect Carroll during an interview with former property owner Mary McHugh (Figure 14.5). No scale was available to further evaluate the site plan, but dimensions given in the text conflicted with those reflected in the plan. Thus, Tremer's site map provided relative, rather than accurate, information.

The location of Tremer's subsequent excavations in 1973 and 1974 was not altogether clear. He reported that during the spring survey of 1973, "two rectangular foundations were found" (1973:3). Plans were made to excavate these features as well as to continue prior investigations in the summer of 1973 (Tremer 1973:3). Mulhern and Carroll reported that these plans were, in fact, carried out, and that "in 1974 two small, remote sites were excavated and explorations around the house were started but not completed" (1975:5). Additionally, the Pratts, in their later archeological work at Hartwell, found evidence of Tremer's excavations and backdirt piles in the area of two foundations behind the barn (Pratt 1981:16, 24-35). Plans of their findings were presented in the final report (Figures 14.6, 14.7). Thus the 1973 and 1974 investigations included, at the least, the excavation of these two outbuilding foundations, additional units in the 1972 study area, and unknown areas around the house. Further delineation of these as well as other possible excavation areas was unfortunately not possible.

In addition to problems of horizontal control, very little is known about the excavations' vertical controls. Again, Tremer's 1973 progress report was the sole source of information. No mention was made of excavation methodology



14.5. Carroll's sketch plan of grounds during McHugh years, based upon oral history interview with Mary McHugh, last tavern occupant (Carroll n.d.). Note "piggery" in upper right corner, and "McHugh Shed" immediately to the left. Also shown are the cesspool and sheds excavated by Tremer near house, and hen houses. Plan is not to scale.

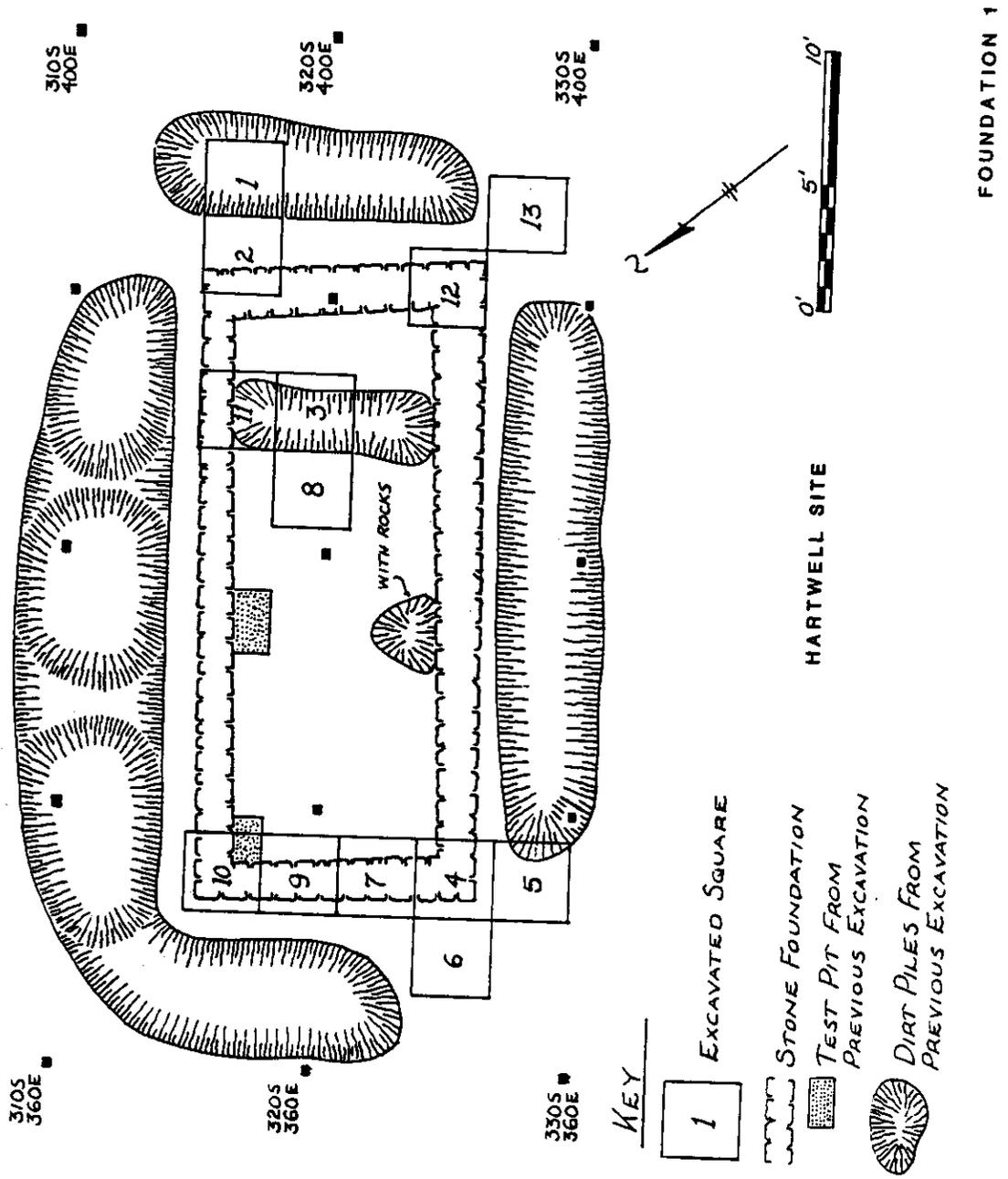
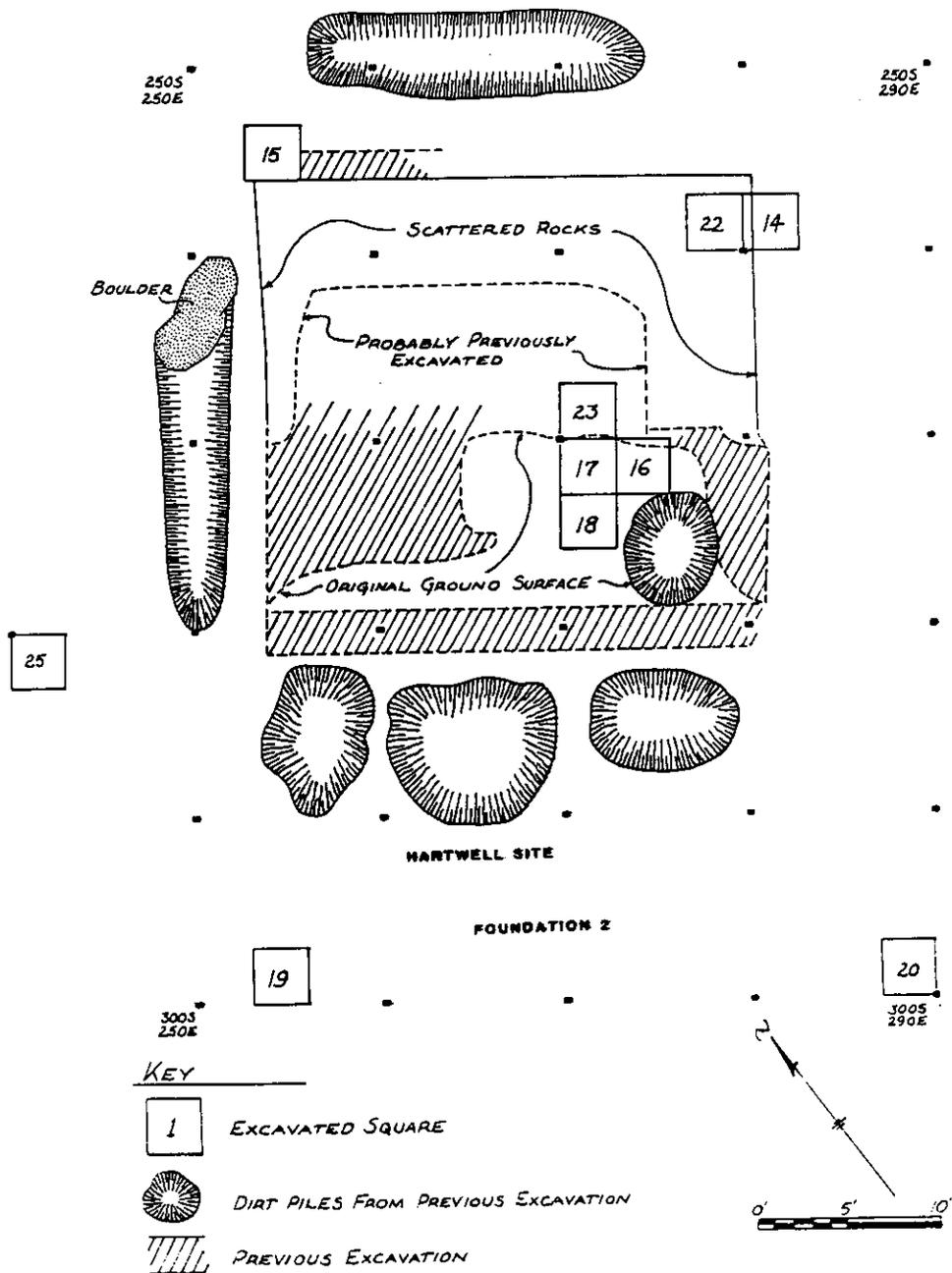


Figure 14.6. Pratt plan of Foundation 1 (1981:Figure 7).



14.7. Pratt plan of Foundation 2 (1981:Figure 11).

and whether or not stratigraphic or arbitrary levels were utilized. Occasional references to soil stratigraphy were made, but it was not clear that these strata were used as controls during excavation. Finally, the lack of profile maps added greatly to the problem of missing stratigraphic data.

The implications of this lack of horizontal and stratigraphic data, and of the paucity of other types of excavation records, are serious. Most forms of site analysis are impossible without this information. Intersite comparisons or even comparisons with subsequent excavations are essentially limited to issues of a locational nature. In this case, even the location of gross architectural features is at question. These data problems are particularly unfortunate when we consider the extent of these first three Hartwell excavations.

Artifact Collection: At the time of this writing, artifacts from Tremer's excavations had not been positively identified. However, the ACMP located a collection of materials which may very well have been recovered during Tremer's work. These have been inventoried and recorded as Tremer's collection, given that the evidence at hand argued more strongly than not in favor of this identification.

A number of factors led the ACMP to believe that the collection belonged to Tremer's Hartwell excavations. First, the artifacts were labelled with Tremer's identification system, a four part code found on most artifacts from his various MIMA excavations. The codes contained what appeared to be, in sequence: a site number, a feature or excavation unit number, an artifact number, and the year of excavation.

The artifacts in this collection exhibited a code with site number 11, and years '72 and '74. This alone did not identify the materials, since Tremer's Hartwell report contained no artifact inventory or reference to cataloging procedures. However, many of the materials with an "11" identifier were stored together in boxes labelled "Hartwell." The handwriting on these boxes matched that on boxes of Tremer's materials from the Thomas Nelson Jr. site, which had been positively linked to the Nelson excavations. This led MIMA Curator Lynne Leopold-Sharp to be fairly confident that the Hartwell identification was accurate (personal communication 1985). In addition, we knew that Tremer excavated at the tavern in 1972 and 1974, the years which appeared in the artifact codes.

These materials were probably the same that former NPS Archeologist Thomas Mahlstedt discovered in 1979 upon completion of his testing at the tavern. Mahlstedt wrote in a memorandum that he had contacted Tremer by phone, who reported

that he "vaguely recalls placing the materials 'in the cellar of the Buttrick House'" (Mahlstedt 1979b). Mahlstedt recovered "a small collection of materials" in boxes labelled "Hartwell" from the Buttrick cellar, some of which were labelled, and commented that he was "not positive that they represent materials from the Hartwell Tavern" (Mahlstedt 1979b). He also noted that if they were from the tavern, they probably represented only a "small fraction of the material encountered during his excavation" based upon the results of Mahlstedt's testing (Mahlstedt 1979b). The ACMP believed these materials to be the same as those which we inventoried as Accession #357.

Thus it seemed that artifacts labelled with the identifying site number "11" belonged to tavern excavations. Not all of these materials were stored in "Hartwell" boxes at MIMA. Some were sent to the Park from Muhlenberg College in January of 1984. This occurred when MIMA Curator Leopold-Sharp attempted to track down various Tremer collections by contacting the three colleges where he was employed at the time of the MIMA excavations (Muhlenberg College, Moravian College, and Temple University, all in Pennsylvania).

The curator at Muhlenberg was able to locate certain materials which probably related to Tremer's work at MIMA (ACMP MIMA Correspondence File n.d.). These bore the indicators used by Tremer, and included some "11" items. Also present was one small box labelled "Hartwell," containing 25 kaolin pipe fragments and two Westerwald sherds. However, the artifact identifiers indicated that they were recovered from site "6" during a 1971 excavation, the year before Tremer began work at Hartwell. The actual provenience of these objects was thus unknown, and they were not inventoried as part of the Tremer Hartwell collection. In fact, they could not be identified as MIMA materials at all, and were returned to Muhlenberg College.

The ACMP gathered all "11" items and inventoried them as the Tremer Hartwell collection. Proveniences were sorted and assigned unique provenience codes. Appendix 14.2 provides a list of these proveniences. It also denotes problems with the provenience information. Materials from eight of the 21 proveniences were not labelled with dates, and only nine of the proveniences could be tied to a ground location using Tremer's 1973 map (Figure 14.3) and report. Thus over half of the proveniences (12) were of unknown location.

Further problems were apparent upon surveying the provenience table (Appendix 14.2). For example, there were no materials labelled with year 73 (1973), although Tremer excavated at Hartwell that year (Mulhern and Carroll 1975:5). There were also no materials from many of Tremer's 1972 test

trenches. Test trench 32 was represented (with no year), and yet Tremer reported that he dug only 29 test trenches in 1972 (1973:11).

Some of these problems may be explained by the fact that there were no excavation records or reports for the 1973 and 1974 excavations. In particular, the undated proveniences from unknown locations may have been a part of Tremer's later work. It is possible, for example, that STR4 (Structure 4) and STR5 referred to the two foundations which Tremer discovered in the 1973 survey and later excavated, especially since Structures 1 through 3 had been investigated in 1972. It is also possible that STR1B referred to a secondary excavation of Structure 1, which Tremer had planned to carry out (Tremer 1973:15).

The lack of excavation records may explain why there are unknown proveniences represented in the "11" materials, but it does not explain why the collection appeared incomplete for known proveniences. Tremer's report documented the excavation of 32 proveniences in 1972: 29 test trenches and 3 structures. However, only nine of these proveniences were represented in the collection. It may be that the proveniences STR1 and STR2 subsumed a number of test trenches, as this was also the case in Tremer's report descriptions (1973:11). However, other proveniences which were a part of STR1 and STR2 were represented as separate proveniences in the collection. In addition, the small size of the STR1 and STR2 collections did not argue for this explanation.

Table 14.1 presents a listing of Tremer's 1972 proveniences, showing which were not represented in the collection. Artifacts were unavailable for 24, or 75%, of the proveniences. Tremer did not discuss artifactual recoveries in his report, making it impossible to determine precisely which materials were missing. Nonetheless, it seemed highly improbable that these 24 proveniences were culturally sterile. The ACMP therefore assumed that these artifacts were missing.

Assemblage sizes varied from 1 to 49 items for those 1972 proveniences which did have artifacts (Table 14.2). Provenience dimensions as drawn on Tremer's site map (Figure 14.3) suggested that these assemblages were incomplete. TT5, for example, was a long trench, measuring over half the length of the house. Yet the artifact assemblage for TT5 consisted of a single artifact. Obviously, this is not likely to be the entire collection, particularly when one considers the density of materials from much smaller excavation units at Hartwell (e.g., Mahlstedt's proveniences).

The collection from the 1972 excavation was thus incomplete, both in size of available provenience assemblages,

Table 14.1

Tremer's 1972 Proveniences & Artifact Availability

| <u>Provenience</u>     | <u>Artifacts Available</u> | <u>Provenience</u>                                    | <u>Artifacts Available</u> |
|------------------------|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| Structure 1<br>(STR1): | Yes                        | Other Test Trenches:                                  |                            |
| TT2                    | No                         | TT5   | Yes                        |
| TT4                    | No                         | TT8   | No                         |
| TT6                    | Yes                        | TT12  | Yes                        |
| TT7                    | No                         | TT14  | No                         |
| TT9                    | No                         | TT15  | No                         |
| TT10                   | No                         | TT16  | No                         |
| TT11                   | No                         | TT17  | No                         |
|                        |                            | TT18  | No                         |
|                        |                            | TT28  | No                         |
|                        |                            | TT29  | No                         |
| Structure 2<br>(STR2): | Yes                        |   |                            |
| TT1                    | No                         |   |                            |
| TT3                    | Yes                        |   |                            |
| TT19                   | Yes                        |   |                            |
| TT22                   | No                         |   |                            |
| TT24                   | Yes                        |   |                            |
| TT25                   | No                         |   |                            |
|                        |                            | Total Proveniences:                                   | 32                         |
|                        |                            | Total Proveniences<br>with no artifacts<br>available: | 24                         |
| Structure 3<br>(STR3): | No                         |   |                            |
| TT13                   | Yes                        |   |                            |
| TT20                   | No                         |   |                            |
| TT21                   | No                         |   |                            |
| TT23                   | No                         |   |                            |
| TT26                   | No                         |   |                            |
| TT27                   | No                         |   |                            |

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Table 14.2

Tremer Collection:  
Proveniences Represented & Assemblage Counts

| <u>Provenience</u> | <u>Year dug</u> | <u># of artifacts</u> | <u>Provenience Location Known</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| STR1               | 1972            | 32                    | Yes                               |
| STR2               | 1972            | 23                    | Yes                               |
| TT3                | 1972            | 25                    | Yes                               |
| TT5                | 1972            | 1                     | Yes                               |
| TT6                | 1972            | 2                     | Yes                               |
| TT12               | 1972            | 49                    | Yes                               |
| TT13               | 1972            | 3                     | Yes                               |
| TT19               | 1972            | 15                    | Yes                               |
| TT24               | 1972            | 2                     | Yes                               |
| TT32               | unknown         | 2                     | No                                |
| F1                 | 1972            | 86                    | No                                |
| 2A                 | unknown         | 3                     | No                                |
| 2A3                | unknown         | 144                   | No                                |
| 2A4                | unknown         | 23                    | No                                |
| 2A5                | unknown         | 18                    | No                                |
| 2B                 | unknown         | 229                   | No                                |
| 2B4                | unknown         | 52                    | No                                |
| STR1B              | 1974            | 60                    | No                                |
| STR4               | 1974            | 26                    | No                                |
| STR5               | 1974            | 168                   | No                                |
| unprovenienced     | unknown         | 180                   | No                                |

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Total Assemblage 1143

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and in the unavailability of materials from 75% of the proveniences excavated. Collections from Tremer's 1973 and 1974 tavern excavations were also no doubt incomplete. Indeed, no collection was available for any of Tremer's 1973 tavern excavations, and only three proveniences were represented from 1974. The seven proveniences without a date (Table 14.2) may well have been from 1973 or 1974, but the lack of documentation from these years made it impossible to determine.

In summary, there were major data problems with Tremer's Hartwell collection. Of the three years of excavations, only two were represented in the collection, and these appeared to be incomplete. In addition, the collection contained materials from proveniences excavated in unknown years and in unknown locations. In fact, a total of 991 artifacts, or



14.8. Tremer's excavation photographs, Hartwell Tavern, showing work on Structure 2 (MIMA.CS.HT.3., MIMA.CS.HT.4).

86.6% of the entire Tremer collection, came from proveniences of unknown location.

These data problems suggest that the Tremer collection is of limited research value. The lack of excavation records and reports compounds the severity of the problems. Even if more materials were located, there is no guarantee that they would constitute the entire Tremer collection, as there was no inventory of recovered artifacts.

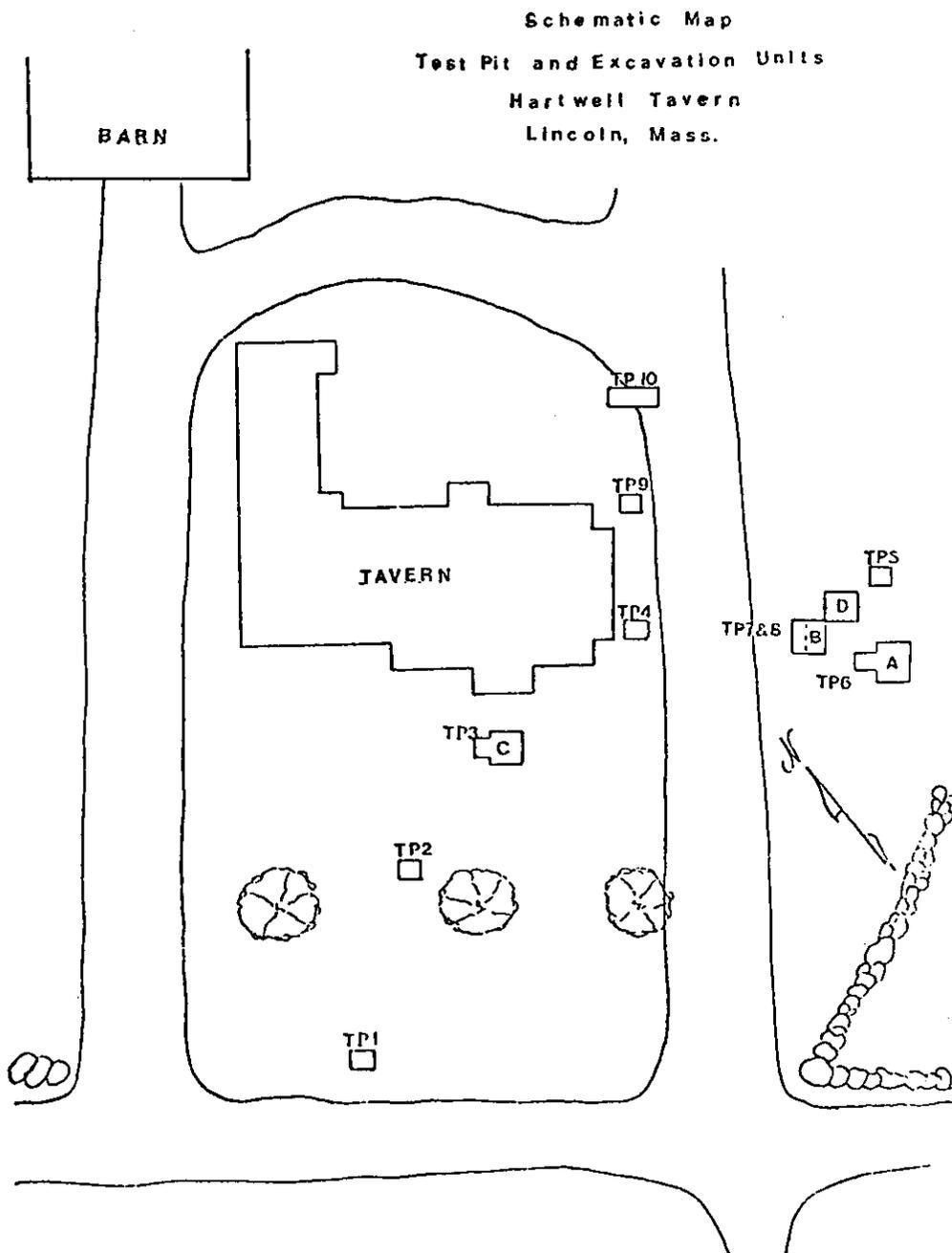
Furthermore, the original collection itself may not have been a representative sample of the cultural materials present at Hartwell. This was suggested by the few slides taken of the 1972 excavations, in which it appeared that screens were not used for artifact recovery. These photographs showed excavators digging with shovels in excavation units surrounded by mounds of dirt. No screens were in sight, and paper bags were located next to each person (Figure 14.8). If it is true that screening was not employed, such field methodology would result in a collection skewed in favor of materials selected by size or by type.

Finally, stratigraphic and horizontal data problems also limit the utility of Tremer's collection. There was a complete lack of stratigraphic information, and the horizontal location of proveniences was often unknown or had been lumped into larger, less useful provenience units (e.g., as with "structures"). Both chronological and spatial analyses would therefore be restricted in scope.

In spite of these limitations, it is possible that the materials could be used for general questions about site interpretation. For example, certain kinds of gross spatial analyses might be attempted, or the assemblage might be compared to those of other excavations or other sites. Depending upon their state of preservation, they might also serve well as artifacts for on-site interpretation or exhibits. It is therefore recommended that if more materials are located from Tremer's Hartwell excavation, they be added to the collection.

### Mahlstedt's Excavations

Excavation Methodology and Documentation: Mahlstedt's archeological testing at Hartwell was of limited scope, confined to the construction right-of-way for underground utility trenches. Ten shovel test pits were placed at specific intervals along the right-of-way, and five of these were expanded for further investigation (Figure 14.9). The report on this work documented the methodology, results, analysis, interpretations and recommendations (Mahlstedt 1979a).



14.9. Mahlstedt's original site plan (1979a:Figure 2).

On the whole, Mahlstedt's excavations were well executed and recorded. Standard archeological field procedures were followed, including the use of shovels and trowels, the screening of all excavated material, and the bagging of artifacts by provenience (Mahlstedt 1979a:2). Subsequently the site was reported to the Massachusetts Historical Commission (MHC) and received the state site number 19-MD-346.

There were only two minor data problem issues. The first concerned the dimensions of the excavation units, both horizontal and vertical. While the five expanded units were described by size, the original test pits were not. Because the site map was "schematic," it was difficult to determine exact test pit dimensions, but they were probably 40-50 cm squares (see Map Construction section above). As to vertical depth, Mahlstedt reported that all units were excavated well into sterile soil (1979a:1), but these depths were not recorded. The project's field notes may contain this information, but to date they have not been located, although they were apparently left at NARO (Thomas Mahlstedt, personal communication 1984).

The second issue concerned stratigraphy. Mahlstedt's report did not include profile drawings, and there was no discussion of soils. The excavation units themselves were dug as single units, without the use of stratigraphic or arbitrary levels. Again, it may be that this information is accessible in the original field records, and location of these records would help to clarify this issue. Without them, and without comparable data from Tremer's work, the problem of site stratigraphy is compounded.

Artifact Collection: The artifact assemblage from Mahlstedt's excavation was relatively small and has remained largely intact. When located by the ACMP, it was contained within a single box, with proveniences separately bagged. These materials had been stored at EAFL rather than MIMA, and only recently received an accession number (#367).

Mahlstedt included an inventory of the collection in his 1979 report. Several months later (February 1980), EAFL personnel cataloged the materials again in order to incorporate the collection into the then current coding system. The use of coding sheets which had been initially developed for the Cape Cod Archeological Survey meant that materials were classified in a somewhat different format. Although this resulted in a slightly different artifact count (240 as opposed to Mahlstedt's 258), the same materials appear to have been present. During this second inventory, catalog numbers were assigned to each artifact, and the artifacts were labelled accordingly. These numbers still appear on most items in this collection, and the inventory forms are on file at MIMA.

The ACMP was able to account for nearly all of Mahlstedt's artifacts when the collection was compared to original inventory counts. Presumably all excavated items were inventoried with the exception of materials from TP #1, "two specimens of 20th century origin" (Mahlstedt 1979a:2), which did not appear in the inventory. Otherwise only 6.2% of the original assemblage was missing, and most of this was accounted for by nails. In reviewing the ACMP counts, it seemed obvious that the missing nails (11 out of 79) had corroded since the original inventory, and were represented by the large quantity of indeterminate ferrous fragments. Discrepancies with Mahlstedt's inventory are identified in Table 14.3.

It should also be noted that the numerous ferrous fragments had a skewing effect upon the ACMP's total count for the collection. This total, 404 artifacts, was thus not directly comparable to Mahlstedt's 258. The collection essentially maintains its original integrity for most interpretive purposes.

### Pratts' Excavations

Excavation Methodology and Documentation: The Pratts conducted the largest program of systematic archeological testing at Hartwell. For the most part, their study area did not overlap those of Tremmer or Mahlstedt. It consisted of a large rectangular gridded area, most of which was north of the barn, and a small area just north of the tavern building itself (Figure 14.2). Two sampling strategies were employed. First, test pits were dug at ten foot intervals along twenty-six transects which were placed ten feet apart. This resulted in a total number of 468 test pits (Pratt 1981:19). Second, three foot square excavation units were used in certain areas for more intensive investigation. A total of forty-seven squares was excavated (Pratt 1981:24). Their location, as well as that of the transects, is reflected on Figure 14.2.

The final project report provided extensive documentation of the Pratts' survey (Pratt 1981). In addition, the Pratts recently mailed their original field notes and maps to the ACMP upon request, and these records will be stored at MIMA. There was thus fairly complete documentation of the Pratts' excavations, though certain gaps remained. These gaps revealed problem areas which, like the data problems for both of the previous excavations, involved issues of horizontal and vertical control.

Questions about horizontal control were not major, but merit documentation. For example, the report was not explicit

Table 14.3

Missing Artifacts: Mahlstedt Collection\*

| <u>Artifact Class</u> | <u>Original Total Count</u> | <u>Total Missing</u> | <u>% Missing</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Historic Ceramics     | 66                          | 3                    | 4.5              |
| Clay Pipes            | 2                           | 0                    | 0                |
| Vessel Glass          | 13                          | 0                    | 0                |
| Window Glass          | 10                          | 0                    | 0                |
| Nails                 | 79                          | 11                   | 13.9             |
| Miscellaneous Metal   | 39                          | 0                    | 0                |
| Bone                  | 5                           | 1                    | 20.0             |
| Other                 | <u>44</u>                   | <u>1</u>             | 2.3              |
| Total                 | 258                         | 16                   |                  |
| Total Percent Missing |                             |                      | 6.2              |

\* Original counts were taken from Mahlstedt's artifact inventory (1979a:Appendix A).

as to why the study area was located in the rear portion of the property (Figure 14.2). NPS project files at NARO revealed that the study area was delineated by NARO personnel, and that it was to be investigated first by resistivity. In fact, the Pratts essentially adopted the resistivity sampling pattern of 26 transects placed 10 feet apart. A study area so far to the rear of the property may have been chosen to avoid overlap with the work done by Tremer. Certainly the Park Service wished "to locate potential archeological deposits" at the tavern site (Weston Geophysical 1980:1), and perhaps felt that Tremer had adequately assessed the location of cultural features in the front portion of the site. Alternatively, the rear of the property may simply have provided the least disturbed, and thus most desirable, area for study.

The Pratts reported that all of Tremer's 1972 excavation areas lay outside their study area (1981:16). While this was largely true, it also appeared that some overlap may have occurred (Figure 14.2). It is doubtful that such an overlap would alter the Pratts' interpretations. Rather, these discrepancies are mentioned to clarify the record.

The issues involving vertical control were more problematic. Methodology for the 1980 project called for excavation of the three foot squares "by natural stratigraphic

levels," and profile maps were subsequently drawn (Pratt 1981:9). Test pits, on the other hand, appear to have been excavated as units. Although stratigraphic information was recorded for the squares, no profile maps were included in the report and discussion of stratigraphy was limited to only certain of the squares. While this data was no doubt recorded, profile maps were missing from the original field records and stratigraphic data did not always include discussion of soils with associated artifact recoveries or respective elevation or depth information. This issue of incomplete stratigraphic data was perhaps the most serious overall site data problem.

Artifact Collection: The Pratts deposited their artifacts at MIMA, where the ACMP found them to be generally as they had been left. Artifacts had been washed, inventoried, and stored by provenience in plastic bags. MIMA had recently assigned the collection accession #370, but had never cataloged the materials.

The ACMP compared artifact counts from each provenience against the Pratts' original artifact inventory (Pratt 1981:Appendix). Only 62 items (1.8% of the total assemblage) were missing. Forty percent of these were nails, which may well have corroded into indeterminate fragments. A breakdown of the missing artifacts is presented in Table 14.4.

The assemblage was thus for the most part in good order. Several "editorial problems" with the Pratts' original inventory merit mention to avoid future confusion. The inventory was an item-based catalog, divided into columns labelled: excavation unit, level, depth, item, quantity, and description/catalog number. Often one or more of these were blank, leaving the associated data in question. At times, excavation unit numbers differed from those written on the bags, though the catalog numbers matched. The ACMP used provenience information from both the artifact bags and the Pratt inventory to clear up these "editorial problems." The ACMP coding sheets thus reflect the corrected information.

The ACMP also located bags of artifacts which were not listed on the inventory. Some of these had been cataloged and some had not. Many were "modern intrusions," a category of materials which primarily contained asphalt roofing tile, and which was treated inconsistently on the inventory. Modern intrusions, even when listed, did not usually receive catalog numbers. Additional materials were also overlooked, at times missing on the inventory, or alternatively missing a catalog number. Other inconsistencies included the various weighing or counting of shell, bone, slag, coal, and clinkers, and the use of a variable nomenclature for whiteware classification.

Table 14.4

Missing Artifacts: Pratt Collection \*

| Artifact Class    | Squares         |                | Surface Areas   |                | Test Area Test Pits |                | Behind House Test Pits |                | Total Assemblage |                | % of Missing Artifacts |       |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------|
|                   | Original Counts | Missing Counts | Original Counts | Missing Counts | Original Counts     | Missing Counts | Original Counts        | Missing Counts | Original Counts  | Missing Counts |                        |       |
| Historic Ceramics | 317             | 6              | 25              | 0              | 143                 | 3              | 39                     | 0              | 524              | 9              | 1.7%                   | 14.5% |
| Clay Pipes        | 9               | 1              | 0               | 0              | 0                   | 0              | 0                      | 0              | 9                | 1              | 11.1%                  | 1.6%  |
| Vessel Glass      | 166             | 8              | 40              | 2              | 117                 | 1              | 16                     | 0              | 339              | 11             | 3.2%                   | 17.7% |
| Window Glass      | 199             | 5              | 0               | 0              | 155                 | 0              | 18                     | 0              | 372              | 5              | 1.3%                   | 8.1%  |
| Brick             | 386             | 1              | 0               | 0              | 135                 | 0              | 80                     | 0              | 601              | 1              | .2%                    | 1.6%  |
| Nails             | 355             | 19             | 0               | 0              | 183                 | 2              | 39                     | 4              | 577              | 25             | 4.3%                   | 40.3% |
| Misc. Metal       | 291             | 0              | 18              | 0              | 147                 | 1              | 13                     | 5              | 469              | 6              | 1.3%                   | 9.7%  |
| Bone              | 188             | 0              | 2               | 0              | 43                  | 0              | 2                      | 0              | 235              | 0              | 0                      | 0     |
| Other             | 246             | 2              | 4               | 0              | 114                 | 2              | 18                     | 0              | 382              | 4              | 1.0%                   | 6.4%  |
| Totals            | 2157            | 42             | 89              | 2              | 1037                | 9              | 225                    | 9              | 3508             | 62             | 1.8%                   | 99.9% |

\*Counts were derived from the Pratt artifact inventory (1981:Appendix)

The ACMP attempted to correct these inventory problems by compiling all sources of information and presenting this in a consistent format on the ACMP coding sheets. Previously uninventoried items have been added to ACMP counts. The ACMP total assemblage count is thus higher than the Pratts' count, totalling 5081 artifacts. Only one artifact from the Pratt collection was unprovenienced, and was given a separate provenience code. On the whole, the collection is intact and in useful form for future research.

### Restoration Excavations

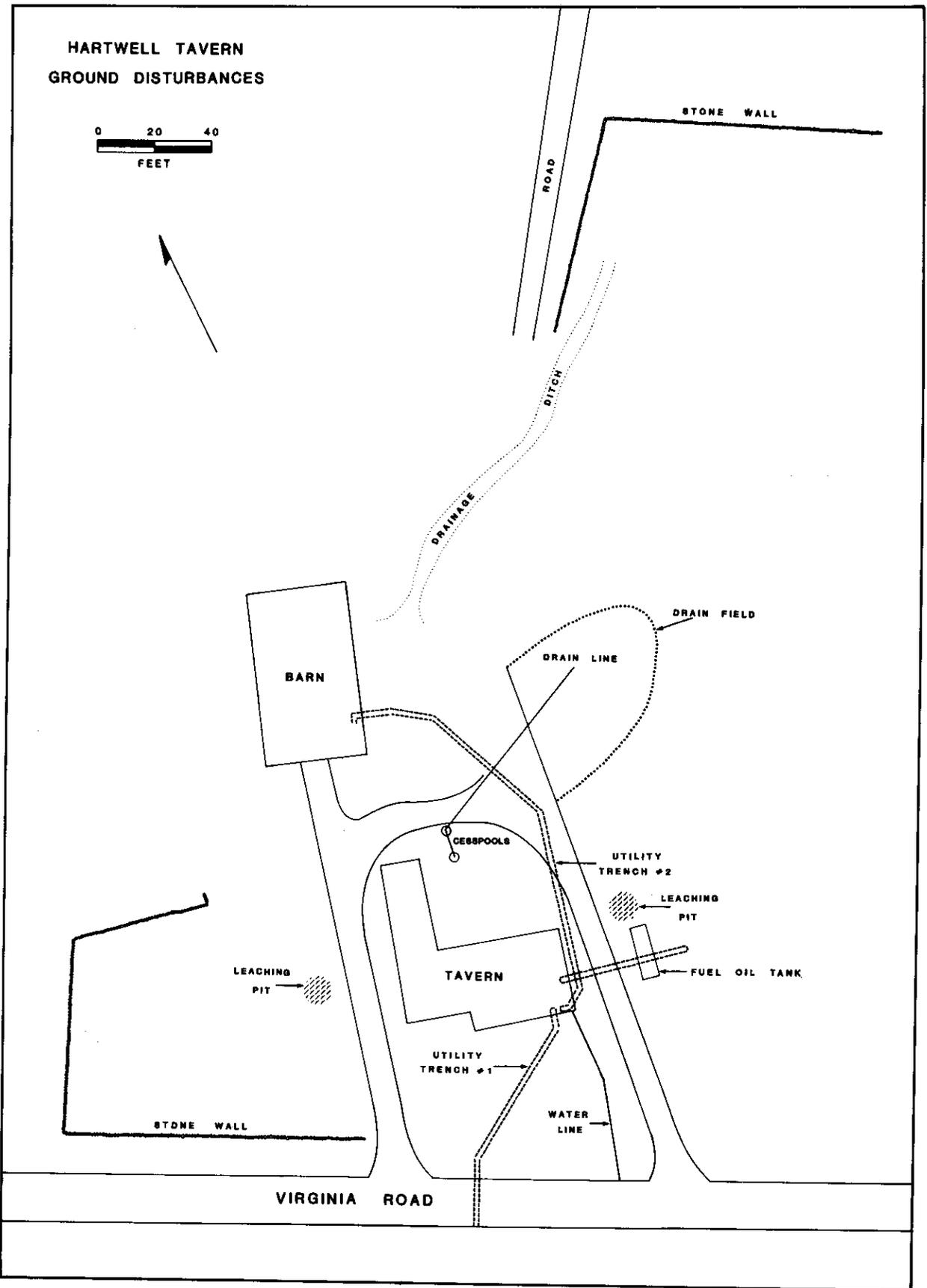
During tavern restoration in 1980-81, Historical Architect Carroll made some attempt to recover archeological materials from disturbed areas. These were provenienced by general location, and have been inventoried by the ACMP. However, there was no official archeological monitoring associated with the restoration, and artifacts were not collected during all ground disturbing activities. Excavations have thus occurred with essentially no data collection, and note should be made of the disturbed areas.

The Completion Report for tavern restoration discussed most of the ground disturbing activities, but did not provide a map delineating the impacted areas (Carroll 1983). Personal communication with architect Carroll (1984) resulted in a sketch plan of approximate disturbance locations (included in Figure 14.10). These included areas east and west of the tavern where two concrete leaching pits were installed as field drains. The pits measured 3 ft. 4 in. high by 6 ft. 6 in. in diameter, and were surrounded by a layer of gravel (Carroll 1983:2D). Thus the holes dug to receive the units were somewhat larger than the given dimensions. In addition, drains connected the pits to the tavern cellar, causing further ground disturbance (Carroll 1983:2D).

Trenches were also dug around the exterior of tavern foundations. Architect Carroll reported that the trenches did not exceed one foot in width (personal communication 1984). Again, artifacts were not collected from this excavation. Thus the Hartwell restoration collection contained materials from only certain of the ground disturbing activities. These activities must be recognized for future archeological investigations and compliance procedures.

### Summary

It is perhaps too easy, from a retrospective vantage point, to spot problems with previous research methodologies, recording systems, and analyses. The intent of the foregoing section was not to single out researchers and their errors,



14.10. ACMP composite map of non-archeological ground disturbances, Hartwell Tavern.

but rather to summarize the current status of the Hartwell Tavern data base as a whole. This is significant not only for the assessment of previous research, but for the planning of future research as well.

Hartwell Tavern data problems fell primarily into two major categories: excavation methodology and documentation, and artifact collections. Under the former, several issues have been raised. The first, missing records, is an unfortunate situation which may or may not be remedied with time and search. Field documents for two of the three excavations were missing as of this writing. In addition, no data or reports were available for the last two of Tremer's three field seasons.

The second issue concerned horizontal and vertical controls. For the most part, the horizontal extent of excavations, and the methodology which guided their placement, has been documented. The major exception was for the first three field seasons at Hartwell, all conducted by Tremer. While the first of these seasons was documented to a certain degree, the last two were not, and the location of these excavations is largely unknown.

Perhaps the most serious methodology/documentation issue was that of vertical controls. The Pratts were the only investigators at Hartwell to excavate by stratigraphic levels, and even then it was done only for squares as opposed to test pits. Discussion of stratigraphy in any of the Hartwell reports was very uneven, and further information which may have been recorded in field notes was unavailable. This kind of data is a basic cornerstone of archeological analyses for dating cultural features, for interpreting a site's changing character, and on a more abstract level, for discussing cultural change. Given the data problems at Hartwell, it was impossible to compare or compile stratigraphic information from the various excavations. Those questions which could be approached will be addressed in the Site Interpretation section.

The artifact collections from Hartwell exhibited problems of varying degree. Those from both Mahlstedt's and the Pratts' excavations were in good order. Mahlstedt's collection contained no unprovenienced materials, and only 6.2% of the original assemblage was missing, most of which was accounted for by corroded nails. The Pratt collection contained only one unprovenienced item, and a mere 1.8% of the original assemblage was missing. Again, this could be largely explained by the corrosion of nails.

The Tremer collection, however, presented more difficulties. At the most basic level, the ACMP was able to reasonably assume that the artifacts were from Tremer's

excavations, though absolute evidence was lacking. If they were indeed from Tremer's work, they obviously did not reflect the entire original collection, and an indeterminate amount of materials was missing. Of those items which were present, many (15.8%) were unprovenienced. Additionally, the proveniences represented were often from unknown locations and unknown year of excavation. In short, there were many outstanding questions about the Tremer collection, questions compounded by the lack of excavation documentation. Should these documents surface, some of the questions may be answered, thus increasing the utility of the collection.

## Site Interpretation

The three excavators who worked at the Hartwell Tavern were motivated by very different research objectives. For the most part they also worked on different areas of the site. It is therefore reasonable that their interpretations should also vary in focus, yet somewhat surprising that little effort has been made to integrate site analyses. One of the goals of the ACMP is to summarize the various interpretations, and to offer a synthesis based on study of the records and reanalysis of the artifacts. In order to give context to the interpretations, a brief historical background will also be provided.

### Historical Background

A number of scholars have explored the history of the tavern and its inhabitants. In the 1960s, Park Historian Robert Ronsheim initiated Hartwell research. Ronsheim's search through primary source materials included the scrutiny of deeds, tax records, wills, probate inventories, town vital records, and county court records. His work, still in manuscript form at MIMA, became the foundation for further historical inquiry (Ronsheim n.d.).

Following Ronsheim, NPS historian John Luzader produced the first published report on Hartwell history (1968). It summarized the history of both the tavern and the Samuel Hartwell homestead, and recounted stories of their role in the battles of 1775. Luzader followed this report with another in which he attempted "to assemble and interpret all of the known information concerning the grounds of the Hartwell Tavern" (Luzader 1972:Introduction). The primary documents proved to contain little direct information, and no concrete picture emerged of the farmstead's layout through time. Luzader turned to oral history and inference in formulating his hypotheses. This report served as background research for the first archeological excavation at Hartwell.

Anna Coxe Toogood was the third historian to study Hartwell. She set out to investigate the use of interior rooms in colonial taverns generally and at Hartwell specifically (Toogood 1974:iii). Like Luzader, Toogood found the primary documents to be silent on particulars, and thus compiled the more general available information. The comparative material in her report has more recently been expanded upon by another MIMA historian in a general study of New England taverns (Sabin 1982).

Several additional studies contained information pertinent to the tavern. Joyce Malcolm summarized Hartwell

history in her Historic Grounds Report for MIMA (1985:58-61). Mulhern and Carroll also contributed valuable historical information, including the most definitive dates for tavern operation, though the primary thrust of their Historic Structure Report (1975) was architectural. Finally, Carroll's Completion Report (1983) documented the ground disturbances and structural transformations which occurred during tavern restoration.

It is thus clear that a good deal of research has been done on the Hartwells and their property. The reports range widely in scope and in detail, and are by no means definitive. Nonetheless, they do provide a data base which gives historical context to the site's archeology.

The Park's focus is on the Ephraim Hartwell homestead during its tavern years, a period spanning from 1756 to 1787. These thirty-one years reflect a vital era in the homestead's history, but it is also true that the property was used continuously as a home and a farm for nearly 250 years. The full spectrum of occupations at Hartwell has created its archeological record, forming a matrix in which the tavern period is one component. Occupation at the site began with Ephraim Hartwell in 1733, when his father Samuel deeded him the property, complete with "a New Dwelling house" (Malcolm 1985:59). Ephraim was at this time recently married, and was occupied as both cordwainer (shoemaker) and yeoman. He supported a growing family in this fashion until he became increasingly involved in community affairs and opened the tavern in 1756 (Toogood 1974:1-3).

Ephraim's son John operated the tavern during its last ten years, from 1777 to 1787 (Mulhern and Carroll 1975:30). John and his family lived in the tavern with his parents, and when Ephraim died in 1793, John was heir to the property (Luzader 1972:5). After John's death in 1820, the homestead remained in the Hartwell family until 1873 (Luzader 1972:9), resulting in a total of 140 years of continuous family occupation.

The complete chain of title for the property may be found in Table 14.5. It reflects the continuity in property ownership, during the years of Hartwell family occupation and later occupation as well. Other than a two year interlude following Hartwell ownership, a single family occupied the site for nearly 100 years until its purchase by NPS. One family member, Mary McHugh, has been a source of oral history concerning the most recent Hartwell occupation and associated land use (see Luzader 1972).

For further detail on the history of the property and its occupants, reference may be made to the historical sources noted in this section. Information on the tavern structure

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Table 14.5

Hartwell Tavern Chain of Title\*

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Built by 1733 | Samuel Hartwell deeds land and house to son <u>Ephraim</u> .   |
| 1793          | Willed to son <u>John Hartwell</u> .   |
| 1820          | John dies intestate; property goes to <u>heirs</u> (including son John and John's sister Sarah and Sarah's husband Abijah Hoare Pierce). |
| 1856          | By this date, <u>Abijah Hoare Pierce</u> had bought out all other heirs' interests, (1839-56 transactions).                              |
| 1858          | Sold to son <u>Samuel Pierce</u> .   |
| 1873          | Sold to <u>Stephan C. Hanscom</u> .  |
| 1875          | Sold to <u>Edward and Francis McHugh</u> .   |
| 1913          | Willed to Edward's widow <u>Mary McHugh</u> , and their children.  |
| 1927          | Willed to daughter <u>Katherine McHugh</u> , caretaker of her sister Margaret.   |
| 1927          | Katherine sells to brother <u>John McHugh</u> and wife <u>Mary</u> . This Mary owned the property until NPS purchase.                    |

\* Data taken from Luzader 1972 and Ronsheim n.d..

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itself and its architectural evolutions may be found in the architectural reports included in the references (Carroll 1983, Mulhern and Carroll 1975). Finally, copies of the deeds and other assorted primary records, as well as two collections of Hartwell family papers, are available in the MIMA library.

To date, historical data on the tavern have left a number of questions unanswered. Several of these have been of issue to the archeologists at Hartwell. Two such examples are the location, function, and date of outbuildings on the property, and the possible existence of a road running past the tavern and north through the property towards Bedford. The archeologists' interpretations make clear the issues they faced.

## Tremer's Analysis

The original primary objective of Tremer's 1972 excavations was "the archeological investigation of the Hartwell barn area" (Tremer 1973:2). However, the Park also encouraged Tremer to explore "the entire Hartwell site" archeologically, "to locate and determine the nature and function of original foundations" (Tremer 1973:2). It was this latter effort which Tremer's extensive work primarily reflected.

During the 1972 field season, four major features and several other potential features were located. The four major features were enumerated by Tremer as follows:

- 1) Structure 1 - "possible wood house/stable area foundation northwest of the Hartwell Tavern" (1973:2-3).
- 2) Structure 2 - "possible chaise house foundation east of the tavern" (1973:3).
- 3) Structure 3 - "large drainage field stone concentration northeast of the tavern" (1973:3).
- 4) Road - "Possible original roadbed east of the tavern, leading to barn area" (1973:3).

Although excavations included numerous test trenches unrelated to these features, a distinct emphasis was placed upon fully exposing the two foundations and the drainage field (Figure 14.3). According to Tremer, excavation of these features was not completed in 1972 and was to continue in 1973 (1973:3).

In addition, Tremer located "two rectangular foundations" during a spring survey in 1973, in the area beyond the house and barn. These were to be excavated in the 1973 field season (Tremer 1973:3). Tremer did not report on these excavations, but the Pratts later discovered evidence of his investigations (Pratt 1981:16). Interpretation of these foundations was thus left to the Pratts. Reference may be made to the composite site map (Figure 14.2) for all feature locations.

Structure 1: Tremer's report contained summary descriptions of the major 1972 features and other test trenches. Structure 1, just south of the barn, was a three-sided stone foundation, measuring 41 ft. north-south by 18.5 ft. east-west, which was open along the east side. It was composed of one course of large rounded dry-laid stones with intermingled small angular stones (Tremer 1973:7). Tremer believed that an opening in the north wall represented a doorway.

On the interior of the foundation, "a layer of medium sized cobble" was uncovered, which extended the entire length and width of the structure (Tremmer 1973:7). The cobble appeared more heavily concentrated "toward the southern end of the interior," having "the appearance of a destructed wall" (Tremmer 1973:7). Thus the configuration of Structure 1 suggested a three-sided foundation, with a doorway opening in one side wall, a cobble floor, and an interior dividing wall.

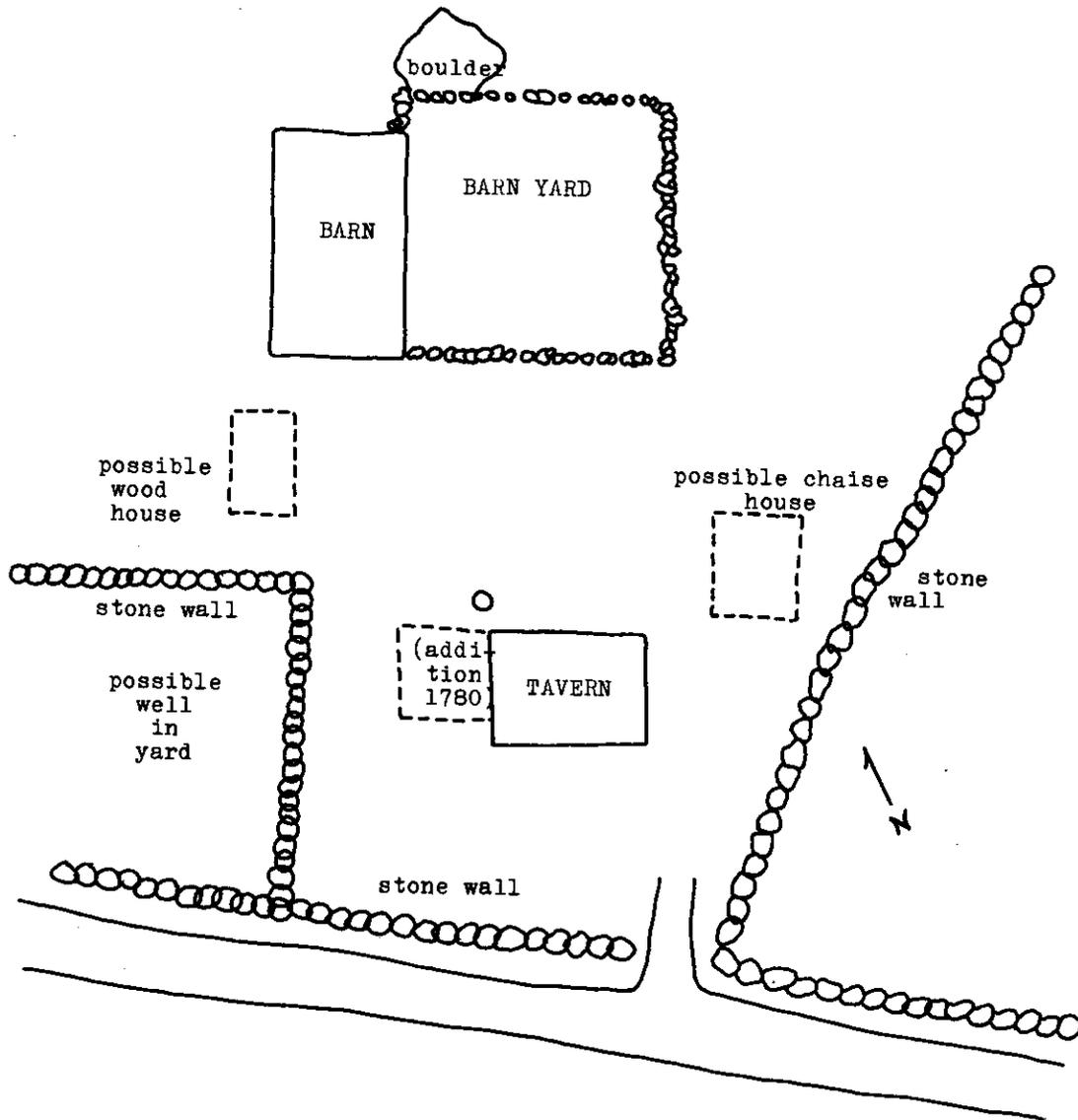
In addition to these structural features, trenches cutting through the interior cobbles revealed a "deeper layer of larger stones," which were rounded and "lay at a depth of at least three feet" (Tremmer 1973:8). Tremmer felt that these stones provided possible evidence of an earlier foundation, but noted that further excavation would be required for actual identification (1973:8).

In fact, Tremmer reported that the entire realm of "vertical stratification presents the most complex archeological problem, one that will require further excavation" (1973:8). Although he planned to continue these excavations in 1973, it is not known if any additional stratigraphic data, or information on the possible earlier foundation, was gathered.

As to the functional interpretation of Structure 1 as a "Wood House/Stable," it seems that Tremmer derived this feature identification from historian Luzader's "Historic Grounds Report" (1972). Luzader's speculative site plan (Figure 14.11) was included in Tremmer's report. It labelled a foundation in the area of Structure 1 as "possible wood house." Tremmer's addition of "stable" to the interpretation may have been drawn from Luzader's text, in which he discussed Hartwell's livestock and the resulting need for "a barn for the storage of winter feed and a stable, preferably adjacent, for the shelter of the stock" (Luzader 1972:5). Tremmer did feel that the structure was present in 1775 (Tremmer 1973:15). However, it is interesting to note that nowhere were artifacts mentioned in the report. Thus the functional as well as chronological interpretations of Structure 1 were apparently formulated from a historian's hypotheses, without benefit of the archeological data.

Structure 2: The same was true for Structure 2, the possible "Chaise House." This feature was also a rectangular foundation, measuring 17 ft. east-west by 17.5 ft. north-south, located northeast of the tavern (Figure 14.2). Its construction was like that of Structure 1 in terms of both foundation construction and an interior cobble layer or "floor" (Tremmer 1973:9).

HARTWELL SITE - APPROXIMATELY 1775



14.11. Luzader's speculative site plan of Hartwell Tavern grounds ca. 1775 (1972:14).

Tremer designated the west wall of Structure 2 as "the most significant wall" (1973:9). He believed that he had found evidence of a doorway in this wall, as well as evidence for the continuation of the wall to both the north (10 feet) and the south (6 feet). The southern continuation also defined the western edge of a "cobble floor," and at least the wall may have continued further south beyond the edge of excavation (Tremer 1973:9). Structure 2 was thus a stone foundation with one doorway, a cobble floor, and apparent continuations to both the north and the south, the latter of which also evidenced an interior cobble floor.

Excavations in the area of Structure 2 included a test trench outside the foundation's northeast corner (TT25), and another north of the north wall (provenience not noted). Both of these trenches revealed "a deep layer of large undefinable rubble, rubble which contained a profusion of 19th century artifacts" (Tremer 1973:9). This was the only time that Tremer mentioned artifacts in relation to Structure 2, and the only reference to dating in the entire report. Further definition of what these artifacts were, or precisely where the rubble was located stratigraphically in relation to the foundation, was not provided. Interpretation of the feature was also lacking. Again Tremer seems to have stopped excavation before "the base cultural level" was reached (1973:9), and he noted that "the vertical complexity of this and other areas of the structure remain to be investigated" (1973:10).

As was the case with Structure 1, Tremer's functional interpretation of Structure 2 as a possible "Chaise House" was directly related to the hypothesis forwarded by historian Luzader (see Figure 14.11). Tremer also considered Structure 2 to have been part of the grounds in 1775 (1973:15). Neither of these interpretations, functional or chronological, were discussed in regards to the recovered archeological data, and appear to have been derived solely from the historian's hypothesis.

Structure 3: Structure 3, "an area of large rounded stones intermingled with smaller rounded and angular stones" (Tremer 1973:10), was interpreted as "a large drainage field for the tavern cesspool" (Tremer 1973:10). Tremer also uncovered a wall between the drainage field and cesspool, and interpreted this as a connecting drain (1973:10). Once again, artifacts were not discussed in relation to the feature.

Road: The fourth major feature of Tremer's 1972 excavation, the possible road, was briefly discussed in context of test trench 12 (Tremer 1973:12). Tremer's comments, in full, were as follows:

The profile showed [a] relatively clearly defined layer of subsoil, brown-black in color, at a depth of 3 inches below the surface. Strata is approximately 3 inches thick, and is 8 feet wide. The alignment in overall configuration indicates the possibility of being a trace of the original road that led to the barn area (Tremmer 1973:12).

The location of TT12 may be found on Figure 14.3.

Additional Stone Features: In addition to the discussion of the four major features, Tremmer summarized the findings of certain test trenches and noted potential features (1973:11-14). Possible interpretations were offered for six of these features, all of which were stone configurations: four possible walls and two cobble layers.

The first of these was found west of the barn in TT8. Tremmer described it as "an alignment of loosely spaced stones, extending approximately 20 feet to the north...and possibly served as a support for a shed on the side of the original barn" (1973:12). A precise distance from the barn was not given, and it was not clear if the stones traversed the entire length of the trench. Its general location can be inferred by reference to TT8 on the site plan (Figure 14.3).

The second potential feature was located in the southern half of TT14. It consisted of "some large stones, generally in line with a stone wall that extends eastward from the barn corner" (Tremmer 1973:12).

TT18 contained the third possible wall, east of Structure 3. The trench's "eastern half was characterized by a concentration of large stones, possibly indicative of a rubble wall" (Tremmer 1973:13).

The fourth and final possible "wall configuration" was found in TT23, on the north edge of the drainage field. Tremmer recorded that "stone rubble appears at a level of 8 inches below the surface, and extends to a depth of at least 2 feet 3 inches" (1973:14).

Two cobble features were uncovered in TT15 and TT17. In the former, located east of the barn "in the barnyard area," a "cobble floor" covered most of the trench (Tremmer 1973:12). TT17 extended east from the barn door, generally in line with TT15 (Figure 14.3). Tremmer reported that cobbles extended eastward from the doorsill for five feet and then ended "abruptly" (1973:13). No further attempt was made to interpret these features, neither in relationship to "the barnyard area" nor in relationship to each other.

Summary: Tremer's 1972 excavations uncovered two major foundations, a drainage area, a possible road, and six additional possible stone features (four walls and two cobble layers). None of these findings appear to have been interpreted through the use of artifactual information, neither in terms of chronology nor function. In fact, the assumption that the buildings were present in the 18th century, and the functional interpretation of the two foundations as a "wood house/stable" and a "chaise house," were apparently derived from a historian's hypotheses.

In his recommendations, Tremer suggested that further testing be done on the foundations ("deep excavation"), partial walls, and barn area (1973:15-16). This, in addition to excavation of the two foundations found in the 1973 spring survey, was to be on the agenda for the 1973 summer field season. Since this field season remains unrecorded, Tremer made no further interpretations of the Hartwell features.

### Mahlstedt's Analysis

Mahlstedt's work at the tavern consisted of a one week impact survey (Figure 14.9). Not much data was recovered which would lead to new interpretive insights. Of the ten test pits which were excavated, five "contained materials that warranted further investigation" (Mahlstedt 1979a:1). These materials were "stones and cultural debris which were suspect due to either size, quantity, or potential configuration" (Mahlstedt 1979a:2). In the end, only one of the expanded units revealed a discernible cultural feature, but Mahlstedt also included in the report some general comments about site interpretation.

Excavation Unit C (and Test Pit 3) was located in front of, or south of, the tavern's front porch (Figure 14.9). Mahlstedt uncovered "a layer of small (cobble size) stone" (Mahlstedt 1979a:2), below which he encountered sterile soil. Above the stone layer, the soil contained a variety of cultural materials (Mahlstedt 1979a:2). Mahlstedt interpreted this cobble feature, tentatively, as "a cobble way associated with the front door of the Tavern" (Mahlstedt 1979a:4). Because the soil beneath the stones was sterile, Mahlstedt hypothesized that the cobble way may have been a feature original to the tavern's construction.

Although the overall configuration of the "way" was not investigated, Mahlstedt compared the feature to a similar cobble way exposed during excavations at the Thomas Nelson Jr. house, also at Minute Man, thus supporting his hypothesis (Mahlstedt 1979a:4-5). However, he also noted that the cobble layer was "extremely rough and loosely packed," possibly as a result of landscaping disturbance (1979a:5). Finally,

Mahlstedt further qualified his interpretation by holding out the possibility that the feature was actually a natural configuration, and recommended that further testing be done (1979a:5).

As to the other expanded units, three were located to the east of the tavern (Figure 14.9). Although the stones did not show evidence of patterning, they did seem to be "of the size and shape generally favored for construction," and may have represented stones from a disassembled structure or "wall-fall from a stonewall, the existence of which is betrayed by a wall which terminates adjacent to the sample area" (Mahlstedt 1979a:5).

In addition to these units, Mahlstedt discussed the artifactual recoveries and commented upon possible patterns. Basically he believed the small artifact assemblage to be both quantitatively and qualitatively unrepresentative, making it "of little analytical value" (1979a:3). For analysis purposes, items recovered were either too small or corroded to identify, were materials with a wide or unestablished range of manufacture, or were insignificant in terms of sample size (Mahlstedt 1979a:3).

Nonetheless, Mahlstedt suggested some broad interpretations. Based upon the homogeneous spatial distribution of artifacts in the test area, both horizontally and vertically, Mahlstedt posited that the artifact scatter reflected a pattern of "broadcast or sheet" refuse disposal. Such a pattern, he stated, results from the strewing of refuse across the grounds, and makes it likely that materials will be fragmentary as well as mixed in time and space (Mahlstedt 1979a:4).

Mahlstedt also suggested that landscape modification may have caused disturbance which contributed to the confusing mixture of cultural materials. Apparently, evidence for the importation and grading of topsoil was noted in the stratigraphy (Mahlstedt 1979a:4). This stratigraphy was not described, nor were profile maps included, thus curtailing closer evaluation. However, Mahlstedt clearly felt that this activity, in addition to broadcast disposal behavior, had "previously disturbed the archeological context within the areas tested" (1979a:5).

In summary, Mahlstedt uncovered only one feature which he felt fairly comfortable in identifying: the "cobble way" in front of the tavern. However, he also provided an interpretation of possible "wall-fall" for stone scatters in several of the units east of the tavern, suggesting a former structure or, more likely, a stone wall. Finally, Mahlstedt analyzed the artifact assemblage and determined that its homogeneity reflected two general activity patterns on the

site: broadcast refuse disposal and landscape modification. He concluded that the utility trenches would not substantially impact the archeological resources, and that future testing could be done on the cobble way for more conclusive interpretation.

### Pratts' Analysis

In contrast to previous tavern excavations, the Pratts' research focused on the rear portion of the site, adjacent to and north of the barn (Figure 14.2). This study area was presumably chosen to test the then recently completed resistivity survey, which had been conducted in the same area. This testing was but one of four goals established by the Pratts. The others were as follows:

- 1) locate and delineate the archeological resources within the study area,
- 2) assess the information derived from these researches in relationship to the present state of knowledge of similar sites,
- 3) in consultation with the NPS Regional Archeologist, develop and test hypothesis regarding the spatial distribution of archeological features at historic sites (Pratt 1981:3-4).

Although these four objectives were enumerated in the Pratts' final report, their work actually focused on just two of these: locating archeological resources and testing the geophysical survey results.

Features: The Pratts discovered a number of features at Hartwell, and provided much more complete documentation of their findings than had previous Hartwell excavators. Initially, features were located during a systematic test pit survey, and were subsequently explored with excavation units. The features included: two building foundations, a road, scattered refuse areas (both surface and subsurface), and several rock piles. These will be briefly discussed, and further documentation is available in Pratt's report. Their attempt to analyze and interpret various artifact distributions will also be presented.

Both of the foundations located by the Pratts had previously been discovered by Tremer in his 1973 survey. While Tremer did not actually document their location, the Pratts found evidence of his excavation areas and backdirt piles, confirming that his plans to excavate had been carried

out (Pratt 1981:24, 31). An attempt was made to delineate Tremer's excavations and backdirt piles, as reflected in Figures 14.6 and 14.7.

Certainly much of the archeological information about these structures was lost to Tremer's unrecorded excavations. Often the Pratts were not clear as to whether their excavations overlapped disturbances caused by Tremer, thus throwing into question the integrity of the associated data. However, they were able to at least establish the general configuration of the foundations.

Foundation 1: Foundation 1 was located north and east of the barn (Figure 14.2). It consisted of a single course of unmorticed stone, and measured 25 feet by 11 feet (Pratt 1981:30). On the interior of the structure, excavations revealed "considerable stone," which while varying in size, placement, and depth, suggested to the Pratts the possibility of a former cobble or rubble floor (Pratt 1981:28, 30).

The associated artifact concentration appeared to differ between interior and exterior areas, with higher concentrations to the exterior of the foundation (Pratt 1981:30). No interpretation was offered for this apparent pattern distinction. On the whole, the Pratts felt that the artifact assemblage had little analytical value. The materials ranged in date from the 19th through the 20th century, and "no artifacts were recovered which might provide clues as to the function of the building" (Pratt 1981:30). In their conclusions, the Pratts referred to historian Luzader's 1972 map of the site (Figure 14.4), on which "the hen house is shown in the area of Foundation 1" (Pratt 1981:63). While they acknowledged that this information was obtained through oral history, and thus did not conclusively identify the foundation, the hen house interpretation was offered as one possibility.

Foundation 2: Foundation 2 was located north of the barn (Figure 14.2). It had been substantially disturbed by previous excavations, particularly in the southern portion, making delineation difficult and somewhat conjectural. Generally, it appeared to measure 27 feet by 24 feet (Pratt 1981:35). The Pratts summarized their findings as follows:

What remains of this structure is a single layer of rocks which is denser toward the edges of the structure. The rocks show little cutting or shaping. No mortar is present. No distinct wall could be located nor could any entry be observed (1981:35).

The Pratts recorded two artifact concentrations in the immediate area of Foundation 2. The first was a surface scatter of "a considerable amount of debris" (Pratt 1981:34), "Surface Area A." The second artifact concentration was not discussed as such, but may be readily inferred from the text. Squares excavated in the interior of the structure revealed soils which were "darker than usual on the site," and which contained a "considerable number of artifacts" (Pratt 1981:34). These artifact rich squares also seemed to have been undisturbed by previous excavations (Pratt 1981:34). The Pratts ventured no interpretation of the artifact deposits other than to note that the materials ranged in date from the 19th through the 20th century (Pratt 1981:34-35).

As was the case with Foundation 1, "nothing indicating function of the structure was either observed or recovered from the foundation" (Pratt 1981:35). Once again, the Pratts turned to historian Luzader's 1972 report and map of the tavern grounds. In the report they found reference to the hog house kept by the McHugh family, the site's 20th century inhabitants. Although Luzader's map did not show the hog house, the Pratts suggested that "this foundation may relate to the hog house" (1981:63). The Pratts thus hypothesized that both Foundation 1 and Foundation 2 may have been outbuildings remembered by the site's most recent residents. In their words, "nothing found archeologically would confirm these identifications for the two buildings in question. However, nothing found would contradict these interpretations" (1981:63).

Cobblestone Road: The third major feature discovered and interpreted by the Pratts was a cobblestone road. Two excavation units, 40 and 47, revealed the feature, and a probe traced its extent from the northern property line, south for 80 feet to a drainage ditch (Figure 14.2) (Pratt 1981:36). The road ran parallel to, and approximately 15 feet west of, an extant stone wall. In width it measured about eight feet, and exhibited "a center crown with a low, wheel area on each side and higher edges" (Pratt 1981:36).

The composition of the road consisted of "a dense layer of stones," six inches deep, with individual stones measuring two to ten inches in diameter (Pratt 1981:36, Figure 15). A pebbly dark brown loam, located between the stones, contrasted with lighter soils surrounding the feature. The road stratum itself contained no artifacts (Pratt 1981:36).

Pratt felt that the road may well have continued to the south, and two excavation units (37 and 41) revealed possible evidence for this hypothesis (1981:36) (Figure 14.2). However, these units also exhibited modern disturbance and as such did not confirm the presence of the road. It did appear

that the feature extended north of the property line (Pratt 1981:63).

In interpreting this road, Pratt referred to Luzader's map showing a road in this area, to Tremer's discovery of a road, and also to historian Toogood's suggestion that the 18th century Lincoln-Bedford Road "passed through the Hartwell property" (Pratt 1981:63). While no further investigation of the historical record was made, the Pratts left us with Toogood's comment as a possible interpretation of the feature.

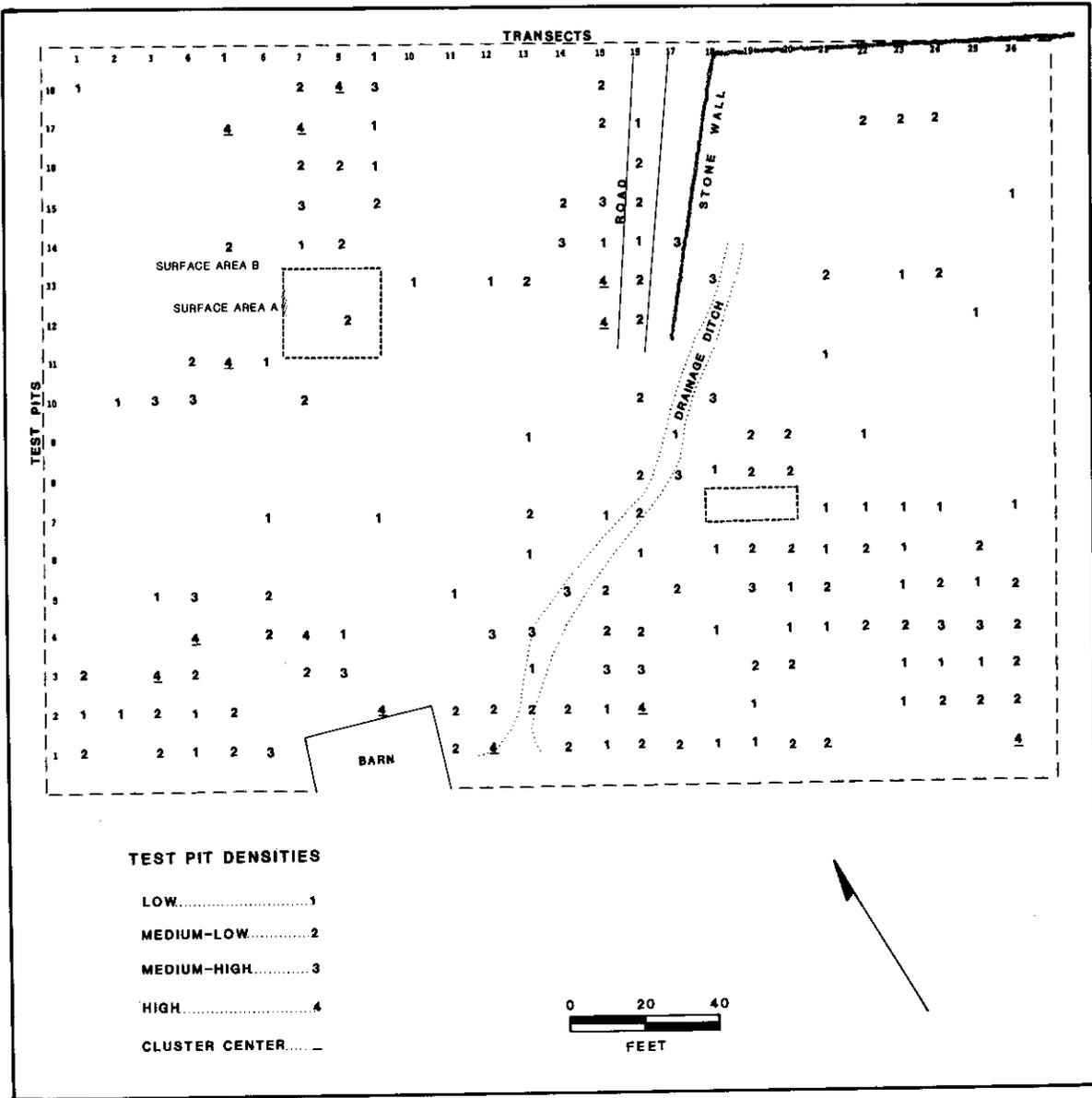
Additional Features: Other features located by the Pratts were less well-defined than the foundations or the road. Areas of concentrated subsurface refuse were minimally identified. This was accomplished through the calculation and plotting of test pit artifact densities across the study area (ACMP revised version, Figure 14.12; see Map Construction section for discussion of revisions). Four categories of density level were devised, resulting in a high density designation for 9% of the test pits. These, in turn, formed the focus of eight "clusters," or areas of artifact concentration (Pratt 1981:20-22, 63). All clusters were dated within a general range of either the 19th, 20th, or 19th and 20th century (Pratt 1981:21-22). Their location, although not mapped specifically by the Pratts, has been identified in Figure 14.12. The horizontal extent of the clusters was not defined.

Two areas of concentrated surface refuse were located in the vicinity of Foundation 2, north of the barn, and were collected as Surface Areas A and B. Surface Area A actually overlapped onto a portion of Foundation 2, and Surface Area B was associated with a rock outcrop (Figure 14.2). Both contained materials dating from the 19th to 20th, century (Pratt 1981:84).

The Pratts had hoped that these surface materials "might reveal something about the function of the building related to Foundation 2" (Pratt 1981:50). Surface Area B, on the rock outcrop, contained some ceramics but mostly glass sherds. Surface Area A, on the other hand, contained a wide variety of artifacts (Appendix 14.3). In concluding the discussion of Surface Area A, Pratt noted that:

the material does not appear to relate to a specific building such as Foundation 2. The range of material is broad, including domestic debris as well as agricultural items. It seems likely this scatter is the result of refuse disposal (1981:50).

As regards Surface Area B, no specific interpretation was made, but it can be assumed from the text that this was also



14.12. ACMP revised map of Pratt test pit artifact densities.

thought to be "dumped in the area" (Pratt 1981:64). The interpretation for each of these surface refuse features was thus that they were unrelated to the associated building, and instead were the result of dumping activities, presumably after the demise of the structure in the case of Area A.

Another feature type investigated by the Pratts was "rock piles," several of which were located. All but one turned out to be natural stone outcrops (Pratt 1981:65). The one non-natural rock pile was located southwest of Foundation 1 and measured 6 by 20 feet in area. Square 41 was placed to investigate the feature (Figure 14.2). The first level contained building materials and 20th century artifacts.

Beneath this the Pratts found a nine inch layer of cobblestones, with an associated pebbly brown loam which was devoid of artifacts. In the report, Pratt noted the resemblance of the cobble layer to the road uncovered further north, but wrote that the feature might alternatively be a continuation of the rock pile (1981:47-48). Interpretation of the feature as a continuation of the road was thus left in question.

Artifact Distributions: Beyond the location and possible interpretation of cultural features, other forms of analysis were attempted by the Pratts. These involved questions of spatial distribution of the artifacts recovered from the test pit survey. First, the artifacts which could be dated were analyzed and the associated test pits were assigned a time period. The Pratts' time period categories are listed in Table 14.6. According to this table, 44.3% of the test pits could not be assigned a date. It is noteworthy that no 18th century materials were located in any of the test pits (Pratt 1981:19). Their analysis indicated that "the material recovered from the testing relates primarily to the 19th and early 20th century," involving 70% of the dateable test pits (Pratt 1981:20).

A second analysis was undertaken using the distributions of several artifact classes, "to look for time differences, previously undetected foundations, and activity areas" (Pratt 1981:64). Only those test pits in the study area were utilized,

Table 14.6

Pratt Test Pit Time Periods  
(from Pratt 1981:19)

| <u>DATE</u>                            | <u># OF TEST<br/>PITS</u> | <u>PER CENT</u> |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 19th Century                           | 36                        | 21.6            |
| 19th Century + Modern Intrusion        | 14                        | 8.4             |
| 19th + 20th Century                    | 13                        | 7.8             |
| 19th + 20th Century + Modern Intrusion | 2                         | 1.2             |
| 20th Century                           | 16                        | 9.6             |
| 20th Century + Modern Intrusion        | 4                         | 2.4             |
| Modern Intrusion                       | 8                         | 4.8             |
| No Date                                | 71                        | 42.5            |
| No Date + Modern Intrusion             | 3                         | 1.8             |
|  | <u>167</u>                |                 |

and the six test pits behind the tavern were never interpreted beyond a brief description (Pratt 1981:23).

In the first part of the analysis, distributions of "square-shank" and "round-shank" nails were plotted in hopes of delineating time differences for artifact deposition across the site. However, no patterns were identified. Both nail types appeared to be equally scattered across all parts of the study area (Pratt 1981:22).

Window glass and brick fragment distributions were also plotted. The Pratts hoped that these materials, along with the nails, might indicate the presence of former structures. They noted that little or no glass was recovered from areas around the two foundations. Nor was brick present in the foundation areas, suggesting that brick had not been used in these structures (Pratt 1981:22). Both glass and brick were concentrated only in areas which seemed to reflect dumping, and did not indicate unknown foundations (Pratt 1981:22). These materials, therefore, did not provide a reliable index of building location, but rather suggested the disposal of building materials.

Another analysis was done by plotting ceramic and vessel glass distributions. These were considered to represent domestic debris, but again no pattern was discovered. Their distribution was in fact comparable to that of the building debris, and "seemed to follow the general artifact distribution" (Pratt 1981:22).

The last spatial analysis attempted involved the distribution of coal and/or cinders, which the Pratts felt "might indicate the barnyard or the road" (1981:22). Although these materials were primarily located in the eastern portion of the site, no patterning was detected (Pratt 1981:22).

In summary, the spatial analyses conducted by the Pratts offered no real interpretive insights. There appeared to be a "general artifact distribution," from which no time differences, unknown foundations, or activity areas could be detected (Pratt 1981:64-65). As interpreted by the Pratts:

The distribution data suggests that most of the artifactual material was carried into the study area and dumped. Many of the deposits contain materials from several time periods suggesting that either the dumping was relatively late and contain[ed] materials from the earlier time periods, or that the same areas were used for dumping at several time periods (Pratt 1981:65).

It should finally be noted that the Pratts devoted a good share of their interpretations to the rebuttle of the

geophysical survey's findings. Square by square they discussed how their excavation results differed from the resistivity survey hypotheses (Pratt 1981:38-49). In conclusion, they suggested that a faulty design had been used in the resistivity work. This design was set "to examine an area 2-6 feet beneath the surface while most of the cultural materials were confined to the first twelve inches of soil" (Pratt 1981:65).

Summary: Several major points are evident from the foregoing summary of the Pratts' site interpretations. First, the location of cultural features provided a picture of the homestead's layout. Two outbuildings and a road, as well as various refuse areas and a stone feature, were identified. However, the Pratts were unable to go much further than location in their interpretation of these features, as the archeological data did not provide them with useful chronological or functional information. No 18th century materials were recovered, and only gross chronological analysis categories, never more specific than a century in scope, were constructed. Function of the outbuildings was inferred from a historian's hypotheses, as the artifacts held no apparent clues. In addition, the spatial analyses of test pit artifacts showed only that there seemed to be a "general artifact distribution," with no real patterning to reflect human activity or unknown features. Despite the lack of informative data, the Pratts did feel that their survey had been of adequate intensity, and that at least no "major cultural feature was overlooked" (Pratt 1981:65).

### ACMP Analysis

What emerges from the discussion of Hartwell Tavern excavations is primarily an understanding of the location of certain cultural features, such as outbuildings and roads or pathways. The picture created is by no means complete, and interpretation of feature function and date is complicated by the data problems described in this report. However, the picture is clarified by compiling research results. We can then better address some of the questions which faced the excavators, and identify unanswered questions. In addition, we are able to expand upon their data and apply it to issues of broader archeological and historical interest.

### ACMP Analysis: Outbuildings and Barn

The landscape of tavern property, as currently known, contained four outbuildings in addition to the barn (Figure 14.2). At no point were the archeologists able to identify the dates or functions of these structures with any

certainty. Stratigraphic data, one of the major tools of archeological interpretation, was either not recorded, not used, or not revealing at Hartwell. The Pratts looked for but did not find clues in the artifactual record concerning the two outbuildings to the rear of the property (1981). Tremer did not discuss the artifacts associated with the outbuildings closer to the house (1973), and apparently did not feel that they had interpretive value. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of Tremer's collection did not allow us to reassess his position.

The archeologists turned to oral history as a source of information. They referred to two maps drawn by historian Luzader (Figures 14.4 and 14.11), one of which conceptualized the site layout ca. 1775 (14.11), and the other of which (14.4) was derived from a sketch plan drawn by architect Carroll during an interview with Mary McHugh (Figure 14.5). The McHugh family owned the Hartwell property from 1875 until NPS purchase in the 1960s. Mary and her husband John were the last to have title, beginning in 1927 (Table 14.5). Structures which she remembered would thus have been in use in the 20th century. A glance at Carroll's sketch plan shows that the four foundations excavated by Tremer and the Pratts may all have been structures in use during Mary McHugh's occupation (Figure 14.5).

Structure 1: Tremer identified his "Structure 1" as a "possible wood house/stable" (1973:2). This was based upon historian Luzader's historic grounds report (1972). Luzader identified a structure in this area as a "possible wood house" (Figure 14.11). Tremer may have misinterpreted Luzader's discussion of a stable. Luzader conjectured that the tavern owner must have had "accomodation in the form of a barn for the storage of winter feed and a stable, preferably adjacent, for the shelter of the stock" (1972:5). While this could be interpreted as suggesting two structures, Luzader went on to say "Thus a large barn with a stable in the lower story was certainly a feature of the property" (1972:6), clarifying his speculation that they would have constituted just one structure.

It must be stressed that Tremer's interpretation of Structure 1's function was not based upon historical fact or archeologically recovered data. Tremer was also unsupported in his belief that the structure was part of "the Hartwell complex of 1775" (1973:15). Not once were artifacts mentioned as a means of deriving this date. At this writing, the artifact collection for proveniences associated with Structure 1 contained materials from only two of a possible eight proveniences, totalling only 34 items. There was no doubt that much material was missing, making it impossible to discuss the structure's date with any accuracy. However, of

the assemblage which was present it was noteworthy that the only datable artifacts belonged to the 19th-20th centuries, with whiteware giving a terminus post quem date of 1820 and automatic machine made bottle glass dating to essentially after the Civil War (Lorrain 1968:42).

This did not prove that the structure was not present before this time, as the collection was admittedly and unfortunately incomplete. But it did suggest that we could not assume the structure's existence in 1775. Even Luzader's speculation that a wood house stood in this spot in 1775 (Figure 14.11) must be questioned. He based his hypothesis upon a description given in an 1838 deed, as quoted by Luzader:

the west, or that part of the dwelling house formerly occupied by the late widow Hepzibah Hartwell with one room on the lower floor in the main or old house, which was occupied by said widow, with the cellar under west or new part of the house as aforesaid, and also the sink room, wood house, chaise house and all the new additions except the corn chamber in the same as far as is now used for that purpose (Luzader 1972:8).

Historical architects have contradicted Luzader's theory that the wood house was a separate structure near the barn. They felt that the shed ell, added to the house ca. 1830 (Figure 14.13), contained the sink room, wood house, chaise house, and corn chamber mentioned in the deed (Mulhern and Carroll 1975:62-69). The architectural evidence clearly indicated to Mulhern and Carroll that "the north bay was always intended to house a chaise" (1975:62). The south room, with its sloping drains and eastern door for easy well access, was a likely "sink room" (1975:68). Further evidence was given to support the location of the corn chamber in the attic and the wood house in the middle room (for full discussion see Mulhern and Carroll 1975:62-68).

Luzader's wood house hypothesis, and thus Tremer's, appears well laid to rest. Chaise house, sink room, and corn chamber were also accounted for within the context of one structure, a rear ell attached to the tavern itself. The fact remains, however, that Tremer did uncover the foundation of an outbuilding (Structure 1), and its identity remains unknown.

At present, a certain degree of information is available for Structure 1. Mary McHugh specifically noted that her family had a shed in this location which was destroyed by the hurricane of 1938 (Figure 14.5). The shed appeared in a number of historical photographs located by the ACMP. One of these, dated ca. 1932, was copied from Mary McHugh's photo album (Figure 14.14). The view looks west and shows the McHugh brothers with a team of workhorses pulling a wagon

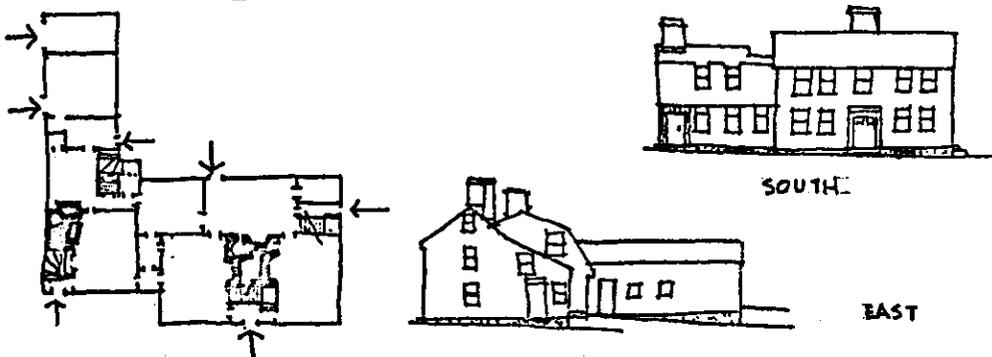
CONJECTURAL DRAWING OF 1733 HOUSE AND SUBSEQUENT CHANGES



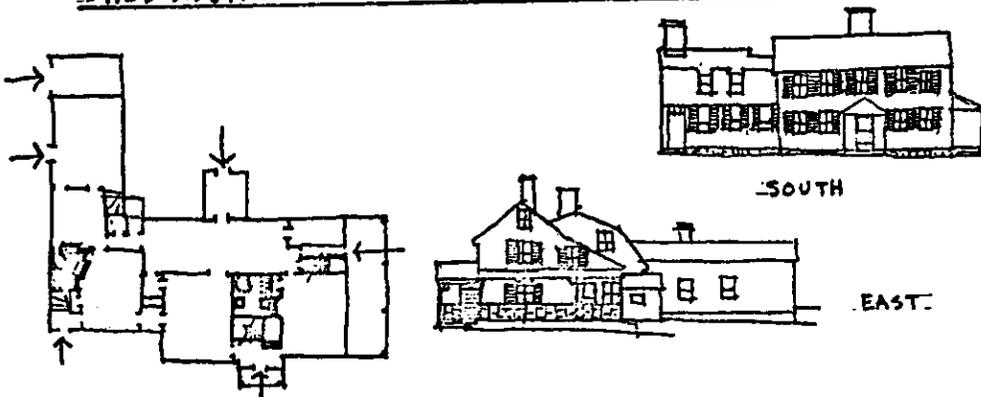
1733 HOUSE.



GAMBREL ADDITION OF CA. 1763



SHED ADDITION OF CA. 1830 + LEAN-TO REBUILT



CA. 1900 REMODELING WITH PORCHES

HARTWELL TAVERN

MULHERN-CARROLL

14.13. Hartwell Tavern architectural changes (Mulhern and Carroll 1975:ix).



14.14. Photograph of McHugh shed, 1932 (MIMA 67-8).

through the shed's open doors. It seems most likely that the McHughs used the shed for storage of agricultural equipment and tools. As to its age, the earliest available photograph showing the shed was taken sometime prior to 1900 (located in the Farrell Collection, Lincoln Public Library; ACMP Historic Photographic Catalog: Volume 1, Virginia Road Area).

Thus there is currently no evidence which would indicate that Structure 1 was present in 1775. At best, we know that it was in use by 1900 and functioned as a storage shed. The hypothesis that it served earlier as a wood house has been largely eliminated as a possibility, and Tremer's suggestion that it was a stable has not been supported in any way by the data. More likely, this function was served by the barn, though there are also unanswered questions about the site's original barn.

The Barn: The barn which currently stands on tavern property was built to replace that which had been destroyed by the hurricane of 1938. It was constructed upon the foundation of the older barn, which Mary McHugh thought was old enough to "have been here when the place was built" (quoted in Luzader 1972:10). However, the original construction date of the earlier barn is not clear. Luzader pointed out that Mrs. McHugh spoke from speculation (1972:10-11), and that the historical documents offered little insight. The 1733 deed which granted ownership of the property to Ephraim Hartwell also allowed him continued use of his father's barn (Luzader 1972:2), indicating that one had not yet been constructed on the new homestead. Yet by 1793 we know that a barn was present (estate inventory discussed by Luzader 1972:5), and

Luzader argued that Ephraim had probably built a barn by the time of tavern operations in 1756 (1972:5).

It is possible that the current barn stands in the location of the 18th century barn. The original configuration and construction type, however, is unknown. Architect Carroll has pointed out that bank barns such as that at Hartwell, which are built into a hillside, were atypical in the area in the 18th century (personal communication 1985).

Researchers from Old Sturbridge Village also found this to be true during a barn survey conducted in Massachusetts. In the areas they surveyed, 18th century barns were typically built on flat ground, often with a row or two of loosely placed stones keeping the sills from contacting the ground. Barns with cellars built into hillsides seem to have become popular in the latter part of the first quarter of the 19th century (Frank White, personal communication 1985).

The current foundation at Hartwell thus may not be original. Hartwell's 18th century barn probably followed the pattern observed for other New England barns of the 18th century, with wooden sills set on top of a row of stones. Quite possibly it was located in generally the same spot as the extant barn.

Luzader believed there was landscape evidence for an earlier feature extending to the west of the barn (1972:11). He also felt that archeological excavation was the only way to further investigate barn origins (1972:10). Tremer's archeological project was initiated for this purpose. However, the subsequent expansion of project goals changed the focus of his work, and little information about the barn was uncovered. He did report "an alignment of loosely spaced stones" in TT8 west of the barn, which "possibly served as support for a shed on the side of the original barn" (1973:12). Unfortunately, no artifacts were discussed in relation to this test trench, and the collection today contains no materials from this area, precluding additional interpretation. We are thus left to speculate whether these stones might have formed part of the original barn's foundation.

Comparative information from vernacular architecture sources suggested also that Hartwell's original barn may have included the stable, as was theorized by Luzader (1972:6). For example, one source discussed the typical New England "Yankee barn" as a single story structure with "one bay for stabling; the other larger bay is used as a hay mow" (Glassie 1968:134-135). This was in spite of the English homeland tradition of stabling stock in quarters separate from the barn, which was used for the storage of hay and grain (Glassie 1968:134). The barn survey conducted by Old Sturbridge

Village also concluded that it was typical for New England barns to include a stabling area (Frank White, personal communication 1985). It is not outside the realm of possibility that Ephraim Hartwell would have built a separate stable to accommodate the horses of guests at the inn. To date, however, no such evidence has been found.

Structure 2: The second outbuilding excavated at Hartwell was identified by Tremer as a "possible chaise house" (1973:3). He felt that it was, with Structure 1, part of the "Hartwell complex of 1775" (1973:15). As was the case with Structure 1, neither of these propositions was supported by the data.

Once again Tremer's functional interpretation of the outbuilding was taken from historian Luzader's hypothesis (Figure 14.11). Luzader's reasoning was based upon the deed of 1838 as previously mentioned. Given the evidence produced by architects Mulhern and Carroll, it is clear that the chaise house listed in the deed was actually located in the north bay of the shed ell (Mulhern and Carroll 1975:62-68). The interpretation of Structure 2 as a chaise house is thus highly unlikely.

Structure 2 was in use during Mary McHugh's occupation. The McHugh family stored their tools in this building in 1922, and tore it down with pulleys and horses in 1925 (Figure 14.5). Portions of the shed are visible in several photographs taken during this time (Figure 14.15), but no photographs were available from earlier years. The known date for the structure was pushed back to 1906 by evidence from the Walker's Atlas. This map depicted three structures on the



14.15. Photograph of McHugh house with tool shed to the right, ca. 1925 (MIMA 67-9).

Hartwell property, then owned by Ed McHugh. The house sat closest to the road, the barn to the northwest, and another structure to the northeast in the general location of Structure 2 (Figure 14.18c).

1906 was thus the earliest date for Structure 2 provided by the documents. Tremer's report on the archeological evidence unfortunately lacked a discussion of chronology as related to artifacts or stratigraphy. However, Tremer did note some interesting stratigraphy in a trench (TT25) "placed along the outside of the northeast corner of the structure" (1973:9). In his words,

it indicated a deep layer of large, undefinable rubble, rubble which contained a profusion of 19th century artifacts. Another test trench of a similar nature was placed north of the north wall, with the same results. This would appear to indicate that the base cultural level has not been reached by excavation to date (1973:9).

The discussion did not describe the stratigraphic relationship between foundation and rubble, but implied that this feature rich with 19th century artifacts lay beneath the cultural level of the foundation. In terms of chronology, therefore, a construction date for the overlying Structure 2 would not precede the 19th century.

There are admittedly problems with such an interpretation. The rubble feature, for example, could have been an intrusive feature rather than an earlier stratigraphic deposit. Tremer's description did not make this clear. Nor did he discuss the artifacts themselves. The collection as it exists today is incomplete for the Structure 2 area. There were no artifacts from 3 of the 7 proveniences comprising "Structure 2," nor from TT25. Collections from the four proveniences represented were also no doubt incomplete.

It is nonetheless noteworthy that none of the materials present were attributable to the 18th century. Datable items (such as whiteware, machine made bottles) suggested a 19th century deposition at the earliest. This, combined with evidence from the rubble feature, argued against Tremer's interpretation of Structure 2 as an 18th century feature. Given the poor state of the data, it may be premature to make this conclusion. However, the evidence currently in hand suggested that the structure was more likely built in the mid to late 19th century at the earliest, and was definitely present by the early 20th century when it was documented in the photographic record.

Tremer's interpretations of Structures 1 and 2 were thus misleading. It may be that these outbuildings were present as

early as 1821 when John Hartwell, Ephraim's heir, was taxed for house, barn, and two unidentified buildings (Luzader 1972:7). The documentary evidence prior to 1900 was unclear. The preceding discussion has been offered to exemplify the uncertain nature of the data, both documentary and archeological, concerning these Hartwell outbuildings.

Foundation 1: The third outbuilding excavated at Hartwell was discovered and partially excavated by Tremer, though no report was written and no data or artifacts survived. The Pratts further investigated it as "Foundation 1." The archeological evidence did not assist the Pratts in interpreting structure date or function. Like Tremer, they turned to historian Luzader's report for additional information. Mary McHugh had reported a hen house in this general area (Figures 14.4, 14.5), and the Pratts suggested this as a possible functional interpretation for Foundation 1 (1981:24-31).

The ACMP reviewed the Pratt's data with little additional insight. Squares 1-13 were excavated in the immediate foundation area. Four of these had second levels, but the others were excavated as single unstratified units. The artifacts from these squares are inventoried in Table 14.7. There were only 19 ceramic sherds recovered, or 10.2% of the total assemblage from Squares 1-13. Redware constituted 90% (17 sherds) of the ceramics and the remaining sherds were domestic stoneware. The value of the ceramics for dating purposes was thus lacking. The assemblage also contained both cut and wire nails (27 and 13 respectively), totalling 21.5% of the assemblage. It was noteworthy that both nail types were found in levels 1 and 2 of the squares, providing a terminus post quem (tpq) of ca. 1890 (Nelson 1968) for the lowest cultural level. Other materials generally supported this time frame. Both automatic machine made bottle glass (tpq ca. 1881) and plate window glass (20th century) were recovered from level 2.

It thus appeared that cultural deposition in the vicinity of Foundation 1 began no earlier than the end of the 19th century. The data set was admittedly small (186 artifacts total), and thus quantitatively unreliable. It is also true that Tremer's previous excavations may have disturbed the area's integrity. However, the data did suggest that the hen house interpretation was a good possibility, as it was in use during the 20th century in this general location. It is unfortunate that the Pratts did not include other sampling techniques to aid their functional interpretation. Procedures such as botanical, pH, and phosphate analysis may have provided more insight as to the presence of animals, clarifying the interpretation of Foundation 1.

Table 14.7

Pratt Collection  
Foundation 1, Squares 1-13

| <u>Artifact Class</u>         | <u>Counts</u> | <u>% of Total<br/>Foundation 1<br/>Assemblage</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---|
| Ceramics                      |               |   |
| Redware                       | 17            |   |
| Other Stoneware               | 2             |   |
| Total Ceramics                | 19            | 10.2%   |
| Clay Pipes                    | 2             | 1.1%  |
| Bottle Glass                  |               |   |
| Blown-in-Mold                 | 1             |   |
| Automatic Machine Made        | 4             |   |
| Total Bottle Glass            | 5             | 2.7%  |
| Household and Personal, Other | 4             | 2.2%  |
| Plate Window Glass            | 21            | 11.3%   |
| Nails                         |               |   |
| Late/Indeterminate Cut        | 27            |   |
| Wire                          | 13            |   |
| Indeterminate                 | 5             |   |
| Total Nails                   | 45            | 24.2%   |
| Structural Material           |               |   |
| Brick                         | 23            |   |
| Asphalt Roofing               | 8             |   |
| Other                         | 28            |   |
| Total Structural              | 59            | 31.7%   |
| Other Hardware                | 25            | 13.4%   |
| Tools and Hardware            | 2             | 1.1%  |
| Miscellaneous Other           | <u>4</u>      | 1.1%  |
| Total Assemblage              | 186           |   |

Foundation 2: The story behind Foundation 2's excavation paralleled that of Foundation 1. It was the fourth and final outbuilding investigated at Hartwell, first located and partially excavated by Tremer, and later by the Pratts. Again, Tremer left no record, artifactual or otherwise, of his work on this feature. The Pratts found no archeological data to support interpretation of structure date or function. They once again turned to Luzader's report which discussed the McHugh's 20th century piggery. Luzader did not include the piggery on his sketch plan (Figure 14.4), but the Pratts speculated that Foundation 2 "may relate to the hog house" (1981:63).

The Pratts did not have available to them the original sketch plan drawn by architect Carroll during his conversation with Mary McHugh. Luzader's map was copied from this original, but he neglected to include the piggery and a shed. These were present on Carroll's plan as the two northernmost features on the property (Figure 14.5).

The ACMP located Carroll's sketch in a file at MIMA. It was obvious from this map that Foundation 2, located north of the barn (Figure 14.2), could not have been part of the piggery, which was much farther east. The piggery would have been essentially due north of the hen houses and on the east side of the access road. Structures associated with the piggery appeared in a ca. 1932 photograph from Mary McHugh's photo album (Figure 14.16). The photograph probably faces east, and shows three small hog sheds and the corner of another structure. Apparently the Pratts found no evidence of these foundations, and their precise location is uncertain.



14.16. Photograph of McHugh piggery, ca. 1932 (MIMA 67-3).

There is thus little doubt that the Pratts' speculation about the outbuilding was incorrect. Carroll's sketch plan indicated a shed west of the piggery, which may suggest an alternative hypothesis. The shed did not appear to be far enough west to account for Foundation 2, but Carroll could not recall how approximately he had sketched the location (personal communication 1984).

Two sets of Pratt archeological data pertained to Foundation 2: materials recovered from associated excavation squares, and materials from Surface Area A. These have been reevaluated for information on dating or function. The Pratts dug seven squares in the Foundation 2 area: 14-18 and 22-23. All were excavated as one level, and three (16-18) were believed to be undisturbed by previous excavation. The total assemblage count for the squares was 270, with squares 16-18 accounting for 237 (87.8%) of the items (Appendix 14.3, Table 14.8).

The artifacts provided some general information. There were only 8 ceramic sherds in the assemblage, with whiteware (3 sherds, post-1820) providing the only chronological information. The only bottle glass recovered was from square 16, and all was classified as automatic machine made (33 sherds, post-1880). Other time markers included late cut nails (8 nails, post-1840s) and wire nails (2 nails, post-1890). It was difficult to assess this chronological information, as it was firstly limited in quantity and secondly unrelated to stratigraphic data. Generally speaking, the materials indicated a cultural deposition no earlier than the late 19th century.

Other aspects of the data were interesting from an interpretive perspective. Square 16, which was presumably undisturbed, accounted for 168 items, or 62.2% of the assemblage from Foundation 2 area squares. Nearly 55% of the square 16 material was bone and shell. In fact, bone and shell comprised 48.5% of the entire seven square assemblage. Such a large percentage of bone often indicates use of an area as a refuse disposal location. In addition, the Pratts noted the rich, midden-like soil in these squares (1981:34), further suggesting refuse disposal.

Interpretation of outbuilding function was made more difficult by this introduction of secondary refuse, quite possibly unrelated to the structure's use. In this case, the lack of stratigraphic data hindered us from separating the materials possibly associated with building function from those which were later dumped on the site. It is interesting to note, however, that a number of tools and hardware items were recovered, and that such materials are frequently stored in outbuilding sheds. Nonetheless, these items were more likely deposited by dumping.

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Table 14.8

Pratt Collection  
Foundation 2, Squares 14-18, 22-23

| <u>Artifact Class</u>  | <u>Counts</u> | <u>% of Total<br/>Foundation 2<br/>Assemblage</u> |
|------------------------|---------------|---|
| Ceramics               |               |   |
| Redware                | 13            |   |
| Whiteware              | 5             |   |
| Total Ceramics         | 18            | 6.7%  |
| Clay Pipes             | 3             | 1.1%  |
| Bottle Glass           | 33            | 12.2%   |
| Household and Personal | 23            | 8.5%  |
| Plate Window Glass     | 3             | 1.1%  |
| Nails                  |               |   |
| Late/Indeterminate Cut | 8             |   |
| Wire                   | 2             |   |
| Total Nails            | 10            | 3.7%  |
| Structural Material    | 8             | 3.0%  |
| Other Hardware         | 27            | 10.0%   |
| Tools and Hardware     | 2             | .7%   |
| Bone and Shell         | 131           | 48.5%   |
| Miscellaneous Other    | <u>12</u>     | 4.4%  |
| Total Assemblage       | 270           |   |

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Materials recovered from Surface Area A (SAA) were similar in nature to those from the squares. SAA covered a large area in the northwest corner of Foundation 2 (Figure 14.2). Artifacts were collected from SAA prior to subsurface excavations (Pratt 1981:50). Whiteware and automatic machine made glass provided chronological information comparable to that from the squares. Also noteworthy were the many tools and hardware items recovered including a plow blade, manure spreader part, a possible engaging lever, a bucket handle, barrel hoops, iron rings, and a lantern collar.

The artifacts from SAA seemed related to the assemblage from the squares, and thus probably reflect the same dumping activity. The origin of this refuse was unfortunately not clear. Most likely it was deposited after the structure went out of use and was destroyed. In part, the contents of the refuse may have been related to the actual use of the structure, disposed of "in situ." In this case, the presence of tools and hardware argued for interpretation of the structure as a shed as indicated on Carroll's map. The materials only allowed speculation. It seemed clear that Foundation 2 was not a piggery, and that it was built no earlier than the late 19th century. Beyond this, interpretation remained unclear.

Summary: As a general note on outbuilding construction, it is interesting that the interior of at least three of the four foundations excavated exhibited possible cobble flooring (Structures 1 and 2, Foundation 1). In addition, the barn floor was paved with cobbles (Appendix 14.1). The function of such flooring may have been similar to that of a cobblestone roadway in that it would provide a firm, well drained surface, minimizing the problems with a wet earthen floor. The use of cobbles for flooring is mentioned here as it may reflect a common practice in New England outbuilding construction as well as in the construction of roads and pathways.

Interpretation of the four outbuildings at Hartwell has been fraught with questions, questions which have not been answered by the archeological data. In the preceding discussion, the ACMP has attempted to pull together the various forms of evidence available. Unfortunately not all of the original data was intact, particularly from Tremer's excavation of the first two outbuildings. Because his work was so extensive, there is little if any subsurface integrity remaining for these structures, limiting future excavations.

To date, the documentary evidence located contains very little information on Hartwell outbuildings. We know that a barn had been constructed by at least 1793 (Luzader 1972:5), and that two unidentified outbuildings appeared on the tax rolls for 1821 (Luzader 1972:7). In addition, the probate inventory taken at Ephraim's death in 1793 mentioned the "barn & other out houses" (quoted in Luzader 1972:5). The location of these outbuildings is however unknown, as is their original construction date. If these were the outbuildings excavated by Tremer, the archeological information has been largely lost.

Oral history information has revealed that all four of the excavated outbuildings were apparently in use during the 20th century. Available evidence argued for construction dates no earlier than the late 19th century. Certainly this is true for the two outbuildings excavated by the Pratts

(Foundations 1 and 2). Interpretation of Tremer's findings was more speculative given the lack of data, but there was no evidence to support 18th century dates for his two foundations (Structures 1 and 2). If 18th century outbuildings existed, they have not been archeologically documented to date. It was not within the scope of this project to further investigate the historical documents, but according to historian Luzader, the documents are also mute on this point (1972:11).

#### ACMP Analysis: Roads and Pathways

In addition to outbuildings, the excavators located portions of a road and pathway. Tremer believed that he had found part of a road east of the tavern, and the Pratts discovered a length of roadway further to the north. Mahlstedt uncovered what may have been a cobble path or drive in front of the tavern. These have been discussed under the individual analysis sections of this report, but merit discussion as a unit as well.

The Pratts felt that the road they discovered continued to the north and the south, and that it may have connected with Tremer's road feature (1981:63). Some of the evidence supports this conjecture, such as the eight foot width for both features, and a stratigraphic location at three inches beneath ground surface (Tremer 1973:12, Pratt 1981:36). The features also appeared to have been generally aligned along the same north-south axis, though Tremer's description lacked precise locational information.

The major difference between the features was in roadway composition. Tremer's feature consisted of a discrete three inch layer of dark subsoil (1973:12), whereas the Pratts' roadway was defined by a "dense layer of stones" exhibiting a crown and lower wheel ruts to the sides (1981:36). The Pratts followed the stones from the northern property line south ca. 80 feet until it was interrupted by a modern drainage ditch (1981:63). Evidence to the south of the ditch was uncertain, though the Pratts believed they had found evidence of the cobbles in squares 37 and 41 (Figure 14.2). A possible connection between Tremer's and the Pratts' features was thus not archeologically documented.

If the two features represented the same road, the question remains as to why part of the road was dirt and the other part cobble. This may be related to the geography of the property. Apparently portions of the site did not drain well during wet weather. The McHughs, in fact, dug a drainage ditch diagonally across the property. A bridge allowed passage across the ditch at its intersection with the access road (Figure 14.5). It follows logically that cobbles would have helped to keep the road well drained and passable. Such

use of cobbles on roadbeds was a common practice in New England road construction, and evidence for other cobble roads has been discovered at MIMA. For a full discussion of this evidence and of the practice in general, reference may be made to Chapter 19 in Volume 4 of this report.

Interpretation of the road at Hartwell has been minimal and many questions surround its origins. Tremmer did not search for a continuation of his feature, and felt simply that it might be the "original road" from tavern to barn (1973:15). The Pratts realized that the road was more extensive, and suggested that it was possibly part of the early Lincoln-Bedford road (1981:63), an 18th century road discussed by historian Toogood (1974:2-3).

The question of the road's precise construction date remains unanswered. Neither Tremmer nor the Pratts found artifactual evidence to assist in dating. Nor did they utilize stratigraphic information for chronological analysis. Unfortunately, complete stratigraphic data was not recorded in the reports, precluding further ACMP analysis. However, several physical features of the roadway provided limited chronological information.

Carroll's interview with Mary McHugh made it clear that the road was in use during the 20th century (Figure 14.5). Several clues suggested that the road also preceded the McHughs' occupation. First, the Pratts noted that the northern portion of the road paralleled a stone wall, located 15 ft. to the east (1981:36). It is commonly known that New Englanders often built stone walls to delineate the path of roadways as well as property boundaries. The Pratts found that both the roadway and the stone wall had been interrupted by the installation of the McHugh drainage ditch. In addition, Mary McHugh informed architect Carroll that her family had removed a large portion of the stone wall, running from a point north of the drainage ditch to a point south of the shed, not far from Virginia Road. The Pratts' site plan indicated that at least one structure (Foundation 1) was built just east of where the former wall had probably stood (Figure 14.2).

Thus it appeared that the McHughs introduced buildings and a ditch which altered an earlier roadway landscape. They continued to use the road itself, with the dismantled stone wall suggesting an earlier configuration. It is difficult to assess how much earlier the road was present. But some interesting issues arise when we note that the Pratts traced its extent to a point continuing beyond the northern property line.

Historian Toogood has noted that the road from Lincoln to Bedford, constructed in 1755, "passed close by the Hartwell house and tavern" (1974:2). She went on to say that:



On its route north, about midway between the two towns, the road actually passed through Hartwell's property, and close by his tavern. Although no 18th-century maps became available during research, a current map of the Boston vicinity shows that a probable remnant of the Lincoln-Bedford road, to the north of the present Bedford airport, still retains the name "Hartwell Road" (1974:2).

It must be cautioned that Toogood's statements lacked precise citations for documentary source material. The scope of the current project has not allowed for a full evaluation of the historical documents. It is noteworthy, however, that there is some confusion as to whether the Lincoln-Bedford road actually passed through Ephraim's property.

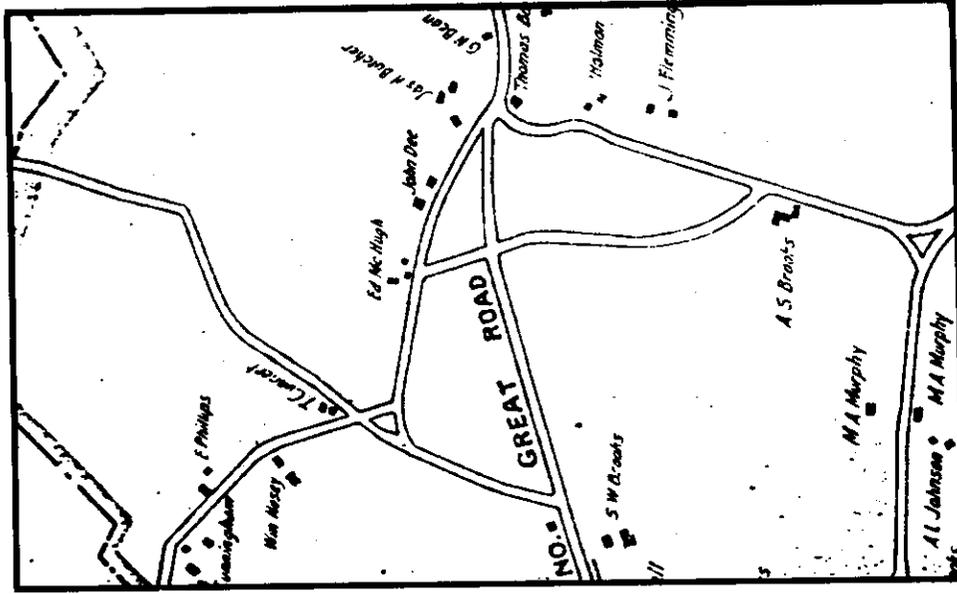
Historian Malcolm countered Toogood's theory after her review of the Hartwell deeds:

There has been a suggestion that this road may have continued north between the farms of Samuel Hartwell and his father Ephraim to the old Bedford Road. There is no solid evidence for such a continuation and a survey of the Hartwell farms executed in 1779 shows no such road. While it might have been a useful addition to the Lincoln network of highways, there is no proof that it existed (1985:45).

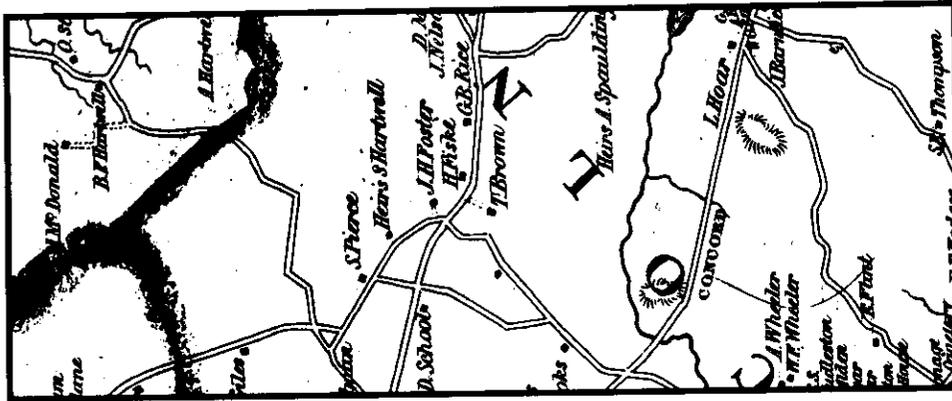
Indeed, the map drawn in 1779 did not show the road (Figure 14.17). This map is otherwise very detailed, and would be expected to include information about a town road if such a road existed.

The ACMP located additional historic maps (MIMA "Lincoln Maps" file) which provided further information about the Lincoln-Bedford road. The 1830 Hales map of Lincoln, for example, showed a road leading north from Lincoln but jogging to the west at Virginia Road and continuing north to intersect the Concord-Bedford road (Figure 14.18a). This would put a Lincoln-Bedford connection to the west of Hartwell's property. Another map, drawn during Pierce's ownership of the Hartwell property (1858-1873), showed the same road from Lincoln terminating at Virginia Road (Figure 14.18b). This was similar to the 1906 Walker Atlas depiction (Figure 14.18c).

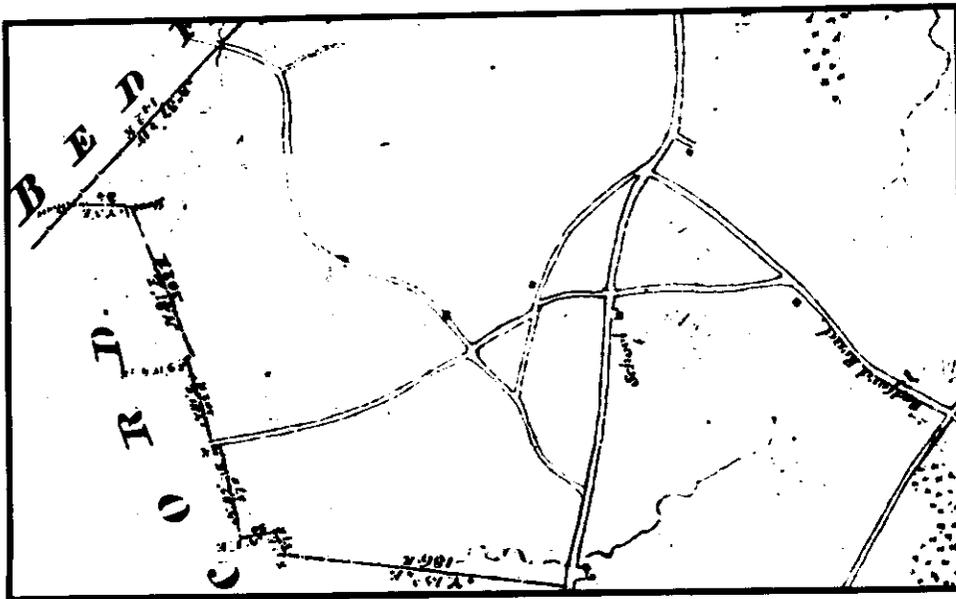
On the other hand, a map of Lincoln drawn during Stephan Hanscom's ownership (1873-1875) clearly showed the same road heading north directly across Virginia Road and passing along the east side of the former tavern toward Bedford (Figure 14.18d). This was also reflected as an unpaved road on a 1943 USGS topographic map (Figure 14.18e). However, the later USGS map (1979) did not show the road (Figure IV.3).



a. 1830 Hales Survey



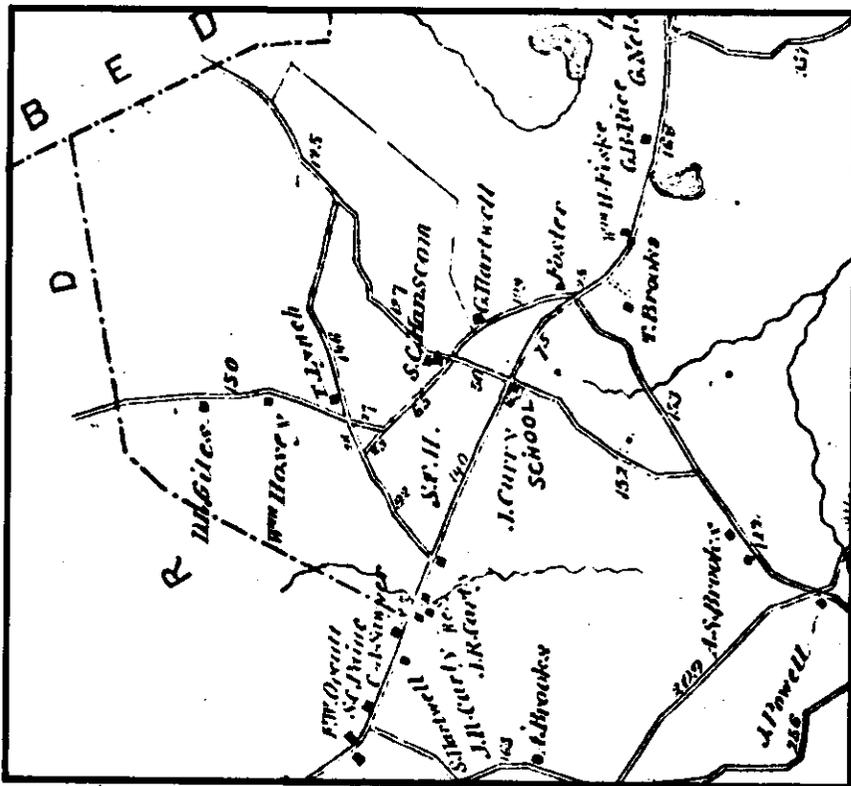
b. 1858-1873 during Pierce ownership, Hartwell Tavern



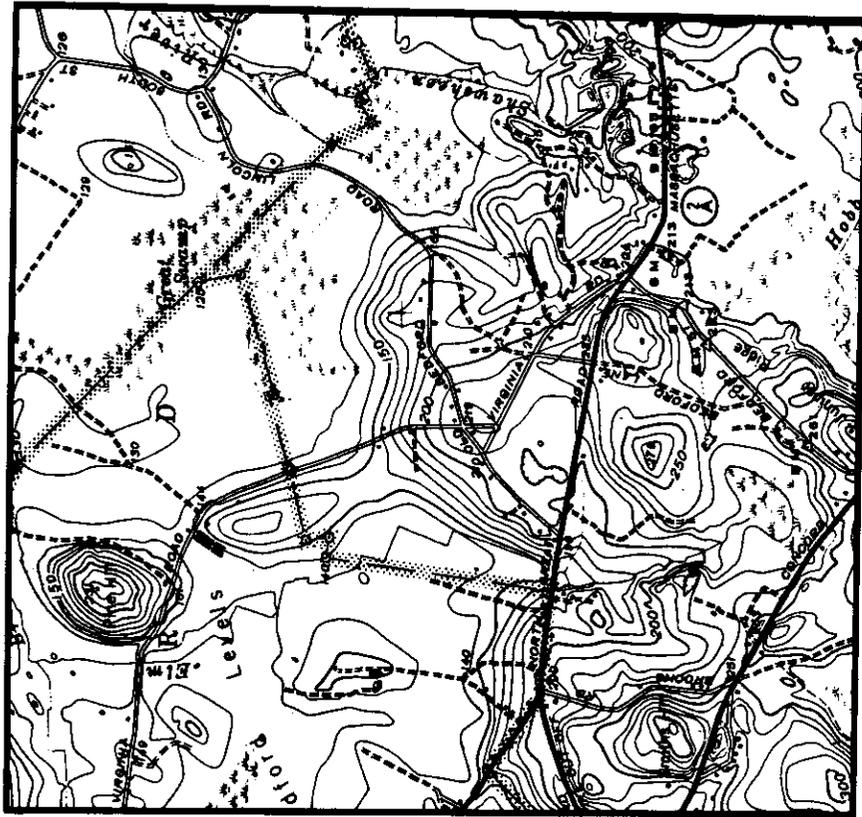
c. 1906 Walker Atlas

### VIRGINIA ROAD AREA

Figure 14.18. Historic maps of Virginia Road area.



d. 1873-1875 during S. Hanscom ownership of Hartwell Tavern



e. 1943 USGS 7.5' Concord Quad

### VIRGINIA ROAD AREA

Figure 14.18. Historic maps of Virginia Road area (cont.).

Thus two of the maps located to date do show a road leading from Lincoln to Bedford through Hartwell's property (Figures 14.18d and 14.18e). However, the first time the road appears is on the 1873-75 map. It does not appear on the later 1906 atlas, but reappears as an unimproved road on the 1943 USGS. This series of maps suggests that the road was first in use by 1873, and that it underwent a period of disuse (around 1906) before it was again put into use by 1943. The status of the road as a town-owned or privately-owned way is not known. This, and a more precise chronology for road use, might be further researched by consulting the Lincoln town records from around 1873.

The maps discussed above are not an exhaustive review of historic maps for the area. However, in conjunction with the 1779 Stephen Davis Survey (Figure 14.17), they indicate that there is currently no evidence for a road running through Hartwell's property prior to 1873, nearly a century after the Revolution and Hartwell's occupation.

It is highly likely that the features uncovered by the archeologists were in fact evidence of this 19th - 20th century road, but to date there is no evidence that the feature was constructed any earlier. In the 18th century, therefore, the road from Lincoln to Bedford seems to have terminated in front of the Hartwell's property at the Country Road. Travelers heading toward Bedford probably continued west along the Country Road a short ways before turning north on the cutoff that connected with the Concord-Bedford Road.

Evidence of a cobble path or drive was also uncovered at Hartwell. Mahlstedt found the feature in Unit C/Test Pit 3, located directly in front of the tavern's front door. Excavation stratigraphy showed that the cobble layer overlaid sterile soil, and underlaid a stratum which contained an 1892 penny (Mahlstedt 1979a:2). This data suggested to Mahlstedt that the "cobble way" may have been "associated with the original construction of the Tavern" (1979a:4). It further suggested that the feature was in use prior to 1892, the date after which a penny was dropped somewhere above the path's surface. Mahlstedt's testing was admittedly minimal, yet it appears that his hypothesis may be correct. To date the configuration of the feature is unknown, but much of this area remains undisturbed and thus available for additional testing.

#### ACMP Analysis: Summary of Features

Excavators at Hartwell have delineated a number of features of farmstead layout. Interpretation remains incomplete, largely due to a lack of full documentation. Most of the features excavated were in use during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The two southernmost outbuildings may

have been in use somewhat earlier, though no substantial evidence was available. The cobble path may actually have been present during the years of tavern operations.

It is clear that further research, both documentary and archeological, would help to fill in the picture of farmstead layout and its changes through time. The four foundations were excavated so extensively that further archeological work is not recommended. The road and cobble path, on the other hand, hold out more possibilities. Documentary research concerning the Lincoln-Bedford Road is particularly recommended. If indeed such a thoroughfare passed through Ephraim's property, it has many implications for site interpretation. At present, however, this road can only be interpreted as a late 19th and 20th century feature.

Additional aspects of farmstead layout have never been investigated at Hartwell. If the picture is to be completed, these features would also merit investigation. Suggestions for such research may be found in the Recommendations section of this chapter.

#### ACMP Analysis: Artifact Distributions

The data recovered by Hartwell excavators may also be used to address questions of refuse disposal and distribution. Archeologists have long been interested in delineating spatial patterns in the material record of historic sites. The basic premise is that human activity results in artifact patterning, and that by looking for these patterns we may infer the behavior which created them. Quoting Stanley South, "In order to identify behavior and process reflected in the archaeological record the archaeologist must concern himself with pattern recognition using all data sets at his disposal" (1978:223).

Such patterns are not well known for rural New England sites, and are thus important for comparative purposes as well as site interpretation. By comparing these patterns from different sites, we eventually arrive at a better understanding of how different individuals used their property, and how this related to broader patterns in the society. The goal is, simply, to learn as much as possible about everyday life and activities in early rural New England.

Certain of the Hartwell data sets were more useful than others for this type of analysis, which at the most basic level is quantitative in nature. Tremer's data was so problematic that it could not be considered. Mahlstedt's sample size was too small to provide reliably representative data, but it did provide comparative information. The Pratts'

data was clearly the most useful, as their systematic sampling design lent itself easily to questions of spatial distribution.

There were obvious limitations to focusing on the Pratts' data. The results of their survey were not representative of the entire Hartwell property. Rather, they reflected use of the rear portion of the site. The "front" of the site, generally from Virginia Road to the barn (Figure 14.2), has not been systematically sampled. This meant that analysis must be set up on two levels: first, the delineation of patterns within the Pratts' study area itself; and second, a more general comparison of their data with what is known about the front portions of the site.

Pratt Test Area Artifact Distributions: The Pratts performed some basic spatial analysis with their data, as briefly described in this chapter (see Pratt Analysis above). They began by calculating test pit artifact densities, a necessary measure to compensate for variability in test pit size (Pratt 1981:20). Density values were bracketed into four groups of equal range but greater or lesser value (Table 14.9, columns 1 and 2), and were then plotted on a map. The Pratts used test pits of high density to define the centers of eight clusters, as follows:

#### Cluster Centers

- 1) Transect 3 Test Pit 3 and Transect 4 Test Pit 4;
- 2) Transect 9 Test Pit 2;
- 3) Transect 12 Test Pit 1;
- 4) Transect 16 Test Pit 2;
- 5) Transect 26 Test Pit 1;
- 6) Transect 5 Test Pit 11 (corrected from text as per Pratt map);
- 7) Transect 15 Test Pits 12 & 13;
- 8) Transect 5 Test Pit 17, Transect 7 Test Pit 17, and Transect 8 Test Pit 18 (corrected from text as per Pratt map) (Pratt 1981:21).

The report did not discuss the methodology used to derive the clusters, but it appeared that these were visually surmised.

The ACMP reevaluated the Pratts' test pit analysis, in order to discuss refuse distribution across the Hartwell property. Several problems were noted in this process. First, the 1981 report did not include the original density figures. Nor did it include the size of individual test pits. The only values available were the bracketed densities (e.g., low density = less than .0009 artifacts/cubic inch). Fortunately, the Pratts were able to locate their worksheets and mail copies to the author. The original density values and test pit volumes have been reproduced in Appendix 14.4.

Table 14.9

Pratt Test Pit Density Categories

| <u>Densities<br/>(Cultural Material/Cubic Inch)</u> | <u># of Test Pits</u> | <u>% of Total<br/>Test Pits (468)</u> |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Low = less than .0009                               | 49                    | 10.5                                  |
| Medium-Low = .0010-.0049                            | 70                    | 15.0                                  |
| Medium-High = .0050-.0099                           | 20                    | 4.3                                   |
| High = greater than .0100                           | 13                    | 2.8                                   |
| "No density" (Coal, cinders,<br>modern intrusions)  | 15                    | 3.2                                   |
|   | <hr/>                 | <hr/>                                 |
|   | 167                   | 35.8                                  |
| Culturally sterile                                  | 301                   | 64.3                                  |
|   | <hr/>                 | <hr/>                                 |
|   | 468                   | 100.1                                 |

In addition, low density test pits were not plotted on the Pratts' density map (1981:Figure 5). This meant that there was no visual distinction between culturally sterile test pits and test pits which contained low amounts of cultural material, a necessary distinction when looking for artifact distribution. Such distinctions become particularly important when we realize that 64.3% of the test pits were sterile and 10.5% were of low density, accounting for about 75% of the test pits in total (Table 14.9). When these are combined with test pits of medium-low density, 89.8% of the test pits are accounted for. It was thus obvious that the spread of most of the data occurred below the medium range of density, and that delineation of this spread was vital to the understanding of the data.

The ACMP has drawn two stem and leaf diagrams to better illustrate the spread of the Pratts' data (Tables 14.10 and 14.11). One of these uses the original density values, rounding figures from four decimal places to three (Table 14.10). The other displays test pit artifact counts (Table 14.11). This latter was biased due to varying test pit volume, but was nonetheless useful for discussions comparing the front of the property to the test area in the rear (discussed later in this section). Stem and leaf diagrams

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Table 14.10

Stem and Leaf Display  
Pratt Original Density Values, Test Area Test Pits  
(Densities rounded up to nearest .001)

n = 468

Leaf Digit Unit = .001

1\* 2 represents .012

1. 9 represents .019

|    |                            |                          |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 0  | (n <sub>0</sub> = 332)*    | (n <sub>0</sub> = 332)   |
| 0* | 1 (58) 2 (23) 3 (13) 4 (9) | (n <sub>0</sub> * = 103) |
| 0. | 5 (6) 6 (7) 7 (2) 8 (3)    | (n <sub>0</sub> . = 18)  |
| 1* | 000112                     | (n <sub>1</sub> * = 6)   |
| 1. | 9                          | (n <sub>1</sub> . = 1)   |
| 2* | 3                          | (n <sub>2</sub> * = 1)   |
| 2. | 8                          | (n <sub>2</sub> . = 1)   |
| 3* | 23                         | (n <sub>3</sub> * = 2)   |
| 3. | 78                         | (n <sub>3</sub> . = 2)   |
| 4* |                            |                          |
| 4. |                            |                          |
| 5* |                            |                          |
| 5. |                            |                          |
| 6* |                            |                          |
| 6. | 8                          | (n <sub>6</sub> . = 1)   |
| 7* |                            |                          |
| 7. |                            |                          |
| 8* |                            |                          |
| 8. |                            |                          |
| 9* |                            |                          |
| 9. | 5                          | (n <sub>9</sub> . = 1)   |

\* 0 count adjusted from Pratts' count to include 16 additional zero values resulting from rounding densities to nearest .001.

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have been chosen because they maintain the integrity of the data values while serving as a heuristic display of the data spread. In this case, the diagrams make clear the extreme skewness of the spread toward low and zero values.

The ACMP also redrafted the Pratts' density map (Figure 14.12). The major change was to include test pits of low density in the visual display. Also, numeric figures (1-4) replaced the graphic notions used by the Pratts to reflect density level. This better allowed for quick visual interpretation of higher and lower density levels. Finally,

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Table 14.11

Stem and Leaf Display  
Pratt Test Area Test Pits: Total Assemblage Counts  
(ACMP counts minus roofing material) \*

n = 468  
Leaf Digit Unit = 1  
1\* 2 represents 12  
0. 5 represents 5

|    |                                |                         |
|----|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 0  | (n <sub>0</sub> = 309)         | (n <sub>0</sub> = 309)  |
| 0* | 1 (45) 2 (28) 3 (15) 4 (10)    | (n <sub>0</sub> * = 98) |
| 0. | 5 (11) 6 (6) 7 (4) 8 (2) 9 (6) | (n <sub>0</sub> . = 29) |
| 1* | 00000111222233                 | (n <sub>1</sub> * = 14) |
| 1. | 555669                         | (n <sub>1</sub> . = 6)  |
| 2* | 0144                           | (n <sub>2</sub> * = 4)  |
| 2. | 5                              | (n <sub>2</sub> . = 1)  |
| 3* |                                |                         |
| 3. | 6                              | (n <sub>3</sub> . = 1)  |
| 4* | 01                             | (n <sub>4</sub> * = 2)  |
| 4. |                                |                         |
| 5* | 12                             | (n <sub>5</sub> * = 2)  |
| 5. | 8                              | (n <sub>5</sub> . = 1)  |
| 6* |                                |                         |
| 6. |                                |                         |
| 7* | 4                              | (n <sub>7</sub> * = 1)  |

\* Roofing material was omitted since it largely composed the Pratts' "modern intrusions" category, which they did not use in analysis.

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known cultural features were plotted on the grid, helping to suggest possible reasons for artifact patterns.

The Pratts did not go beyond identifying high density test pits as "cluster centers." Thus the clusters themselves, or areas with apparent concentrations of cultural materials, were not discussed or delineated. The revised plotting of test pit densities has helped to clarify artifact patterns.

The map first suggested that the Pratts' "cluster centers" were misleading. Indeed, several did not appear to indicate clustering at all. Transect 9 TP 2, transect 12 TP 1, and transect 26 TP 1 were such examples. Neither did transect 16 TP 2 necessarily reflect artifact clustering. It was evident from the map that the entire southeastern quadrant exhibited an artifact spread which was more consistently

distributed than the other areas tested. Most likely, the high density test pits were a part of this general distribution.

It is known that the McHugh family dismantled the stone wall which previously ran through this area. Prior to this time, Hartwell residents may not have frequented the property east of the wall. This suggests that the sheet refuse pattern which characterizes this area was probably a product of McHugh occupation.

There did appear to be a clustering of materials to the northwest of the barn. The Pratts identified Transect 3 TP 3 and Transect 4 TP 4 as cluster centers, but the area of concentration seems more extensive, including two additional high density units closer to the barn. It is common at historic sites to find a clustering of materials close to barns and other outbuildings, as these were centers of human activity. Generally speaking, the refuse from this area consisted of plate window glass, brick fragments, sherds of utilitarian redware vessels, automatic machine made bottle fragments, and other artifact classes which could well be related to barn activity.

Two cluster centers were also identified to the north of the barn in the vicinity of Foundation 2 (Figure 14.12). However, a new picture emerged once the foundation and areas of concentrated surface refuse (Surface Areas A & B) were plotted on the map. Again, the concentration of materials appeared to correspond to outbuilding location, probably reflecting associated activity. This area was problematic in that the lack of stratigraphic data did not allow separation of outbuilding activity refuse from post-outbuilding dumping (see previous discussion of Foundation 2, ACMP analysis). Nonetheless, the test pit artifact assemblages were similar to those excavated from the squares and collected from the Surface Areas. Typical examples of assemblage materials were whitewares and redwares, both wire and cut nails, automatic machine made bottle fragments, roofing material, tin cans, and faunal material (see Appendix 14.3). This congruity implied that the same activity, be it outbuilding use or later dumping, may well account for the distribution of materials across this area.

The Pratts also identified Transect 15 TP 12 and TP 13 as a cluster center. This area became more interesting once the stone wall and excavated roadway were plotted on the density map (Figure 14.12). Cultural material appeared distributed in proximity to these features. Unfortunately the Pratts did not report on the stratigraphic location of artifacts, neither from the test pits nor the squares (1981:36, 63, 21). This information would help us to understand the dating of the road and whether the artifacts were related to activity along the

road. Lacking this, it is still noteworthy that the cultural materials were clustered near the road and stone wall.

In summary, the ACMP has differed from the Pratts in interpretation of the study area artifact distribution. It seemed clear that there were not eight distinct artifact clusters focused on high density test pits. Rather, the southeastern quadrant of the study area exhibited a general pattern of sheet refuse, while three areas of artifact concentration were located near the barn, Foundation 2, and the stone wall. It may be that the land east of the barn was more commonly used by Hartwell residents, resulting in a general distribution of artifacts. The outbuildings and areas north of the barn, on the other hand, may have been used less for general purposes, with artifact clustering resulting from specific activities related to the cultural features.

As a caution to interpretation, it should be noted that the interval between test pits was 10 feet. Such a grid would allow researchers to miss certain cultural features, such as privies, small scale dumps or activity areas. The Pratt data must therefore be regarded in this light, and interpretation remains on the level of general patterns of site use.

Artifact Distributions Across Front vs. Rear of Property:  
It has been noted that the density of materials across the Pratts' test area was generally low. Reference to the stem and leaf diagram (Table 14.11) shows that 93.2% of the test pits (436 of 468 total) contained fewer than 10 artifacts. Over 60% contained no materials whatsoever. This seems odd when we know that the site was occupied for over 200 years. However, this "negative evidence" may in itself hold some clues as to how the property was used.

The low densities across the rear of the property suggested that areas closer to the house might reveal higher artifact densities, reflecting more concentrated human activity. It was also hypothesized that the refuse distribution near the house might reveal more of a broadcast or sheet disposal pattern, rather than a focused activity area pattern as was witnessed in the Pratts' study area. This was thought to be likely since areas near the house would probably have received greater activity and more generalized use in addition to having specific activity locations.

Unfortunately, no systematic survey has been conducted across the site other than within the Pratts' study area. Thus there is no data from the front of the site which is truly comparable to that from the rear. Tremer's data is largely lost. Mahlstedt and the Pratts excavated a small number of generally equally sized test pits in the area. However, no artifact densities were calculated, and the sample

size was non-representative as well as non-systematic in design. Such systematic research would be necessary to accurately delineate artifact patterns. Nevertheless, data collected by Mahlstedt and the Pratts provided limited but comparable information for discussion of general patterns.

It should be noted once again that the lack of stratigraphic data did not allow separation of patterns as related to time. Both Mahlstedt and the Pratts excavated their test pits as single units. The ACMP was thus only able to perform a basic analysis, comparing gross artifact counts. The goal was to get some idea of general differences in quantity of materials from test pits near and far from the house.

Two sets of data represented areas close to the house: the six test pits excavated by the Pratts behind the tavern, and the five Mahlstedt test pits which were not expanded into larger units. The latter were more widely dispersed and included units to both the front and east sides of the tavern (Figure 14.9). Artifact counts for the two groups were added and a mean for each group was derived. This enabled a general comparison of the number of artifacts per test pit which might be expected from the front and back areas of the site. The data for these calculations can be found in Table 14.12. Note that the counts from Mahlstedt's test pits were derived from his report inventory, since subsequent corrosion caused differing ACMP counts.

The Pratts' test area test pits provided counts for the area far to the rear of the house. These were sampled, using 20 groups of six randomly chosen test pit counts. This was done to create data sets of comparable size to those from the front areas, as well as to minimize errors from outlying values (Table 14.12). These counts excluded asphalt roofing material.

Comparison of the resulting means exemplified a discrepancy which was also evident in the original counts themselves. For areas close to the house, the mean artifact count was 37.7 for the Pratt test pits and 25.6 for Mahlstedt's. In contrast, the mean count from the Pratt study area was 5.8. When all Pratt study area test pits were added, the mean diminished to just over two artifacts per test pit. The original test pit counts emphasized the difference. None of the test pits from the front of the site were sterile, and only one had fewer than 10 artifacts. On the other hand, over 60% of the test area test pits were devoid of materials, and 93% had fewer than 10 items.

The sample size from the front of the site was obviously not large or controlled enough to provide conclusive evidence concerning artifact distribution. But even on this very

Table 14.12

Mean Test Pit Artifact Counts:  
Front vs. Rear of Property

FRONT OF PROPERTY

(1) Pratt Test Pits  
Behind House

Counts: 10  
35  
30  
16  
85  
50

Total 226

$\bar{X}$  (mean) = 37.7

(2) Mahlstedt Unexpanded  
Test Pits

Counts: 2  
61  
17  
21  
27

Total 128

$\bar{X}$  (mean) = 25.6

REAR OF PROPERTY

Pratt Study Area Test Pits:  
20 groups of 6 random test pits

|         |          |          |           |          |          |           |          |          |          |           |
|---------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Counts: | 2        | 0        | 2         | 1        | 0        | 7         | 0        | 6        | 0        | 5         |
|         | 1        | 1        | 0         | 2        | 52       | 5         | 2        | 0        | 8        | 0         |
|         | 4        | 5        | 1         | 4        | 5        | 15        | 4        | 0        | 0        | 0         |
|         | 0        | 11       | 3         | 0        | 0        | 0         | 0        | 51       | 3        | 1         |
|         | 74       | 0        | 4         | 0        | 12       | 9         | 0        | 0        | 24       | 10        |
|         | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>20</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>41</u> |

Totals 82 18 23 9 69 56 6 60 35 57

|         |           |           |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |
|---------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Counts: | 5         | 1         | 2        | 10       | 3        | 0        | 15       | 12       | 0        | 16       |
|         | 0         | 0         | 9        | 2        | 58       | 5        | 0        | 1        | 0        | 0        |
|         | 0         | 0         | 0        | 0        | 0        | 0        | 9        | 0        | 3        | 0        |
|         | 1         | 1         | 0        | 1        | 0        | 1        | 2        | 0        | 21       | 0        |
|         | 15        | 5         | 2        | 1        | 2        | 24       | 0        | 19       | 0        | 1        |
|         | <u>12</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> |

Totals 33 19 16 15 66 30 28 32 25 17

$\bar{X}$  (mean) = 5.8

$\bar{X}$  all test area test pits = 2.3

general level, the data suggested that artifact concentrations were higher nearer the house. Additional systematic sampling would no doubt reveal variations in this pattern, helping to further understand property use.

Lacking further research, there is no way to adequately assess the hypothesis that distributions near the house would reveal more of a sheet refuse pattern than those to the rear of the property. Current sample sizes are much too small. Nonetheless it bears note that the spread of the data suggested this may be the case. All of the units near the house contained materials, whereas those in the study area did not. It is possible that the near house data bears the mark of a more continuous spread of materials. The area north of the house and south of the Pratts' study area was unfortunately so disturbed during Tremer's excavations that the artifact distribution pattern between the two areas cannot be discussed.

Moir has noted that sheet refuse continued on through the 19th century in the rural northeast (1983:321). However, patterns such as those Stanley South proposed for 18th century British American sites (1978) have not been identified. There remains a great deal of untapped information in such resources, information which would help to shed light on the activities and traditional lifeways of rural New Englanders. Further work of this nature at the tavern, with a more extensive sampling program in undisturbed areas, would help to define actual patterning.

The preceding discussion focused on the distribution of total artifact counts or densities across the Hartwell property. Patterns were first identified within the Pratt study area to the rear of the property, the only systematically sampled area on the site. Second, the test area data was compared on a very general level to the limited data from front portions of the site, in hopes of identifying possible distribution patterns. Caution has been taken to emphasize the generality of comparisons between the study area and front portions of the site. Data from the latter were from non-systematic and non-representative samples, and in addition were counts rather than the more appropriate density values. They best served as indicators of potential avenues for further research.

It has not been within the scope of this project to delineate the distributions of separate artifact classes. Such analyses allow for further identification of activities and property use (see e.g., Moir 1983). The Pratts attempted such an analysis for their study area, but were unable to define patterns (1981:22). Questions of artifact class distribution would be more feasibly and more fruitfully addressed if there were comparable data sets from other areas of the site.

Scarcity of 18th Century Materials: It was also unclear how distribution patterns related to changes in land use through time. As mentioned, the lack of stratigraphic data precluded much chronological analysis. The Pratts assigned date ranges to test pits when possible, but again this was difficult to evaluate without associated stratigraphic data. It is interesting, however, that all Pratt assemblages were dated to the 19th and/or 20th centuries. They reported that "no 18th century materials were recovered" (1981:64). There are a few items in the collection which may be attributable to the late 18th century, though they could also be dated to the early 19th century (e.g., a single sherd of creamware). Certainly the Pratts were correct that there was no evidence of 18th century assemblages.

It is possible that the test area received little active use in the 18th century, given its distance from the tavern and its lack of 18th century materials. However, areas closer to the house, while not adequately sampled, also lacked clear 18th century components. For example, the Pratts' "behind house" test pits contained no diagnostic 18th century ceramics. Also lacking were other materials frequently associated with 18th century sites, such as freeblown bottle glass. Mahlstedt's testing did uncover one tin enameled sherd and one creamware sherd, but none of the remaining 57 ceramic sherds could be attributed to 18th century manufacture. Tremer's collection was too incomplete to evaluate, but of a total 466 ceramic sherds available, only three creamware sherds may be of possible 18th century origin.

The lack of 18th century materials seems odd, as people first occupied the site in the early 18th century. The assemblages from the front of the site did not even contain much pearlware, usually so common on sites occupied during the late 18th and early 19th century (no sherds from Pratt "behind house" test pits, and three sherds or 5.1% of the ceramics from Mahlstedt's units). Clearly the sample from these areas was inadequate, and this may in part account for the dearth of 18th century materials. Also, Tremer's excavations were the largest in areas near the house, and the missing artifacts from his work may contribute to the problem.

In spite of these factors, it seems that there are additional issues regarding the scarcity of 18th century materials. These are issues which have perplexed other New England archeologists in their attempts to interpret multi-component historic sites (see Towle, Chapter 4, Volume 1 of this report). Several factors merit mention in context of the Hartwell Tavern site.

Towle has noted that historical archeologists derive most of their chronological information from ceramics, yet redwares, an abundant ceramic class on most early historic

sites in New England, remain largely undateable (Chapter 4). Indeed, redwares constituted a rather large percentage of Hartwell assemblages from areas near the house: 37.3% of Mahlstedt's ceramics, and 56.8% of the Pratts' "behind house" ceramics. In the Pratts' test area to the rear of the house, redwares accounted for 26.8% of the test pit ceramic assemblage and 15.6% of the squares'. Given the lack of stratigraphic data from the site, it was not possible to separate redwares out as to level of deposition. Such information might help to delineate an expected redware percentage for 18th century site components.

Historical archeologists have also noted that ceramics were not as readily available prior to the introduction and marketing of refined earthenwares in the mid to late 18th century (e.g., Miller 1984:3). This may in part account for relatively smaller 18th century ceramic assemblages. At Hartwell, however, even the early refined wares were missing, and there was virtually no trace in the collection of the ceramics which were previously available though to a lesser degree (e.g., white salt glazed stonewares and other early European stonewares, or tin-enameled wares).

Historical Use of Pewter: It must also be recognized that pewter was a large presence in the tablewares of 18th century America. Pewter does not typically survive the corrosive forces present in the archeological record. It was also curated by the users and thus less likely to appear in archeological deposits. It is only recently that archeologists have begun to recognize the significant role which pewter played. Excavated ceramics must not be regarded as fully representative of a household's tableware inventory.

Recent documentary research has revealed the prominence of pewter in early America. A group of Chesapeake Bay scholars found that "the great majority of the 17th century Virginians and Marylanders were eating from pewter plates" (Beaudry et. al. 1983:25), rather than wooden or ceramic vessels. This trend seems to have persisted in the Middle Atlantic region through the end of the 18th century.

Ann Morgan Smart investigated probate records from Albemarle County, Virginia, concerning the use of pewter from 1770 to 1799. Her findings showed that "until the opening decades of the nineteenth century, pewter was the common, if not predominant, material of serving items" (1984:2). Indeed, ceramics comprised only 32% of the plates listed in the probates (1984:7). It was only in the wealthiest households that ceramics outnumbered pewter, and in this case numerous vessels of each material were owned (1984:8). Smart suggested that pewter may have persisted for several reasons, including its durability and its longstanding tradition as a display

item (1984:11). Whatever the reasons, it is clear that the role of pewter in the 18th century must be recognized. In Albemarle County, it was not until the first quarter of the 19th century that pewter finally waned in significance (1984:9).

An additional study of probate inventories has been conducted for Boston tavern owners during the period 1630-1776 (Hill 1983). The tavern owner inventories revealed that "pewter was the most widely used ware material, with earthenware second" (Hill 1983:26). Ephraim Hartwell's probate inventory may not reflect the tableware used in the tavern, as it was a record of his personal estate taken in 1793, five years after the closing of the tavern. In addition, his son John had operated the tavern during its last ten years. John lived in the main house while Ephraim resided in the gambrel addition, and it may be that items once used in the tavern became a part of John's property rather than Ephraim's.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in 1793, Ephraim's kitchen- and tablewares consisted primarily of pewter and other metal (brass, iron) items:

Kitchen Furniture-five pewter dishes, eleven pewter plates, six old pewter plates, quart pot, three pewter porngers, salt, two pewter basons, culender and coffee pot, other tin ware, seven pewter spoons, one brass kettle, two brass skillets, two brass ladels, two old brass kettles, one pair of hand irons, shovel and tongs, iron tea kettle, two iron pots, iron stew pots, iron dish kettle, iron bason and spider, three candlesticks, flat iron and holder, half case of knives and forks, earthen ware, toasting iron, wooding mortar, chopping knife, one small chest, two tables, four chairs, square table, stone jug, two frontamels (?), cheese press (probate inventory quoted from Ronsheim n.d.: unpaginated).

Thus at the end of the 18th century, ceramic tablewares did not appear to have a role in Ephraim's household. John may have owned such wares at the time, but we have no records to indicate one way or the other. If Ephraim's probate is at all representative of the tablewares used by the household, the lack of 18th century materials in the archeological record becomes much easier to understand.

18th Century Refuse Disposal: There is a final issue which may impinge on the scarcity of 18th century materials at Hartwell as well as other New England sites. Virtually no work has been done on delineating 18th century disposal

patterns. Deetz has noted that New Englanders disposed of their refuse as "sheet" refuse until ca. 1750, but then began to dig pits and dispose of their trash in a more "precise and neat" manner (1977:125-126). However, other archeologists have contradicted Deetz's theory (e.g., Moir 1983), and the pattern of 18th century trash disposal remains to be investigated. It may be that trash pits or other distinct features were used for disposal purposes, and that sheet refuse would thus contain little evidence of 18th century materials. On sites occupied into the 19th and 20th centuries, it may also be that post-18th century landscaping and ground disturbances have removed much of the 18th century sheet refuse. Sites such as Hartwell's may provide a chance to investigate these patterns for rural New England.

Tavern Material Culture: The ACMP analysis would not be complete without mentioning the topic of tavern material culture. A number of historical archeologists have been interested in this subject. They have attempted to define the classes of artifacts which an archeologist might expect to find from tavern excavations. Rockman and Rothschild, for example, proposed that there may be a difference between rural tavern and urban tavern assemblages, since rural taverns usually provided overnight accommodations whereas urban taverns had more specific functions (1984:112). Specifically, the archeological record of urban sites would reflect more "socializing" activity (tobacco pipes, drinking glasses, and wine bottles), while rural sites would reflect food preparation as well (1984:114). Hill suggested that additional artifact classes may compose a tavern assemblage. In particular, his study of Boston tavern owners' probate inventories suggested that these assemblages would contain proportionately larger numbers of "alcoholic beverage equipment (especially beer brewing equipment)," and "basic cooking equipment" as well as "specialty cooking utensils" (1983:29).

Assemblages from the Hartwell Tavern did not reveal such patterning. For example, the entire collection from all three excavators contained only 19 pipe fragments (Appendix 14.3). Tremer's missing artifacts may introduce bias as to true assemblage composition. But it is reasonable to assume that Hartwell materials would not exhibit the proposed tavern assemblage patterns. First, the tavern period accounted for only 31 years of more than 200 years of occupation. Second, the tavern operated during the 18th century, the period for which artifacts seem to be lacking at Hartwell. This suggests that archeologists need to assess how many years, or what percentage of total occupation years, a tavern must have operated to produce a representative assemblage. It further emphasizes that tight stratigraphic control must be maintained during excavation at such multi-component sites in order to

isolate the tavern period deposits. Research at these sites would help us to understand the differences between the archeological records of taverns and domestic sites, even within the context of the same site.

Shoe Parts in the Collection: Final mention should be made of the large assemblage of leather shoe parts which were excavated from the house cellar during tavern restoration (provenience code HT-35000000-SRMS-USFL). These were of particular interest as it was known that Ephraim Hartwell was at one time a cordwainer, or shoemaker. The ACMP inventoried a total of 87 identifiable shoe parts, including soles, heels, counters, uppers, toe pieces, and welts. A general analysis of these fragments suggested that they probably dated to the early to mid-19th century, long after Ephraim's cordwainer activities.

The evidence for this general dating included the overall lack of stitching in the soles and the presence of wooden pegs around the soles and square-section nails (Anderson 1968). Anderson has noted that prior to the invention of the wooden pegging machine in 1829, "most footwear was hand-sewn....A few shoes were nailed. Wooden pegs were used only to attach the heel and heel lifts to the sole" (1968:58). Shoes manufactured during Hartwell's time would therefore be expected to have stitched rather than pegged soles. Once a machine was developed to make the wooden shoe pegs (1811) and another was developed to insert them into the shoe (1829), the pegging technology overtook that of earlier hand sewing and was "generally adopted" by 1843 (Anderson 1968:58). This technology was replaced later in the 19th century by machines which sewed the soles to the uppers, first patented in 1860 (Anderson 1968:59).

The shoes in the Hartwell collection seem to reflect the advent of shoe pegging technology. They would thus postdate Ephraim's shoemaking activities, but predate the later advent of machine-sewn soles. Further research into shoe manufacturing techniques, analysis of the Hartwell collection shoes, and investigation of the activities of the house's occupants might reveal some association between the shoes and one of the occupants. The ACMP recommends such research to more firmly identify the dating of the Hartwell shoes.

### Summary

The preceding ACMP analysis has attempted to accomplish several goals. First and foremost was the intent to synthesize previous site interpretations and, in combination with other sources, to offer a current interpretation of the archeologists' findings. This has included the interpretation

of features such as the four outbuildings and a road, and an analysis of artifact distributions across the site. Often the ACMP's interpretations have differed from those of the previous archeologists. It is clear that little of the data recovered to date sheds light on life at Hartwell in the 18th century. However, it is also clear that possibilities remain for further work at Hartwell, work which would allow us to address both general and specific archeological and historical questions.

## Management Summary

Ephraim Hartwell operated an inn in his home on the Concord Road for 31 years, from 1756 to 1787. He had lived on the property since 1733, and his family continued to occupy the house for a total of nearly 150 years. In 1775, the house was functioning as an inn, and stood on the Battle Road along which the Revolutionary skirmishes took place. The house, which is now known as the Hartwell Tavern, still stands and has recently been restored by the National Park Service.

### Previous Archeology

Archeologist Charles Tremer, on contract to NPS, was the first to conduct excavations on the tavern grounds. His work at the tavern spanned the summer field seasons from 1972 to 1974. Only the first of these field seasons was documented (Tremer 1973). In that year, Tremer located and fully excavated the foundations of two outbuildings, and a portion of a possible roadbed.

Both foundations were composed of a single course of dry-laid field stones. Foundation 1 was located just south of the extant barn, and measured 41 ft. by 18.5 ft.. Tremer interpreted the structure as a "wood house/ stable" which he presumed was present in 1775. Foundation 2 was located northeast of the house, and measured 17 ft. by 17.5 ft.. This was interpreted as a "chaise house," also presumed to be present in 1775. Tremer based his interpretations of these structures on historian Luzader's hypotheses.

The possible roadbed which Tremer uncovered was located northeast of the house. Located only three inches below the surface, it was composed of brown-black soil in a layer three inches thick and eight feet wide. Tremer believed that the road may have led to the barn area.

In 1973, Tremer located two additional outbuildings in an area further from the house, north and northeast of the barn. His 1973 report mentioned that they had been found, and that he planned to excavate the structures that year. We know that in fact he did partially excavate the outbuildings, as later archeologists found evidence of his work in these areas (Pratt 1981). Tremer also apparently worked on some areas adjacent to the house, although we know this only through secondary sources. Tremer never reported further on his work at the tavern and thus on an interpretation of his findings.

In 1979, NPS Archeologist Thomas Mahlstedt conducted a limited excavation in the front (south) and east yards of the tavern. This work preceded the installation of utility lines. The only feature which he was able to identify was a possible

cobble path in front of the tavern, which he speculated might have been a portion of a pathway leading to the front door of the house. The age of this feature was not established, although Mahlstedt believed that it could have been original to the tavern.

Pratt and Pratt Archeological Consultants were the last archeologists to work at the tavern. Their 1980 survey and excavation followed a geophysical survey which was intended to locate cultural features. The Pratts' test area covered a large area to the north/northeast of the barn. They also excavated six test pits directly behind the tavern.

The Pratts' survey uncovered two outbuildings and a road or pathway. The outbuildings were those which Tremer had previously located and partially excavated. Foundation 1, northeast of the barn, was an area of dense cobblestones with no discernible foundation walls, measuring 25 by 11 feet. Based upon oral history information, they interpreted this feature as a hen house used in the 20th century. Foundation 2 was further west and measured approximately 27 by 24 feet. It was composed of a single course of dry-laid field stones. This too was interpreted according to oral history as a hog house used in the 20th century.

The Pratts also uncovered what appeared to be a cobblestone roadbed, measuring eight feet wide with a center crown and a lower "wheel area" on each side. This was located in two excavation units northeast of the tavern, generally aligned with the possible dirt road uncovered by Tremer. Using a probe, they traced its extent north across the property line and south to a drainage ditch. The Pratts found no evidence for dating the road, but speculated that it could have been present in 1775 as part of the road from Lincoln to Bedford.

### ACMP Interpretation

The ACMP undertook a synthesis and reevaluation of the data from all previous tavern excavations. This included an analysis of the evidence of outbuildings, roads and pathways, and of the general information provided by the artifacts.

The excavators' analyses of the four outbuildings had been fraught with a number of assumptions and misinformation which rendered many of their final interpretations as inaccurate. Tremer, for example, relied on unsubstantiated hypotheses to interpret his two outbuildings. Unfortunately, the lack of stratigraphic data and the fragmentary artifact assemblage from his excavation did not allow a thorough analysis of the structures. However, the ACMP used what artifact data there was in combination with historic

photographs and oral history data and determined that these buildings were definitely present in the early 20th century, possibly present in the late 19th century, but there was no evidence that they dated to the time of the Revolution.

As to function of the buildings, historical architects had established that the early wood house and chaise house which Tremer referred to in his interpretations had instead been located in the ell additions to the house. The best interpretation for the function of Tremer's two outbuildings was provided by oral history, which documented the use of Structure 1 as a shed and Structure 2 as a toolshed, both in use during the early 20th century.

The remaining two outbuildings were also difficult to pin down as to date or function given the archeological data recovered. The ACMP agreed with the Pratts that Foundation 1 was probably a 20th century hen house. Foundation 2, however, did not agree with the known location of a piggery, and based upon oral history it was more likely that this outbuilding served as a shed. Both structures would have been in use during the 20th century, and analysis of artifacts and oral history data suggested that they were constructed no earlier than the late 19th century.

Portions of three possible roads or pathways were excavated on tavern property. The cobble path in front of the tavern may have been an 18th century feature, though no definite evidence was found to date it. The cobble roadway discovered northeast of the tavern may have connected with the soil feature discovered by Tremer further south, with the cobbles serving to keep the path dry on lower ground. There is currently no evidence that this road served as the route from Lincoln to Bedford in the 18th century. The ACMP looked at a number of available historic maps, and found that there was a road in this location in the late 19th and 20th centuries, but apparently no earlier.

The Pratts' excavation was a systematic study and produced data useful for discussion of general artifact patterns across the site. The ACMP found that in areas far from the house, artifacts tended to be clustered around outbuildings, whereas nearer the house they were spread more uniformly in a "sheet refuse" pattern. The quantity of material also appeared to increase in areas closer to the house. These patterns are of interest in that they reflect differences in the ways people utilized the property. The artifacts also revealed that there was a distinct lack of 18th century material, possibly explained in part by the common use of pewter in the 18th century. The artifact discussions in this chapter should provide data for further on-site or comparative research.

## The Hartwell Tavern Artifact Collection

The ACMP inventoried a total of 7,261 artifacts from Hartwell Tavern excavations. Over 5,000 of these were recovered during the Pratts' excavations. This data base is intact and divided into useful provenience units for further research purposes. Tremer's collection contained over 1,100 artifacts, but was more problematic. The associated provenience data is poor, and it is doubtful that these materials represent all which Tremer recovered. Mahlstedt's collection of 404 artifacts is small but in useful form for further research. A fourth group of artifacts contains 350 items recovered by construction personnel during restoration of the tavern, and a final group of materials represents all unprovenienced artifacts (380) from the tavern. The Pratt and Mahlstedt collections have the greatest potential for future research purposes.

The collection contains a large assemblage of leather shoe parts, probably dating to the early to mid-19th century (see the ACMP Interpretation section of this chapter). These shoes were excavated from the cellar during tavern restoration (provenience code HT-35000000-SRMS-USFL). Currently the shoes appear fairly stable, though they are fragile with dryness and vulnerable to loss of wooden pegs and other components. It is not recommended that any chemical treatment be made, as it would likely put the objects at further risk. However, they should be kept at a relatively dry, constant relative humidity and monitored for change. Diagnostic testing by a conservator should be pursued if further action is desired. The shoes are interesting, very personal artifacts, and with care could be used for interpretive displays.

## Public Interpretation at the Hartwell Tavern

The tavern has recently been restored by the Park and is interpreted to the public by Park personnel. Archeological excavations at the site have revealed a number of features which may be of interest for interpretive purposes, including the outbuildings, path and roadways. These are identified on the ACMP composite site map (Figure 14.1). This chapter also offers a complete chain of title for the property (Table 14.5) and a summary of site history, which may be of use in site interpretation.

## Recommendations

Archeologists at the Hartwell Tavern have primarily identified features of the farmstead's layout. Certain questions about site layout remain unanswered, especially concerning the early years of occupation. There are also additional issues of interest which remain only partially addressed at Hartwell, such as the distribution patterns of cultural materials. Several areas of the site remain available for further investigation, in spite of the rather extensive ground disturbances caused by both archeological and restoration activities.

A number of research possibilities exist regarding farmstead layout through time. It is not recommended that further work be done on the four outbuildings excavated by Tremer and the Pratts, as they have been extensively disturbed. The barn, on the other hand, maintains some areas still open to testing, particularly along the exterior west central side (Figure 14.2). Such work might help to determine an original construction date or to identify earlier foundations. Previous work in this area was poorly reported on and presumably inconclusive. The standing barn was built ca. 1938 on foundations which were probably first constructed for the 19th century barn. Further research potential also exists for the road east of the tavern, located by the Pratts and possibly by Tremer, and the cobble path located by Mahlstedt in front of the tavern. Archeological testing of the road should be preceded by a thorough investigation of historical maps and other sources to identify interpretive possibilities and limitations.

There are two known cultural features at Hartwell which have not been archeologically investigated. The first is a "well yard," identified as such in the historical records, and described as a third of an acre "walled in" (1838 deed cited by Luzader 1972:6, 8). Ephraim's will of 1786 also granted use of "the well house yard," possibly the same feature, to his widow (Ronsheim n.d.:2). Luzader identified a feasible location for the "well yard" (Figure 14.11), and portions of the stone wall remain intact. The function of this feature is unknown, as is the existence of a well within its bounds. The ACMP recommends testing in this area if more work is to be done on the site.

The second known but unexcavated feature at Hartwell is a well located behind the tavern (Figure 14.2). This well is known to have been in use by at least 1838, when it was described as a feature separate from the "well yard" and located "near the back door of the sink room" (deed book 382:323, cited by Ronsheim n.d.:unpaginated). The well's precise origin and extent of use is unknown. Depending upon the research questions guiding further work, the well may

provide an opportunity to retrieve concentrated, closed context data about Hartwell occupants. However, the extent of filling by refuse disposal is unclear, as a number of large boulders obscure inspection. The Park has also placed a metal grill on top of the feature. Investigation of the well's potential is recommended before a decision is made to excavate.

It should be noted that no privies have been located at Hartwell. Privies, like wells, can provide concentrated information on the site's occupants, as they were often used for disposal of household materials. At Hartwell, wells and privies may provide the best opportunity for delineating tavern period deposits. Their location would also contribute to an understanding of farmstead layout and property use. No pattern has been established for privy location on rural New England sites. These features should be kept in mind during the design of future sampling.

The ACMP also recommends that the tavern site be used to study artifact distribution patterns, the value of which has been discussed in the ACMP analysis. The Pratts provided data for the rear of the property, but comparable systematic sampling is needed from other site areas. Areas which remain undisturbed and available for testing are as follows:

- 1) Much of the front yard (south of the tavern) is undisturbed, though care must be taken to avoid utility trenches and Mahlstedt's test pits.
- 2) The west yard maintains some integrity, particularly in the "well yard" area. Disturbances to avoid include Tremer's STR1 area, the leaching pit, and possible driveway disturbance.
- 3) The east yard is largely disturbed except an area south of Mahlstedt's units and east of the driveway.
- 4) Testing in the backyard (north of the tavern and south of the Pratts' test area), if attempted at all, must be designed to avoid many previous disturbances (refer to Figures 14.2 and 14.10).

Further testing would enhance the interpretive value of the Pratts' data, extending analysis possibilities to more areas of the site.

The above listing of potential study areas does not recognize areas which were a part of Ephraim Hartwell's houselot but were later parceled off as separate properties. The 1779 Stephen Davis survey (Figure 14.17) shows that the dimensions of the Hartwell lot were once much wider than today. When the 1779 dimensions are plotted on a contemporary map, it is apparent that at least three modern houses were

built on Ephraim's original lot, and two of them still stand today. These houses and their associated activities have disturbed the original tavern holdings, and the lots are not considered of interest for further study.

An additional recommendation applies generally to all future excavations at Hartwell: tight stratigraphic controls should be maintained. The lack of stratigraphic information from previous tavern excavations has limited the interpretation of the data. This shortcoming should be corrected.

It is clear that further archeological work is feasible at the tavern though a number of areas are unavailable due to previous disturbances. The preceding recommendations provide several, but certainly not all, suggestions for the course of such research. Analysis of the site to date has been hindered by the data problems discussed in this chapter. Additional work would enable a more accurate and informative analysis of the previous excavations, in turn shedding light on larger questions of historical and archeological significance.

Appendix 14.1

June 13, 1985

MEMORANDUM

To: Dick Hsu, Regional Archeologist, Division of Cultural Resources, NARO

From: Darcie A. MacMahon, Archeologist, Division of Cultural Resources, NARO

Subject: Shovel test pit excavated in cellar floor of Ephraim Hartwell Barn

On May 23, 1985, EAFL personnel dug a single shovel test pit in the cellar dirt floor of the Ephraim Hartwell (Hartwell Tavern) Barn, to the west of the barn doors (see attached sketch). This was executed in order to clear the way for MIMA maintenance installation of an evaporation tank (approximately 2' x 3' x 2 1/2' high) for first floor toilet facilities.

The STP measured 50 cm E-W by 75 cm N-S. Stratigraphy revealed 2 upper layers (Levels 1 + 2) of 20th century fill, totalling 13cm deep (5cm of gray-brown sand and gravel; 8cm of yellow sand; 20th century artifacts). Beneath the fill was a 10-12cm thick layer of tightly packed cobbles. The cobbles were both angular and rounded, and ranged from 10-12cm in diameter. The soil matrix surrounding the cobbles (Level 3) was a rich dark brown organic soil, suggesting that this may have been the barn floor surface prior to the fill events. NPS architect Orville Carroll reports having noticed exposed cobble flooring in the north portion of the barn cellar (personal communication, 1985). Indeed, this surface is still exposed and is likely the same stratum as that excavated.

In addition, several of the outbuildings excavated during previous archeological work on the property exhibited similar cobble "flooring" (see Tremer 1973, Pratt 1981). Tremer's excavations adjacent to the east wall of the barn (TT17) also uncovered a layer of "cobblestones, at a level of 3-4 inches below the topsoil, extend outward from the doorsill to a point 5 feet distant" (1973:13). These features may be related. In fact, the current STP was located just W of the lower barn doors and Tremer's TT17 extended east from the doors. Unfortunately, there has been no indication of feature date from previous archeological work, and the artifacts recovered during the excavation of the current STP have been equally unrevealing (a single indeterminate nail fragment and pieces of coal).

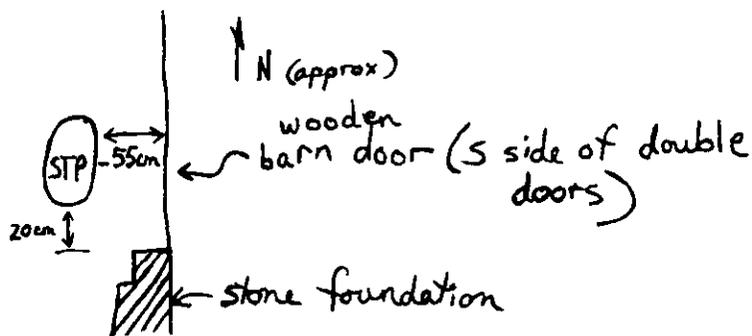
Beneath the cobbles was a 6cm layer of gray clay, followed by an orange brown sand with cobble inclusions. Both of these strata were culturally sterile, and excavation was discontinued at 34cm below ground surface. Clearance was given for installation of the evaporation tank, as it would disturb only a small area of the cobble feature.

Artifacts from the excavation will be washed and sorted according to current EAFL/ACMP procedures, and subsequently returned to MIMA for permanent storage. Attached are copies of the field notes taken during STP excavation. Catalog coding sheets are currently stored at EAFL, though the originals will be returned to MIMA with the artifacts.

Darcie A. MacMahon, Archeologist

Enclosures (2)

cc: EAFL, ACMP:MIMA correspondence  
Superintendent, MIMA



Appendix 14.2

ACMP Provenience Codes, Hartwell Tavern

I) Tremer Collection, Accession # 357

| <u>ACMP Code</u>      | <u>Number on Artifacts</u> |                            |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| HT-00ST1,72-0000-0000 | 11-ST1-                    | item based catalog #'s -72 |
| HT-00ST2,72-0000-0000 | 11-ST2-                    | " -72                      |
| HT-0TT03,72-0000-0000 | 11-TT3-                    | " -72                      |
| HT-0TT05,72-0000-0000 | 11-TT5-                    | " -72                      |
| HT-0TT06,72-0000-0000 | 11-TT6-                    | " -72                      |
| HT-0TT12,72-0000-0000 | 11-TT12-                   | " -72                      |
| HT-0TT13,72-0000-0000 | 11-TT13-                   | " -72                      |
| HT-0TT19,72-0000-0000 | 11-TT19-                   | " -72                      |
| HT-0TT24,72-0000-0000 | 11-TT24-                   | " -72                      |
| HT-0TT32,00-0000-0000 | 11-TT32-                   | " -no year                 |
| HT-000F1,72-0000-0000 | 11-F1-                     | " -72                      |
| HT-0002A,00-0000-0000 | 11-2A-                     | " -no year                 |
| HT-002A3,00-0000-0000 | 11-2A3-                    | " -no year                 |
| HT-002A4,00-0000-0000 | 11-2A4-                    | " -no year                 |
| HT-002A5,00-0000-0000 | 11-2A5-                    | " -no year                 |
| HT-0002B,00-0000-0000 | 11-2B-                     | " -no year                 |
| HT-002B4,00-0000-0000 | 11-2B4-                    | " -no year                 |
| HT-STR1B,74-0000-0000 | 11-STR1B-                  | " -74                      |
| HT-0STR4,74-0000-0000 | 11-STR4-                   | " -74                      |
| HT-0STR5,74-0000-0000 | 11-STR5-                   | " -74                      |
| HT-35700000-0000-0000 | Unprovenienced materials   |                            |

II) Mahlstedt Collection, Accession # 367

| <u>ACMP Code</u>      | <u>EAFL Excavation Unit Code</u> | <u>Mahlstedt's Provenience</u> |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| HT-TP000002-0000-0000 | 002-00-000                       | Test Pit 2                     |
| HT-TP0003UC-0000-0000 | 003-00-000                       | Test Pit 3, and Unit C         |
| HT-TP000004-0000-0000 | 004-00-000                       | Test Pit 4                     |
| HT-TP000005-0000-0000 | 005-00-000                       | Test Pit 5                     |
| HT-TP000006-0000-0000 | 006-00-000                       | Test Pit 6                     |
| HT-TP07&8UB-0000-0000 | 008-00-000                       | Test Pits 7 & 8, and Unit B    |
| HT-TP000009-0000-0000 | 010-00-000                       | Test Pit 9                     |
| HT-TP000010-0000-0000 | 011-00-000                       | Test Pit 10                    |
| HT-000000UA-0000-0000 | 007-00-000                       | Unit A                         |
| HT-000000UD-0000-0000 | 009-00-000                       | Unit D                         |

Appendix 14.2 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Hartwell Tavern

III) Pratt & Pratt Collection, Accession # 370

| <u>ACMP Code</u>      | <u>Pratt Provenience</u> |                         |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| HT-000SQ001-0000-0001 | Square 1,                | Level 1, 0-7.5"         |
| HT-000SQ001-0000-0002 | " 1,                     | " 2, 7.5-18"            |
| HT-000SQ002-0000-0002 | " 2,                     | " 2, 13-20"             |
| HT-000SQ004-0000-0001 | " 4,                     | " 1, no depth given     |
| HT-000SQ005-0000-0001 | " 5,                     | " 1, 0-5"               |
| HT-000SQ005-0000-0002 | " 5,                     | " 2, 5-13"              |
| HT-000SQ006-0000-0001 | " 6,                     | " 1, 0-3/6"             |
| HT-000SQ008-0000-0001 | " 8,                     | " 1, 0-6"               |
| HT-000SQ009-0000-0001 | " 9,                     | " 1, 0-6"               |
| HT-000SQ011-0000-0001 | " 11,                    | " 1, 0-6"               |
| HT-000SQ012-0000-0001 | " 12,                    | " 1, 0-3"               |
| HT-000SQ013-0000-0001 | " 13,                    | " 1, 0-13/14"           |
| HT-000SQ013-0000-0002 | " 13,                    | " 2, 13/14-19/20"       |
| HT-000SQ014-0000-0001 | " 14,                    | " 1, 0-11"              |
| HT-000SQ015-0000-0001 | " 15,                    | " 1, 0-5/9"             |
| HT-000SQ016-0000-0001 | " 16,                    | " 1, 0-10"              |
| HT-000SQ017-0000-0001 | " 17,                    | " 1, 0-8/12"            |
| HT-000SQ018-0000-0001 | " 18,                    | " 1, 0-10"              |
| HT-000SQ020-0000-0001 | " 20,                    | " 1, 0-4/10"            |
| HT-000SQ021-0000-0001 | " 21,                    | " 1, 0-7/8"             |
| HT-000SQ023-0000-0001 | " 23,                    | " 1, 0-6"               |
| HT-000SQ024-0000-0001 | " 24,                    | " 1, 0-8"               |
| HT-000SQ025-0000-0001 | " 25,                    | " 1, 0-5"               |
| HT-000SQ025-0000-0002 | " 25,                    | " 2, 5-8.5"             |
| HT-000SQ026-0000-0001 | " 26,                    | " 1, 0-10"              |
| HT-000SQ027-0000-0001 | " 27,                    | " 1, 0-14"              |
| HT-000SQ028-0000-0001 | " 28,                    | " 1, 0-8"               |
| HT-000SQ029-0000-0001 | " 29,                    | " 1, 0-9"               |
| HT-000SQ030-0000-0001 | " 30,                    | " 1, no depth given     |
| HT-000SQ031-0000-0001 | " 31,                    | " 1, 0-3"               |
| HT-000SQ031-0000-0002 | " 31,                    | " 2, 3-9"               |
| HT-000SQ033-0000-0001 | " 33,                    | " 1, 0-9"               |
| HT-000SQ034-0000-0001 | " 34,                    | " 1, 0-9"               |
| HT-000SQ035-0000-0001 | " 35,                    | " 1, 0-15.5"            |
| HT-000SQ035-0000-0002 | " 35,                    | " 2, 15.5-20"           |
| HT-000SQ036-0000-0001 | " 36,                    | " 1, 0-9"               |
| HT-000SQ037-0000-0001 | " 37,                    | " 1, 0-12"              |
| HT-000SQ038-0000-0001 | " 38,                    | " 1, 0-20"              |
| HT-000SQ039-0000-0000 | " 39,                    | no level or depth given |
| HT-000SQ041-0000-0001 | " 41,                    | " 1, 0-8"               |
| HT-000SQ042-0000-0001 | " 42,                    | " 1, 4-12"              |
| HT-000SQ043-0000-0001 | " 43,                    | " 1, 0-12"              |
| HT-000SQ044-0000-0001 | " 44,                    | " 1, 0-11"              |
| HT-000SQ045-0000-0001 | " 45,                    | " 1, no depth given     |

Appendix 14.2 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Hartwell Tavern

III) Pratt & Pratt Collection, Accession # 370  
(cont.)

| <u>ACMP Code</u>       | <u>Pratt Provenience</u>                        |    |   |    |       |
|------------------------|---|----|---|----|-------|
| HT-000SQ046-0000-0001  | Square 46, Level 1, 0-11"                       |    |   |    |       |
| HT-000SQ047-0000-0001  | Square 47, Level 1, 0-7/9"                      |    |   |    |       |
| HT-0SQ38&42-0000-0001  | Square 38 and 42, Level 1; mixed<br>when sorted |    |   |    |       |
| HT-00000SAA-0000-000S  | Surface Area A                                  |    |   |    |       |
| HT-00000SAB-0000-000S  | Surface Area B, rock pile                       |    |   |    |       |
| HT-TR01TP01-0000-0012* | Transect 1, Test Pit 1 (Excavation<br>Unit 900) |    |   |    |       |
| HT-TR01TP02-0000-0015  | "   | 1, | " | 2  | " 901 |
| HT-TR01TP03-0000-0022  | "   | 1, | " | 3  | " 902 |
| HT-TR01TP18-0000-0008  | "   | 1, | " | 18 | " 912 |
| HT-TR02TP02-0000-0015  | "   | 2, | " | 2  | " 914 |
| HT-TR02TP10-0000-0008  | "   | 2, | " | 10 | " 919 |
| HT-TR03TP01-0000-0018  | "   | 3, | " | 1  | " 926 |
| HT-TR03TP02-0000-0010  | "   | 3, | " | 2  | " 927 |
| HT-TR03TP03-0000-0000  | "   | 3, | " | 3  | " 928 |
| HT-TR03TP05-0000-0011  | "   | 3, | " | 5  | " 930 |
| HT-TR03TP10-0000-0017  | "   | 3, | " | 10 | " 933 |
| HT-TR04TP01-0000-0014  | "   | 4, | " | 1  | " 941 |
| HT-TR04TP02-0000-0010  | "   | 4, | " | 2  | " 942 |
| HT-TR04TP03-0000-0005  | "   | 4, | " | 3  | " 943 |
| HT-TR04TP04-0000-0003  | "   | 4, | " | 4  | " 944 |
| HT-TR04TP05-0000-0006  | "   | 4, | " | 5  | " 945 |
| HT-TR04TP10-0000-0009  | "   | 4, | " | 10 | " 949 |
| HT-TR04TP11-0000-0010  | "   | 4, | " | 11 | " 950 |
| HT-TR05TP01-0000-0010  | "   | 5, | " | 1  | " 957 |
| HT-TR05TP02-0000-0009  | "   | 5, | " | 2  | " 958 |
| HT-TR05TP11-0000-0010  | "   | 5, | " | 11 | " 966 |
| HT-TR05TP14-0000-0008  | "   | 5, | " | 14 | " 968 |
| HT-TR05TP17-0000-0003  | "   | 5, | " | 17 | " 969 |
| HT-TR06TP01-0000-0011  | "   | 6, | " | 1  | " 970 |
| HT-TR06TP04-0000-0011  | "   | 6, | " | 4  | " 973 |
| HT-TR06TP05-0000-0010  | "   | 6, | " | 5  | " 974 |
| HT-TR06TP07-0000-0012  | "   | 6, | " | 7  | " 976 |
| HT-TR06TP11-0000-0015  | "   | 6, | " | 11 | " 979 |
| HT-TR07TP03-0000-0011  | "   | 7, | " | 3  | " 984 |
| HT-TR07TP04-0000-0008  | "   | 7, | " | 4  | " 985 |
| HT-TR07TP10-0000-0012  | "   | 7, | " | 10 | " 991 |
| HT-TR07TP14-0000-0013  | "   | 7, | " | 14 | " 993 |
| HT-TR07TP15-0000-0009  | "   | 7, | " | 15 | " 994 |
| HT-TR07TP16-0000-0009  | "   | 7, | " | 16 | " 995 |
| HT-TR07TP17-0000-0009  | "   | 7, | " | 17 | " 996 |

\* Base elevation given (in inches); top elevation given only when not zero.

Appendix 14.2 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Hartwell Tavern

III) Pratt & Pratt Collection, Accession # 370  
(cont.)

| <u>ACMP Code</u>      | <u>Pratt Provenience</u>                      |     |   |           |
|-----------------------|---|-----|---|-----------|
| HT-TR07TP18-0000-0010 | Transect 7, Test Pit 18 (Excavation Unit 997) |     |   |           |
| HT-TR08TP03-0000-0009 | "   | 8,  | " | 3 " 999   |
| HT-TR08TP04-0000-0009 | "   | 8,  | " | 4 " 1000  |
| HT-TR08TP12-0000-0013 | "   | 8,  | " | 12 " 1007 |
| HT-TR08TP14-0000-0016 | "   | 8,  | " | 14 " 1008 |
| HT-TR08TP15-0000-0000 | "   | 8,  | " | 15 " 1009 |
| HT-TR08TP16-0000-0009 | "   | 8,  | " | 16 " 1010 |
| HT-TR08TP18-0000-0007 | "   | 8,  | " | 18 " 1012 |
| HT-TR09TP02-0000-0001 | "   | 9,  | " | 2 " 1013  |
| HT-TR09TP07-0000-0009 | "   | 9,  | " | 7 " 1018  |
| HT-TR09TP15-0000-0009 | "   | 9,  | " | 15 " 1024 |
| HT-TR09TP16-0000-0008 | "   | 9,  | " | 16 " 1025 |
| HT-TR09TP17-0000-0011 | "   | 9,  | " | 17 " 1026 |
| HT-TR09TP18-0000-0007 | "   | 9,  | " | 18 " 1027 |
| HT-TR10TP13-0000-0014 | "   | 10, | " | 13 " 1036 |
| HT-TR11TP01-0000-0009 | "   | 11, | " | 1 " 1042  |
| HT-TR11TP02-0000-0008 | "   | 11, | " | 2 " 1043  |
| HT-TR11TP05-0000-0011 | "   | 11, | " | 5 " 1044  |
| HT-TR11TP11-0000-0007 | "   | 11, | " | 11 " ---  |
| HT-TR12TP01-0000-0017 | "   | 12, | " | 1 " 1058  |
| HT-TR12TP02-0000-0012 | "   | 12, | " | 2 " 1059  |
| HT-TR12TP04-0000-0009 | "   | 12, | " | 4 " 1060  |
| HT-TR12TP10-0000-0009 | "   | 12, | " | 10 " ---  |
| HT-TR12TP13-0000-0009 | "   | 12, | " | 13 " 1069 |
| HT-TR13TP02-0000-7-11 | "   | 13, | " | 2 " 1076  |
| HT-TR13TP03-0000-0014 | "   | 13, | " | 3 " 1318  |
| HT-TR13TP04-0000-0007 | "   | 13, | " | 4 " 1077  |
| HT-TR13TP05-0000-0000 | "   | 13, | " | 5 " ---   |
| HT-TR13TP06-0000-0010 | "   | 13, | " | 6 " 1079  |
| HT-TR13TP07-0000-0010 | "   | 13, | " | 7 " 1080  |
| HT-TR13TP09-0000-0007 | "   | 13, | " | 9 " 1082  |
| HT-TR13TP13-0000-0009 | "   | 13, | " | 13 " 1086 |
| HT-TR14TP01-0000-0010 | "   | 14, | " | 1 " 1092  |
| HT-TR14TP02-0000-0010 | "   | 14, | " | 2 " 1093  |
| HT-TR14TP05-0000-0011 | "   | 14, | " | 5 " 1096  |
| HT-TR14TP06-0000-0000 | "   | 14, | " | 6 " ---   |
| HT-TR14TP15-0000-0009 | "   | 14, | " | 15 " 1105 |
| HT-TR15TP01-0000-0004 | "   | 15, | " | 1 " 1110  |
| HT-TR15TP02-0000-0012 | "   | 15, | " | 2 " 1111  |
| HT-TR15TP03-0000-0013 | "   | 15, | " | 3 " 1319  |
| HT-TR15TP04-0000-0007 | "   | 15, | " | 4 " 1112  |
| HT-TR15TP05-0000-0014 | "   | 15, | " | 5 " 1113  |
| HT-TR15TP07-0000-0015 | "   | 15, | " | 7 " 1115  |

Appendix 14.2 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Hartwell Tavern

III) Pratt & Pratt Collection, Accession # 370  
(cont.)

| <u>ACMP Code</u>      | <u>Pratt Provenience</u> |             |             |            |  |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|--|
| HT-TR15TP12-0000-0005 | Transect 15,             | Test Pit 12 | (Excavation | Unit 1120) |  |
| HT-TR15TP13-0000-0003 | " 15,                    | " 13        | "           | 1121       |  |
| HT-TR15TP14-0000-0004 | " 15,                    | " 14        | "           | 1122       |  |
| HT-TR15TP15-0000-0005 | " 15,                    | " 15        | "           | 1123       |  |
| HT-TR15TP17-0000-0005 | " 15,                    | " 17        | "           | 1125       |  |
| HT-TR15TP18-0000-0006 | " 15,                    | " 18        | "           | 1126       |  |
| HT-TR16TP01-0000-0012 | " 16,                    | " 1         | "           | 1160       |  |
| HT-TR16TP02-0000-0007 | " 16,                    | " 2         | "           | 1161       |  |
| HT-TR16TP03-0000-0007 | " 16,                    | " 3         | "           | 1129       |  |
| HT-TR16TP04-0000-0014 | " 16,                    | " 4         | "           | 1130       |  |
| HT-TR16TP06-0000-0017 | " 16,                    | " 6         | "           | 1132       |  |
| HT-TR16TP07-0000-0026 | " 16,                    | " 7         | "           | 1133       |  |
| HT-TR16TP08-0000-0022 | " 16,                    | " 8         | "           | 1134       |  |
| HT-TR16TP09-0000-0014 | " 16,                    | " 9         | "           | 1135       |  |
| HT-TR16TP10-0000-0013 | " 16,                    | " 10        | "           | 1136       |  |
| HT-TR16TP12-0000-0003 | " 16,                    | " 12        | "           | 1138       |  |
| HT-TR16TP13-0000-0005 | " 16,                    | " 13        | "           | 1139       |  |
| HT-TR16TP14-0000-0005 | " 16,                    | " 14        | "           | 1140       |  |
| HT-TR16TP15-0000-0007 | " 16,                    | " 15        | "           | 1141       |  |
| HT-TR16TP17-0000-0008 | " 16,                    | " 17        | "           | 1143       |  |
| HT-TR17TP01-0000-0008 | " 17,                    | " 1         | "           | 1145       |  |
| HT-TR17TP01-0000-8-16 | " 17,                    | " 1         | "           | 1145       |  |
| HT-TR17TP02-0000-03-9 | " 17,                    | " 2         | "           | 1146       |  |
| HT-TR17TP05-0000-0011 | " 17,                    | " 5         | "           | 1149       |  |
| HT-TR17TP08-0000-0013 | " 17,                    | " 8         | "           | 1152       |  |
| HT-TR17TP09-0000-0011 | " 17,                    | " 9         | "           | 1153       |  |
| HT-TR17TP14-0000-0007 | " 17,                    | " 14        | "           | 1155       |  |
| HT-TR18TP01-0000-0004 | " 18,                    | " 1         | "           | 1162       |  |
| HT-TR18TP04-0000-0009 | " 18,                    | " 4         | "           | 1163       |  |
| HT-TR18TP06-0000-0010 | " 18,                    | " 6         | "           | 1165       |  |
| HT-TR18TP08-0000-0015 | " 18,                    | " 8         | "           | 1167       |  |
| HT-TR18TP09-0000-0011 | " 18,                    | " 9         | "           | 1168       |  |
| HT-TR18TP10-0000-05.5 | " 18,                    | " 10        | "           | 1169       |  |
| HT-TR18TP10-0000---10 | " 18,                    | " 10        | "           | 1169       |  |
| HT-TR18TP12-0000-0012 | " 18,                    | " 12        | "           | 1171       |  |
| HT-TR18TP13-0000-0009 | " 18,                    | " 13        | "           | 1172       |  |
| HT-TR19TP01-0000-0010 | " 19,                    | " 1         | "           | 1174       |  |
| HT-TR19TP02-0000-0006 | " 19,                    | " 2         | "           | 1175       |  |
| HT-TR19TP03-0000-0008 | " 19,                    | " 3         | "           | 1176       |  |
| HT-TR19TP05-0000-0010 | " 19,                    | " 5         | "           | 1178       |  |
| HT-TR19TP06-0000-3-26 | " 19,                    | " 6         | "           | 1179       |  |
| HT-TR19TP08-0000-0030 | " 19,                    | " 8         | "           | 1181       |  |
| HT-TR19TP11-0000-0019 | " 19,                    | " 11        | "           | 1184       |  |

Appendix 14.2 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Hartwell Tavern

III) Pratt & Pratt Collection, Accession #370  
(cont.)

| <u>ACMP Code</u>      | <u>Pratt Provenience</u> |          |    |             |            |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------|----|-------------|------------|
| HT-TR20TP01-0000-0007 | Transect 20,             | Test Pit | 1  | (Excavation | Unit 1192) |
| HT-TR20TP03-0000-0009 | " 20,                    | "        | 3  | "           | 1194       |
| HT-TR20TP04-0000-0009 | " 20,                    | "        | 4  | "           | 1195       |
| HT-TR20TP05-0000-0009 | " 20,                    | "        | 5  | "           | 1196       |
| HT-TR20TP06-0000-0009 | " 20,                    | "        | 6  | "           | 1197       |
| HT-TR20TP08-0000-0013 | " 20,                    | "        | 8  | "           | 1198       |
| HT-TR20TP09-0000-0009 | " 20,                    | "        | 9  | "           | 1199       |
| HT-TR21TP01-0000-0014 | " 21,                    | "        | 1  | "           | 1209       |
| HT-TR21TP02-0000-0014 | " 21,                    | "        | 2  | "           | 1210       |
| HT-TR21TP04-0000-0015 | " 21,                    | "        | 4  | "           | 1213       |
| HT-TR21TP05-0000-0009 | " 21,                    | "        | 5  | "           | 1214       |
| HT-TR21TP06-0000-0017 | " 21,                    | "        | 6  | "           | 1215       |
| HT-TR21TP07-0000-0009 | " 21,                    | "        | 7  | "           | 1216       |
| HT-TR21TP11-0000-0010 | " 21,                    | "        | 11 | "           | 1220       |
| HT-TR21TP13-0000-0011 | " 21,                    | "        | 13 | "           | 1222       |
| HT-TR22TP04-0000-0009 | " 22,                    | "        | 4  | "           | 1231       |
| HT-TR22TP06-0000-0009 | " 22,                    | "        | 6  | "           | 1233       |
| HT-TR22TP07-0000-0009 | " 22,                    | "        | 7  | "           | 1234       |
| HT-TR22TP09-0000-0009 | " 22,                    | "        | 9  | "           | 1236       |
| HT-TR22TP10-0000-0009 | " 22,                    | "        | 10 | "           | 1237       |
| HT-TR22TP17-0000-0009 | " 22,                    | "        | 17 | "           | 1244       |
| HT-TR23TP02-0000-3-12 | " 23,                    | "        | 2  | "           | 1247       |
| HT-TR23TP03-0000-04-7 | " 23,                    | "        | 3  | "           | 1248       |
| HT-TR23TP04-0000-0005 | " 23,                    | "        | 4  | "           | 1249       |
| HT-TR23TP05-0000-0009 | " 23,                    | "        | 5  | "           | 1250       |
| HT-TR23TP06-0000-0008 | " 23,                    | "        | 6  | "           | 1251       |
| HT-TR23TP07-0000-0010 | " 23,                    | "        | 7  | "           | 1252       |
| HT-TR23TP11-0000-0010 | " 23,                    | "        | 11 | "           | 1256       |
| HT-TR23TP13-0000-0009 | " 23,                    | "        | 13 | "           | 1258       |
| HT-TR23TP17-0000-0007 | " 23,                    | "        | 17 | "           | 1262       |
| HT-TR24TP02-0000-4-11 | " 24,                    | "        | 2  | "           | 1265       |
| HT-TR24TP03-0000-04-9 | " 24,                    | "        | 3  | "           | 1266       |
| HT-TR24TP04-0000-0007 | " 24,                    | "        | 4  | "           | 1267       |
| HT-TR24TP05-0000-0013 | " 24,                    | "        | 5  | "           | 1268       |
| HT-TR24TP07-0000-0011 | " 24,                    | "        | 7  | "           | 1270       |
| HT-TR24TP13-0000-0012 | " 24,                    | "        | 13 | "           | 1276       |
| HT-TR25TP02-0000-3-11 | " 25,                    | "        | 2  | "           | 1283       |
| HT-TR25TP03-0000-3-10 | " 25,                    | "        | 3  | "           | 1284       |
| HT-TR25TP04-0000-3-12 | " 25,                    | "        | 4  | "           | 1285       |
| HT-TR25TP05-0000-0013 | " 25,                    | "        | 5  | "           | 1286       |
| HT-TR25TP06-0000-0011 | " 25,                    | "        | 6  | "           | 1287       |
| HT-TR25TP12-0000-0009 | " 25,                    | "        | 12 | "           | 1293       |

Appendix 14.2 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Hartwell Tavern

III) Pratt & Pratt Collection, Accession # 370  
(cont.)

| <u>ACMP Code</u>      | <u>Pratt Provenience</u>  |
|-----------------------|---|
| HT-TR26TP01-0000-5-12 | Transect 26, Test Pit 1 (Excavation Unit 1300)  |
| HT-TR26TP02-0000-3-10 | " 26, " 2 " 1301  |
| HT-TR26TP03-0000-3-11 | " 26, " 3 " 1302  |
| HT-TR26TP04-0000-3-11 | " 26, " 4 " 1303  |
| HT-TR26TP05-0000-0008 | " 26, " 5 " 1305  |
| HT-TR26TP07-0000-0013 | " 26, " 7 " 1306  |
| HT-TR26TP15-0000-0012 | " 26, " 15 " 1314   |
| HT-TRBHTP01-0000-0010 | Transect Back of House,<br>Test Pit 1 (Excavation Unit 1320)  |
| HT-TRBHTP02-0000-0013 | " 2 " 1321  |
| HT-TRBHTP03-0000-0019 | " 3 " 1322  |
| HT-TRBHTP04-0000-0010 | " 4 " 1323  |
| HT-TRBHTP05-0000-0000 | " 5 " 1324  |
| HT-TRBHTP06-0000-0000 | " No Depth Given<br>6 " ---<br>No Depth Given   |
| HT-37000000-0000-0000 | Unprovenienced from Accession #370,<br>Labelled with Unit code 1160,<br>provenience origin unknown. |

Appendix 14.2 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Hartwell Tavern

IV) Restoration Collection, Accession # 350

| <u>ACMP Code</u>      | <u>Provenience Description</u>   |
|-----------------------|--|
| HT-35000000-0DCT-0000 | Found by Mary McHugh in small Dining room Closet, north of the mantel, 4/15/67 Donated to NPS architect O. W. Carroll, 5/2/67; Accession #350. |
| HT-35000000-CLSW-LAFN | Cellar, Ledge above Foundation South Wall, May 9, 1979.  |
| HT-35000000-GLCL-0000 | Gambrel Cellar, May 2, 1979.   |
| HT-35000000-CLFL-0000 | Cellar dirt floor, May 1979.   |
| HT-35000000-0KCL-0000 | Cellar dirt floor, Kitchen lean-to, May 1979.  |
| HT-35000000-EWUK-OWNW | East (side) wall found within Foundation Wall, under Kitchen lean-to.  |
| HT-35000000-SRMS-USFL | South room of shed next to gambrel kitchen (at north end of room next to chaise stall), found under shed floor, June 1979.                     |
| HT-35000000-0KHT-0UHT | Found under brick hearth of kitchen lean-to, September 1979.   |
| HT-35000000-WNRM-BSBD | South Wall of Northeast room of lean-to first floor, plaster back south wall baseboard.  |
| HT-35000000-0SWC-WNFN | Southwest corner 1733 house foundation, 5/23/79.   |
| HT-35000000-00CL-0000 | Cellar, May 1979.  |

V) Unprovenienced Materials, Accession # 380

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| HT-38000000-0HT-0000 | Miscellaneous items labelled "Hartwell Tavern" or "Hartwell," origins unknown. |
|----------------------|--|

VI) Ephraim Hartwell Tavern Barn, Single Test Pit  
106 Compliance, EAFL, May 1985, Accession # 388

|                       |                             |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| HT-000STP01-0000-0001 | Shovel Test Pit #1, Level 1 |
| HT-000STP01-0000-0002 | " " 2                       |
| HT-000STP01-0000-0003 | " " 3                       |

Appendix 14.3

ACMP Artifact Inventory

for Accession #370, 357, 350, 367, 380

HARIWELL TAVERN Site

| Accession #:             | 370 | 357 | 350 | 367 | 380 | TOTALS | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|------------------------------|
| <b>HISTORIC CERAMICS</b> |     |     |     |     |     |        |                              |
| <b>Redware</b>           |     |     |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 82  | 31  | 0   | 9   | 0   | 122    |                              |
| Lead Glazed, 1 surface   | 29  | 37  | 4   | 9   | 0   | 79     |                              |
| Lead Glazed, 2 surface   | 6   | 9   | 0   | 2   | 0   | 17     |                              |
| Sgraffito                | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Trailed Slipware         | 0   | 11  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 11     |                              |
| Jackfield                | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Astbury                  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 13  | 1   | 0   | 2   | 0   | 16     |                              |
| Total Redware            | 130 | 89  | 4   | 22  | 0   | 245    | 20.8%                        |
| <b>Tin Enameled</b>      |     |     |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Delft                    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 1      |                              |
| Rouen/Faience            | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Total Tin Enameled       | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 1      | 0.1%                         |
| <b>Coarse Buff Body</b>  |     |     |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Combed Ware              | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Dotted Ware              | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| N. Devon Gravel          | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Mottled                  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Total Coarse Buff Body   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Creamware</b>         |     |     |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 1   | 3   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 5      |                              |
| Shell-Edged              | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Other Edge Decorated     | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Handpainted              | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Annular                  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Total Creamware          | 1   | 3   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 5      | 0.4%                         |
| <b>Pearlware</b>         |     |     |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 9   | 28  | 0   | 1   | 0   | 38     |                              |
| Shell-Edged              | 0   | 3   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 3      |                              |
| Other Edge Decorated     | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 1      |                              |
| Handpainted              | 0   | 5   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 5      |                              |
| Annular                  | 0   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 18  | 5   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 24     |                              |
| Other                    | 1   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2      |                              |
| Total Pearlware          | 28  | 43  | 0   | 3   | 0   | 74     | 6.3%                         |
| <b>Whiteware</b>         |     |     |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 292 | 166 | 1   | 21  | 0   | 480    |                              |
| Shell-Edged              | 4   | 15  | 0   | 1   | 0   | 20     |                              |
| Other Edge Decorated     | 1   | 1   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 3      |                              |
| Handpainted              | 3   | 8   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 12     |                              |
| Annular                  | 2   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 3      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 45  | 39  | 0   | 2   | 0   | 86     |                              |
| Other                    | 8   | 11  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 19     |                              |
| Total Whiteware          | 355 | 241 | 1   | 26  | 0   | 623    | 53.0%                        |

HARIWELL TAVERN Site

| Accession #:                   | 370        | 357        | 350      | 367       | 380      | TOTALS      | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------------------------|------------|------------|----------|-----------|----------|-------------|------------------------------|
| <b>Other Earthenware</b>       |            |            |          |           |          |             |                              |
| Whieldon                       | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Lusterware                     | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Agateware                      | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Rockingham/Bennington          | 3          | 4          | 0        | 1         | 0        | 8           |                              |
| Yellowware                     | 69         | 9          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 78          |                              |
| Other                          | 28         | 3          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 31          |                              |
| Total Other Earthen.           | 100        | 16         | 0        | 1         | 0        | 117         | 9.9%                         |
| <b>Porcelain</b>               |            |            |          |           |          |             |                              |
| Undecorated                    | 6          | 6          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 12          |                              |
| Underglaze HP-monochro         | 7          | 1          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 8           |                              |
| Underglaze HP-polychro         | 1          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 1           |                              |
| Overglaze HP-monochrom         | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Overglaze HP-polychrom         | 1          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 1           |                              |
| Gilded                         | 0          | 1          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 1           |                              |
| Transfer Printed               | 1          | 4          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 5           |                              |
| Other                          | 2          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 2           |                              |
| Total Porcelain                | 18         | 12         | 0        | 0         | 0        | 30          | 2.6%                         |
| <b>Stoneware</b>               |            |            |          |           |          |             |                              |
| Nottingham                     | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| Other English Brown            | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| Bellarmino/Frenchen            | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| Westerwald/Raeren              | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| <b>White Salt Glazed</b>       |            |            |          |           |          |             |                              |
| Plain                          | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Moulded                        | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Scratch Blue                   | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Other                          | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Total White Salt Glz           | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Drybody</b>                 |            |            |          |           |          |             |                              |
| Black Basaltes                 | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Rosso Antico                   | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Other                          | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           |                              |
| Total Drybody                  | 0          | 0          | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0           | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Other</b>                   |            |            |          |           |          |             |                              |
| Utilitarian Import             | 4          | 9          | 0        | 1         | 0        | 14          |                              |
| Domestic                       | 5          | 52         | 4        | 1         | 0        | 62          |                              |
| Other                          | 1          | 1          | 0        | 3         | 0        | 5           |                              |
| Total Other                    | 10         | 62         | 4        | 5         | 0        | 81          | 6.9%                         |
| Total Stoneware                | 10         | 62         | 4        | 5         | 0        | 81          | 6.9%                         |
| <b>TOTAL HISTORIC CERAMICS</b> | <b>642</b> | <b>466</b> | <b>9</b> | <b>59</b> | <b>0</b> | <b>1176</b> | <b>100.0%</b>                |

HARIWELL TAVERN Site

| Accession #:          | 370 | 357 | 350 | 367 | 380 | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|----------------------------|
| <b>PIPES</b>          |     |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| White Clay            |     |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Bowls                 | 8   | 3   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 11     |                            |
| Stems: 4/64           | 0   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                            |
| 5/64                  | 1   | 1   | 0   | 2   | 0   | 4      |                            |
| 6/64                  | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                            |
| 7/64                  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| 8/64                  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| 9/64                  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| INDT                  | 1   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2      |                            |
| TOTAL:                | 11  | 6   | 0   | 2   | 0   | 19     |                            |
| Red Clay              |     |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Bowls                 | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Stems                 | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL:                | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Other                 | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL PIPES           | 11  | 6   | 0   | 2   | 0   | 19     | 0.3%                       |
| <b>GLASS</b>          |     |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Bottle Glass          |     |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Freeblown             | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                            |
| Blown in Mold         | 20  | 8   | 16  | 3   | 0   | 47     |                            |
| Auto Machine Made     | 232 | 249 | 93  | 7   | 11  | 592    |                            |
| Indeterminate         | 2   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2      |                            |
| TOTAL                 | 255 | 257 | 109 | 10  | 11  | 642    | 8.8%                       |
| Drinking Vessel       |     |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Freeblown             | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Machine blown/pressed | 4   | 8   | 2   | 0   | 0   | 14     |                            |
| Indeterminate         | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL                 | 4   | 8   | 2   | 0   | 0   | 14     | 0.2%                       |
| Indet. Curved Glass   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL GLASS           | 259 | 265 | 111 | 10  | 11  | 656    | 9.0%                       |
| <b>BOTTLE CLOSURE</b> |     |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Ceramic               | 0   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                            |
| Glass                 | 0   | 3   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 3      |                            |
| Metal                 | 25  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 25     |                            |
| Wood/Cork             | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                            |
| Synthetic             | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                            |
| Other                 | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL BOTTLE CLOSURE  | 27  | 4   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 31     | 0.4%                       |

HARTWELL TAVERN Site

| Accession #:                    | 370        | 357        | 350        | 367       | 380       | TOTALS      | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------------------|
| <b>APPAREL</b>                  |            |            |            |           |           |             |                            |
| Clothing                        | 0          | 0          | 0          | 0         | 0         | 0           |                            |
| Footwear                        | 24         | 0          | 87         | 0         | 0         | 111         |                            |
| Other                           | 1          | 0          | 0          | 0         | 0         | 1           |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 19         | 0          | 0          | 1         | 0         | 20          |                            |
| TOTAL APPAREL                   | 44         | 0          | 87         | 1         | 0         | 132         | 1.8%                       |
| <b>BUTTONS, ETC.</b>            |            |            |            |           |           |             |                            |
| Button                          | 16         | 1          | 0          | 0         | 0         | 17          |                            |
| Buckle                          | 0          | 1          | 0          | 0         | 0         | 1           |                            |
| Other Fastener                  | 1          | 0          | 0          | 0         | 0         | 1           |                            |
| TOTAL BUTTONS, ETC.             | 17         | 2          | 0          | 0         | 0         | 19          | 0.3%                       |
| <b>HOUSEHOLD &amp; PERSONAL</b> |            |            |            |           |           |             |                            |
| Tableware                       | 3          | 0          | 0          | 0         | 1         | 4           |                            |
| Kitchenware                     | 183        | 15         | 22         | 1         | 1         | 222         |                            |
| Furniture & Hardware            | 3          | 0          | 1          | 0         | 0         | 4           |                            |
| Lighting Fixtures               | 20         | 85         | 4          | 0         | 0         | 109         |                            |
| Decorative Objects              | 1          | 15         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 16          |                            |
| Toiletries                      | 2          | 9          | 0          | 0         | 0         | 11          |                            |
| Stationary                      | 1          | 0          | 0          | 0         | 0         | 1           |                            |
| Coins/Tokens/Medals             | 0          | 0          | 1          | 3         | 0         | 4           |                            |
| Personal Objects                | 2          | 1          | 1          | 0         | 2         | 6           |                            |
| Toys                            | 1          | 2          | 1          | 3         | 0         | 7           |                            |
| Other                           | 8          | 2          | 0          | 0         | 0         | 10          |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 104        | 11         | 0          | 5         | 2         | 122         |                            |
| TOTAL H & P                     | 328        | 140        | 30         | 12        | 6         | 516         | 7.1%                       |
| <b>SUBTOTAL</b>                 | <b>686</b> | <b>417</b> | <b>228</b> | <b>25</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>1373</b> | <b>18.9%</b>               |

HARTWELL TAVERN Site

| Accession #:                  | 370  | 357 | 350 | 367 | 380 | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|-------------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|----------------------------|
| <b>ARCHITECTURAL MATERIAL</b> |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Window Glass                  |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Crown/Cylinder                | 1    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                            |
| Plate                         | 400  | 151 | 353 | 10  | 4   | 918    |                            |
| Other                         | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL GLASS                   | 401  | 151 | 353 | 10  | 4   | 919    | 12.7%                      |
| Nails                         |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Handwrought                   | 3    | 1   | 0   | 3   | 0   | 7      |                            |
| Machine Cut I                 | 1    | 0   | 3   | 0   | 0   | 4      |                            |
| Machine Cut II                | 403  | 21  | 0   | 37  | 0   | 461    |                            |
| Machine Cut Indet.            | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Wire                          | 145  | 1   | 0   | 1   | 1   | 148    |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 65   | 6   | 0   | 25  | 0   | 96     |                            |
| TOTAL NAILS                   | 617  | 29  | 3   | 66  | 1   | 716    | 9.9%                       |
| Screws                        |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Handwrought                   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Machine Cut                   | 13   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 14     |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 1    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                            |
| TOTAL SCREWS                  | 14   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 15     | 0.2%                       |
| Other Hardware                |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Builders' Hardware            | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Window Hardware               | 4    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 4      |                            |
| Door Hardware                 | 2    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2      |                            |
| Electrical Hardware           | 4    | 1   | 1   | 1   | 0   | 7      |                            |
| Plumbing Hardware             | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Lighting/Heating Hdwr.        | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Other                         | 47   | 7   | 3   | 2   | 0   | 59     |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 383  | 4   | 0   | 211 | 0   | 598    |                            |
| TOTAL OTHER HDWR.             | 440  | 12  | 4   | 214 | 0   | 670    | 9.2%                       |
| Structural Material           |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Brick                         | 633  | 20  | 0   | 17  | 0   | 670    |                            |
| Mortar/Plaster                | 94   | 6   | 4   | 0   | 0   | 104    |                            |
| Wood                          | 11   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 11     |                            |
| Linoleum                      | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Stone                         | 10   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 10     |                            |
| Fiber                         | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Porcelain                     | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Earthenware/Stoneware         | 1    | 2   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 3      |                            |
| Synthetic                     | 694  | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 694    |                            |
| Metal                         | 152  | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 153    |                            |
| Other                         | 5    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 5      |                            |
| TOTAL STRUCTURAL              | 1600 | 29  | 4   | 17  | 0   | 1650   | 22.7%                      |

HARTWELL TAVERN Site

| Accession #:                  | 370  | 357 | 350 | 367 | 380 | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|-------------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|----------------------------|
| Other Fastening Devices       |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Staples                       | 3    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 3      |                            |
| Bolts                         | 3    | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 4      |                            |
| Wood Fasteners                | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| Other                         | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL FASTENING               | 6    | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 7      | 0.1%                       |
| TOTAL ARCHITECTURAL MATERIALS |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
|                               | 3078 | 222 | 364 | 308 | 5   | 3977   | 54.8%                      |
| TOOLS & HARDWARE              |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
| Hand Tools                    | 1    | 1   | 1   | 1   | 0   | 4      |                            |
| Machine Parts                 | 6    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 6      |                            |
| Domestic Animal Gear          | 2    | 2   | 1   | 1   | 0   | 6      |                            |
| Transportation Objects        | 2    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2      |                            |
| Weaponry/Accoutrements        | 4    | 0   | 0   | 1   | 1   | 6      |                            |
| Other                         | 12   | 5   | 2   | 0   | 0   | 19     |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 3    | 2   | 1   | 3   | 0   | 9      |                            |
| TOTAL TOOLS & HDWR            | 30   | 10  | 5   | 6   | 1   | 52     | 0.7%                       |
| SUBTOTAL                      |      |     |     |     |     |        |                            |
|                               | 3108 | 232 | 369 | 314 | 6   | 4029   | 55.5%                      |

HARIWELL TAVERN Site

| Accession #:  | 370     | 357  | 350  | 367   | 380  | TOTALS  | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---|---------|------|------|-------|------|---------|----------------------------|
| <b>FUEL &amp; FIRE BYPRODUCTS (Weight in grams)</b> |         |      |      |       |      |         |                            |
| Coal  | 1197.29 | 0.00 | 3.68 | 14.39 | 0.00 | 1215.36 |                            |
| Charcoal  | 64.61   | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00  | 0.00 | 64.61   |                            |
| Ash/Cinders/Clinkers                                | 1149.03 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 3.14  | 0.00 | 1152.17 |                            |
| Wood  | 20.86   | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00  | 0.00 | 20.86   |                            |
| Slag  | 2961.93 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 36.48 | 0.00 | 2998.41 |                            |
| TOTAL FUEL & FIRE                                   | 5393.72 | 0.00 | 3.68 | 54.01 | 0.00 | 5451.41 |                            |
| <b>FLORAL &amp; FAUNAL REMAINS</b>                  |         |      |      |       |      |         |                            |
| <b>Shell (Weight in grams)</b>                      |         |      |      |       |      |         |                            |
| Bivalves  | 199.00  | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00  | 0.00 | 199.00  |                            |
| Univalves   | 4.00    | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00  | 0.00 | 4.00    |                            |
| Indeterminate Shell                                 | 0.10    | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00  | 0.00 | 0.10    |                            |
| Other Organic                                       | 0.00    | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00  | 0.00 | 0.00    |                            |
| <b>Bone</b>   |         |      |      |       |      |         |                            |
| Fish  | 1       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 1       |                            |
| Whale   | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Human   | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Mammal  | 538     | 29   | 2    | 3     | 0    | 572     |                            |
| Bird  | 10      | 0    | 0    | 1     | 0    | 11      |                            |
| Other   | 57      | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 57      |                            |
| Indeterminate                                       | 38      | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 38      |                            |
| TOTAL BONE  | 644     | 29   | 2    | 4     | 0    | 679     | 9.4%                       |
| <b>Vegetal Material</b>                             |         |      |      |       |      |         |                            |
| Seeds/Nuts  | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Other Comestibles                                   | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Other Vegetal Material                              | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| TOTAL VEGETAL                                       | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       | 0.0%                       |
| TOTAL FLORAL & FAUNAL                               | 644     | 29   | 2    | 4     | 0    | 679     | 9.4%                       |
| <b>LITHICS</b>                                      |         |      |      |       |      |         |                            |
| Fire Cracked Rock                                   | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Unworked Lithic                                     | 4077.92 | 0.00 | 1    | 2     | 0    |         |                            |
| Gunflints   | 1       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 1       |                            |
| <b>Groundstone</b>                                  |         |      |      |       |      |         |                            |
| Historic  | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Prehistoric   | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Total Groundstone                                   | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| <b>Chipped Stone</b>                                |         |      |      |       |      |         |                            |
| Point   | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Biface  | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Other   | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| Total Chipped Stone                                 | 0       | 0    | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0       |                            |
| TOTAL LITHICS                                       | 1       | 0    | 1    | 2     | 0    | 4       | 0.1%                       |

HARTWELL TAVERN Site

| Accession #:        | 370        | 357       | 350      | 367      | 380      | TOTALS     | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|----------------------------|
| <b>SAMPLES</b>      |            |           |          |          |          |            |                            |
| Soil                | 0          | 0         | 0        | 0        | 0        | 0          |                            |
| C-14                | 0          | 0         | 0        | 0        | 0        | 0          |                            |
| TOTAL SAMPLES       | 0          | 0         | 0        | 0        | 0        | 0          | 0.0%                       |
| <b>SUBTOTALS</b>    | <b>645</b> | <b>29</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>6</b> | <b>0</b> | <b>683</b> | <b>9.4%</b>                |
| <b>GRAND TOTALS</b> |            |           |          |          |          |            |                            |
| SUBTOTAL HISTCER    | 642        | 466       | 9        | 59       | 0        | 1176       |                            |
| SUBTOTAL PIPES      | 686        | 417       | 228      | 25       | 17       | 1373       |                            |
| SUBTOTAL ARCHITEC   | 3108       | 232       | 369      | 314      | 6        | 4029       |                            |
| SUBTOTAL FUELFIRE   | 645        | 29        | 3        | 6        | 0        | 683        |                            |
|                     | 5081       | 1144      | 609      | 404      | 23       | 7261       |                            |

Appendix 14.4

Original Pratt Density Values for  
Test Area Test Pits

| <u>Transect/<br/>Test Pit</u> |       | <u># of<br/>Items</u> |     | <u>Unit Volume,<br/>Cubic Inches</u> |       | <u>Density</u> |        |
|-------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|-------|----------------|--------|
| 1/1                           | 6/1*  | 6                     | 15* | 2714                                 | 2488* | .0022          | .0060* |
| 1/2                           | 6/4   | 2                     | 7   | 5301                                 | 2920  | .0004          | .0024  |
| 1/3                           | 6/5   | 5                     | 3   | 3887                                 | 1901  | .0013          | .0016  |
| 1/18                          | 6/7   | 1                     | 1   | 1521                                 | 2714  | .0007          | .0004  |
| 2/2                           | 6/11  | 2                     | 1   | 3393                                 | 5301  | .0006          | .0002  |
| 2/10                          | 7/3   | 1                     | 2   | 1257                                 | 1810  | .0008          | .0011  |
| 3/1                           | 7/4   | 4                     | 42  | 4072                                 | 1810  | .0010          | .0232  |
| 3/2                           | 7/10  | 4                     | 3   | 1901                                 | 2714  | .0021          | .0011  |
| 3/3                           | 7/14  | 39                    | 1   | 570                                  | 5902  | .0684          | .0002  |
| 3/5                           | 7/15  | 1                     | 9   | 2488                                 | 1414  | .0004          | .0064  |
| 3/10                          | 7/16  | 50                    | 8   | 5234                                 | 2390  | .0096          | .0033  |
| 4/1                           | 7/17  | 1                     | 57  | 4311                                 | 1711  | .0002          | .0333  |
| 4/2                           | 7/18  | 2                     | 3   | 2655                                 | 1571  | .0008          | .0019  |
| 4/3                           | 8/3   | 2                     | 15  | 786                                  | 2390  | .0025          | .0063  |
| 4/4                           | 8/4   | 39                    | 1   | 1060                                 | 2036  | .0368          | .0005  |
| 4/5                           | 8/12  | 3                     | 6   | 603                                  | 4594  | .0050          | .0013  |
| 4/10                          | 8/14  | 15                    | 11  | 2389                                 | 6434  | .0063          | .0017  |
| 4/11                          | 8/16  | 2                     | 2   | 2036                                 | 1414  | .0010          | .0014  |
| 5/1                           | 8/18  | 2                     | 18  | 1910                                 | 1583  | .0010          | .0114  |
| 5/2                           | 9/2   | 4                     | 18  | 2036                                 | 190   | .0020          | .0947  |
| 5/11                          | 9/7   | 23                    | 2   | 1901                                 | 2771  | .0121          | .0007  |
| 5/14                          | 9/15  | 3                     | 3   | 1810                                 | 1414  | .0017          | .0021  |
| 5/17                          | 9/16  | 4                     | 1   | 127                                  | 1521  | .0315          | .0007  |
| 9/17                          | 15/5  | 1                     | 4   | 3887                                 | 2199  | .0003          | .0018  |
| 9/18                          | 15/7  | 2                     | 1   | 1583                                 | 6032  | .0013          | .0002  |
| 10/13                         | 15/12 | 2                     | 21  | 4311                                 | 1131  | .0005          | .0186  |
| 11/1                          | 15/13 | 2                     | 13  | 1413                                 | 471   | .0014          | .0276  |
| 11/2                          | 15/15 | 8                     | 5   | 1808                                 | 786   | .0044          | .0064  |
| 11/5                          | 15/17 | 2                     | 1   | 2488                                 | 786   | .0008          | .0013  |
| 12/1                          | 15/18 | 24                    | 2   | 2088                                 | 1141  | .0115          | .0018  |
| 12/2                          | 16/1  | 7                     | 4   | 1884                                 | 1584  | .0037          | .0025  |
| 12/4                          | 16/2  | 12                    | 51  | 2390                                 | 1330  | .0050          | .0383  |
| 12/13                         | 16/3  | 1                     | 9   | 1711                                 | 1099  | .0006          | .0082  |
| 13/2                          | 16/4  | 3                     | 10  | 2016                                 | 3167  | .0015          | .0032  |
| 13/3                          | 16/6  | 2                     | 3   | 2198                                 | 6834  | .0009          | .0004  |
| 13/4                          | 16/7  | 6                     | 4   | 1100                                 | 4085  | .0054          | .0010  |
| 13/6                          | 16/8  | 1                     | 10  | 1571                                 | 6774  | .0006          | .0015  |
| 13/7                          | 16/10 | 2                     | 6   | 1571                                 | 2042  | .0013          | .0029  |
| 13/9                          | 16/12 | 1                     | 1   | 1583                                 | 570   | .0006          | .0018  |
| 13/13                         | 16/13 | 6                     | 4   | 1414                                 | 950   | .0042          | .0042  |
| 14/1                          | 16/14 | 6                     | 1   | 1320                                 | 1131  | .0045          | .0009  |
| 14/2                          | 16/15 | 2                     | 2   | 1901                                 | 1100  | .0010          | .0018  |

\* Second column under each heading represents data from a second group of transects/test pits.

Appendix 14.4 (cont.)

Original Pratt Density Values for  
Test Area Test Pits

| <u>Transect/<br/>Test Pit</u> |       | <u># of<br/>Items</u> |    | <u>Unit Volume,<br/>Cubic Inches</u> |      | <u>Density</u> |       |
|-------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|----|--------------------------------------|------|----------------|-------|
| 14/5                          | 16/16 | 17                    | 1  | 2488                                 | 628  | .0068          | .0016 |
| 14/14                         | 17/1  | 7                     | 3  | 1145                                 | 1936 | .0061          | .0015 |
| 14/15                         | 17/5  | 8                     | 2  | 2941                                 | 1100 | .0027          | .0018 |
| 15/2                          | 17/8  | 1                     | 20 | 1728                                 | 2938 | .0006          | .0068 |
| 15/3                          | 17/9  | 12                    | 1  | 2041                                 | 2486 | .0059          | .0004 |
| 15/4                          | 17/14 | 3                     | 13 | 1100                                 | 1330 | .0027          | .0098 |
| 18/4                          | 22/6  | 1                     | 4  | 1143                                 | 2034 | .0009          | .0020 |
| 18/6                          | 22/7  | 1                     | 1  | 3530                                 | 1413 | .0003          | .0007 |
| 18/8                          | 22/9  | 1                     | 1  | 4620                                 | 1413 | .0002          | .0007 |
| 18/10                         | 22/17 | 11                    | 3  | 1440                                 | 2034 | .0076          | .0015 |
| 18/13                         | 23/2  | 7                     | 1  | 1413                                 | 2280 | .0050          | .0004 |
| 19/1                          | 23/3  | 1                     | 1  | 1900                                 | 1095 | .0005          | .0009 |
| 19/3                          | 23/4  | 4                     | 2  | 1256                                 | 785  | .0032          | .0025 |
| 19/5                          | 23/5  | 8                     | 1  | 1570                                 | 1413 | .0051          | .0007 |
| 19/6                          | 23/6  | 6                     | 1  | 5876                                 | 1256 | .0010          | .0008 |
| 19/8                          | 23/7  | 10                    | 1  | 9240                                 | 1570 | .0011          | .0006 |
| 20/1                          | 23/13 | 2                     | 1  | 700                                  | 2034 | .0029          | .0005 |
| 20/3                          | 23/17 | 5                     | 1  | 1413                                 | 700  | .0035          | .0014 |
| 20/4                          | 24/2  | 1                     | 5  | 1413                                 | 1727 | .0007          | .0029 |
| 20/5                          | 24/3  | 1                     | 1  | 1413                                 | 1413 | .0007          | .0007 |
| 20/6                          | 24/4  | 4                     | 9  | 1413                                 | 1099 | .0028          | .0082 |
| 20/8                          | 24/5  | 8                     | 2  | 2041                                 | 1710 | .0039          | .0012 |
| 20/9                          | 24/7  | 2                     | 1  | 1413                                 | 1452 | .0014          | .0007 |
| 21/1                          | 24/13 | 2                     | 5  | 1400                                 | 1320 | .0014          | .0038 |
| 21/4                          | 25/2  | 3                     | 4  | 6030                                 | 960  | .0005          | .0042 |
| 21/5                          | 25/3  | 2                     | 1  | 1413                                 | 1570 | .0014          | .0006 |
| 21/6                          | 25/4  | 3                     | 12 | 3842                                 | 1210 | .0008          | .0099 |
| 21/7                          | 25/5  | 1                     | 1  | 1413                                 | 2938 | .0007          | .0003 |
| 21/11                         | 25/6  | 2                     | 2  | 2260                                 | 1210 | .0009          | .0016 |
| 21/13                         | 25/12 | 5                     | 1  | 1727                                 | 2385 | .0029          | .0004 |
| 22/4                          | 26/1  | 3                     | 16 | 1413                                 | 1452 | .0021          | .0110 |
| 26/2                          | 26/3  | 2                     | 2  | 1270                                 | 1397 | .0016          | .0014 |
| 26/4                          | 26/5  | 2                     | 3  | 1727                                 | 800  | .0012          | .0038 |
| 26/7                          | 26/15 | 2                     | 1  | 2470                                 | 2850 | .0008          | .0004 |



## CHAPTER 15

### THE JOB BROOKS SITE

#### Introduction

The Job Brooks house, so named after its 1775 occupant, is located on the north side of Route 2A in Concord (Figure IV.2). The house, to date, has not been fully restored to its 18th century appearance, though many of its post-18th century additions have been removed by the Park. It stands today as a two room wide, one room deep, two story hall and parlor structure (Figure 15.1).

In the fall of 1964, Park Archeologist Leland Abel was requested to excavate to the rear of the house in search of suspected 18th century lean-to foundations. Abel spent two days at the site and discovered the foundations (Abel 1966:3). However, no final report was written, and the only clues to the excavation were a memo found in the files at MIMA (Appendix 15.1) and a small collection of artifacts, also stored at MIMA.

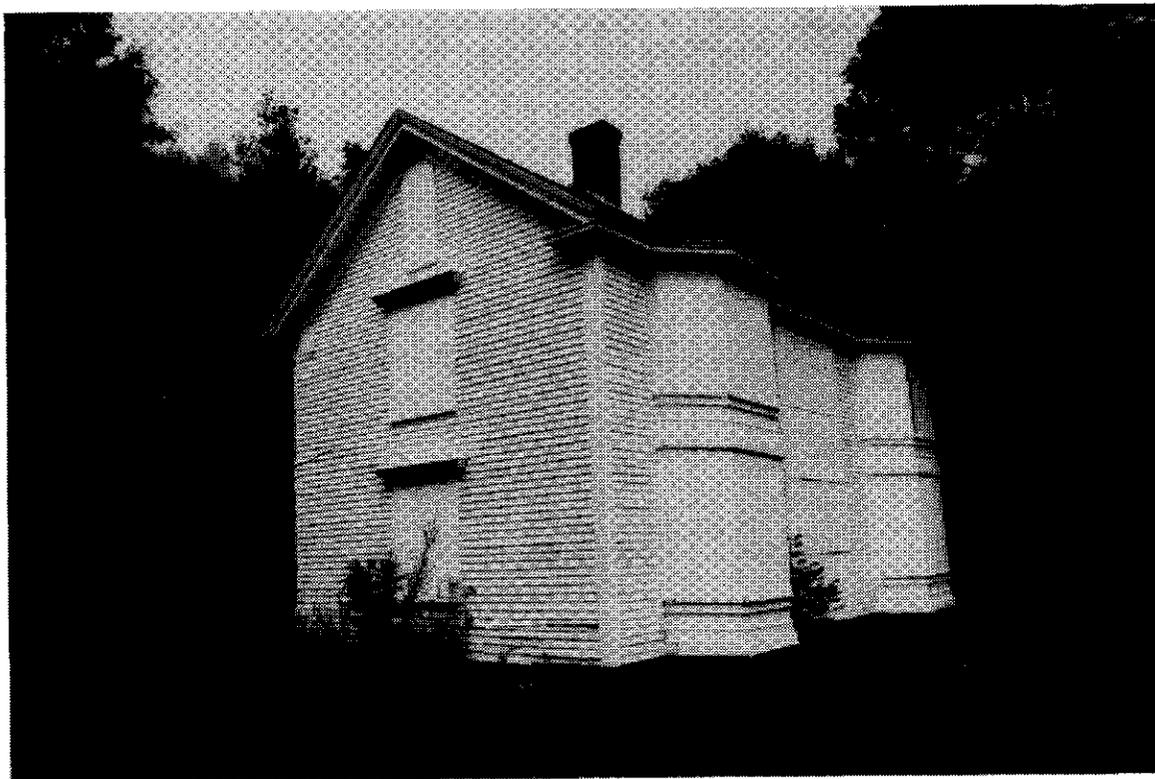


Figure 15.1. ACMP photograph of the Job Brooks house, 1986.

Much remains unknown about Abel's Job Brooks project. Fortunately the fieldwork was brief and the artifact collection small. The ACMP has attempted to pull together the available information and to evaluate the status of the data, as summarized in this chapter. This chapter will also summarize what is known about the site, and will suggest potential areas for further research.

### Provenience and Coding System

The ACMP has inventoried artifacts from three accessioned collections from the Job Brooks site. Only one of these collections resulted from an archeological excavation: Accession #18, acquired during Abel's excavations in 1964 and accessioned in 1965. Of the remaining two collections, one was confiscated in 1985 by MIMA personnel from an unauthorized person conducting illegal metal detecting on the Job Brooks property (Accession #378). The other, Accession #376, was created for unprovenienced materials from the site, and contained only one bottle.

For inventory purposes, the ACMP created codes to accomodate known provenience information. These codes and their descriptions are as follows:

| <u>Provenience Code</u> | <u>Description</u>   |
|-------------------------|--|
| JB-NWC-0-0              | Abel's "Excavations at NW Corner, 8/31-9/1-2" (Accession #18).           |
| JB-378-0-0              | "Materials confiscated at Job Brooks, 7/25/82" (Accession #378).         |
| JB-376-0-0              | Unprovenienced bottle from "locality Job Brooks House" (Accession #376). |

Note that for this site, each provenience code also reflected a separate accession number. The ACMP inventory revealed the following number of artifacts for each accession number:

| <u>Accession #</u> | <u>Total Artifacts</u> |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 18                 | 175                    |
| 378                | 9                      |
| 376                | <u>1</u>               |
| Total Artifacts    | 185                    |

Although these collections had been accessioned by MIMA, none of the materials had been cataloged. Nor had Abel documented the recoveries of his excavations. The ACMP inventory is thus the only account of collection contents available (Appendix 15.2).

## Data Problems

### Abel's Excavation

There is very little known about Abel's excavations at the Job Brooks site. A single memo and the artifact collection itself are in fact the only remaining references to the project. Abel apparently embarked upon the work when Harry Martin, in charge of architectural restorations, asked if Abel might excavate in search of a suspected early lean-to addition. Abel spent "two days at the site with one laborer" and "located the foundations...and backfilled them" (Abel 1966:3). According to the MIMA Accession Book, this took place from August 31 to September 2.

The memo recording the project contained only one paragraph about project goals, results, and recommendations. This is cited in full in Appendix 15.1. According to Abel, the restoration supervisor inspected the foundations and "made notes." Concerning these notes, Abel commented: "I assume that they are noted in his report, if he submitted one" (Abel 1966:3). Such notes would provide the only data concerning the nature of Abel's findings, but to date they have not been located. Nor has the ACMP been able to find any field notes, maps, or photographs which Abel may have made.

The only additional information was provided by the provenience description noted on the single bag of artifacts from the site: "Excavations at NW Corner, 8/31-9/1-2." This at least gave general information for locating the area of Abel's work. The specific location of the lean-to foundations, however, could not be determined. Architect Russell Keune, in his Historic Structures Report on the Job Brooks house, provided a "conjectural schematic floor plan" of the 18th century house (1963:VIIB). This sketch showed the rear lean-to as beginning at the western edge of the house and extending across approximately two-thirds its length (Figure 15.2). Presumably Abel's "NW Corner" excavations were in the general vicinity of this conjectural lean-to location. However, Keune's map was labelled as having "no scale," and thus could not be used to pinpoint Abel's findings. Unfortunately, there was so little project documentation available that further inference was not possible.

Abel's collection contained 175 artifacts, as inventoried by the ACMP (Appendix 15.2). It was not clear, however, that these represented the total collection from Abel's excavations. There was no original artifact inventory available against which comparisons could be made. Nor was it clear that "NW Corner" was the only provenience excavated. It is somewhat surprising that only 175 artifacts were recovered

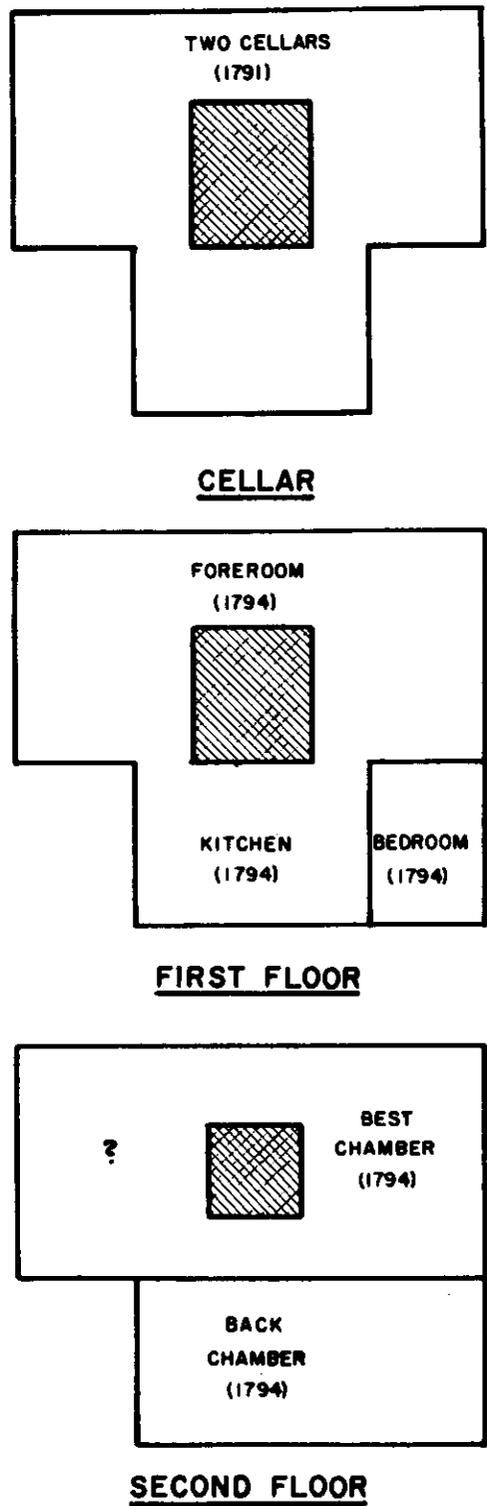


Figure 15.2. Keune's conjectural sketch of 18th century floor plan, Job Brooks house, showing possible lean-to configuration (Keune 1963:Illustration #11).

if the entire lean-to was excavated. Even if lean-to excavations extended only the width of one room, it would have required exposing a fairly large area.

It is possible that the small collection was proportional to the amount of ground disturbance at the rear of the house. Abel reported that the site had been extensively altered by the construction of later additions (Abel 1966:3). Such disturbances may have contributed to pre-excavation loss of artifacts. Without further information about site excavation, we could not determine the reason for the small collection size, nor if the inventoried materials represented all which were excavated.

The problem was compounded by the fact that Abel's excavation and artifact recovery methods were unknown. This means that even if "NW Corner" was the only provenience, it may not contain a representative sample of the materials actually present in the archeological record.

It is thus apparent that there are many problems with the data from the Job Brooks site. Neither the horizontal nor vertical extent of Abel's excavations are known. The artifact collection is quite small, poorly provenienced, and may not reflect total excavation recoveries. Finally, and most importantly, virtually no documentation exists describing the project and its results. Further evaluation of the data will be offered in the following section.

### Additional Collections

In addition to Abel's collection, there were two accessions for the Job Brooks site. The first, accession #376, contained a single bottle from "locality Job Brooks House," as noted in the MIMA accession book. No further information was available about the provenience of this bottle, nor about the reason for its collection, the date of recovery, or the person responsible.

The second accession (#378) was collected by Park personnel in July of 1982 from an individual who was discovered on the site conducting illegal investigations with a metal detector. The ferrous and brass artifacts confiscated included a railroad spike, plow blade backing plates, and other miscellaneous hardware items, totalling nine artifacts altogether. The ACMP found no further information about the provenience of these items or the ground disturbance caused during their retrieval. It is unlikely that much subsurface disturbance occurred.

### Site Interpretation

Excavations at the Job Brooks site were small scale, and Abel did not interpret his findings other than to confirm that he had located the foundations for the early lean-to (Abel 1966:3). The area encompassed by his project and the exact dimensions of his architectural findings remain unknown. Apparently, Abel did not feel that the site held much archeological potential, for he commented that:

This house has been so altered by later additions, particularly deep cellars, both under and behind the old house, that further archeological work would probably be unprofitable here, though there is a possibility that a well might be found in the front yard (Abel 1966:3).

The ACMP reinventoried the artifacts from Abel's Job Brooks excavation. Diagnostic materials in the collection included both 19th and 20th century items. However, these materials hold essentially no analytical or interpretive potential, given the nature of the data problems discussed in the preceding section.

### Historical Background

The question remains as to whether the site has additional research potential. Certainly the history of the property and its occupants is interesting, and a number of historical investigations of the site have been conducted (Sullivan 1963, Keune 1963, Ronsheim 1964, Malcolm 1985). These studies have traced the occupation of the property back to at least 1666, when a Joshua Brooks owned the land and a house (Sullivan 1963:1, 4). The property stayed in the Brooks family until 1847, thus spanning nearly 200 years of continuous ownership (Table 15.1). It continued to be occupied into the 20th century, with the house finally vacated by 1959 (Bodge 1961:17).

The Job Brooks property was thus occupied continuously for nearly three centuries. Several researchers have suggested that a new house was constructed sometime during Job Brooks' ownership, between 1740 and 1794 (Sullivan 1963:5-6, Ronsheim 1964:4). This is the house which currently stands on the property. The precise date of construction has not been established, but the extant house was probably present at the time of the Revolution.

Job Brooks lived on the property for 54 years, longer than any other occupant. He was a farmer and a currier, and probably worked with his brother Joshua who owned the tannery to the east of Job's property (Malcolm 1985:81). Job's

Table 15.1

Chain of Title, Job Brooks Property \*

|      |   |
|------|---|
| 1666 | <u>Joshua Brooks</u> owns land; house present.  |
| 1695 | Joshua sells to <u>Job Brooks</u> <sup>1</sup> (house & barn).  |
| 1697 | Job <sup>1</sup> dies; quitclaimed to <u>Hugh Brooks</u> .  |
| 1740 | Hugh gave <u>son Job</u> <sup>2</sup> the house lot. New house may have been constructed during Job's ownership.                    |
| 1794 | Job <sup>2</sup> dies; property (with "mansion house") goes to <u>son Asa</u> <sup>1</sup> .  |
| 1816 | Asa <sup>1</sup> dies; property goes to <u>twin sons Asa</u> <sup>2</sup> and <u>Job</u> <sup>3</sup> ; Asa <sup>2</sup> has house. |
| 1847 | Asa <sup>2</sup> sells to <u>Emelius Julius Leppleman</u> .   |
| 1854 | Leppleman sells to <u>Myrick Benner</u> .   |
| 1858 | Benner sells to <u>Charles Sawyer</u> .   |
| 1890 | Sawyer sells to <u>Elizabeth Fitzgerald</u> .   |
| 1890 | Fitzgerald sells to <u>Rufus &amp; Daniel Brown</u> .   |
| 1892 | Browns sell to <u>Arthur Wilson</u> .   |
| 1905 | Wilson sells to <u>William Goodell</u> .  |
| 1909 | Goodell sells to <u>Louise Leonard</u> .  |
| 1915 | Leonard sells to <u>Flora Keizer</u> .  |
| 1959 | Keizer sells to <u>Reed Beharrell &amp; Nicholas Deraney</u> ; house vacant.  |
| 1962 | Beharrell & Deraney sell to <u>NPS</u> .  |

\* Information abstracted from Sullivan 1963:1-3, 22-23.

agricultural land must have been productive, as his crop yields were "equal to the highest produced in that section of Concord including farms with far more tilled acreage" (Malcolm 1985:81). He farmed the land with his son Asa, who later inherited the property and lived there until his death in 1816 (Malcolm 1985:81, Sullivan 1963:16). Both Job and Asa appear to have been relatively well off. The probate inventories written after each of their deaths were incredibly detailed, allowing us to clearly see the full range of their material possessions (Appendix 15.3). These inventories provide a tremendous source of data for issues of relative wealth as well as questions concerning the material culture of the time period.

There are many potential research topics for the historian or archeologist concerned with the Job Brooks property. This may be particularly true for research focusing on Job Brooks himself and his son Asa, as the associated historical data base appears to be fairly rich. However, the property has been extensively disturbed, limiting the site's archeological potential.

### Site Integrity

Site disturbances have included numerous building episodes, altering the physical appearance and layout of structures across the site. Through time there have been multiple additions to the house and construction of a number of barns and outbuildings, as well as the subsequent destruction of these features and at least limited plowing in the orchard to the rear.

The presence of earlier outbuildings is documented in some of the historic deeds (Sullivan 1963:14-15). At least four barns have been built on the property, and possibly more, with the last three documented during the late 19th and 20th centuries (Sullivan 1963:14-15). Historic photographs provide evidence of the extensive ells and huge barn which existed on the property in the late 19th century (Figure 15.3).

By the time the Park purchased the lot in 1962, this barn as well as its successor had burned (Sullivan 1963:15), and had been replaced by a 28.4 ft. by 40 ft. barn (Bodge 1961:15). The house exhibited additions to the rear (north) and the east, which altered its 18th century fabric rather extensively (Bodge 1961:14, Keune 1963:i-ii). This general configuration of house and outbuildings is documented by a 1954 aerial photograph (Figure 15.4). The photograph shows the extensive area which has been disturbed by building and plowing during this period. Additional disturbance was caused by the Park when the post-18th century house additions and barn were removed, leaving only the main two story hall and parlor house in place (Figure 15.1).



Figure 15.3. Photograph of the Job Brooks property in 1890 showing extensive ells and large barn (Keune 1963:Illustration #3).

Thus, even though the history of the site and its occupants provide a number of interesting research possibilities, extensive ground disturbances may have ruled out the possibility of intact archeological deposits. Disturbances which occurred during the late 19th and the mid-20th centuries are evident in the photographic and photogrammetric record (Figures 15.3, 15.4). It may be that the yard areas in front of the extant house remain relatively undisturbed if testing of a limited nature was desired.

### Probate Inventories

Data from the Job Brooks site cannot be dismissed without further mention of the probate inventories for the estates of Job and his son Asa. These detailed documents hold a wealth of information about these individuals' personal assets, information which is useful for research purposes (Appendix 15.3). One aspect of interest for archeologists is the documentation of ceramic wares in the two households.

The inventories, written in 1794 and 1816 respectively, date to a period which was significant in the transformation

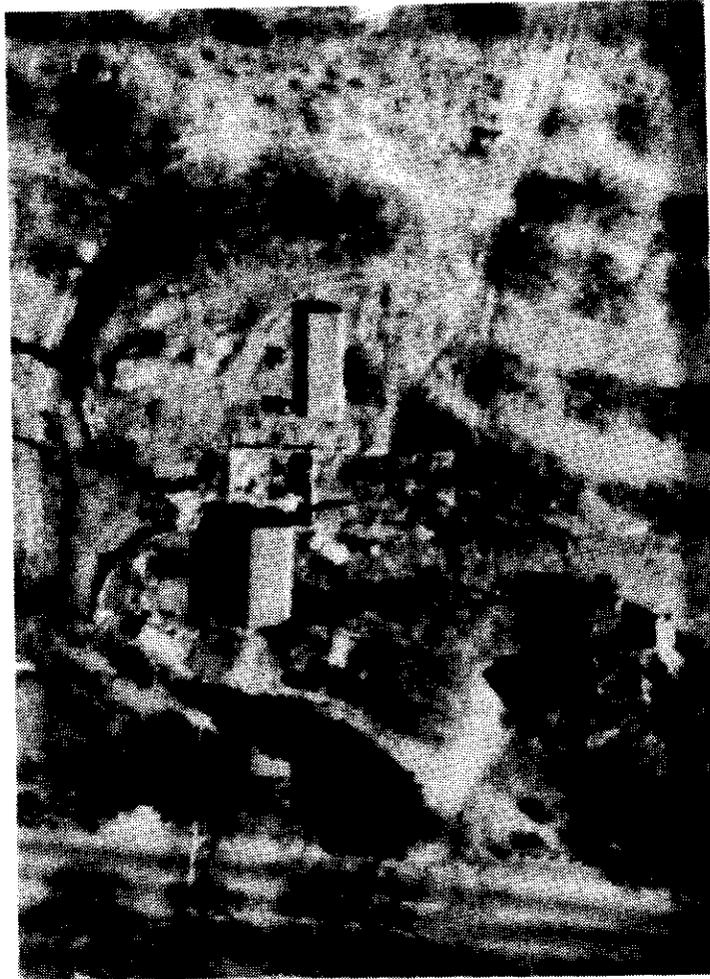


Figure 15.4. Fairchild aerial photograph of 1954, showing layout of Job Brooks property. House is located on the lower right, with barn and outbuildings to the left, and Route 2A along the bottom. Note also the foundations of a previous outbuilding, the vehicle tracks, and the orchard area.

of English ceramic manufacturing techniques with the introduction of mass produced refined wares. This transformation began in England in the mid-18th century, and had broad implications for the trade and distribution of goods to the New World (Miller 1980:1). It had additional implications for the composition of household goods, particularly tablewares, as earlier items made of pewter, wood, and unrefined earthenwares came to be largely replaced by the new refined wares. Archeologists have been interested in using ceramic assemblages of this transitional period to look at questions of trade and distribution as well as status and other issues as they relate to the acquisition of refined ceramics.

Job and Asa's inventories include detail on the types of tablewares present in this household in 1794 and 1816 respectively. Job's probate included no mention of refined ceramics, but instead listed the presence of both pewter and woodenware in addition to an array of utilitarian crockery, earthenware, and metal cooking utensils. Asa's inventory, on the other hand, specified multiple sets of refined ceramic dishes, plates and soup dishes including those described as "Cream Cld.," "Blue Edged," "Green Edgd.," and "Bastard China," in addition to utilitarian wares and cooking utensils (Appendix 15.3).

These two probate inventories were separated in time by just 22 years. During this time, the household appears to have acquired refined ceramic wares as a replacement for the previous tablewares which seem to have been made of pewter and possibly unrefined earthenwares and wood. It is somewhat surprising that Job's probate lacked refined wares, for it dated to more than 30 years after the introduction of the first mass produced and distributed refined ceramics. It is usually assumed that by this time the transformation in household tablewares would be well evident. Yet in the Brooks' household, the transition to the use of refined wares seems to have taken place at a later date, well beyond the first introduction of cream colored as well as blue and green edged wares.

These probates may suggest that in the Concord area, in a household of relatively high economic status, the latest trend in affordable, late 19th century refined tablewares was rather late to take hold. Similarly, Ephraim Hartwell's 1793 probate inventory showed a lack of refined wares and the presence of pewter (see Chapter 14). It cannot be assumed that the same phenomenon was true for other households of the area. The Brooks' scenario does, however, raise some interesting questions. Is it possible that such a delay was due to trade and distribution patterns? The Concord area, while rural, was on a major route connecting Boston to further outlying areas. If these refined wares were available, why did Job Brooks' inventory indicate their absence in his household? Was this a matter of personal preference? Was the availability of refined wares unimportant if the household was still well served by earlier items of pewter and other materials?

Research in Albemarle County, Virginia, has shown that "until the opening decades of the nineteenth century pewter was the common, if not predominant, material of serving items" (Smart 1984:2). Smart investigated probate inventories from 1770 to 1799 and found that contrary to what was expected, there was "no large influx...of creamware...or later refined earthenwares" during this period (1984:7). Breaking the households into class groups, she found that probates of wealthier homes did reveal amounts of refined ceramics over

and above the amount of pewter. She speculated that these individuals had "the disposable income to also acquire the newer ceramic items" (1984:8). Thus in Albemarle County, it appeared that despite the revolution in English refined ceramics during the latter part of the 18th century, only wealthier households seemed to acquire the new wares in quantities suggesting replacement of pewter tablewares. It may be that Job and Asa Brooks' inventories relate to a similar phenomenon in the Concord area, though their seeming wealth would contradict the pattern seen in the wealthier Virginia households.

These issues could be researched further by comparison of the Brooks' probates with other such records from the area during this period. Further data concerning these questions would allow us to address questions about the distribution of material goods, the personal choices involved in their purchase, and the correlation with their presence or absence in the archeological record. The latter issue has been of interest in the archeology of other MIMA sites. It has been difficult to identify 18th century assemblages from several sites known to have been occupied at that time (e.g., the Hartwell Tavern and Ebenezer Fiske sites). The presence or absence of refined ceramics in late 18th century households has a significant impact on the way in which we interpret the archeological record, and thus merits additional investigation. The two Brooks' probate inventories could provide a data base with which we could begin to compare similar documents and to address some of the questions identified above.

### Summary

The archeological evidence from the Job Brooks site was minimal and has virtually no analytical or interpretive value. Abel located the foundation of an early lean-to, but we do not know the dimensions or precise location of his finds. In addition, it is evident that the site has been extensively disturbed and thus does not merit additional archeological testing, with the possible exception of limited investigation of the front yard area.

Perhaps the most useful data from the Job Brooks site are the two probate inventories discussed above. These documents could be of great potential use to historians and archeologists alike in researching larger questions about the Concord area and its residents in the late 18th century. In particular, the presence or absence of refined ceramics in late 18th century households is an issue which deserves additional investigation if 18th century MIMA sites are to be interpreted to their fullest potential.

## Management Summary

The Job Brooks property was occupied continuously for nearly three centuries. It was first settled during the mid-17th century, though the house which stands today was probably constructed in the mid-18th century. Job Brooks, a currier and successful farmer, was the resident in 1775.

## Previous Archeology

Only one minor archeological investigation has been conducted at the Job Brooks house. In the fall of 1964, Park Archeologist Leland Abel spent two days excavating along the northwest (left rear) side of the house. His goal was to find evidence of a suspected early lean-to addition to the house. Abel was apparently successful in this endeavor, though the only record we have of his excavation is a single paragraph description in a memo Abel wrote about the status of archeology at MIMA (Appendix 15.1). The memo did not specify the construction characteristics of the foundation Abel uncovered, nor its precise location or dimensions, and no further interpretation of the excavation results was offered.

## ACMP Interpretation

The ACMP inventoried 175 artifacts in Abel's Job Brooks collection. However, there were so many data problems with the excavation that these artifacts have no analytical or interpretive value.

It was not possible to further interpret Abel's excavation. The ACMP identified some interesting research areas for the Job Brooks site which have not, to date, been explored. For example, the probate inventories of Job's property and his son Asa's, written upon their respective deaths, are extremely detailed and could be fruitfully used for a number of research purposes. This chapter has suggested the investigation of issues such as the transition to the use of early refined ceramics in the households of rural farming families, and how that might reflect social class, trade patterns, or traditional values. The probates could also be used for the interpretation of the site in the 18th century, or more specifically how Job and his son used the property and what types of worldly possessions they owned.

The ACMP has also identified some of the extensive ground disturbances which have occurred on this property. Although the house appears as a rather humble structure today, it once was the focus of a large farm operation with connected ells and a barn, as well as other unattached outbuildings (Figures

15.3, 15.4). It is not clear precisely how much of this site remains undisturbed. Limited testing may be the only possibility for future archeological investigation on the Job Brooks property.

## Recommendations

Abel's archeological investigations at the Job Brooks house were minimal, and his data holds no real interpretive value. The site has been greatly disturbed during the late 19th and 20th centuries, limiting the potential for further archeological research. In fact, the front yard is the only area identified as possibly intact. If research questions were such that front yard investigations were of interest, the Job Brooks site would merit testing. Such testing might also be desirable if the slaughterhouse/tannery property to the east were to be investigated. Job worked as a currier, probably in conjunction with tannery activities, and isolation of assemblages from that time period might serve as nice complementary data. In addition, careful examination should be made of the location of potentially disturbed and undisturbed areas prior to any maintenance activities on the site.

Perhaps the most valuable data available for the Job Brooks site are the two probate inventories written upon the deaths of Job and his son Asa, dated 1794 and 1816 respectively. These documents, especially when combined with similar records from the area, could provide a valuable data base for aiding archeologists in the interpretation of late 18th century sites. Some of the obvious research questions raised by these documents have been summarized in this chapter. The ACMP recommends that the two Brooks' probate inventories be considered as a starting point for further research in an attempt to unravel some of the questions surrounding the relationships between late 18th century trade and distribution patterns, household economic status, material possessions, and their final reflection in the archeological record.

Appendix 15.1

1966 Abel Memo: Section Describing  
Work at Job Brooks House

Informal Summary of the Status of the Archeological Program at Minute Man N.H.P. as of August 23, 1966, by Leland J. Abel, Park Archeologist...

RSP MM-A-7 PCP B-6 No work order requested.  
Archeological Research to Aid in the Restoration of the Brooks-Beharrell (Job Brooks) House, Lincoln.

In the fall of 1964, Harry Martin, then an EODC employee stationed at Minute Man, undertook the restoration of this house. He called me one day and asked if I could spare a day or so to look for the foundations of a lean-to which he suspected was once attached to the rear of the house. I spent two days at the site with one laborer and assume that my time and that of the laborer were charged against Harry's account. I located the foundations he suspected were there, he examined them, made notes and backfilled them. I assume that they are noted in his report, if he submitted one. This house has been so altered by later additions, particularly deep cellars, both under and behind the old house, that further archeological work would probably be unprofitable here, though there is a possibility that a well might be found in the front yard (Abel 1966:3).

Appendix 15.2

ACMP Artifact Inventory  
for Accession #18, 376, 378

JOB BROOKS Site

| Provenience:             | JB-NWC-<br>0-0 | JB-376-<br>0-0 | JB-378-<br>0-0 | TOTALS | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------|------------------------------|
| <b>HISTORIC CERAMICS</b> |                |                |                |        |                              |
| <b>Redware</b>           |                |                |                |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 5              | 0              | 0              | 5      |                              |
| Lead Glazed, 1 surface   | 2              | 0              | 0              | 2      |                              |
| Lead Glazed, 2 surface   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Sgraffito                | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Trailed Slipware         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Jackfield                | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Astbury                  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Total Redware            | 7              | 0              | 0              | 7      | 24.1%                        |
| <b>Tin Enameled</b>      |                |                |                |        |                              |
| Delft                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Rouen/Faience            | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Total Tin Enameled       | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Coarse Buff Body</b>  |                |                |                |        |                              |
| Combed Ware              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Dotted Ware              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| N. Devon Gravel          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Mottled                  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Total Coarse Buff Body   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Creamware</b>         |                |                |                |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Shell-Edged              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Other Edge Decorated     | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Handpainted              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Annular                  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Total Creamware          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Pearlware</b>         |                |                |                |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1      |                              |
| Shell-Edged              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Other Edge Decorated     | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Handpainted              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Annular                  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Total Pearlware          | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1      | 3.4%                         |
| <b>Whiteware</b>         |                |                |                |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 4              | 0              | 0              | 4      |                              |
| Shell-Edged              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Other Edge Decorated     | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Handpainted              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Annular                  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1      |                              |
| Other                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                              |
| Total Whiteware          | 5              | 0              | 0              | 5      | 17.2%                        |

JOB BROOKS Site

| Provenience:                   | JB-NWC-<br>0-0 | JB-376-<br>0-0 | JB-378-<br>0-0 | TOTALS    | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|------------------------------|
| <b>Other Earthenware</b>       |                |                |                |           |                              |
| Whieldon                       | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Lusterware                     | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Agateware                      | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Rockingham/Bennington          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Yellowware                     | 9              | 0              | 0              | 9         |                              |
| Other                          | 4              | 0              | 0              | 4         |                              |
| Total Other Earthen.           | 13             | 0              | 0              | 13        | 44.8%                        |
| <b>Porcelain</b>               |                |                |                |           |                              |
| Undecorated                    | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1         |                              |
| Underglaze HP-monochro         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Underglaze HP-polychro         | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1         |                              |
| Overglaze HP-monochrom         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Overglaze HP-polychrom         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Gilted                         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Transfer Printed               | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Other                          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Total Porcelain                | 2              | 0              | 0              | 2         | 6.9%                         |
| <b>Stoneware</b>               |                |                |                |           |                              |
| Nottingham                     | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         | 0.0%                         |
| Other English Brown            | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         | 0.0%                         |
| Bellarmino/Frenchen            | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         | 0.0%                         |
| Westerwald/Raeren              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         | 0.0%                         |
| <b>White Salt Glazed</b>       |                |                |                |           |                              |
| Plain                          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Moulded                        | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Scratch Blue                   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Other                          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Total White Salt Glz           | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Drybody</b>                 |                |                |                |           |                              |
| Black Basaltes                 | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Rosso Antico                   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Other                          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Total Drybody                  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Other</b>                   |                |                |                |           |                              |
| Utilitarian Import             | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Domestic                       | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1         |                              |
| Other                          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                              |
| Total Other                    | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1         | 3.4%                         |
| Total Stoneware                | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1         | 3.4%                         |
| <b>TOTAL HISTORIC CERAMICS</b> | <b>29</b>      | <b>0</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>29</b> | <b>100.0%</b>                |
| <b>% of Total Artifacts</b>    |                |                |                |           | <b>15.7%</b>                 |

JOB BROOKS Site

| Provenience: | JB-NWC- | JB-376- | JB-378- | TOTALS | % of      |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|--------|-----------|
|              | 0-0     | 0-0     | 0-0     |        | Total     |
|              |         |         |         |        | Artifacts |

PIPES

White Clay

|             |   |   |   |   |  |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|--|
| Bowls       | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| Stems: 4/64 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| 5/64        | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| 6/64        | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| 7/64        | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| 8/64        | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| 9/64        | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| INDT        | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| TOTAL:      | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |

Red Clay

|        |   |   |   |   |  |
|--------|---|---|---|---|--|
| Bowls  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| Stems  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| TOTAL: | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |

Other

|             |   |   |   |   |      |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|------|
| TOTAL PIPES | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0% |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|------|

GLASS

Bottle Glass

|                   |   |   |   |   |      |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|------|
| Freeblown         | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| Blown in Mold     | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| Auto Machine Made | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 |      |
| Indeterminate     | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| TOTAL             | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1.6% |

Drinking Vessel

|                       |   |   |   |   |      |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|------|
| Freeblown             | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| Machine blown/pressed | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| Indeterminate         | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| TOTAL                 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0% |

Indet. Curved Glass

|             |   |   |   |   |      |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|------|
| TOTAL GLASS | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1.6% |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|------|

BOTTLE CLOSURE

|                      |   |   |   |   |      |
|----------------------|---|---|---|---|------|
| Ceramic              | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| Glass                | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| Metal                | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| Wood/Cork            | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| Synthetic            | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| Other                | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |      |
| TOTAL BOTTLE CLOSURE | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0% |

JOB BROOKS Site

| Provenience:                    | JB-NWC-<br>0-0 | JB-376-<br>0-0 | JB-378-<br>0-0 | TOTALS    | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| <b>APPAREL</b>                  |                |                |                |           |                            |
| Clothing                        | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Footwear                        | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Other                           | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| TOTAL APPAREL                   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         | 0.0%                       |
| <b>BUTTONS, ETC.</b>            |                |                |                |           |                            |
| Button                          | 2              | 0              | 0              | 2         |                            |
| Buckle                          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Other Fastener                  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| TOTAL BUTTONS, ETC.             | 2              | 0              | 0              | 2         | 1.1%                       |
| <b>HOUSEHOLD &amp; PERSONAL</b> |                |                |                |           |                            |
| Tableware                       | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Kitchenware                     | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Furniture & Hardware            | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Lighting Fixtures               | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Decorative Objects              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Toiletries                      | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Stationary                      | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Coins/Tokens/Medals             | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Personal Objects                | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| Toys                            | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1         |                            |
| Other                           | 4              | 0              | 0              | 4         |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0         |                            |
| TOTAL H & P                     | 5              | 0              | 0              | 5         | 2.7%                       |
| <b>SUBTOTAL</b>                 | <b>9</b>       | <b>1</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>10</b> | <b>5.4%</b>                |

JOB BROOKS Site

| Provenience:                  | JB-NWC-<br>0-0 | JB-376-<br>0-0 | JB-378-<br>0-0 | TOTALS     | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------|----------------------------|
| <b>ARCHITECTURAL MATERIAL</b> |                |                |                |            |                            |
| <b>Window Glass</b>           |                |                |                |            |                            |
| Crown/Cylinder                | 4              | 0              | 0              | 4          |                            |
| Plate                         | 2              | 0              | 0              | 2          |                            |
| Other                         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| <b>TOTAL GLASS</b>            | <b>6</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>6</b>   | <b>3.2%</b>                |
| <b>Nails</b>                  |                |                |                |            |                            |
| Handwrought                   | 8              | 0              | 0              | 8          |                            |
| Machine Cut I                 | 27             | 0              | 0              | 27         |                            |
| Machine Cut II                | 32             | 0              | 0              | 32         |                            |
| Machine Cut Indet.            | 35             | 0              | 0              | 35         |                            |
| Wire                          | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1          |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 12             | 0              | 0              | 12         |                            |
| <b>TOTAL NAILS</b>            | <b>115</b>     | <b>0</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>115</b> | <b>62.2%</b>               |
| <b>Screws</b>                 |                |                |                |            |                            |
| Handwrought                   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Machine Cut                   | 4              | 0              | 0              | 4          |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| <b>TOTAL SCREWS</b>           | <b>4</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>4</b>   | <b>2.2%</b>                |
| <b>Other Hardware</b>         |                |                |                |            |                            |
| Builders' Hardware            | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Window Hardware               | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Door Hardware                 | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Electrical Hardware           | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Plumbing Hardware             | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Lighting/Heating Hdw.         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Other                         | 5              | 0              | 5              | 10         |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| <b>TOTAL OTHER HDWR.</b>      | <b>5</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>5</b>       | <b>10</b>  | <b>5.4%</b>                |
| <b>Structural Material</b>    |                |                |                |            |                            |
| Brick                         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Mortar/Plaster                | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Wood                          | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Linoleum                      | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Stone                         | 5              | 0              | 0              | 5          |                            |
| Fiber                         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Porcelain                     | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Earthenware/Stoneware         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Synthetic                     | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Metal                         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| Other                         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0          |                            |
| <b>TOTAL STRUCTURAL</b>       | <b>5</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>0</b>       | <b>5</b>   | <b>2.7%</b>                |

JOB BROOKS Site

| Provenience:                  | JB-NWC-<br>0-0 | JB-376-<br>0-0 | JB-378-<br>0-0 | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------|----------------------------|
| Other Fastening Devices       |                |                |                |        |                            |
| Staples                       | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
| Bolts                         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
| Wood Fasteners                | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
| Other                         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL FASTENING               | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |
| TOTAL ARCHITECTURAL MATERIALS |                |                |                |        |                            |
|                               | 135            | 0              | 5              | 140    | 75.7%                      |
| TOOLS & HARDWARE              |                |                |                |        |                            |
| Hand Tools                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
| Machine Parts                 | 0              | 0              | 3              | 3      |                            |
| Domestic Animal Gear          | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1      |                            |
| Transportation Objects        | 0              | 0              | 1              | 1      |                            |
| Weaponry/Accoutrements        | 1              | 0              | 0              | 1      |                            |
| Other                         | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL TOOLS & HDWR            | 2              | 0              | 4              | 6      | 3.2%                       |
| SUBTOTAL                      | 137            | 0              | 9              | 146    | 78.9%                      |

JOB BROOKS Site

| Provenience:  | JB-NWC-<br>0-0 | JB-376-<br>0-0 | JB-378-<br>0-0 | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------|----------------------------|
| <b>FUEL &amp; FIRE BYPRODUCTS (Weight in grams)</b> |                |                |                |        |                            |
| Coal  | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| Charcoal  | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| Ash/Cinders/Clinkers                                | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| Wood  | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| Slag  | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| TOTAL FUEL & FIRE                                   | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| <b>FLORAL &amp; FAUNAL REMAINS</b>                  |                |                |                |        |                            |
| <b>Shell (Weight in grams)</b>                      |                |                |                |        |                            |
| Bivalves  | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| Univalves   | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| Indeterminate Shell                                 | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| Other Organic                                       | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00           | 0.00   | 0.00                       |
| Bone  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Fish  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Whale   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Human   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Mammal  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Bird  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Other   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Indeterminate                                       | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |
| TOTAL BONE  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |
| Vegetal Material                                    | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Seeds/Nuts  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Other Comestibles                                   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Other Vegetal Material                              | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |
| TOTAL VEGETAL                                       | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |
| TOTAL FLORAL & FAUNAL                               | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |
| <b>LITHICS</b>                                      |                |                |                |        |                            |
| Fire Cracked Rock                                   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Unworked Lithic                                     | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Gunflints   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Groundstone   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Historic  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Prehistoric   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Total Groundstone                                   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Chipped Stone                                       | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Point   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Biface  | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Other   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0                          |
| Total Chipped Stone                                 | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |
| TOTAL LITHICS                                       | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |

JOB BROOKS Site

| Provenience:        | JB-NWC-<br>0-0 | JB-376-<br>0-0 | JB-378-<br>0-0 | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------|----------------------------|
| <b>SAMPLES</b>      |                |                |                |        |                            |
| Soil                | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
| C-14                | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL SAMPLES       | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |
| <b>SUBTOTALS</b>    |                |                |                |        |                            |
|                     | 4              | 0              |                |        |                            |
|                     | 1              | 0              | 0              | 0      | 0.0%                       |
|                     | 0              | 0              |                |        |                            |
| <b>GRAND TOTALS</b> |                |                |                |        |                            |
| SUBTOTAL HISTCER    | 29             | 0              | 0              | 29     |                            |
| SUBTOTAL PIPES      | 9              | 1              | 0              | 10     |                            |
| SUBTOTAL ARCHITEC   | 137            | 0              | 9              | 146    |                            |
| SUBTOTAL FUELFIRE   | 0              | 0              | 0              | 0      |                            |
|                     | 175            | 1              | 9              | 185    |                            |

Appendix 15.3

Probate Inventories for Job and Asa Brooks  
(as cited in Sullivan 1963:Appendices II and III)

Job Brooks Inventory

An Inventory of the Estate Real and Personal whereof Mr. Job Brooks Late of Concord in the county of Middlesex yeoman, Deceased -- Testate, died Seized and possessed in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, viz. --

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| His money that was on hand  | L 7-14-7 |
| Notes of hand left by said Deceased,<br>the Interest on the Same are cast to<br>third of March 1794 |          |
| The Treasurer of the Town of Concord  | 20-0-0   |
| Two notes Signed by Joshua Brooks, Jr.  | 38-17-11 |
| One by Joshua Brooks  | 3-12-11  |
| James Barret Jr.  | 4-13-0   |
| Jacob Brown   | 14-11-10 |
| Two of Samuel Jones   | 16-6-0   |
| Timothy Jones   | 10-11-6  |
| Stephen Barret  | 20-11-0  |
| Peter Barret  | 9-5-0    |
| Samuel Davis  | 20-6-0   |
| Abner Wheeler   | 6-16-11  |
| Joseph Brown  | 12-0-0   |
| Abel Davis  | 6-3-0    |
| Francis Buttrick  | 5-0-0    |
| Charles Barret and another  | 8-11-2   |

One note of John Barker of Acton, Dubious

|                           |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| State note the face of it | L 48-12-9 |
| Inter. 7 years. & 3 mo.   | 21-02-8   |

69-15-5

Consolidated by  
13/4 a pound,  
amounting to

46-10-4

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

WEARING APPARREL

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Blue coat and Jackcoat and Britches 39/ Two<br>gray coats and Jackcoats 15/  | 2-14-0 |
| cloth coloured coat and Black Jackcoat 15/ two<br>pairs black Britches 12/   | 1-7-0  |
| Two blue gray Jackcoats --10/ two other<br>Jackcoats 6/  | 0-16-0 |
| A pair of Deerskin Britches 8/ Beaver<br>hatt 36/  | 2-4-0  |
| Blue coat 9/ three pair old Britches 2/ Blue<br>Great coat 12/ Gray great coat 3/ pair of Britches<br>not made 3/ Boots and shoes 6/ | 0-12-0 |
| Nine pair of stockings 22/ 6 Mittin and<br>Garters 1/ Woolen caps 1/6  | 1-5-0  |
| Eleven shirts 52/ Seven caps 1/6 four pair<br>gloves 1/6   | 2-15-0 |
| Hat case and old hatt 1/6 pair Sepcticals 1/   | 0-3-6  |

PLATE

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| One silver cann and four Table Spoons & Eight<br>Tea Spoons             | 8-0-0        |
| <u>House hold furniture</u> , viz. in the foreroom                      |              |
| Eight day clock L 12. One Bed and its furniture<br>75/                  | 15-15-0      |
| Oval Table 6/ candle stand 2/ whitechest 2/<br>Six chairs 9/            | 0-19-0       |
| Great chair 3/6 Pair of handirons 12/ Tongs<br>and fire shovel 6/       | <u>1-1-6</u> |
| Total   | 290-5-2      |
| Articles of furniture in the bedroom -- viz.                            |              |
| Desk 18/ chest with two draws 12/ one other<br>chest 2/ Table 7/6 ----- | 1-19-6       |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Three chairs 4/6 Case with Bottles 6/ reel<br>2/ Clothes horse 3/ -----      | 0-15-6 |
| Large stone jug 4/ the whole of the Pewter<br>36/ all crockery ware 2/ ----- | 2-12-0 |
| All the glass ware 6/ All earthen ware 10/6<br>Woodenware 11/                | 1-7-6  |
| Coffee mill 1/6 Eighteen cotton sheets 28/2<br>Five tow <sup>do</sup> .22/6  | 9-4-6  |

KITCHEN FURNITURE

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Four brass kittles 87/ two brass skilets 10/<br>warming pan 4/6 -----      | 5-1-6  |
| two brass skimmer 1/ three Iron pots 11/6 Two<br>dish kittles 9/ -----     | 1-1-6  |
| Frying pan 5/ two Spiders 2/ Tea kittle 4/<br>Scures 2/                    | 0-13-0 |
| Pair of flat irons 6/ pair of hand irons 3/<br>Tongs and gridiron 2/ ----- | 0-12-0 |
| Two toasting irons 3/ Great and small wheel<br>6/ Tin ware 1/ -----        | 0-10-0 |
| Kitchen Table 1/6 bed in the back chamber &<br>furniture 54/               | 2-15-6 |
| Four meal sives 4/6 pilion 4/ Lumber in Said<br>chamber 6/                 | 0-14-6 |

ARTICLES IN THE BEST CHAMBER

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| The Best Bed and furniture 100/ Case of<br>draws 60/ | L 8-0-0 |
| Black walnut Table 30/ trunk 6/ two chests 3/        | 1-19-0  |
| Seven chairs 10/6 Eleven pair of Tow sheets L 6      | 6-10-6  |
| Two looking glasses 33/                              | 1-13-0  |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

GRAIN AND MEAT

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Twenty Bushels of Grain L 5 Two hundred wt. of<br>pork L 5                 | 10-0-0 |
| One hundred wt. of Beef 30/ Two meat barrels 4/                            | 1-14-0 |
| Bushel of salt 3/ half a bushel of malt 2/6<br>Four cyder barrels 7/ ----- | 0-12-0 |
| Lumber in the cellar 12/ etc.  | 0-12-0 |

STOCK OF CREATURES

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| Three cows which the widow made choice of                                  | 13-10-0 |
| Three other cows L 12, a pair of three year<br>old Stears L8 Stag L3 ----- | 23-0-0  |
| Mare L 3 colt L 3 two Swine 3-15-0   | 9-15-0  |

HUSBANDRY TOOLS

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Half of a cart and wheels 27/ plow and plow<br>Irons 18/                         | 2-5-0  |
| Two ox yokes and Irons 4/ old loge chain 7/<br>two Draught do. 8/                | 0-15-0 |
| Horse tackling 9/ Shovel 3/ Three forks 4/<br>half of Iron tooth harrow 9/ ----- | 1-5-0  |
| Groundstone 7/ Iron barr 6/ half a cyder mill<br>12/ Flaxbreak 4/                | 1-9-0  |
| Two Scyths and tackling 12/ Cart rope 5/6 axes<br>4/ Slead 6/                    | 1-7-6  |
| Half a crosscut Saw an adz - two augurs, Chizzel,<br>and three Iron wedges ----- | 1-0-0  |

402-19-8

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

REAL ESTATE

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| The Mansion house  | L 100-0-0         |
| Barn and other out houses  | 50-0-0            |
| Twenty five acres of Land on and about which sd<br>buildings stand                       | 300-0-0           |
| Fifteen acres called the home pasture  | 120-0-0           |
| Four acres called Stow meadow L4 woodland<br>adjoining L 12                              | 16-0-0            |
| fifteen acres called Subbubs, L67-10,<br>sixteen acres called Land of Canaan L 72-----   | 139-10-0          |
| fifteen acres called Chestnut Fields L 140<br>Little orchard L3 -----                    | 143-0-0           |
| Eight acres of river meadow<br>Half the Farm called Brooks north<br>part of Concord viz. | 24-0-0            |
| Half the house 30/ half the Barn L 7-10  | 37-10-0           |
| half the home Lot being in the whole 45 acres  | 112-10-0          |
| Half fifty acres of Pasture and woodland<br>called Moon Lot                              | 100-0-0           |
| Eight acres of woodland in Acton called a<br>freehold eight                              | 16-0-0            |
| twelve acres pine land in Acton  | 16-0-0            |
| Eight acres of Tillage land near Cap. Stephen<br>Jones                                   | 42-10-0           |
| Thirty acres of Land in Littleton  | 45-0-0            |
| Total Real Estate  | <u>1262-00-00</u> |

Submitted by Ephraim Wood  
Abel Brooks committee  
Joshua Brooks

Middlesex Jc. Concord in Probate Court, 16 Sept. AD 1794  
Exibited on oath by Asa Brooks, Executor, before me

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

Asa Brooks Inventory

An Inventory of the Personal and Real Estate of Asa Brooks late of Concord, deceased; taken pursuant unto a Warrant from the hon. James Prescott, Esq. Judge of this Probate of Wills, etc. in the County of Middlesex, as shown by the Executor.

PERSONAL ESTATES

|   |         |               |
|---|---------|---------------|
| Money on Hand   | \$ 8.80 |               |
| A Note signed by William Warren, Jr. dated July the 1st 1816 \$31. Interest .47               | 31.47   |               |
| A note Signed by Charles and Foster, dated April 9th 1816. \$150. Interest \$4.50             | 154.50  |               |
| A Note signed by Dr. Grosvener Tarbel dated Feb 28th 1814. \$100, Interest \$9.42.            | 109.62. |               |
| A Note signed by Samuel Dakin and Ephraim Whisler dated June 29th 1813 \$200. present worth   | 204.00  |               |
| A Note signed by Job Brooks, dated April 19th 1808 \$100. present worth of said Note          | 82.38   |               |
| A Note signed by Samuel Barrett, dated Nov. 30th, 1814, \$100, Interest \$5.00. present worth | 105.00  |               |
| A note signed by Edward Flint, dated April 14th, 1815. \$50. Interest \$1.40.                 | 51.40   |               |
| 1 Do. signed by Edward Flint, dated Dec. 14, 1814 \$50. Interest \$2.30                       | 52.30   |               |
| Due Bill signed by Stephen Minott   | 4.79    |               |
| 1 Silver Cane   | 12.00   | <u>804.26</u> |
| 4 Table spoons  | 6.00    |               |
| 1/2 dozen Silver teaspoons No. 1  | 3.00    |               |
| 1/2 dozen do. do. No. 2   | 2.50    |               |
| 1/2 dozen do. do. No. 3   | 1.33    |               |
| 1 pr. do. Shoe-Buckles  | 1.00    |               |
| 1 do. Knee-buckles  | .33     |               |
| 1 do. Stock Buckle  | .40     |               |
| 1 pr. Shirt Buttons   | 1.50    |               |
| 1 fur hat \$3. Do. .75  | 3.75    | <u>21.82</u>  |
|   |         | 826.07        |
| 1 Black coat No. 1 \$7. 1 Do. No. 2 \$6.00  | 13.00   |               |
| 1 Blue Do. No. 3 \$4.   | 4.00    |               |
| 1 Black Do. No. 4 \$3.00  | 3.00    |               |
| 1 Brown Do. No. 4 \$1.50  | 1.50    |               |
| 1 Surcoat \$8. 1 great coat \$4.00  | 12.00   |               |
| 1 Woollen Waiscoate No. 1   | 2.00    |               |
| 1 Do. No. 2   | 1.75    | <u>863.32</u> |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|  |                |       |              |
|--|----------------|-------|--------------|
| 1 Do.                                  | No. 3          |       | 1.00         |
| 1 Do.                                  | No. 4          |       | 1.00         |
| 1 Do.                                  | No. 5          |       | .75          |
| 1 Do.                                  | No. 6          |       | .75          |
| 1 Do.                                  | No. 7          |       | .50          |
| 1 Do.                                  | No. 8          |       | .50          |
| 3 Flannel Waiscoats                    |                |       | 1.50         |
| 1 pr. Cassamere pantaloons             | No. 1          |       | 4.00         |
| 1 pr. Woollen Do.                      | No. 2          |       | 3.00         |
| 1 pr. Do.                              | Do.            | No. 3 | 1.25         |
| 1 pr. Do.                              | Do.            | No. 4 | 1.25         |
| 1 pr. Cotten Do.                       | No. 5          |       | 1.00         |
| 1 pr. Do.                              | Do.            | No. 6 | 1.00         |
| 1 pr. Sattin Small Clothes             | No. 1          |       | 4.00         |
| 1 pr. Sattin Lasting Do.               | No. 2          |       | 2.00         |
| 1 pr. Do.                              | Do.            | No. 3 | 1.00         |
| 1 pr. Deer Skin                        | Do.            | No. 4 | 1.00         |
| 1 pr. Velvet Do.                       | No. 5          |       | .50          |
| 1 pr. Flannel Drawers                  |                |       | .50          |
| 1 Baizie Gown                          |                |       | 1.25         |
| 1 pr. Black Woollen Hose.              | No. 1          |       | 1.00         |
| 1 Do. Mixed Do.                        | No. 2          |       | .75          |
| 1 Do. Do. Do.                          | No. 3          |       | .50          |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 4          |       | .50          |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 5          |       | .33          |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 6          |       | .33          |
| 1 pr. Cotton and Silke Do.             | No. 7          |       | 1.00         |
|  |                |       | <hr/> 15.66  |
|  |                |       | 894.88       |
| 1 pr. cotton hose                      | No. 8          |       | 1.00         |
| 1 Do. Thread Do.                       | No. 9 .50 ct.  |       | .50          |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 10 .50 ct. |       | .50          |
| 1 pr. Woollen gloves                   |                |       | .25          |
| 1 pr. Mitts .20 ct.                    |                |       | .20          |
| 1 pr. Woollen cap .14                  |                |       | .14          |
| 1 pr. Boots \$4. 1 pr. Shoes \$1.50    |                |       | 5.50         |
|  |                |       | <hr/> 902.97 |
| 1 pr. over shoes                       |                |       | 1.33         |
| 1 Linnen shirt                         | No. 1          |       | 1.50         |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 2          |       | 1.25         |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 3          |       | 1.00         |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 4          |       | 1.00         |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 5          |       | 1.00         |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 6          |       | 1.25         |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 7          |       | 1.25         |
| 1 Do. Do.                              | No. 8          |       | 1.00         |
| No. 9, 10, and 11, 75 cts. each        |                |       | 2.25         |
| 1 Silk Hkerchief No. 1 \$1 No. 2 \$.50 |                |       | 1.50         |
| 1 Cotton Do. No. 3                     |                |       | .33          |
|  |                |       | <hr/> 14,66. |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|   |       |              |
|---|-------|--------------|
| 1 Folio Bible                               | 3.00  |              |
| History of the Martyrs                      | 1.50  |              |
| Readings of M. Doring                       | .75   |              |
| American Gazeteer                           | 1.00  |              |
| Practical Divinity                          | .50   |              |
| Dr. Lathrop's sermons                       | .25   |              |
| Sinuu's /?/ Morals                          | 1.00  |              |
| 1 Psalm Book                                | .12   |              |
| The Whole Duty of Man                       | .50   |              |
| Mason on Self-Knowledge                     | .25   |              |
| Unity of Christ with the Fathers            | .25   |              |
| 1 psalm book                                | .12   |              |
| <br><u>West Front Room</u>                  |       |              |
| 1 Eight Day Clock                           | 30.00 | 39.24        |
|   |       | <hr/> 956.47 |
| <br>  |       |              |
| 1 looking glass                             | 4.00  |              |
| 1 maple desk                                | 2.50  |              |
| 1 four-foot table                           | 2.00  |              |
| 1 small tea table                           | .50   |              |
| 1 armed chair                               | .50   |              |
| 1 candle stand                              | .50   |              |
| 1/2 doz. goinon chairs                      | 3.00  |              |
| Bed No. 1 Bedstead and cords                | 1.50  |              |
| 1 under Bed                                 | 1.00  |              |
| Feather Bed Bolster and Pillows             | 16.50 |              |
| 1 pr. iron Dogs 1.75 shovels and tongs .50  | 1.25  |              |
|   |       | <hr/> 990.12 |
| <br>  |       |              |
| <u>North West Red Room</u>                  |       |              |
| 1 Bed spread and cord                       | 1.50  |              |
| 1 Under Bed                                 | 1.50  |              |
| 1 Feather bed                               | 8.00  |              |
| 1 small chest with drawers                  | .75   |              |
| 1 old chest, 40 ct. 3 syrum bottles 18 cts. | .58   |              |
| 1 Doz. Junk Bottles, 48 cts. 1 Stone jar    |       |              |
| 50 cts.                                     | .98   |              |
| 1 stone jar, 12 ct. 1 Do., 12 cts.          | .24   |              |
| 1 Sugar Box                                 | .20   |              |
| <br>  |       |              |
| <u>East Lower Room</u>                      |       |              |
| 1 Desk and Bookcase                         | 20.00 |              |
| 1 looking glass                             | 10.00 |              |
| 1 Large Dining table                        | 6.00  |              |
| 1 Arm chair                                 | 1.00  |              |
| 1/2 Doz. hurbottem /?/ Chairs               | 15.00 |              |
| 4 Tan Back Chairs                           | 2.00  |              |
|   |       | <hr/> 67.75  |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|  |       |               |
|--|-------|---------------|
| 1 pr. Small Iron Dogs                              | .50   |               |
| Shoval and Tongs                                   | 1.00  |               |
| 2 sts. Decanters                                   | 1.34  |               |
| 1 Large Cream Cld. Dish                            | .50   |               |
| 1 Do. Do.  | .10   |               |
| 2 Blue Edged Dishes                                | 1.00  |               |
| 1 Doz. green Edgd. Plates                          | 1.00  |               |
| 1/2 Doz. Blue Do. Do.                              | .35   |               |
| 2 Soup Dishes                                      | .67   |               |
| 1 Doz. small green Edg. Do.                        | .50   |               |
| 4 Bastard China Do.                                | .25   |               |
| 1 pepper Carton, 67 1 set China \$4.00             | 4.67  | 11.88         |
|  |       | <hr/> 1069.75 |
| 3 Qt. Bowls, 50 ct. 2 butter bowls, 50 ct.         | 1.00  |               |
| 2 pickle Dishes .25 2 mugs .25                     | .50   |               |
| 1 pitcher .25 1 glass sugar-bowl .67 ct.           | .92   |               |
| 1/2 Doz. Wine glasses .50 2 Tumblers ct. 3         | .63   |               |
| 2 Cup Salt, .25 Tea waiter .75                     | 1.00  |               |
| 1 small waiter .12 2 Brass candlesticks \$2.00     | 2.12  |               |
| 2 Brass Do. \$1.25 2 portraits .25                 | 1.50  |               |
| 1 Pembroke Table \$2.00                            | 2.00  |               |
| 1 Carpet \$3.00 1 Door Lock .75                    | 3.75  |               |
| 1 parchment Pocket Book .30                        | .30   |               |
| 4 pr. spectacles .17 pr.                           | .68   |               |
|  |       | <hr/> 1084.15 |
| <u>Kitchen Furniture</u>                           |       |               |
| 1 old brass kettle                                 | 3.50  |               |
| 1 old Do. \$8. 1 Do. \$6.00                        | 14.00 |               |
| 1 Do. Do.  | 1.25  |               |
| 2 Brass Skillets 175 each                          | 1.50  |               |
| 1 Do. skimmer                                      | .12   |               |
| 2 Iron Pots \$1. each                              | 2.00  |               |
| 1 Bake Pan \$.50 1 small pot .50                   | 1.00  |               |
| 1 Dish Kettle .75 1 small Do. .25                  | 1.00  |               |
| 1 tea kettle .60 1 Iron Dish .25                   | .85   |               |
| 1 Spider .25 small skillets .25                    | .50   |               |
| 1 gridiron .50 1 Do. .10                           | .60   |               |
| 1 toaster .25 Iron Mortar .25                      | .50   |               |
| 7 pails 1 Do. .2                                   | 1.29  |               |
| 1 Butter Box .10 2 Trays 2 Dippers .34             | .64   |               |
|  |       | <hr/> 48.75   |
| 5 Cheese Hoops and Followers .75 1 tin Kitchen .75 | 1.50  |               |
| 1 Cheese Press                                     | 1.00  |               |
| Cheese Tub No. 1 \$1. No. 2 .75 No. 3 .40 ct.      | 2.15  |               |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| Do. No. 4, .30 No. 5 .12 No. 6 .33                    | .75         |
| 1 wash Board .40 1 Bbl. Churn \$1.50                  | 1.90        |
| 1 Common Churn .50 3 Butter Boxes .75                 | 1.25        |
| 1 1/2 Doz. Earthen Milk Pans .10                      | 1.80        |
| 4 Cream Pots at 8 cts and 6 ct                        | .68         |
| Weights and scales .25 1 pr. wrought<br>andirons 1.50 | 1.75        |
| 2 pr. tongs and 1 shovel \$1.50                       | 1.50        |
| 1 pr. Wrought andirons \$1.25                         | 1.25        |
| 1 flip Iron   | .12         |
| 1 Doz. kitchen Chairs                                 | 2.00        |
|   | <hr/> 17.65 |
|   | 1150.55     |

|                                       |               |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 pine table .75 1 Small Do. .25      | 1.00          |
| 1 pr. Stuyards /?/                    | .40           |
| 3 large pewter platters \$2.          | 6.00          |
| 3 small Do. Do.                       | 2.50          |
| 2 Worn-out Do.                        | .67           |
| 17 pewter plates at .20 ct. each      | 3.40          |
| 1 large pewter Bason .50 2 Do. .6     | 1.40          |
| 1 pint Bason Do. .20 lot tin Ware .50 | .70           |
| 2 Tea Canisters .25 Flax Comb .50     | .75           |
|                                       | <hr/> 1167.07 |

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1 old copper tea Kettle .25                      | .25         |
| 1 tin coffee pot .25 1 1/2 Doz old<br>spoons .10 | .35         |
| 1 1/3 Dozen Cream Cob Small Plates               | .80         |
| 1 Doz. blue and spotted Cups and saucers         | .50         |
| 1 Tea pot .7 Creamer and sugar bowl .20          | .37         |
| 4 cups and saucers .12 2 qt. Bowls .12           | .24         |
| 1/2 Doz. knives and forks                        | .83         |
| 1 Lot of Do. Do.                                 | .50         |
| 1 Clothes Horse .50 2 irons                      | .70         |
| Candlesticks .20                                 | .20         |
| 1 basket .20 1 large spinning wheel              | 2.20        |
| 1 linnen wheel \$2.50 o pr. cotton cards .75     | 3.25        |
| 1 pr Wool Do.                                    | .34         |
|  | <hr/> 10.53 |
|  | 1177.60     |

East front Chamber

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| 1 high post bedstead and sacking            | 6.00  |
| 1 feather Bed \$14.50 1 Do. \$16.65         | 31.15 |
| Bed curtains and counterpane                | 6.00  |
| 1 Under Bed Tick                            | 1.50  |
| 1 Bed Tick \$1. 1 carpet \$3.50             | 4.50  |
| 1 case of Drawers \$6.00                    | 6.00  |
| 1 chamber Table \$1.50 looking glass \$4.00 | 5.50  |
| 1 Rocking Chair \$1.25 1 arm Do. .50        | 1.75  |
| 1/2 Doz Joiner Chairs at \$3.               | 3.00  |
| 1 small looking glass .50 1 Trunk \$2.00    | 2.50  |
| 2 tanned Sheepskins                         | .67   |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

West front Chamber

|                                     |       |               |
|-------------------------------------|-------|---------------|
| Bedstead and cord No. 1             | 1.50  |               |
| feather bed \$9.00 under Bed \$1.00 | 10.00 |               |
| Chest No. 1 \$1.50 No. 2 No. 3 .75  | 3.50  |               |
| 1 Do. No. 4                         | .83   | 81.40         |
|                                     |       | <hr/> 1259.00 |

|                                  |       |               |
|----------------------------------|-------|---------------|
| Bedstead and cord to Bed. No. 2  | 1.50  |               |
| 1 feather bed \$12 Under bed \$1 | 13.00 |               |
| 1 table .50 1 looking glass .50  | 1.00  |               |
| 1 yarn cover No. 1               | 1.75  |               |
| 1 do. do. No. 2                  | 1.25  |               |
| 1 do. do. No. 3                  | 1.25  |               |
| 1 Woollen Bed Quilt No. 1        | 3.00  |               |
| 1 Do. Do. Do. No. 2              | 2.00  |               |
| 1 Do. Do. Do. No. 3              | 1.25  |               |
| 1 Do. Do. Do. No. 4              | 1.00  |               |
| 1 patch Do. No. 1                | 3.00  |               |
| 1 Do. Do. Do. No. 2              | 1.00  |               |
|                                  |       | <hr/> 1299.00 |

|                                 |      |             |
|---------------------------------|------|-------------|
| 1 Do. Do. No. 3                 | .75  |             |
| 1 Do. Do. No. 4                 | .50  |             |
| 1 pr. Woollen Bed Blanket No. 1 | 7.00 |             |
| 1 pr. Do. 1/2 Do. No. 2         | 7.00 |             |
| 1 pr. Do. Do. No. 3             | 6.00 |             |
| 1 pr. Do. Do. No. 4             | 5.00 |             |
| 1 Homespun Do.                  | 4.00 |             |
| 1 pr. Woollen Do. 1/2 No. 5     | 4.00 |             |
| 1 pr. Do. Do. No. 6             | 5.00 |             |
| 1 pr. Do. Do. No. 7             | 3.00 |             |
| 1 pr. Do. Do. No. 8             | 2.50 |             |
| 1 pr. Do. Do. No. 9             | 3.00 |             |
| 1 single Do. No. 10             | 1.25 |             |
| 1 Checked Do. No. 11            | 4.00 |             |
|                                 |      | <hr/> 53.00 |

|                                     |       |               |
|-------------------------------------|-------|---------------|
| 1 pr. Cotton and Wooll Sheets No. 1 | 3.50  |               |
| 1 pr. Do. Do. No. 2                 | 2.50  |               |
| 1 pr. Do. Do. No. 3                 | 1.50  |               |
| 9 yards checked Blanketing          | 4.50  |               |
| 8 Do. Cotton Fustian                | 3.34  |               |
| 13 lb. cotton Wrap 7.00             | 7.00  |               |
| 50 Skins linnen yarn                | 8.00  |               |
| 150 Do. Tow Do.                     | 12.00 |               |
| 5 lb. Cotton Do.                    | 3.50  |               |
| 2 wt. combed flax                   | .67   |               |
| 12 lb. carded wooll                 | 7.00  | 53.51         |
|                                     |       | <hr/> 1396.54 |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|                     |                  |        |         |
|---------------------|------------------|--------|---------|
| <u>Sheets</u>       | 1 pr. tow Sheets | No. 1  | 2.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 2  | 2.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 3  | 2.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 4  | 2.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 5  | 2.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 6  | 2.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 7  | 2.25    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 8  | 2.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Cotton Do. | No. 9  | 4.00    |
|                     |                  |        | <hr/>   |
|                     |                  |        | 1419.26 |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 10 | 1.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Tow Do.    | No. 11 | 2.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 12 | 2.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 13 | 2.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 14 | 2.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Cotton Do. | No. 15 | 2.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 16 | 4.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 17 | 4.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 18 | 4.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 19 | 4.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 20 | 4.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 21 | 4.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 22 | 3.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Tow Do.    | No. 23 | 2.50    |
|                     |                  |        | <hr/>   |
|                     |                  |        | 42.50   |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 24 | 3.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 25 | 3.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 26 | 4.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 27 | 3.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 28 | 4.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 29 | 4.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 30 | 4.50    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 31 | 3.00    |
| <u>Pillow Cases</u> |                  | No. 1  | .50     |
|                     | 1 pr. Do.        | No. 2  | .50     |
|                     | 1 pr. Do.        | No. 3  | .50     |
|                     | 1 pr. Do.        | No. 4  | .75     |
|                     |                  |        | <hr/>   |
|                     |                  |        | 32.25   |
|                     |                  |        | <hr/>   |
|                     |                  |        | 1494.01 |
|                     | 1 pr. Do.        | No. 5  | .75     |
|                     | 1 pr. Do.        | No. 6  | .75     |
|                     | 1 pr. Do.        | No. 7  | .75     |
|                     | 1 pr. Tow Do.    | No. 8  | .50     |
|                     | 1 pr. Tow Do.    | No. 9  | .50     |
|                     | 1 pr. Tow Do.    | No. 10 | .50     |
|                     | 1 pr. Tow Do.    | No. 11 | .50     |
|                     | 1 pr. Linnen Do. | No. 12 | .50     |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 13 | .50     |
|                     | 1 pr. Cotton Do. | No. 21 | 1.75    |
|                     | 1 pr. Tow Do.    | No. 22 | 1.00    |
|                     | 1 pr. Do. Do.    | No. 23 | 1.00    |
|                     |                  |        | <hr/>   |
|                     |                  |        | 1501.01 |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|       |     |        |        |      |
|-------|-----|--------|--------|------|
| 1 pr. | Do. | Do.    | No. 24 | 1.00 |
| 1 pr. | Do. | Do.    | No. 25 | 1.00 |
| 1 pr. | Do. | Cotton | No. 26 | 1.00 |
| 1 pr. | Do. | Do.    | No. 27 | 1.00 |
| 1 pr. | Do. | Do.    | No. 28 | 1.00 |
| 1 pr. | Do. | Do.    | No. 29 | 1.00 |
| 1 pr. | Do. | Do.    | No. 30 | .50  |
| 1 pr. | Do. | Do.    | No. 31 | .50  |

Table Linnen

|                                  |     |        |         |
|----------------------------------|-----|--------|---------|
| Table cloth                      |     | No. 1  | .60     |
| Do.                              | Do. | No. 2  | .75     |
| Do.                              | Do. | No. 3  | .75     |
| Do.                              | Do. | No. 4  | .60     |
| Do.                              | Do. | No. 5  | .60     |
| Do.                              | Do. | No. 6  | .60     |
| Do.                              | Do. | No. 7  | .60     |
| 1 Deaper                         | Do. | No. 8  | 1.00    |
|                                  |     |        | <hr/>   |
|                                  |     |        | 13.50   |
| 1 Do.                            | Do. | No. 9  | .50     |
| 1 Do.                            | Do. | No. 10 | .75     |
| 1 Do.                            | Do. | No. 11 | 1.00    |
| 1 Do.                            | Do. | No. 12 | 1.00    |
| 1 Do.                            | Do. | No. 13 | 2.00    |
| 1 Do.                            | Do. | No. 14 | 1.50    |
| 1 Do.                            | Do. | No. 15 | 1.50    |
| 1 Do.                            | Do. | No. 16 | 3.00    |
| 1 Do.                            | Do. | No. 17 | 3.00    |
| 5 Roller Towles                  |     | No.-   | 1.67    |
| 5 small                          | Do. |        | .62     |
| 6 Towels from No. 1 to No. 6     |     |        | 1.00    |
|                                  |     |        | <hr/>   |
|                                  |     |        | 17.54   |
|                                  |     |        | <hr/>   |
|                                  |     |        | 1532.05 |
| 6 Diaper towels from No. 6 to 12 |     |        | 2.00    |
| 6 Do. from No. 12 to No. 18      |     |        | 2.50    |
| 6 Do. from No. 18 to No. 24      |     |        | 2.52    |
| 9 old Towels                     |     |        | .50     |

Furniture in the Garret

|                             |      |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Bedstead, cord and underbed | 1.00 |
| 1 Feather bed               | 8.00 |
| 1 Do. Do.                   | 4.00 |

East Back Chamber

|                      |       |
|----------------------|-------|
| 1 Bed Stead and cord | .50   |
| Under Bed            | 1.00  |
| 1 Feather Do.        | 10.00 |

West Back Chamber

|                    |       |
|--------------------|-------|
| Bed Stead and cord | 1.00  |
| Under Bed          | 1.00  |
| Feather Bed        | 10.00 |
| 1 Chest            | .50   |

---

1576.59

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

Articles in the Cellar

|                          |       |             |
|--------------------------|-------|-------------|
| 18 Casks                 | 3.06  |             |
| 2 40 galls casks         | .50   |             |
| 1 half Hh <sup>d</sup> . | .50   |             |
| 5 dry                    | .25   |             |
| 3 paork Bbls.            | .75   |             |
| 1 Cheese Chest           | .25   |             |
| 1 Vinegar Cage           | .25   |             |
| 50 wt. Pork at 9 lbs.    | 6.25  |             |
| 2 Bbls. Soup             | 8.00  |             |
| 3 Meat Tubs              | .60   |             |
| 4 Half Bbls.             | 1.75  |             |
| 100 Bushels 1/6          | 25.00 |             |
|                          |       | <hr/> 47.16 |
| 2 lb. candles            | 4.42  |             |
| 3 wooden bottles         | .60   |             |
| 1 Bread Tub              | .50   |             |
| 292 lb. cheese at 6 ct.  | 17.52 |             |

Stock and Tools

|                              |        |               |
|------------------------------|--------|---------------|
| 1 pr. working oxen           | 60.00  |               |
| 1 Do. Do.                    | 60.00  |               |
| 1 Mare                       | 30.00  |               |
|                              |        | <hr/> 1623.75 |
| Cow No. 1                    | 10.00  |               |
| Do. No. 2                    | 11.50  |               |
| Do. No. 3                    | 11.50  |               |
| Do. No. 4                    | 12.00  |               |
| Do. No. 5                    | 10.50  |               |
| Do. No. 6                    | 8.00   |               |
| Do. No. 7                    | 12.00  |               |
| Do. No. 8                    | 2.00   |               |
| 1 Bull                       | 9.00   |               |
| 2 sheep                      | 3.00   |               |
| 4 Swine                      | 44.40  |               |
| 4 Shoat                      | 9.00   |               |
| 1 Grindstone                 | 2.00   |               |
|                              |        | <hr/> 1775.65 |
| 3 Bee-hive                   | 2.00   |               |
| 40 Tons Ship Timber Moon lot | 120.00 |               |
| 14 Cords Oak Wood            | 14.00  |               |
| 9 Do. pine Do. .75           | 6.75   |               |
| 6 Bushel Wheat               | 10.50  |               |
| 52 Bushels Rye               | 65.00  |               |
| 9 Tons English Hay           | 225.00 |               |
| 20 Do. Meadow Do.            | 200.00 |               |
| 2 Do. Stalks                 | 30.00  |               |
| 1 timber chain No. 1         | 3.50   |               |
| 1 Draut Do. No. 2            | 11.50  |               |
| 1 small Do. No. 3            | 1.50   |               |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|                                   |        |               |
|-----------------------------------|--------|---------------|
| 1 Do. Do. No. 4                   | 1.25   |               |
| 1 Do. Do. No. 5                   | 1.25   |               |
|                                   |        | <hr/> 682.25  |
| 7 stake Chains                    | 3.50   |               |
| 1 pr. haorse traces               | 1.50   |               |
| 1 Do. Do.                         | 1.50   |               |
| 1 Iron toothed Harrow             | 3.00   |               |
| Plough No. 1                      | 4.50   |               |
| Do. No. 2                         | 1.25   |               |
| Do. No. 3                         | .50    |               |
| Do. No. 4                         | .75    |               |
| 1 Iron Bar                        | 3.00   |               |
| 1 Do. Do.                         | .75    |               |
| Old Iron                          | 2.00   |               |
| 5 hay Forks                       | 1.25   |               |
| 4 Barn Rakes                      | .50    |               |
| Scyths and Snaths                 | 1.50   |               |
| 4 old Shovels                     | 1.00   |               |
|                                   |        | <hr/> 26.50   |
|                                   |        | 2484.40       |
| 4 old axes                        | 1.50   |               |
| 3 Broad Hoes                      | .75    |               |
| 1 Dung Fork                       | .75    |               |
| 1 Bevelle and Wedges              | 1.00   |               |
| 1 Ditching knife                  | .75    |               |
| Lot of old tools                  | 1.25   |               |
| 1 tenon Saw                       | .75    |               |
| 1 saddle                          | 1.50   |               |
| 1 collar and harness              | 1.00   |               |
|                                   |        | <hr/> 2493.65 |
| 1 ox cart                         | 8.00   |               |
| 1 Do. waggon No. 1                | 55.00  |               |
| 1 Do. old Do. No. 2               | 35.00  |               |
| 1 horse Do. and harness           | 40.00  |               |
| 8 ox yokes                        | 6.00   |               |
| 3 old ox sleds                    | 5.00   |               |
| 1 chaise and harness              | 100.00 |               |
| 1 sleigh and Do.                  | 5.00   |               |
| 1 Doz Meat Bags                   | 4.50   |               |
| 1 gun No. 1 \$3. 1 Do. No. 2 \$2. | 5.00   |               |

Personal Property on the Capt. Farm so called

|                                    |       |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| 1 ton English Hay \$25.            | 25.00 |
| 3 Tons Meadow Do.                  | 30.00 |
| 71 Bushels Barley \$7.50 4 Do. Rye | 12.50 |
| 1 Cow No. 1                        | 12.00 |
| 1 Do. No. 2                        | 10.00 |
| half-ton Stalks                    | 7.50  |
| 1 2-year old steer                 | 6.00  |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|                             |       |               |
|-----------------------------|-------|---------------|
| 2 2-year old heifers        | 16.00 |               |
| 3 yearlings                 | 18.00 |               |
|                             |       | <hr/> 401.50  |
| <u>Cattle at Princeton</u>  |       |               |
| Brooks Oxen No. 1           | 66.00 |               |
| Wheeler Do. No. 2           | 64.00 |               |
| Weatherbee Do. No. 3        | 71.00 |               |
| Fiskes Do. No. 4            | 73.00 |               |
| Foster Do. No. 5            | 70.00 |               |
| White Do. No. 6             | 74.00 |               |
| 1 pr. Three yearsold steers | 27.00 |               |
| 1 yearling Bull             | 5.00  |               |
| 1 Beef Cow                  | 23.00 |               |
| 1 three year old heiffer    | 13.00 |               |
| 12 Do. Do.                  | 10.00 |               |
| 1 Horse                     | 30.00 |               |
| 1 yearling colt             | 25.00 |               |
|                             |       | <hr/> 551.00  |
|                             |       | <hr/> 3445.15 |

REAL ESTATE

|   |           |                |
|---|-----------|----------------|
| Home lot, supposed to 40 acres, with the buildings thereon standing | \$5000.00 |                |
| Home pasture, so called, 18 acres                                   | 640.00    |                |
| Rocky pasture so called, 10 acres                                   | 150.00    |                |
| The Suburbs, so called 12 Do.                                       | 144.00    |                |
| Stow pasture, so called 4 Do.                                       | 70.00     |                |
| Stow meadow, so called 4 Do.  | 20.00     |                |
| The School House Lot so called 1 1/2 Do.                            | 40.00     |                |
| Little Orchard So called 1/4 Do.                                    | 15.00     |                |
| Taylor Lot, so called 13 Do.  | 520.00    |                |
| Widow Brook's orchard so called 6 Do.                               | 270.00    |                |
| Chestnut field lot so called 18 Do.                                 | 540.00    |                |
| Land of Cannan, so called 12 Do.                                    | 180.00    |                |
| River Meadows Containing 8 Do.                                      | 120.00    |                |
| Cedar Swamp, in Bedford 1 A more or less                            | 2.00      |                |
|   |           | <hr/> 7,711.00 |

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| The Capt. Farm, so called with the Bldgs. thereon standing, in the N part of the Town supposed to contn 75 A  | 2000.00 |
| The Moon Pasture, so called 40 Do.  | 1000.00 |
| 3/10 of the Home lot of the Lawrence Farm   | 573.00  |
| 3/10 of the Oliver Meadow so called 5 1/4 acres, of undivided Land, lying in Common, with the Heirs of the late Rev. William Lawrence, of Linc., dec'd, and Samuel Rass, Esq. | 68.40   |
|   | 105.00  |
| 3/10ths of the 10 1/2 acres of land lying in common with the above described land   | 63.00   |

Appendix 15.3 (cont.)

|  |               |                |
|--|---------------|----------------|
| Acton lands 12 A \$8 per acre                        | 96.00         |                |
| Pastures in Princeton 64 A                           | 1500.00       |                |
| 1 Pew on the lower floor in Concord<br>Meeting House | <u>100.00</u> | <u>5505.40</u> |
|  | 13,216.40     |                |

Joshua Brooks  
Daniel Brooks  
Nehemiah Cheney

Appraisers

Submitted at a Court of Probate, Middlesex county  
October 9, 1816



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## Part V: The Wayside Area

The Wayside area is a small tract of Park-owned land at the base of Revolutionary Ridge in Concord (Figure V.1). The property is located along Lexington Road approximately one mile east of Concord center (Figure V.2). Physiographically, this area is situated on the northern edge of the low meadows surrounding Mill Brook, at about 130 to 140 feet above mean sea level. Revolutionary Ridge rises abruptly to the north.

The Park's interpretive focus for the Wayside area is twofold. First, in 1775 Lexington Road was a part of the historic Battle Road, and Concord Muster Master Samuel Whitney lived in the house which later came to be known as the Wayside. Second, the Wayside was occupied in the 19th century by a series of famous American writers: Amos Bronson Alcott, Louisa May Alcott, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Harriett Lothrop (pen name Margaret Sidney). The house is widely renowned as the home of these illustrious figures.

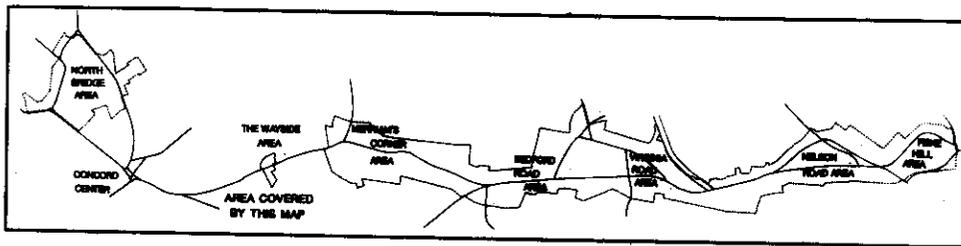
The Eliphelet Fox house site, or "Casey's House," is also located within the Wayside area, just west of the Wayside property (Figure V.1). This house was built sometime before 1666 by Eliphelet Fox, and was no longer standing by the middle of the 19th century. It is reported to have been occupied by Casey, the freed black slave of Samuel Whitney, though this has not been historically documented.

Archeological investigations were conducted at both the Wayside and Casey's site properties (Table V.1). The goal at the Wayside was to locate evidence of the Alcotts' barn and an ell. Neither of these were discovered, but several previously unknown features were found. At Casey's, the foundation of a typical two room, central chimney plan colonial house was uncovered and fully excavated, producing a large collection of 18th century artifacts.

There are a number of problem areas with the data from these excavations due to the original field methodologies and recording procedures employed, as well as the loss of both artifacts and project documentation. These problems will be identified in the following chapters. The ACMP has reinterpreted the Wayside area data and has identified possibilities for further research.



MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK  
THE WAYSIDE AREA BASE MAP



PARK BOUNDARY -----

ARCHEOLOGICALLY INVESTIGATED  
STANDING STRUCTURE -----

ARCHEOLOGICALLY INVESTIGATED  
CELLARHOLE -----

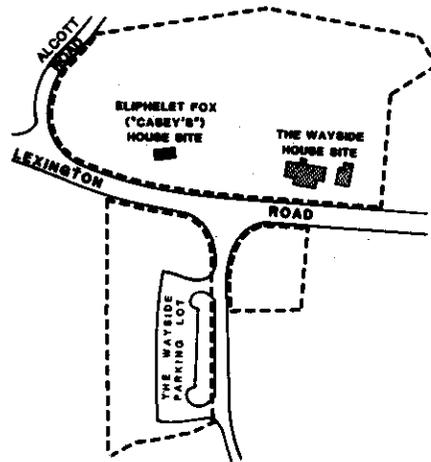
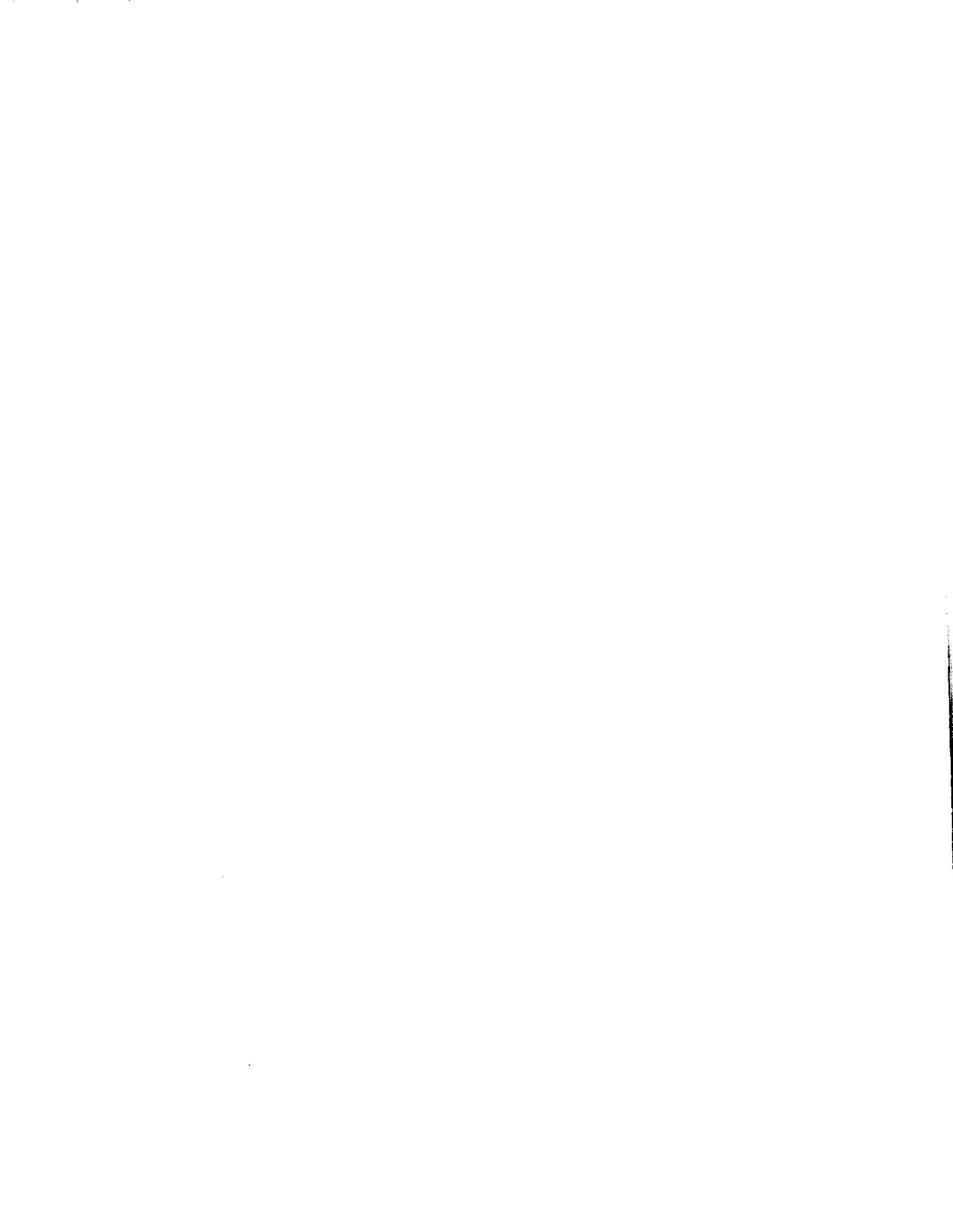


Figure V.1. ACMP Base Map of Wayside Area.



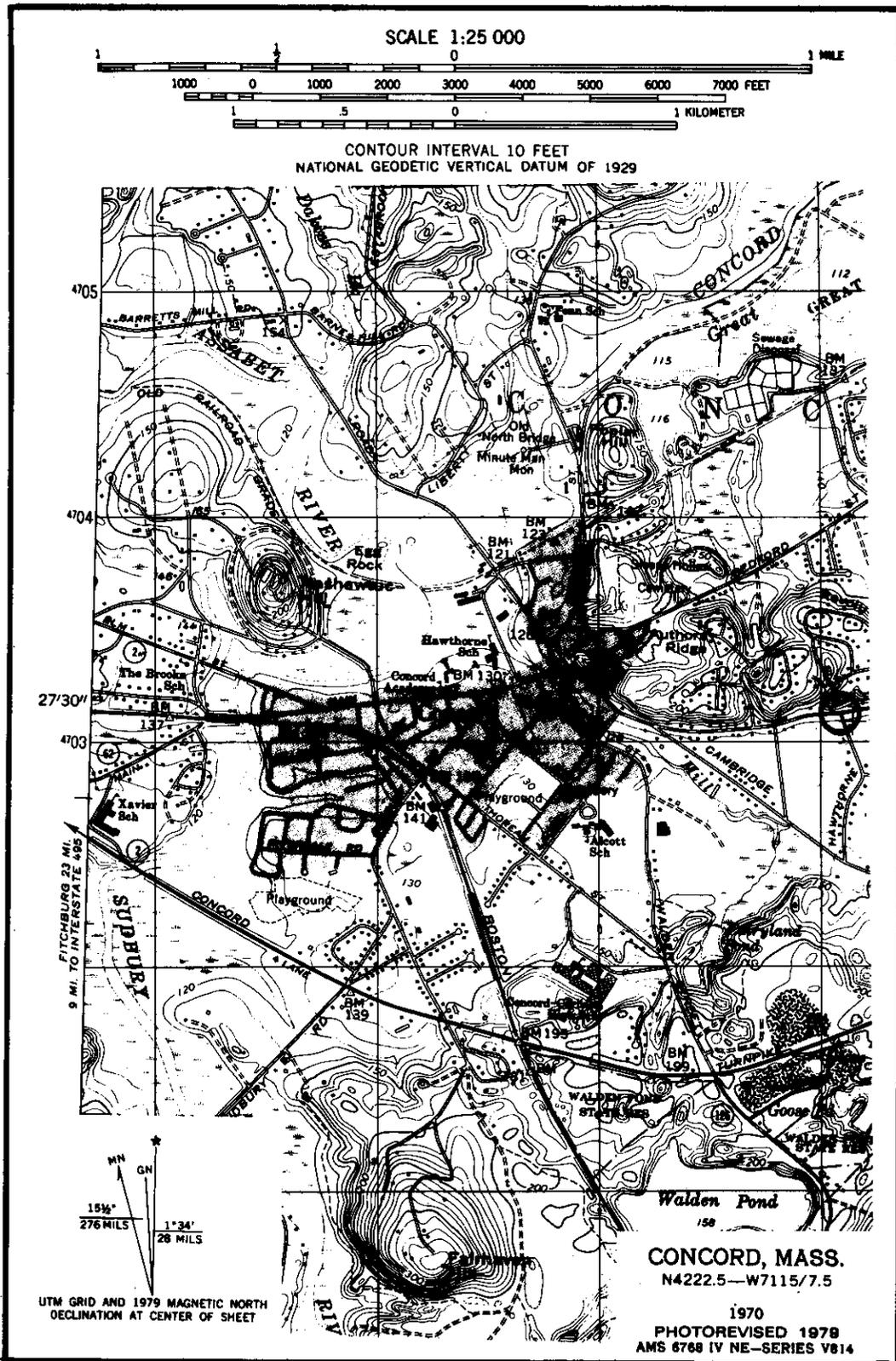


Figure V.2. U.S.G.S. topographic map, Concord quadrangle; the circle on the right center side of the map indicates the Wayside area of the Park.

Table V.1

Site Summary Data

WAYSIDE AREA

| <u>Site</u> | <u>Principle Investigator</u> | <u>Affiliation</u>         | <u>Date(s) of Fieldwork</u>         | <u>Field Notes</u> | <u>Site Map</u>                        | <u>Photographs</u>  | <u>MIMA Acc. #</u> | <u>Archeological Reports</u> | <u>Artifact Catalog/Inventory</u>              |
|-------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--|---|--------------------|------------------------------|--|
| Wayside     | Cordelia T. Snow              | Contract to NPS            | May-August 1967                     | 2 field forms      | Snow 1969b: 19,20. Also one field map. | Snow 1969b: Figures 1-4; MIMA.BWP.WS. 1-11, MIMA.CS.WS.1    | 27                 | Snow 1969b                   | NPS Museum Catalog Cards #2888-4155, 5837-5845 |
| Casey's     | Cordelia T. Snow              | Contract to NPS            | August-October 1967; Found May 1968 | Not Found          | Snow 1969a: 35                         | Snow 1969a: Figures 1-4; MIMA.BWP.CS. 1-25, MIMA.CS.CS. 1-2 | 216/263            | Snow 1969a                   | NPS Museum Catalog Cards #4156-5836            |
|             | Joan Bleacher                 | NPS, Denver Service Center | June/July 1979                      | Yes                | Bleacher 1979: Figures 8, 15           | Bleacher Figures 6-7, 9-14, 16                              | 299                | Bleacher 1979                | Bleacher 1979: 24, 29                          |

Table V.2

ACMP Summary Artifact Inventory for:

The Wayside  
The Eliphelet Fox House Site ("Casey's House")



WAYSIDE Area

| Site:                          | WAYSIDE CASEY'S TOTALS |              |              | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| <b>Other Earthenware</b>       |                        |              |              |                              |
| Whieldon                       | 4                      | 32           | 36           |                              |
| Lusterware                     | 0                      | 0            | 0            |                              |
| Agateware                      | 0                      | 0            | 0            |                              |
| Rockingham/Bennington          | 21                     | 3            | 24           |                              |
| Yellowware                     | 143                    | 27           | 170          |                              |
| Other                          | 95                     | 96           | 191          |                              |
| Total Other Earthen.           | 263                    | 158          | 421          | 1.8%                         |
| <b>Porcelain</b>               |                        |              |              |                              |
| Undecorated                    | 26                     | 46           | 72           |                              |
| Underglaze HP-monochro         | 22                     | 100          | 122          |                              |
| Underglaze HP-polychro         | 2                      | 13           | 15           |                              |
| Overglaze HP-monochrom         | 3                      | 2            | 5            |                              |
| Overglaze HP-polychrom         | 2                      | 9            | 11           |                              |
| Gilted                         | 4                      | 0            | 4            |                              |
| Transfer Printed               | 0                      | 0            | 0            |                              |
| Other                          | 2                      | 25           | 27           |                              |
| Total Porcelain                | 61                     | 195          | 256          | 1.1%                         |
| <b>Stoneware</b>               |                        |              |              |                              |
| Nottingham                     | 0                      | 42           | 42           | 0.2%                         |
| Other English Brown            | 0                      | 0            | 0            | 0.0%                         |
| Bellarmino/Frenchen            | 0                      | 1            | 1            | 0.0%                         |
| Westerwald/Raeren              | 5                      | 14           | 19           | 0.1%                         |
| <b>White Salt Glazed</b>       |                        |              |              |                              |
| Plain                          | 47                     | 182          | 229          |                              |
| Moulded                        | 1                      | 29           | 30           |                              |
| Scratch Blue                   | 5                      | 46           | 51           |                              |
| Other                          | 0                      | 1            | 1            |                              |
| Total White Salt Glz           | 53                     | 258          | 311          | 1.3%                         |
| <b>Drybody</b>                 |                        |              |              |                              |
| Black Basaltes                 | 0                      | 0            | 0            |                              |
| Rosso Antico                   | 0                      | 0            | 0            |                              |
| Other                          | 0                      | 5            | 5            |                              |
| Total Drybody                  | 0                      | 5            | 5            | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Other</b>                   |                        |              |              |                              |
| Utilitarian Import             | 3                      | 5            | 8            |                              |
| Domestic                       | 24                     | 50           | 74           |                              |
| Other                          | 24                     | 38           | 62           |                              |
| Total Other                    | 51                     | 93           | 144          | 0.6%                         |
| <b>Total Stoneware</b>         | <b>109</b>             | <b>413</b>   | <b>522</b>   | <b>2.2%</b>                  |
| <b>TOTAL HISTORIC CERAMICS</b> | <b>7701</b>            | <b>16194</b> | <b>23895</b> | <b>100.0%</b>                |
| <b>% of Total Artifacts</b>    |                        |              |              | <b>49.9%</b>                 |



WAYSIDE Area

| Site:                           | WAYSIDE CASEY'S TOTALS |             |             | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| <b>APPAREL</b>                  |                        |             |             |                            |
| Clothing                        | 2                      | 0           | 2           |                            |
| Footwear                        | 61                     | 50          | 111         |                            |
| Other                           | 4                      | 5           | 9           |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 29                     | 3           | 32          |                            |
| <b>TOTAL APPAREL</b>            | <b>96</b>              | <b>58</b>   | <b>154</b>  | <b>0.3%</b>                |
| <b>BUTTONS, ETC.</b>            |                        |             |             |                            |
| Button                          | 26                     | 56          | 82          |                            |
| Buckle                          | 4                      | 29          | 33          |                            |
| Other Fastener                  | 6                      | 1           | 7           |                            |
| <b>TOTAL BUTTONS, ETC.</b>      | <b>36</b>              | <b>86</b>   | <b>122</b>  | <b>0.3%</b>                |
| <b>HOUSEHOLD &amp; PERSONAL</b> |                        |             |             |                            |
| Tableware                       | 10                     | 57          | 67          |                            |
| Kitchenware                     | 219                    | 31          | 250         |                            |
| Furniture & Hardware            | 11                     | 8           | 19          |                            |
| Lighting Fixtures               | 468                    | 783         | 1251        |                            |
| Decorative Objects              | 10                     | 8           | 18          |                            |
| Toiletries                      | 6                      | 4           | 10          |                            |
| Stationary                      | 7                      | 7           | 14          |                            |
| Coins/Tokens/Medals             | 0                      | 4           | 4           |                            |
| Personal Objects                | 49                     | 34          | 83          |                            |
| Toys                            | 10                     | 4           | 14          |                            |
| Other                           | 44                     | 39          | 83          |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 36                     | 6           | 42          |                            |
| <b>TOTAL H &amp; P</b>          | <b>870</b>             | <b>985</b>  | <b>1855</b> | <b>3.9%</b>                |
| <b>SUBTOTAL</b>                 | <b>3279</b>            | <b>3497</b> | <b>6776</b> | <b>14.2%</b>               |

WAYSIDE Area

| Site:                         | WAYSIDE CASEY'S TOTALS |      |      | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|------|------|----------------------------|
| <b>ARCHITECTURAL MATERIAL</b> |                        |      |      |                            |
| Window Glass                  |                        |      |      |                            |
| Crown/Cylinder                | 616                    | 1519 | 2135 |                            |
| Plate                         | 926                    | 2740 | 3666 |                            |
| Other                         | 0                      | 0    | 0    |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 286                    | 3    | 289  |                            |
| TOTAL GLASS                   | 1828                   | 4262 | 6090 | 12.7%                      |
| Nails                         |                        |      |      |                            |
| Handwrought                   | 168                    | 525  | 693  |                            |
| Machine Cut I                 | 94                     | 219  | 313  |                            |
| Machine Cut II                | 365                    | 38   | 403  |                            |
| Machine Cut Indet.            | 901                    | 1556 | 2457 |                            |
| Wire                          | 70                     | 88   | 158  |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 680                    | 778  | 1458 |                            |
| TOTAL NAILS                   | 2278                   | 3204 | 5482 | 11.5%                      |
| Screws                        |                        |      |      |                            |
| Handwrought                   | 2                      | 0    | 2    |                            |
| Machine Cut                   | 9                      | 18   | 27   |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 1                      | 0    | 1    |                            |
| TOTAL SCREWS                  | 12                     | 18   | 30   | 0.1%                       |
| Other Hardware                |                        |      |      |                            |
| Builders' Hardware            | 0                      | 0    | 0    |                            |
| Window Hardware               | 14                     | 8    | 22   |                            |
| Door Hardware                 | 5                      | 19   | 24   |                            |
| Electrical Hardware           | 3                      | 0    | 3    |                            |
| Plumbing Hardware             | 0                      | 1    | 1    |                            |
| Lighting/Heating Hdwr.        | 0                      | 0    | 0    |                            |
| Other                         | 132                    | 66   | 198  |                            |
| Indeterminate                 | 283                    | 164  | 447  |                            |
| TOTAL OTHER HDWR.             | 437                    | 258  | 695  | 1.5%                       |
| Structural Material           |                        |      |      |                            |
| Brick                         | 9                      | 19   | 28   |                            |
| Mortar/Plaster                | 65                     | 72   | 137  |                            |
| Wood                          | 56                     | 72   | 128  |                            |
| Linoleum                      | 0                      | 0    | 0    |                            |
| Stone                         | 15                     | 10   | 25   |                            |
| Fiber                         | 0                      | 0    | 0    |                            |
| Porcelain                     | 0                      | 0    | 0    |                            |
| Earthenware/Stoneware         | 54                     | 13   | 67   |                            |
| Synthetic                     | 76                     | 0    | 76   |                            |
| Metal                         | 11                     | 5    | 16   |                            |
| Other                         | 9                      | 28   | 37   |                            |
| TOTAL STRUCTURAL              | 295                    | 219  | 514  | 1.1%                       |

WAYSIDE Area

| Site:                                    | WAYSIDE CASEY'S TOTALS |             |              | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|--|------------------------|-------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| <b>Other Fastening Devices</b>           |                        |             |              |                            |
| Staples                                  | 12                     | 3           | 15           |                            |
| Bolts                                    | 5                      | 1           | 6            |                            |
| Wood Fasteners                           | 0                      | 0           | 0            |                            |
| Other                                    | 4                      | 1           | 5            |                            |
| <b>TOTAL FASTENING</b>                   | <b>21</b>              | <b>5</b>    | <b>26</b>    | <b>0.1%</b>                |
| <b>TOTAL ARCHITECTURAL<br/>MATERIALS</b> | <b>4871</b>            | <b>7966</b> | <b>12837</b> | <b>26.8%</b>               |
| <b>TOOLS &amp; HARDWARE</b>              |                        |             |              |                            |
| Hand Tools                               | 1                      | 5           | 6            |                            |
| Machine Parts                            | 0                      | 1           | 1            |                            |
| Domestic Animal Gear                     | 2                      | 3           | 5            |                            |
| Transportation Objects                   | 0                      | 0           | 0            |                            |
| Weaponry/Accoutrements                   | 7                      | 7           | 14           |                            |
| Other                                    | 2                      | 4           | 6            |                            |
| Indeterminate                            | 0                      | 1           | 1            |                            |
| <b>TOTAL TOOLS &amp; HDWR</b>            | <b>12</b>              | <b>21</b>   | <b>33</b>    | <b>0.1%</b>                |
| <b>SUBTOTAL</b>                          | <b>4883</b>            | <b>7987</b> | <b>12870</b> | <b>26.9%</b>               |

WAYSIDE Area

| Site:   | WAYSIDE CASEY'S TOTALS |               |                | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---|------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| <b>FUEL &amp; FIRE BYPRODUCTS (Weight in grams)</b> |                        |               |                |                            |
| Coal  | 76.05                  | 22.43         | 98.48          |                            |
| Charcoal  | 16.35                  | 1.41          | 17.76          |                            |
| Ash/Cinders/Clinkers                                | 171.20                 | 0.00          | 171.20         |                            |
| Wood  | 29.57                  | 442.56        | 472.13         |                            |
| Slag  | 237.83                 | 87.31         | 325.14         |                            |
| <b>TOTAL FUEL &amp; FIRE</b>                        | <b>531.00</b>          | <b>553.71</b> | <b>1084.71</b> |                            |
| <b>FLORAL &amp; FAUNAL REMAINS</b>                  |                        |               |                |                            |
| <b>Shell (Weight in grams)</b>                      |                        |               |                |                            |
| Bivalves  | 57.30                  | 306.98        | 364.28         |                            |
| Univalves   | 32.56                  | 0.00          | 32.56          |                            |
| Indeterminate Shell                                 | 0.00                   | 0.00          | 0.00           |                            |
| Other Organic                                       | 2.00                   | 1.00          | 3.00           |                            |
| <b>Bone</b>   |                        |               |                |                            |
| Fish  | 0                      | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Whale   | 0                      | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Human   | 3                      | 1             | 4              |                            |
| Mammal  | 551                    | 3605          | 4156           |                            |
| Bird  | 8                      | 68            | 76             |                            |
| Other   | 2                      | 0             | 2              |                            |
| Indeterminate                                       | 3                      | 0             | 3              |                            |
| <b>TOTAL BONE</b>                                   | <b>567</b>             | <b>3674</b>   | <b>4241</b>    | <b>8.9%</b>                |
| <b>Vegetal Material</b>                             |                        |               |                |                            |
| Seeds/Nuts  | 7                      | 31            | 38             |                            |
| Other Comestibles                                   | 0                      | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Other Vegetal Material                              | 0                      | 1             | 1              |                            |
| <b>TOTAL VEGETAL</b>                                | <b>7</b>               | <b>32</b>     | <b>39</b>      | <b>0.1%</b>                |
| <b>TOTAL FLORAL &amp; FAUNAL</b>                    | <b>574</b>             | <b>3706</b>   | <b>4280</b>    | <b>8.9%</b>                |
| <b>LITHICS</b>                                      |                        |               |                |                            |
| Fire Cracked Rock                                   | 0                      | 0             | 0              |                            |
| Unworked Lithic                                     | 3                      | 7             | 10             |                            |
| Gunflints   | 5                      | 12            | 17             |                            |
| <b>Groundstone</b>                                  |                        |               |                |                            |
| Historic  | 0                      | 2             | 2              |                            |
| Prehistoric   | 0                      | 2             | 2              |                            |
| <b>Total Groundstone</b>                            | <b>0</b>               | <b>4</b>      | <b>4</b>       |                            |
| <b>Chipped Stone</b>                                |                        |               |                |                            |
| Point   | 1                      | 1             | 2              |                            |
| Biface  | 0                      | 1             | 1              |                            |
| Other   | 0                      | 1             | 1              |                            |
| <b>Total Chipped Stone</b>                          | <b>1</b>               | <b>3</b>      | <b>4</b>       |                            |
| <b>TOTAL LITHICS</b>                                | <b>9</b>               | <b>26</b>     | <b>35</b>      | <b>0.1%</b>                |

WAYSIDE Area

| Site:               | WAYSIDE CASEY'S TOTALS |       |       | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------|-------|----------------------------|
| <b>SAMPLES</b>      |                        |       |       |                            |
| Soil                | 1                      | 0     | 1     |                            |
| C-14                | 0                      | 0     | 0     |                            |
| TOTAL SAMPLES       | 1                      | 0     | 1     | 0.002%                     |
| <br>                |                        |       |       |                            |
| <b>SUBTOTALS</b>    | 584                    | 3732  | 4316  | 9.0%                       |
| <br>                |                        |       |       |                            |
| <b>GRAND TOTALS</b> |                        |       |       |                            |
| SUBTOTAL HISTCER    | 7701                   | 16194 | 23895 |                            |
| SUBTOTAL PIPES      | 3279                   | 3497  | 6776  |                            |
| SUBTOTAL ARCHITEC   | 4883                   | 7987  | 12870 |                            |
| SUBTOTAL FUELFIRE   | 584                    | 3732  | 4316  |                            |
|                     | 16447                  | 31410 | 47857 |                            |



## CHAPTER 16

### THE WAYSIDE

#### Introduction

The Wayside, "home of authors," is an exception to the rule of interpretation at MIMA. Though it was present during the events of 1775, and in fact housed Concord Muster Master Samuel Whitney, it is better known as the 19th century residence of several famed American writers, specifically: Amos Bronson Alcott, his daughter Louisa May Alcott, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Harriett Lothrop (pen name Margaret Sidney). These figures and their lives at the Wayside are the focus of the Park's interpretive efforts at that site.

The Wayside (State Site #19-MD-345) is located in Concord, east of the town center on Lexington Road (Route 2A) (Figure V.1, 16.1). In 1967, the Park contracted with archeologist Cordelia Thomas Snow to conduct an archeological investigation of the Wayside grounds. Excavations had been started in 1966 by archeologist Leland Abel, but only two days of work were completed (Snow 1969b:2). Snow continued the project, the objective of which was to locate two architectural features: the foundations for the Alcott barn



Figure 16.1. ACMP photograph of The Wayside, 1986.

west of the house and the Alcott ell east of the house (Snow 1969b:2). Neither feature was located in spite of the fairly extensive nature of Snow's excavations. Instead, previously unknown features were revealed.

No further archeology followed Snow's Wayside excavations. However, several restoration projects conducted by historical architects resulted in the disturbance of archeological deposits and the collection of associated artifacts. While these materials were not collected during an official archeological excavation, they compose one aspect of the total Wayside collection. This chapter will report on the reinventory and analysis of the Wayside collections.

### Provenience and Coding System

The ACMP has inventoried four collections from the Wayside. Only one of these was the direct result of an archeological excavation: accession #27, Cordelia Snow's collection. Two of the remaining collections resulted from architectural inspection and restoration of the house (accession #17 and 272). The final collection was a group of miscellaneous unprovenienced materials (accession #396).

To provide consistency, the ACMP designed a 12 digit code for each Wayside provenience. These codes accommodated the excavator's (or architects') original provenience information while adopting a consistent format. The format is as follows:

WS-AAAA-BBBB-CC

Where:

WS = Wayside,

AAAA = Field Unit (excavation or other locational designation),

BBBB = Feature (or other more specific locational information),

CC = Stratigraphic Level.

Wayside provenience codes are listed in Appendix 16.1 along with full provenience descriptions as recorded by the collector. The codes reflect the original inconsistencies in recording procedures, both within and between collections.

The Wayside collections had all been accessioned, cataloged (except unprovenienced items), and stored at MIMA. The ACMP inventoried the following number of artifacts in each collection:

| <u>Collection</u>                           | <u>Year</u> | <u>Accession<br/>Number</u> | <u>Total<br/>Items</u> |
|---|-------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| Historic American Building<br>Survey (HABS) | 1965        | 17                          | 306                    |
| Cordelia T. Snow                            | 1967        | 27                          | 15,573                 |
| Restoration (Carroll)                       | 1969        | 272                         | 527                    |
| Unprovenienced                              | --          | 396                         | <u>41</u>              |
| Total Wayside Collection                    |             |                             | 16,447                 |

The issue of missing artifacts and other data problems will be addressed in the following section.

## Map Construction

Source maps used in the construction of ACMP maps and illustrations of the Wayside were evaluated according to the criteria of completeness, accuracy, accessibility of data, readability, physical condition of map and reproducibility (see Chapter 3, Methodology). Two archeologists worked at the Wayside, Leland J. Abel in 1966 and Cordelia T. Snow in 1967. Of the two archeologists, only Snow drew maps of her excavations. While we know that Abel excavated for two days "between the east end of the house and the barn," the only provenience information available to the ACMP was the well he discovered, which still exists today (Snow 1969b:7). It was therefore impossible to include his excavations on any maps constructed by the ACMP.

### Snow's Excavation

Cordelia Snow excavated in two areas, the first between the house and the barn (Snow 1969b:9) and the second in an area west of the house (1969b:13). Maps of both excavations were included in her report (1969b:19, 20) and are reproduced in this chapter (Figures 16.2 and 16.3).

Snow's map of the excavations east of the house (Figure 16.2) contained a north arrow and a scale and showed the Wayside and the barn. Upon checking the known distance from the house to the barn it was apparent that the scale drawn on the map was incorrect. Snow stated in her report that the trench was staked out eight feet wide by thirty-three feet long and that the trench was later enlarged (1969b:9). The map did not indicate which was the staked out trench and where the enlargements were or what their dimensions were. The map measurements were internally inconsistent as far as could be determined.

Snow's map of the excavations west of the house (Figure 16.3) contained a north arrow and a bar scale, but did not relate the excavated areas to any fixed point on the ground. The arrow pointing to the Wayside did not show where on the Wayside the point of reference was, or the location of the test pit closest to the retaining wall. The ACMP, upon examining documents from another site at the Park, found an original field map of the excavations west of the house showing bearings and distances from an underground telephone utility marker.

### Map Construction

The ACMP decided to construct two maps of the Wayside, the first showing the excavated areas as close as could be

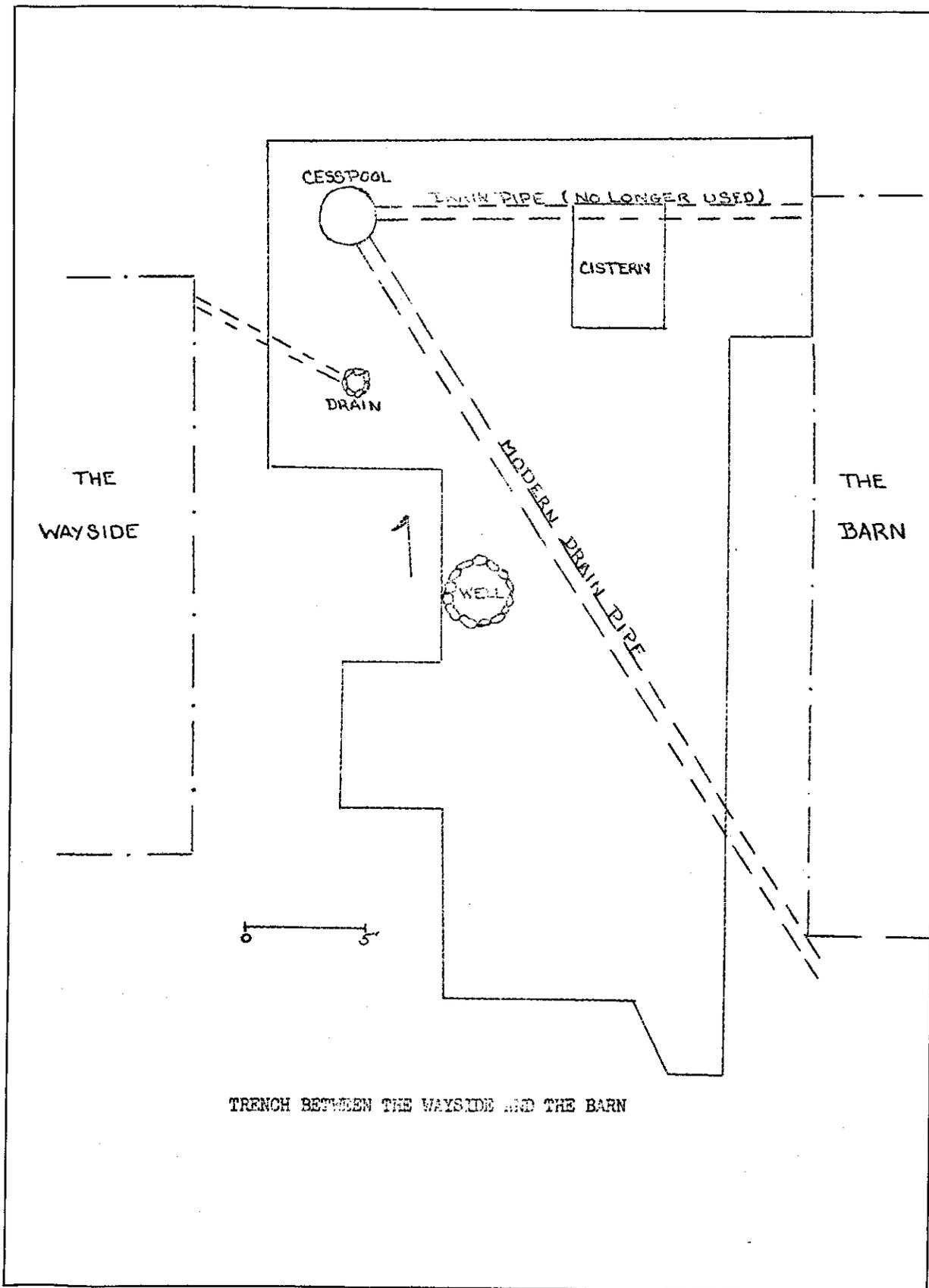


Figure 16.2. Snow's site plan: east of house (1969b:19).

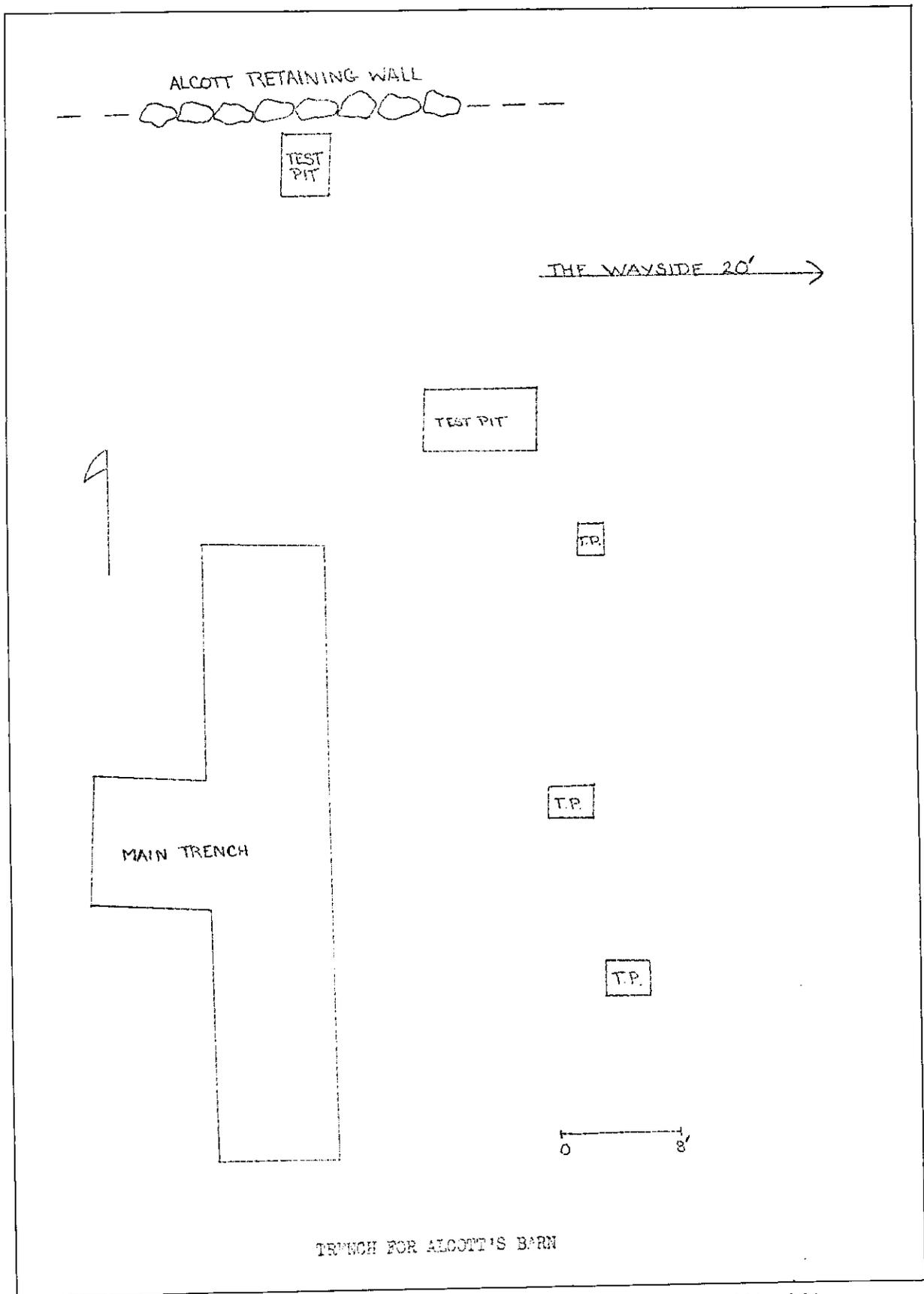


Figure 16.3. Snow's site plan: west of house (1969b:20).

determined (Figure 16.4), and the second showing some of the other known recent disturbances which might have impacted archeological deposits (Figure 16.5).

It was necessary to revisit the site and survey with transit and tape to obtain data necessary for the construction of the maps. For the area west of the house, the ACMP relocated the underground telephone utility marker and determined the marker's location relative to the Wayside. This made it possible to use Snow's survey map to reconstruct her excavations in relation to the house.

Reconstructing the excavations east of the house was not as simple. The ACMP determined the spatial relationship between the house, the barn, and the well which is visible today. These measurements were considered the most reliable information available to us. Snow stated in her text that the cistern was fourteen feet north of the well (1969b:9), that the cesspool was two and one half feet west of the cistern (1969b:10), and that a small capped drain was found 7 feet 7 inches from the northwest corner of the house. This information was considered the second most reliable source of information available to us. Photographs of Snow's excavations included in her report were then examined (1969b: Figures 1 and 2) to determine the limits of the trenches. The results of the study of these three sources of data were then plotted (Figure 16.4). The ACMP felt that this map represented a very close approximation of the excavations east of the house.

The second map constructed by the ACMP was the ground disturbance map (Figure 16.5). Information for this map came from two sources. The first was the "Rehabilitation of the Wayside Barn" project drawing (NPS/NARO Engineering Microfilm Map #M25000, 11/75). This map contained information about the location of trenching for underground utilities (water, electricity and sanitation facilities). The other source was a map which provided the location of trenching for six dry wells, a gas main and fire alarm utilities (Carroll 1973:66). Although both of these maps were drawn at a fairly large scale (1 inch equals twenty feet), the ACMP felt that the resultant map (Figure 16.5) represented an accurate depiction of the disturbance on the grounds of the Wayside.

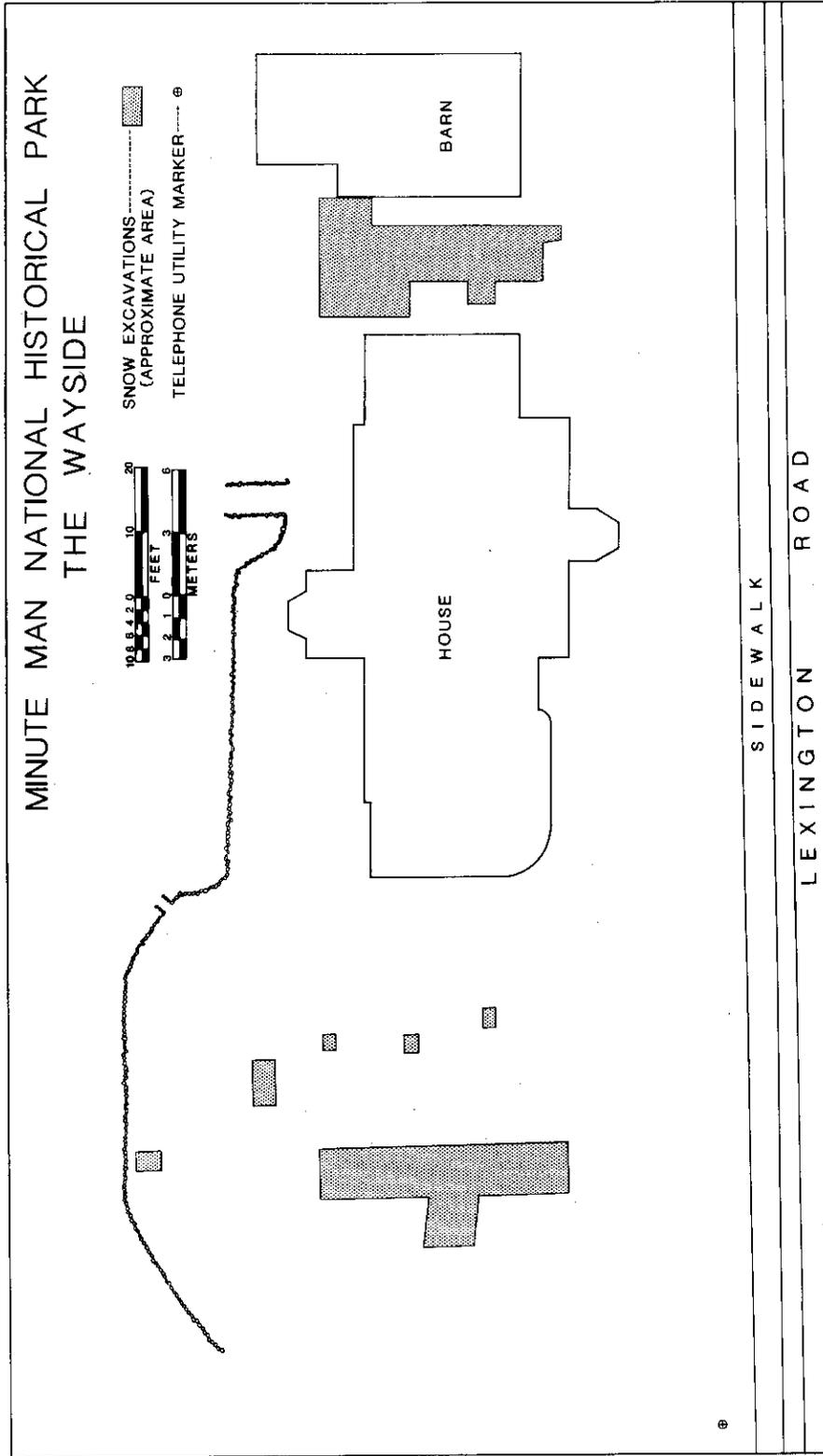


Figure 16.4. ACMP composite site plan of Wayside excavations.

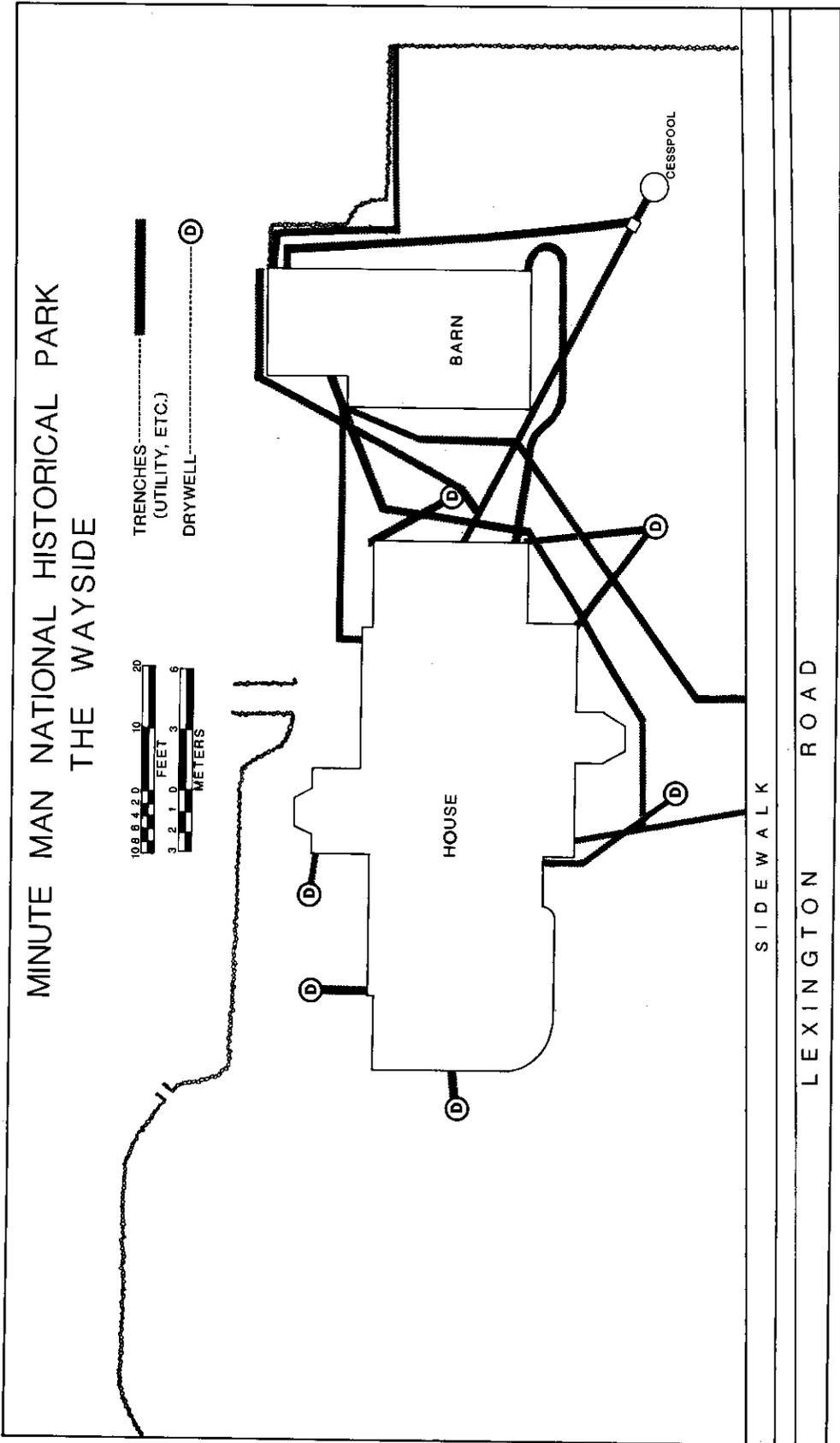


Figure 16.5. ACMP composite map of Wayside restoration ground disturbances.

## Data Problems

Nearly twenty years after Snow's Wayside excavations, a number of problem areas were apparent. The record of restoration work at the site also left some unanswered questions. This section will review these problems to clarify the current status of our knowledge about the Wayside projects and their products.

### Snow's Excavation

Excavation Methodology and Documentation: Snow excavated both east and west of the house, in search of the Alcott ell and Alcott barn locations, respectively. Her excavations consisted of at least two large "trenches," one to either side of the house, and five test pits to the west of the house (Figures 16.2 and 16.3). The final site report summarized the excavations and their results (Snow 1969b).

Aside from the report, most additional excavation records were missing at the time of this writing. The few available sources of documentation were: an unlabelled field map representing excavations west of the house, two incomplete field forms (for Features 1 and 2), a small selection of excavation photographs, and the NPS catalog worksheets and cards drawn up during artifact inventory. The total sum of sources available did not fully document Snow's project and its results, leaving a serious gap in the record of excavation.

Most of the outstanding questions concerned problems with horizontal and vertical provenience data, the two major cornerstones of archeological excavation and interpretation. Though two site plans appeared in Snow's final report, they were inadequately labelled and seemingly incomplete. The one original field map available had no label as to site name, and was recognized simply because the shape and placement of excavation units matched those of Snow's map in the final report (Figure 16.3). Having made this connection, the field map provided provenience designations for the units located west of the house. It further tied the excavation to a benchmark, enabling the ACMP to conduct a survey of the area and map in the location of the excavations in relationship to the house itself.

The ACMP was able to identify certain additional provenience locations. Catalog worksheets equated "Trench A" with "Feature 1," and one of the two available field forms described the latter as a trench east of the house. The worksheets also specified "Trench B" as west of the Wayside. Thus, the two major Wayside proveniences, Trenches A and B, could be confidently correlated to the site plan trenches

located east and west of the house, respectively (Figure 16.4). Test pit proveniences identified on the catalog cards were linked to ground locations on the one original field map. And finally, a field form identified "Feature 2" as the cistern located in Trench A/Feature 1.

The site plans in Snow's final report must not be regarded as accurate. Neither were to scale, and measurements noted in the text did not match those on the plans. This was especially true for the area east of the house (Figure 16.2), where even the distance between house and barn was incorrectly drawn. The ACMP attempted to correct those inaccuracies (see Map Construction), resulting in the current composite site plan (Figure 16.4).

Trenches A and B were large excavation areas which contained further subdivided proveniences. Examples were the Sections (1 through 5) of Trench B, the extensions of Trench A, and other proveniences as noted in Appendix 16.1. In spite of the positive trench identifications, the horizontal location of these sub-proveniences remained unknown.

Vertical provenience information was similarly lacking. Nowhere in the final report did Snow record the depths of excavation levels. Nor was it clear whether strata were designated by natural or arbitrary divisions, or if levels were consistently excavated at all. Yet certainly some proveniences were excavated by levels (as coded in the provenience listing, Appendix 16.1), the depth of which was unknown.

The two available field forms provided a limited amount of stratigraphic data. The Feature 1 (Trench A) form noted as follows:

Nature of Fill: 3 soil changes within 1st arbitrary level - Surface to 6" Dark loam, much charcoal, modern artifacts. 6-12" Sandy, River gravels ...seemingly intentional fill with Bones, glass, sherds, etc. 12-16" light brown sandy loam, some charcoal etc. (Snow 1967).

The same document recorded the base of excavation as 16 inches. Thus it may be that the above three soil strata were excavated as levels 1-3, which appeared as Feature 1 proveniences on the catalog worksheets (see Appendix 16.1).

The Feature 2 (cistern) field form recorded 17 inches of "slag, ash, small pieces of metal" underlain by "gluey black-brown loam with more trash" (Snow 1967). It also noted a total of six levels, though these were not correlated to the slag or loam strata. The catalog worksheets similarly listed six levels for Feature 2. The exact nature and depth of the

levels remain unknown, as they do for all other provenience levels excavated at the Wayside (for listing, see Appendix 16.1).

Clearly there were numerous problems with the Wayside provenience data. The horizontal location of certain provenience units was unknown, and stratigraphic descriptions and measurements were missing. The lack of such basic horizontal and vertical data severely limits the use of the collection for analytical purposes. Those questions which could be addressed will be discussed in the Interpretation section of this chapter.

Artifact Collection: The artifacts from Snow's excavation have been stored at MIMA since 1967. They were accessioned, cataloged, and kept in metal cabinets on large metal trays. The ACMP brought the collection to EAFL where it was reinventoried.

All materials were accessioned under #27. The accession book description read: "Artifacts from the excavation of The Wayside and Casey's House, Concord," both of which Snow excavated during the 1967 field season (Snow 1969a:2). However, it appeared from inspection of both Wayside and Casey's materials that most if not all of the latter were set aside and combined with 1968 recoveries from Casey's, accessioned as #216/263 (see Chapter 17 on Casey's site). It is possible that a few of the early Casey proveniences remain as uncataloged proveniences in the Wayside collection. Two in particular were labelled as test pits 1 and 3 of the "Fox Cellar" (Appendix 16.1), and Casey's was first occupied by Eliphelet Fox. Nonetheless, the current lack of information on the early explorations at Casey's did not allow positive provenience identification, and these proveniences were included in the Wayside collection as they had originally been stored.

Accession #27 materials were cataloged on NPS catalog worksheets and Snow's "Pottery Distribution Sheets," and were later typed onto NPS catalog cards. All of the latter and some of the former are on file at MIMA. The ACMP compared artifact counts to the original catalog cards and determined the number of missing artifacts. Table 16.1 presents the results. On the whole, only 382 artifacts, or 4.5% of the original collection, were missing. Ceramics and nails accounted for nearly all of the missing items (80.6% and 10.7%, respectively). However, these missing items reflected less than 10% of the ceramics and nails themselves. It thus appeared that all artifact classes suffered some loss, but that no significant gaps resulted.

Table 16.1

Missing Artifacts: The Wayside  
Snow Collection

| Artifact Class          | Original Total Count |      |      | Total Missing |     |     | % Missing |     |     | % of Missing |
|-------------------------|----------------------|------|------|---------------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|-----|--------------|
|                         | A                    | B    | C    | A             | B   | C   | A         | B   | C   |              |
| Historic Ceramics:      |                      |      |      |               |     |     |           |     |     |              |
| Redware                 | 1660                 | 2926 | 4733 | 125           | 151 | 276 | 5.3       | 4.1 | 4.4 | 72.4         |
| Creamware               | 472                  | 996  | 1480 | 2             | 20  | 22  |           |     |     | 5.8          |
| Other Earthenware       | 241                  | 354  | 606  | 5             | 4   | 9   |           |     |     | 2.4          |
| Other                   | 96                   | 45   | 143  | 0             | 1   | 1   |           |     |     | .7           |
| Total Ceramics          | 2469                 | 4321 | 6962 | 132           | 176 | 308 | 5.3       | 4.1 | 4.4 | 80.9         |
| Vessel Glass            | 146                  | 44   | 211  | 10            | 1   | 11  |           |     |     | 2.9          |
| Architectural Material: |                      |      |      |               |     |     |           |     |     |              |
| Nails                   | 298                  | 77   | 440  | 37            | 4   | 41  |           |     |     | 9.3          |
| Other                   | 286                  | 253  | 593  | 10            | 4   | 14  |           |     |     | 2.4          |
| Other Artifacts         | 126                  | 186  | 332  | 2             | 5   | 7   |           |     |     | 2.1          |
| Total Assemblage        | 3325                 | 4881 | 8538 | 191           | 190 | 381 | 5.7       | 3.9 | 4.5 | 100.1        |

\*\*N(M)

\* A = Proveniences from Trench A, east of house  
 B = Proveniences from Trench B, west of house  
 C = Total Snow Assemblage  
 (Note: Miscellaneous proveniences outside A & B suffered no missing artifacts and are thus not listed separately but are reflected in Total Assemblage Counts.)

\*\* Items not counted originally and currently missing.

Comparison of the Snow to the ACMP counts also revealed that groups of items cataloged under one number were not always counted. For example, a worksheet might read "window glass" but not list the total count. Typically this occurred with glass (window, bottle, and other), nails and other architectural materials, and bone. The ACMP inventoried all artifacts present, and our counts thus reflect the items originally lumped into lots (Appendix 16.2).

A final note should be made of Snow's classification system, which differed in a number of ways from the ACMP's. The most consistent differences are listed in Table 16.2. For the most part they involved ceramic types, such as the frequent classification of pearlwares and whitewares with creamwares. These differences are noted as they could influence the interpretation of site assemblages, particularly as concerns assemblage dates and composition. Future researchers and site interpreters alike should note that Snow's classification would consistently date the collection assemblages as older than they actually are.

### Restoration Projects

The remaining Wayside collections resulted from architectural work at the site. Typically these materials were accompanied by fairly specific provenience information. However, there are limitations to the use of this material for interpretive purposes. Neither standard excavation units nor excavation procedures were employed, hindering quantitative or comparative analysis. Those issues which could be addressed will be discussed in the following section.

Restoration work at the Wayside entailed a good deal of ground disturbance for the installation of utilities, dry well drains, cesspools and the like. No artifacts were collected during the barn rehabilitation project, executed by the Denver Service Center (Godfrey 1974). Most other projects included the recovery of artifacts from subsurface restoration activities. These were inventoried on NPS catalog cards. Items missing from the original collections, or catalog card counts, are noted in Table 16.3.

Many of the disturbances have been documented in Carroll's various historic structures reports and completion reports for the Wayside (1968, 1971, 1973), and in the construction drawing for the barn rehabilitation (Denver Service Center 1974). Their location bears note for both future research and MIMA maintenance activities. The ACMP has compiled this information, as presented in Figure 16.5.

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Table 16.2

Common Artifact Classification Differences: Snow vs. ACMP

| <u>Snow Classification</u>   | <u>ACMP Classification</u>                          |
|--|---|
| Creamware  | Creamware, Whiteware,<br>Pearlware                  |
| Cream/Pearl ware   | Pearlware   |
| Hard paste earthenware   | Whiteware   |
| Buffware   | Combed and Dotted Coarse<br>Buff-Bodied Earthenware |
| Yellow Mixing Bowl   | Yellowware  |
| Stoneware, hard brown paste<br>with metallic or manganese<br>oxide glaze | Jackfield   |
| English stoneware,<br>creamy paste                                       | White salt glazed<br>stoneware                      |
| Stoneware, German<br>blue/gray saltglaze                                 | Westerwald  |
| Bottle Glass, Molded   | Automatic Machine Made<br>bottle glass              |
| Hand wrought Nails   | Often machine cut                                   |

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Table 16.3

Missing Artifacts: All Wayside Collections

| <u>Collection/Accession #</u> | <u>Original<br/>Total Count</u> | <u>Total<br/>Missing</u> | <u>%<br/>Missing</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Snow/27                       | 8538                            | 382                      | 4.5                  |
| HABS/17                       | 279                             | 24                       | 8.6                  |
| Restoration/272               | <u>229</u>                      | <u>5</u>                 | 2.2                  |
|                               | 9046                            | 411                      | 4.5                  |

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## Summary

The major Wayside data problems did not involve the physical collection itself, as only 4.5% of the artifacts were found to be missing. Rather, they involved the documentation of Wayside excavations, which ultimately allows or prevents us from understanding and further using the collections.

Unfortunately, this documentation was largely incomplete. Most of Snow's original field records were missing, and her final report inadequately described the excavations. The most serious problems concerned poor provenience information, for both horizontal and vertical provenience units. The result was that often the location or extent of proveniences from which artifacts were recovered could not be identified, thus limiting the potential use of the collection and, in turn, the interpretation of the archeological record. An evaluation of interpretive possibilities will be addressed in the following section.

### Site Interpretation

The Wayside is interpreted as the home of several American authors: Amos Bronson Alcott and his daughter Louisa May Alcott, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Harriett Lothrop, whose pen name was Margaret Sidney. This series of occupations spanned the years 1845 to 1924 (Toogood 1970:v). This period, and to a lesser degree others, have been extensively researched from both historical and architectural perspectives. A number of documented activities have influenced the formation of the archeological record and as such provide context to Snow's archeological research. They will therefore be briefly reviewed in this section.

Snow was the only archeologist to excavate at the Wayside. Her interpretation of archeological findings will also be presented in this section, as will a current ACMP evaluation of her results and a discussion of the future research potential of the Wayside data.

### Historical Background

The structure now known as the Wayside was constructed by 1717, and possibly as early as 1688 (Ronsheim 1968:2-3). Since then there has been a continual parade of occupants, most of whom stayed for a relatively short duration until the Lothrop family arrived in the late 19th century. While the site is renowned as the home of authors, they were preceded by approximately 150 years of occupation by Concord farmers and artisans.

The succession of occupants is listed in Table 16.4. The earliest occupants included housewrights, a worsted comber, and a cordwainer. At the time of the Revolution, Samuel Whitney owned the house (1769-1778). Whitney was an important community political figure, and served as Muster Master of the Concord Minute Men. He was followed by a series of wheelwrights, who used the two workshops built on the property sometime between 1778 and 1823, during the Hoar family's ownership (for further discussion of these early years, see Ronsheim 1968:1-13).

Relatively little is known about the site and its occupants during these years, as the major focus of research has been on the authors. The house itself was a typical New England structure with two rooms, a central chimney, an attic and full cellar, and possibly a rear kitchen lean-to (Carroll 1968:2-4). Alterations during the early years (pre-1850) seem to have been limited largely to interior changes (Carroll 1968:8). Buildings elsewhere on the grounds included at least two shops and a barn in 1827 (Ronsheim 1968:13). One of these shops may have become the wood house which was present when

Table 16.4

The Wayside Chain of Title \*

- 1688 Nathaniel Ball Sr. owns a house in the area which may be the Wayside. Nathaniel Ball Jr. inherited this property and later gave it to son Caleb Ball.
- 1717 Caleb Ball sells the house now known as the Wayside to Samuel Fletcher, a glazer and housewright. This is the first deed record of the house.
- 1722-  
1769 A series of artisans own the house during this period:  
Nathaniel Coleburn - housewright, John Farrar - worsted comber, John Breede - cordwainer.
- 1769 Samuel Whitney acquires the house (shopkeeper, trader, political activist, and revolutionary Muster Master of the Concord Minute Men).
- 1778 Whitney sells to Daniel Taylor, Concord yeoman, who sells to Daniel Hoar, farmer.
- 1814 Daniel Hoar dies and wills house to son Daniel Jr., a wheelwright and blacksmith.
- 1823 Daniel Hoar Jr. dies.
- 1827 Heirs of Daniel Jr. sell to Darius Meriam, wheelwright. Property includes Daniel Jr.'s "two workshops, a small building occupied as a barn, and a dwelling house" (Ronsheim 1968:13).
- 1832 Meriam sells to Horatio Cogswell, wheelwright.
- 1839 Cogswell had sold and reacquired the property twice by this time.
- 1842 George Burt, wheelwright, rents from Cogswell.
- 1844 Cogswell sells to Washington Allen who in four months sells to trustees of Joseph May estate, for May's daughter's use - Abba May Alcott, wife of Amos Bronson Alcott and mother of Louisa May Alcott.
- 1848 Alcotts move to Boston and rent house out (including to Cogswell) or leave vacant.
- 1852 Mrs. Alcott sells to Nathaniel Hawthorne, who names house "The Wayside."

Table 16.4 (cont.)

- 1853- Hawthornes live in England and house used in various  
1860 ways.
- 1870 Mrs. Hawthorne sells house to George and Abby Gray  
(Nathaniel died 1868).
- 1871 Mary Pratt moves in to run a girls' finishing school.
- 1873 Gray sells to Pratt and her finishing school.
- 1879 Pratt sells to Rose Hawthorne (Nathaniel's daughter)  
and husband George Lathrop.
- 1883 Daniel Lothrop and wife Harriett (pen name Margaret  
Sidney) purchase house.
- 1899- House frequently leased and occupied seasonally by  
1924 Lothrops.
- 1924 Lothrops' daughter Margaret inherits the Wayside.
- 1965 Lothrop sells to NPS.

\* Information taken from Ronsheim 1968:2-38, Snow 1969b:3-6,  
Carroll 1973:4-5, 22.

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the Alcotts arrived in 1845. The precise origin and locations  
of the early outbuildings remain unidentified (Toogood  
1970:85).

Alcott, the first of the author occupants, was also the  
first to initiate major changes in the physical appearance of  
the site. Most of these were well documented in the Alcotts'  
journals, letters, and sketches. The house itself, which the  
Alcotts called the "Hillside," went through a number of  
transformations, including: enlargement of the rear kitchen  
with a bedroom addition (1845); addition of the "best half" of  
the shop to the east end of the house (1845); addition of part  
of the shop to the west end of the house (1845); and addition  
of a one story shed to the east end of the new ell (between  
1845 and 1847, possibly the former wood house) (Carroll  
1968:17-18, Toogood 1970:93, Ronsheim 1968:48-50).

Alcott thus used at least one and probably two of the  
outbuildings to enlarge the house. The barn was also moved  
from "across the street to the yard west of the house"  
(Toogood 1970:93). Alcott also constructed various  
outbuildings, walkways, gardens, walls, and other features,  
all of which were discussed in Toogood's Historic Grounds  
Report (1970:85-124). Most of these changes influenced areas  
other than that excavated by Snow.

Nathaniel Hawthorne purchased the property from the Alcotts in 1852, and named his new home "The Wayside" (Ronsheim 1968:20-22). Like the Alcotts, the Hawthornes derived pleasure from maintaining the grounds and altering the house once they returned from London in 1860 (Toogood 1970:114). There were many changes to the house, including moving the barn from the west yard and connecting it to the east end of the east ell (Carroll 1973:20). This move precipitated Snow's archeological search for the former (Alcott) barn location. Further Hawthorne changes to the house are noted in Carroll's report (1968:21-30).

Hawthorne's grounds changes included the planting of several hundred imported European trees, many of which, "on the hillside and in front of the house," were destroyed during the hurricane of 1938 (Toogood 1970: 115-116, 83, 149). There were also abundant flower gardens around the house, and other plantings as documented by Toogood (1970:114-137).

Major changes following the Hawthornes' occupation included the removal of part of the east ell. This was the wood house section between the barn (easternmost portion of the ell) and the former shed (westernmost portion of the ell, adjacent to the house). This was probably done under Mary Pratt's ownership from 1873 to 1879 (Carroll 1973:22), during which time the house served as a girls' finishing school. Snow's excavations searched unsuccessfully for the wood house foundations (Snow 1969b:1).

The last owners of the Wayside were the Lothrop's, who owned it from 1883 to NPS purchase in 1965. Committed to retaining the appearance of Hawthorne's residence, "the Lothrop's decided to make no changes to the Wayside other than to give the house an occasional coat of fresh paint and a piazza addition to the west side" (Toogood 1970:76). The Lothrop's were active in the social life of Concord, and used the home and its grounds extensively for entertainment. Picnics, meetings, and annual "lawn parties" were some of the popular gatherings at the Wayside (Toogood 1970:78-81). These events may not have had major impact on the grounds, but they suggest, at the least, that the grounds were kept well groomed.

The Lothrop's left the Wayside's physical appearance largely unaltered. However, they adapted the structure to accommodate certain modern amenities. Among other changes, the Lothrop's witnessed the introduction of city water to the house in 1883 and electricity in 1906 (Carroll 1968:34, 42). Some of these changes became visible in the archeological record, such as the installation of underground pipes which Snow uncovered during excavations for the ell (Snow 1969b:7-12). Her findings will be discussed in the following section.

This brief review of Wayside history does not do full justice to the complex succession of owners and their activities, some of which resulted in major changes to the property. Most changes which may have influenced areas near Snow's excavations have been summarized, and a vast number of additional changes have been noted in the cited historical studies (Ronsheim 1968, Toogood 1970, Carroll 1968 & 1973).

The Chain of Title (Table 16.4) reveals that there was little continuity in Wayside ownership. The longest term owners were the Lothrop's, who lived there from 1883 to 1965 (82 years), though they frequently rented to others and were often just seasonal occupants. The Hoar family was there for 49 years, from 1778 to 1827. Daniel Hoar Jr., who inherited the house in 1814, was a wheelwright and a blacksmith. Further continuity to his occupation was added by succeeding occupants. Until 1844 (17 additional years), the occupants were also wheelwrights, who no doubt carried on their trade in the shops built by the Hoars. Otherwise, occupations at the site were more short lived. Renovations to both house and landscape were nonetheless extensive, particularly during the years of Alcott and Hawthorne occupations. Archeological evidence of the various Wayside occupations will be discussed in the following sections.

### Snow's Interpretation

The objective of Snow's Wayside excavations was to locate architectural features related to the Alcotts' occupancy. Specifically, the Park hoped to locate the Alcott barn foundations west of the house, and the Alcott ell foundations east of the house (Snow 1969b:1). No evidence of either was uncovered. However, Snow did encounter several features and recovered thousands of artifacts. No extensive effort was made to interpret these findings, but they were briefly discussed in the final report.

Excavations for the Ell: The work east of the house was begun by Leland Abel. Though he worked for only two days, he uncovered an unfilled stone-lined well capped by two slate gravestones (Snow 1969b:7-8). Snow expanded Abel's excavation area into a trench measuring 8 by 33 feet, with additional extensions to the east, south and west (Trench A, Figure 16.2) (Snow 1969b:9). She uncovered a number of features, including: a brick-lined cistern, a cesspool, a french drain, and "at least three drain pipes" (Snow 1969b:9) (Figures 16.2, 16.6).

The cistern (3 ft. 10 in. by 5 ft. by 2 ft. deep) had been filled to the surface with refuse. Snow reported that

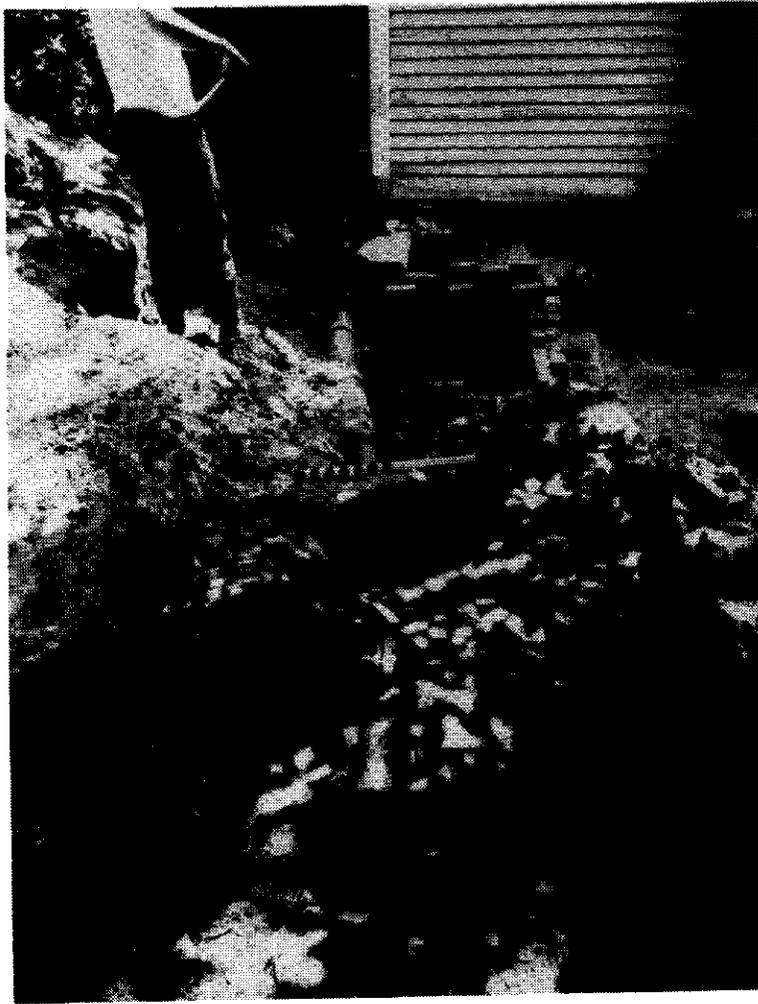


Figure 16.6. Snow's field photograph showing cesspool, cistern, and barn wall, looking east from house to barn (MIMA.BWP.WS.5).

the wire-cut bricks indicated a 19th century construction date, and further cited the mention of a cistern in an 1845 letter written by Abba May Alcott (Snow 1969b:9-10). The fill contained primarily bottle glass, with:

more than thirty, partially restorable, blown-molded, beer, wine, liquor and mineral water bottles, and fragments of numerous other bottles. All of the bottles date from the third quarter of the nineteenth century, and may well have been discarded by Hawthorne (Snow 1969b:10).

To substantiate her speculation, Snow cited two of Hawthorne's letters which described his orders for, and storage of, a range of wines and other liquors (1969b:10-11). Thus Snow interpreted the cistern as having been built in the 19th century, used by the Alcotts, and subsequently filled by (possibly) Hawthorne.

The well was less easily interpreted as it had not been filled. The gravestones capping the feature, apparently rejected due to errors in the carving, were inscribed with the dates 1833 and 1834. The names on these stones were for David Buttrick, "aged 13 days" (October 22, 1833), and Jonas Melven, "aged 33 years" (October 22, 1834) (taken from NPS Catalog Worksheets). However, Abel suggested that the "dates on the stones do not necessarily mean that the well was sealed forever at that time. They are easy to lift and could have served as a cover for many years while the well was in use" (cited in Snow 1969b:8). Snow further added that the well may have been that which "Mrs. Alcott had had cleaned out and re-stoned" (1969b:9). No further archeological evidence was used to support this hypothesis.

Remaining features located by Snow were more recent in date. She did not excavate the cesspool as it was currently in use as an overflow unit, but speculated that it "was probably installed by the Lothrop's in 1884 when the large bathroom was built" (1969b:11). The "french" capped drain was still in use, connected to the kitchen sink, and the three pipes uncovered were connected either to this system or to the cesspool (Snow 1969b:11-12). Margaret Lothrop reported that one pipe had supposedly connected the cesspool to a privy "connected with the barn," but excavations did not locate the privy (1969b:11). Snow concluded that "with the exception of the cistern and well, all features are late nineteenth and twentieth century in origin" (1969b:12).

Features were the major focus of Snow's interpretation of Trench A, with little attention devoted to discussion of artifact assemblages or stratigraphy. Snow did mention that only a single 20th century artifact was found (a light bulb base), and concluded that "the lack of twentieth century artifacts can possibly be explained by use of the town dump" (1969b:12). Other artifacts, of 18th and 19th century manufacture, were found "in abundance," but Snow apparently felt that they could not be used for interpretive purposes. She stated that "because the area had been so disturbed, there was absolutely nothing that resembled stratigraphy in four feet of soil" (1969b:12). Fragments of drain pipes at all levels of the trench suggested multiple replacements of the drainage system (Snow 1969b:12), and the construction of other features would also have caused disturbance.

Snow thus felt that these 19th and 20th century activities had so altered the archeological record that no further analysis or interpretation could be attempted. In addition, the Lothrop's installation of "at least three drain pipes, a cesspool and a french drain" led Snow to assume that "all foundations of the ell have long since been removed" (Snow 1969b:9).

Excavations for the Barn: The area west of the house proved very different from that to the east. A test trench measuring 10 by 40 ft. (Trench B) was excavated in the area shown with a standing barn in various Alcott sketches (Snow 1969b:12) (Figure 16.7). At least five test pits were also excavated (Figure 16.3). No evidence of the barn was uncovered (Snow 1969b:13), nor were any other cultural features encountered.

Snow was not surprised that evidence of the barn was lacking, for in its current location east of the house it rested on just "several small rocks" (1969b:13). Instead she turned her discussion to the artifacts recovered from Trench B, all of which were 18th and 19th century materials and most of which were ceramics. She reported that the only non-ceramic items were hand wrought nails, a U.S. dime (1875), three gunflints and a projectile point (Snow 1969b:14).

Snow's analysis focused exclusively on ceramics. She compared percentages of redwares and creamwares from the three excavated levels. A summary listing of the percentages by level is as follows:

|           | <u>Level 1</u> | <u>Level 2</u> | <u>Level 3</u> |
|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Redware   | 55.38%         | 82.45%         | 96.59%         |
| Creamware | 34.20%         | 13.41%         | 0%             |

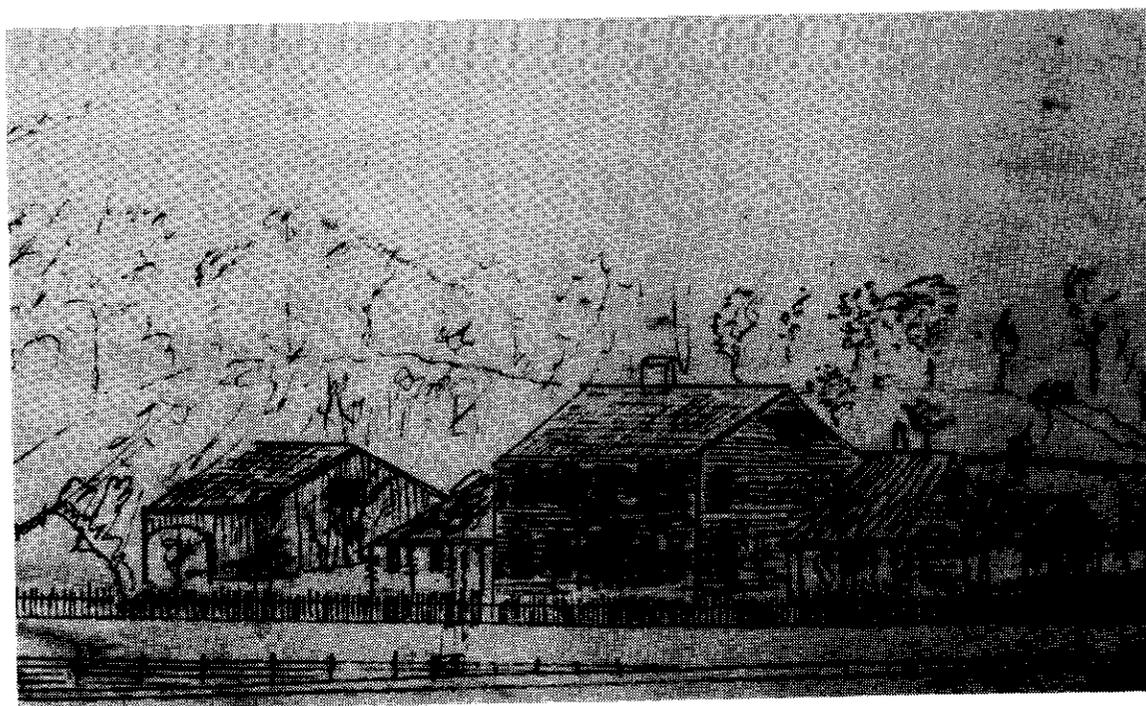


Figure 16.7. Alcott sketch of the Wayside, 1848 (courtesy of Orchard House, Concord). Snow conducted excavations in search of the barn foundations to the west (left), and the wood house foundations on the far right of the eastern ell.

Additional sherds noted as present but not compared by percentages included: Delftware, Stonewares, and Ironstone in level 1; and Delftware and Buffware in level 3 (Snow 1969b:14). Snow made only one interpretation of this data: "The fact that no Creamware was found in level III would indicate a pre-1765 deposition" (1969b:14).

The 99 kaolin pipe stems from Trench B were also examined, using the Harrington pipe stem dating system. Pipe stems were recovered from levels 1 and 2, and were combined for this analysis. Snow interpreted the results as indicating that "the area was occupied between 1710 and 1780" (1969b:15).

No further artifact analyses were conducted. Regarding the barn, Snow concluded that "there is only one area to the west of the Wayside where a twenty-five by thirty foot barn will fit" (1969b:15). She continued that:

The location of the barn could not be determined archeologically because of landscaping; however, it can be determined accurately through the use of Alcott sketches and nineteenth century photographs (1969b:17).

Summary: In summary, excavations at the Wayside provided no evidence of the Alcotts' barn or ell. Several 19th and 20th century features were uncovered east of the house, but otherwise the area was too disturbed to venture interpretation of excavation results. West of the house, stratigraphic and artifactual data was more intact. Snow interpreted the lowest level as of pre-1765 deposition, and other artifacts provided evidence for 18th and 19th century occupation. In other words, the archeological evidence as interpreted by Snow provided little information about life at the Wayside that was not already known through the historical documents, the exception being the location of several cultural features.

### ACMP Interpretation

As with many of the early archeological studies at the Park, the sole objective of Snow's Wayside project was to locate architectural features. Beyond this, there was little attempt at interpretation. Interpretations which were ventured bear reevaluation, as they were minimal and neglected to consider the full range of available data. The ACMP has tried to clarify site interpretation using the current Wayside collection and other available data.

There were limitations to the reanalysis of Wayside data, as noted in the Data Problems section of this chapter. Primary among these were the problems with provenience

information, both horizontal and stratigraphic. Snow's excavation techniques did not provide tight enough controls for full interpretation of the archeological record. Many of the controls which were employed (subdivided excavation areas, features and levels) lacked identification as to location and depth. The effect of these limitations on the ACMP analysis will be noted.

East of the House: There were two interpretive foci for Snow's excavations east of the house: features, and general excavations. Snow's discussions, previously summarized, left certain issues unresolved. Many of these could not be further addressed due to the lack of pertinent data.

For example, the dates for construction and discontinuation of use of the well have not been determined. The lack of post-use fill did not allow assessment of the latter date. It may be that the well was used until the introduction of city water in 1883 (date from Carroll 1968:34).

The well's construction date may predate the Alcott occupancy, as Snow reported that they had a well cleaned and restoned (1969b:8-9). However, there is no guarantee that it was this well, which at the time would have either been covered by or near the entrance to the wood house added by Alcott ca. 1845-1847 (Carroll 1968:18). Precise dimensions of the wood house and its relationship to the well are unknown, and the well is not visible in Alcott's sketches (e.g., Figure 16.7). The gravestones which capped the well suggested that it was used prior to 1833, but again there was no guarantee that the stones were not simply added later.

Unfortunately, Snow's excavations extended around the well but no report was made as to the nature of associated stratigraphy or whether a well construction pit was located. Such a feature may have contained artifacts which would help to date its construction. Alternatively, stratigraphic data may have revealed which levels the well intruded into (postdated) or was covered by (predated). If a construction pit was encountered, either it was not excavated separately or the associated artifacts were combined with those from other areas. Thus at this writing, the well could only be identified as a probable 19th century feature, though the possibility remains that it was constructed earlier.

Snow interpreted a second feature, the cistern (Trench A, Feature 2), as 19th century in origin and as possibly filled during Hawthorne's residence (1969b:9-11). She determined the 19th century date from the bricks, which were wire-cut (1969b:9). However, while wire-cut bricks were manufactured during the 19th century, they are also made today. Production of these bricks did begin during the 19th century, and "by the

1860's, numerous, high-volume and reliable brick-making machines had been developed in the United States" (Kelly & Kelly 1977:1), enabling larger scale production and distribution. The bricks thus indicated that the cistern was constructed sometime after wire-cut technology evolved, probably no earlier than around the mid-19th century.

As noted by Snow, Mrs. Alcott's 1845 letter which mentioned a cistern may well refer to Feature 2. Alcott wanted to connect their bath with a cistern, possibly with "'a tap and faucet put in on the side of the woodhouse'" (cited in Snow 1969b:10). Snow's site map (Figure 16.2) shows that the excavated cistern would likely have been located directly behind the wood house, further supporting the hypothesis that the cistern was used (and possibly constructed) by the Alcotts.

The cistern fill may aid in dating the end of the feature's use. Its contents were much more varied than Snow reported. For example, she wrote that only a partial "Bennington-type" teapot and four ironstone sherds were recovered (1969b:10). The ACMP inventory revealed seven gross ceramic ware types totalling 102 sherds (Table 16.5). The individual assemblages were relatively small and thus difficult to use analytically. Nonetheless, it was clear that 19th century wares were present in all six levels (except Level 2 which contained no ceramics). Whiteware, which postdates 1820, was the predominant ware in all levels (except Level 3), and was most plentiful in the lowest level (6) where it comprised 56.7% of the assemblage. Other refined wares, with beginning manufacture dates ranging from the late 18th to mid-19th century, were also present, and there was a distinctive lack of earlier assemblage components. The ceramic data thus further supported the interpretation that use of the cistern was discontinued after the mid-19th century.

Abundant bottle glass was recovered from the cistern and was also useful for dating purposes. Snow reported that all bottles were blown-molded from the third quarter of the 19th century (1969b:10). The ACMP found greater variety in the cistern assemblage, including glass of freeblown, blown-in-mold, and automatic machine made technologies.

Although freeblown glass was the majority type, distinctive late 19th century molded bottles were also represented, particularly in the lower levels. The ACMP inventory categories did not allow for fine distinctions in bottle types. However, further inspection of the non-freeblown bottles revealed a wide variety of mold types, including: dip, two-piece, two-piece with separate base, Ricketts-type ("3-piece"), and others (definitions taken primarily from Jones and Sullivan 1985). The beginning manufacture dates for these various types range from the 18th through the late 19th century.

Table 16.5

ACMP Cistern Ceramic and Glass Assemblages

| Ware Types                | Ceramic Counts |         |         |         |         |         | Total (%)   |
|---------------------------|----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------------|
|                           | Level 1        | Level 2 | Level 3 | Level 4 | Level 5 | Level 6 |             |
| Redware                   | 12             |         | 2       | 2       | 2       |         | 18 (17.6)   |
| Creamware                 | 2              |         | 3       | 2       | 1       |         | 8 ( 7.8)    |
| Pearlware                 | 3              |         | 1       |         | 1       | 2       | 7 ( 6.9)    |
| Whiteware                 | 14             |         |         | 4       | 12      | 17      | 47 (46.1)   |
| Rockingham/<br>Bennington | 1              |         |         | 1       | 7       |         | 9 ( 8.8)    |
| Yellowware                | 1              |         |         |         |         |         | 1 ( 1.0)    |
| Porcelain                 |                |         | 1       |         |         | 11      | 12 (11.8)   |
| Total Ceramics            | 33             | 0       | 7       | 9       | 23      | 30      | 102 (100.0) |

| Manufacturing<br>Technique | Bottle Glass Counts |           |           |            |            |           | Total (%)    |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
|                            | Level 1             | Level 2   | Level 3   | Level 4    | Level 5    | Level 6   |              |
| Automatic<br>Machine Made  |                     | 8 ( 8.4)  | 6 (100.0) | 9 ( 2.6)   | 145 (14.0) | 22 (31.9) | 190 (12.2)   |
| Blown-in-Mold              |                     | 29 (30.5) |           | 152 (43.6) | 148 (14.2) | 3 ( 4.3)  | 332 (21.3)   |
| Freeblown                  |                     | 58 (61.0) |           | 188 (53.9) | 746 (71.8) | 44 (63.8) | 1036 (66.5)  |
| Total Bottle<br>Glass      | 0                   | 95        | 6         | 349        | 1039       | 69        | 1558 (100.0) |

In order to see if the Hawthornes could have filled the cistern, the ACMP attempted to more specifically date the fill by assigning the deposit a terminus post quem (tpq), or date after which the cistern had to have been filled given the presence of certain manufacturing types. The Hawthornes' occupancy spanned the years 1852 to 1870. Many of the bottle types had tpq's which did not allow dating to this degree of accuracy. Most diagnostic were the pharmaceutical bottles with embossed inset panels (lettered plate molds), which were introduced in domestic (United States) technology in 1867 (Jones and Sullivan 1985:49, Lorrain 1968:40, Newman 1970:74).

Some of the cistern glass was inventoried as automatic machine made, which would generally date to post-1881 in the U. S. (Jones and Sullivan 1985:38). However, the ACMP inventory was based upon definitions developed a number of years ago. Since that time more current research has refined our understanding of glass technology and its resulting products (e.g., Jones and Sullivan 1985, Miller and Sullivan 1981). Much of the glass cataloged as automatic machine made on ACMP inventories was actually of late hand blown-in-mold manufacture (blown by hand rather than a machine into a mold). The inventory counts of automatic machine made glass were thus not regarded as reliable for precise date bracketing. One bottle from Level 6 of the cistern exhibited a possible "Owens Scar." These scars appeared on the first fully automatic machine made bottles produced after 1903 by a method developed by Michael Owens (Jones and Sullivan 1985:38). This possible scar was the most suggestive characteristic of machine made manufacture in the cistern bottle collection. If indeed it was an Owens scar, and since it was excavated from the lowest level of the cistern, it would date the fill to post-1903. However, the ACMP bottle glass inventory was not detailed enough to confidently make such a conclusion. More confidently, it can be asserted that the cistern was filled sometime after 1867, and possibly as late as the early 20th century.

Snow reported that only ceramics and bottle glass were recovered from the cistern fill, yet the ACMP inventoried additional materials (see Appendix 16.2). Further chronological data was provided by the nails. No wrought nails were inventoried and only one possible wire nail fragment was present. The diagnostic nails were otherwise cut nails, both early and late, postdating ca. 1790 and 1840 respectively (Nelson 1968). Wire nails, which were fast replacing cut nails by 1880 (Nelson 1968), were conspicuously absent. The nail assemblage thus indicated that the cistern was filled after 1840, and probably not much later than the last decades of the 19th century when wire nails might be expected to appear in such an assemblage.

This more detailed overview of artifacts from the cistern provided more specific dating criteria than those used by Snow. The bottle glass provided the latest terminus post quem date, identifying the cistern fill to post-1867 and possibly to as late as the early 20th century. Snow suggested that the Hawthornes filled the cistern during their occupancy between 1852 and 1870 (1969b:10-11). Given the definite post-1867 date and the possibility of an even later deposition, it is unlikely that the Hawthornes themselves were responsible for filling the feature.

More likely, the cistern was filled by a later resident: Pratt (1871-1879), Lathrop (1879-1883), or even the Lothrop (1883+). Historical archeologists have found that often when a property changed in ownership, the new occupants "cleaned house" by renovating or simply cleaning the structure(s) and grounds. The wastes generated by this process typically became a part of the site's archeological record. For example, the data from privies excavated in Queen Anne Square in Newport, Rhode Island, suggested "a correlation between the date of final deposition and events linked with processes of household transition" (Mrozowski 1984:37). Similarly, the fill from privies and wells in Charleston, South Carolina, have suggested that "these deposits often do not reflect the daily discard activities of a household, but were used for trash disposition during the cleanup of an abandoned property," with abandoned property defined by both "the destruction of a structure...or merely the purchase or rental of a site by a different family" (Zierden and Calhoun 1986:38).

It thus would not have been unlikely for one of the post-Hawthorne occupants of the Wayside to have filled the cistern upon their arrival. In fact, it may have been done when the adjacent ell section of the house (the "wood house") was removed, which apparently occurred between 1870 and 1883 (Carroll 1968:30).

The contents of the fill may have been in part related to Hawthorne's occupation, though given the transient nature of occupancy at this time, and the possible time span of the artifacts, the archeological evidence did not provide a clear association. The link between the Hawthornes and the objects in the cistern would be stronger if there were historical evidence that the Hawthornes used some of the products identified, such as the "St. Julien Medoc" wine or the mineral water and patent medicines represented.

It is of note that St. Julien Medoc is a French Bordeaux, and that Bordeaux was well appreciated by the English, who knew it generically as "claret." Hawthorne served as Consul to England for seven years (Toogood 1970:23-25), and was also known to appreciate (and acquire) fine wines. Snow cited two letters from Hawthorne to his publisher which reflect this appreciation:

Dear Ticknor,

...Will you order me half dozen of good claret....If you will come...send a whole dozen:--otherwise six bottles are as much as I can get rid of...(Letter from Hawthorne to his publisher, June 20, 1852, copy in Park Files).

...Your claret was most excellent....Some other friends have sent me some champagne, and some sherry; and I have laid in a supply of first-rate brandy by my own hook (Hawthorne to Ticknor, July 24, 1852, copy in Park Files) (as cited in Snow 1969b:10-11).

This information suggests that indeed some of the cistern contents may have belonged to the Hawthornes, and was either discarded by them or by later residents. The evidence is enticing, but certainly not absolute. With more confidence we can at least say that the cistern seems to have been constructed by 1845 and filled after 1867, possibly as late as the early 20th century.

There was less evidence for further evaluation of the remaining features: cesspool, capped drain, and pipes. Snow did not report on associated stratigraphy or artifacts, and there were no provenience assemblages in the collection which reflected those features. She felt that the Lothrop's probably installed them (1969b:11-12). This conclusion was particularly reasonable for those features which would have underlain the wood house (removed 1870-1883), as its removal would have allowed their installation. The archeological evidence itself, however, as reported by Snow, neither confirms nor negates this speculation.

In addition to the Trench A features, Snow's general excavations east of the house covered a broad area (Figure 16.2). Concerning these deposits, Snow determined that "because the area had been so disturbed, there was absolutely nothing that resembled stratigraphy in four feet of soil" (1969b:12), and thus did not attempt interpretation of the recovered assemblages.

Ironically, the few field records available contradicted Snow's sweeping statement about Trench A stratigraphy. The field form for Feature 1 (Trench A) enumerated three distinct soil changes: six inches of dark brown loam, underlain by six inches of sandy gravel fill, in turn underlain by four inches of light brown sandy loam (Snow 1967). A photograph of the cistern also revealed, in the background profile, three distinct soil layers (Figure 16.8).

It is clear that there was evidence of soil stratigraphy in Trench A. Undoubtedly the overall stratigraphic patterns had been disturbed during construction of the various features. These disturbances would have intruded into the overall stratigraphy, resulting in a variety of stratigraphic patterns. Such complexities are typical on historic sites, and are dealt with through standard methodological procedures requiring separate designation and excavation. The Trench A interpretive problem thus lay not in a lack of stratigraphy, but rather in field procedures which did not provide adequate horizontal and vertical controls. In addition, the artifacts recovered were stored under a wide variety of Trench A sub-proveniences (Appendix 16.1), many of which could not be located. These problems severely hindered any analysis of Trench A materials.

Stratigraphic data was also poor for Trench A excavations. Most consistent were the "Feature 1" proveniences, Levels 1 through 3. The assemblage contents showed possible patterns in diagnostic categories such as ceramics and nails. However, these too were suspect given the provenience problems discussed, and could not be confidently analyzed.

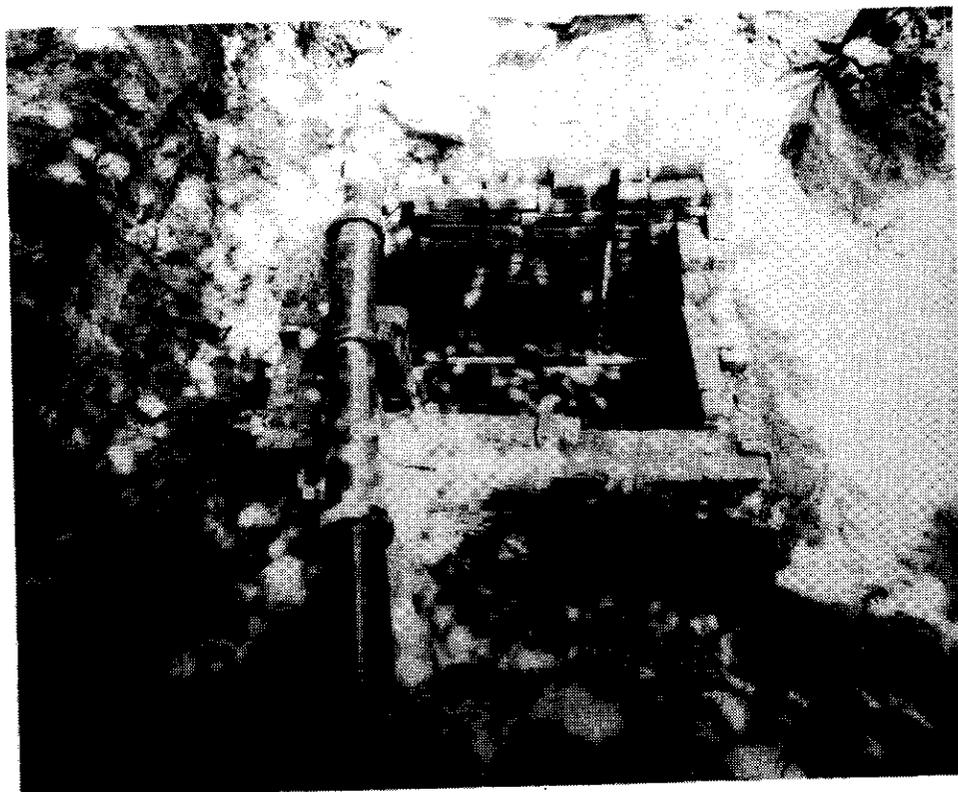


Figure 16.8. Snow's field photograph of cistern showing soil profile stratigraphy in upper right corner (MIMA.BWP.WS.2).

Summary: The results of Snow's Trench A general excavations were difficult to interpret due to poor horizontal and vertical provenience data. Areas of disturbed stratigraphy were apparently not separated from undisturbed deposits, and thus the recovered artifacts could not be used to discuss either chronological or activity patterns east of the house. The collection would have more analytical potential if the location and extent of Trench A sub-proveniences were ever identified.

The Trench A feature evidence was somewhat easier to evaluate. The well seems to have been the only feature which could predate the 19th century, though the archeological evidence as collected and reported by Snow was not informative. The cistern was most likely a 19th century feature, constructed by 1845 and filled after 1867, possibly as late as the early 1900s. It was thus used by both the Alcotts and the Hawthornes, and filled sometime thereafter. The introduction of city water at the house in 1883 (Carroll 1968:34) may have influenced the use life of both cistern and well. The installation of these and other features located by Snow greatly altered the archeological record east of the house. They reflected the active use of the site and its renovations by occupants during the 19th and 20th centuries.

West of the House: Excavations in the west yard proved quite different from those to the east. No discrete features were uncovered, and an apparently uniform stratigraphic pattern was revealed, with a sandy-loam grading to a glacial sand (Snow 1969b:13). Snow attempted to interpret the dates of these deposits using artifacts recovered from the three excavated levels (see Snow Interpretation section). She concluded that Level 3 had been deposited prior to 1765 and that the site had been occupied between 1710 and 1780 (1969b:14-15).

Clarification of these analyses was in order to better understand Trench B assemblages. The pipe stem analysis was particularly misleading, as we knew from documentary sources that the site was occupied from at least 1717 to the Park's purchase in 1965 (see Table 16.4). Thus the posited occupation range as determined from the pipestems, 1710 to 1780, was clearly inaccurate.

The available field map revealed that "Feature 1" comprised the major portion of Trench B, and the ACMP looked more closely at the Feature 1 assemblage. Analysis remained general as the location of "sections" of the Feature, and the depth of its levels or their relationship to soil strata evident in excavation photographs (Figure 16.9), were unknown. Feature 1 consisted of five sections, all of which had two levels and two of which had three (sections 4 and 5).

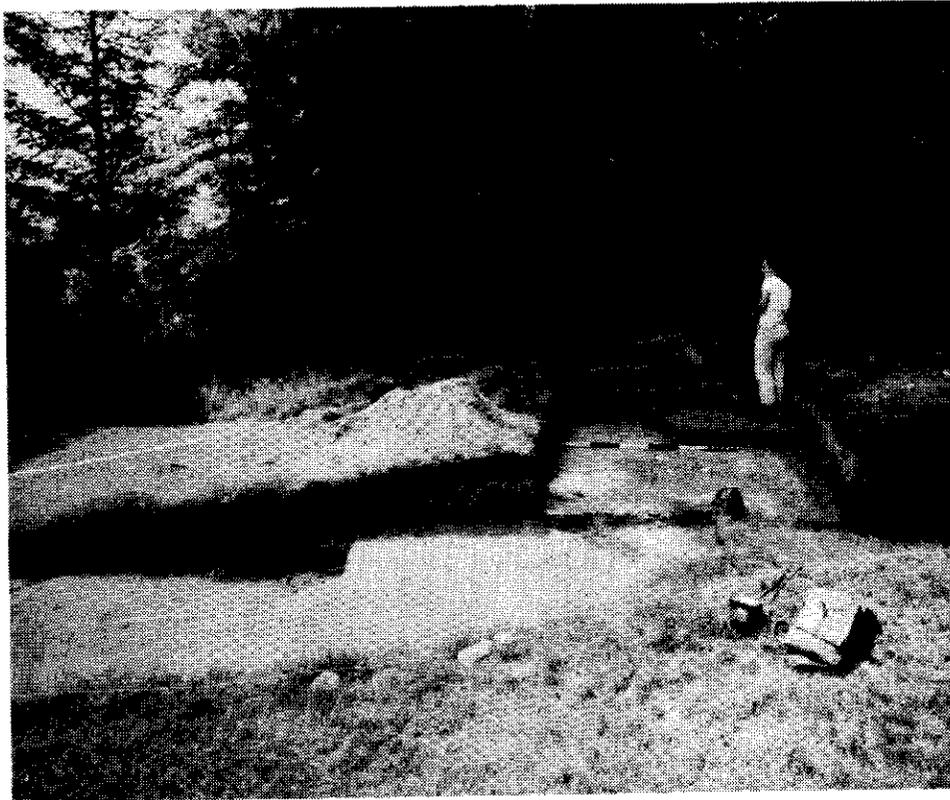


Figure 16.9. Snow's field photograph of Trench B excavation; note stratigraphic profile showing at least three distinct soil strata (1969b:Figure 4) (MIMA.BWP.WS.9).

Snow looked at the ceramics from levels 1 through 3, but neglected to use other artifact categories for her analysis. The ACMP expanded upon her work.

Looking first at ceramics, the ACMP found ware percentages which differed from those presented by Snow. These are summarized in Table 16.6. Redware percentages were comparable, but creamware percentages differed dramatically, with ACMP percentages significantly lower than Snow's. This may be explained by Snow's classification system which often identified pearlwares and whitewares as creamwares. Thus the ACMP percentages reflected sizeable quantities of both pearlware and whiteware, and further identified wares not reported by Snow.

The differences in ceramic percentages were significant as they changed the interpretive time frame of Trench B deposits. Snow only used her figures to posit that Level 3 had been deposited prior to 1765, when creamware was first introduced (1969b:14). Nonetheless, her percentages, particularly the high levels of creamware, could easily mislead others to interpret the assemblages as earlier than they may actually be.

Table 16.6

Feature 1/Trench B Ceramics: Snow and ACMP Percentages

| Ware Type                              | Snow Percentages* |       |         | ACMP Counts & Percentages** |            |           |
|--|-------------------|-------|---------|-----------------------------|------------|-----------|
|  | L1                | L2    | L3      | L1                          | L2         | L3        |
| Redwares                               | 55.38             | 82.45 | 96.59   | 801(52.2)                   | 1061(83.3) | 175(96.2) |
| Creamware                              | 34.2              | 13.41 | 0       | 124( 8.1)                   | 23( 1.8)   |           |
| Pearlware                              |                   |       |         | 246(16.0)                   | 135(10.6)  |           |
| "Ironstone"/Whiteware                  | present           |       |         | 141( 9.2)                   | 10( .8)    |           |
| Tin Enameled and<br>Coarse Buff-Bodied | present           |       | present | 32( 2.1)                    | 26( 2.0)   | 7( 3.8)   |
| Yellowware                             |                   |       |         | 130( 8.5)                   |            |           |
| Other Earthenware                      |                   |       |         | 39( 2.5)                    | 9( .7)     |           |
| Porcelain                              |                   |       |         | 7( .5)                      | 1( .08)    |           |
| White Salt Glazed<br>Stoneware         |                   |       |         | 10( .6)                     | 8( .6)     |           |
| Other Stoneware                        | present           |       |         | 4( .3)                      | 1( .08)    |           |
|  |                   |       |         | 1534                        | 1274       | 182       |

\* Taken from Snow 1969b:14; listed as "present" if no %'s given by Snow.

\*\* Counts reflect totals of ware types from all Feature 1 sections (1-5) by level. Ceramics were present from levels in Sections 1-5 as follows:

- Section 1: Level 1 only
- Section 2: Levels 1 & 2
- Section 3: Levels 1 & 2
- Section 4: Levels 1, 2 & 3
- Section 5: Level 2 only

Note that only Section 4 had Level 3 ceramics.

The ceramic percentages thus bore closer examination, especially in relationship to other diagnostic materials (such as bottle glass and nails), which Snow did not discuss. Table 16.7 presents the assemblage data for bottle glass and nails. While it was true that Level 3 contained ceramics potentially datable to pre-1765, the non-ceramic materials indicated otherwise. The presence of non-freeblown bottle glass and, in particular, machine cut nails, clearly identified a 19th century component of the assemblage.

There were several issues which hindered reliance on any analysis of Level 3. First, Level 3 was either not excavated or represented in all five Trench B sections. The collection for Level 3 was thus small, and not fully representative or directly comparable to other level assemblages. Second, it was not clear what Level 3 consisted of or how deep and broad it was. If it was an arbitrary level, for example, it could easily have included portions of multiple deposits, thus combining materials from both later and earlier depositions. This lack of excavation information and the seeming lack of controls prevented a full understanding of the archeological record.

Nonetheless, the artifacts enabled certain general interpretations. As stated, Level 3 contained 19th century materials and thus did not represent a pre-1765 deposit as suggested by Snow. Indeed, all three levels contained diagnostic 19th century materials. For example, machine cut nails were the predominant nail type in all levels (Table 16.7). These nails were not manufactured until 1790, and were largely replaced by wire nails toward the end of the 19th century (Nelson 1968).

Nineteenth century bottle glass was also present in all levels. The percentage of sherds representing late 19th century manufacture (automatic machine made) may have dropped off by Level 3, though this was difficult to evaluate given such small assemblages.

Ceramics revealed a more consistent trend, with more redwares and fewer refined wares correlated with lower levels, and no refined wares whatsoever in Level 3. Such a trend would be expected from relatively undisturbed stratigraphic deposits, though the previously mentioned lack of controls prevented more in-depth evaluation. What the materials did say is that the nineteenth century was strongly represented in Levels 1 and 2, and to a lesser degree in Level 3. Excavation methods may have skewed the results by combining later materials with those of earlier deposits, and Level 3 may well represent such an occurrence.

The lack of tight excavation controls, particularly stratigraphic controls, may have obscured finer variations in

Table 16.7

Feature 1/Trench B Bottle Glass & Nails, ACMP Counts\*

| <u>Bottle Glass - Count (%)</u> |                  |                  |                |
|---------------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| <u>Manufacturing Technique</u>  | <u>Level 1</u>   | <u>Level 2</u>   | <u>Level 3</u> |
| Freeblown                       | 6 (33.3)         | 2 (10.5)         | 1 (20)         |
| Blown-in-Mold                   | 1 (5.6)          | 7 (36.8)         | 3 (60)         |
| Automatic Machine Made          | <u>11 (61.1)</u> | <u>10 (52.6)</u> | <u>1 (20)</u>  |
| Total                           | 18               | 19               | 5              |

| <u>Nails - Count (%)</u>       |                                 |                  |                                 |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>Manufacturing Technique</u> | <u>Level 1<br/>&amp; 1-sand</u> | <u>Level 2</u>   | <u>Level 3<br/>&amp; 3-clay</u> |
| Hand wrought                   | 26 (11.6)                       | 50 (22.4)        | 7 (13.0)                        |
| Machine Cut                    | 123 (54.7)                      | 137 (61.4)       | 39 (72.2)                       |
| Wire                           | 1 (.4)                          | 5 (2.2)          | 0 (.0)                          |
| Indeterminate                  | <u>75 (33.3)</u>                | <u>31 (13.9)</u> | <u>8 (14.8)</u>                 |
| Total                          | 225                             | 223              | 54                              |

\* Counts reflect total of all Feature 1 sections (1-5) by level. Glass and nails were present from levels in Sections 1-5 as follows:

Bottle Glass

Section 1: Level 1 only  
 Section 2: Levels 1 & 2  
 Section 3: Level 2 only  
 Section 4: Levels 1, 2 & 3  
 Section 5: Level 2 only

Nails

Section 1: Levels 1 & 2  
 Section 2: Level 1 only  
 Section 3: Levels 1 & 2  
 Section 4: Levels 1, 2 & 3  
 Section 5: Levels 1, 2 & 3

the artifact assemblages. It was therefore not possible to correlate the recovered materials with distinct Wayside occupations, such as those of the Alcotts or Hawthornes. It did seem that their occupations and others of the 19th century resulted in the greatest accumulation of material in the west yard.

Eighteenth century assemblages are often difficult to identify in deposits such as those in the west yard, which have been called "sheet refuse" deposits by various archeologists (e.g., Moir 1982, Deetz 1977). This issue has been addressed for other MIMA sites (see Ebenezer Fiske and Hartwell Tavern chapters). Many of the early MIMA excavations resulted in collections which do not allow separation of the 18th century deposits, due to poor stratigraphic control.

General trends which have been identified include the high percentage of redwares in 18th century ceramic assemblages. This trend may be evident in the Wayside's Trench B Level 3 ceramics (Table 16.6), where redwares composed 96.2% of the assemblage as opposed to 83.3% in Level 2 and 52.2% in Level 1. Delft and Combed ware, both potentially early wares, accounted for the few remaining Level 3 ceramics. Unfortunately however, the provenience problems were such that we could not with confidence offer Level 3 ceramic percentages as representative of an 18th century deposit. At most, they could be used for comparison with other sites.

Ceramics from the adjacent Trench B Feature 2, while not specifically discussed here, revealed a similar stratigraphic trend, with refined wares in decreasing percentages through the lower levels. Thus, although Snow's excavation was not controlled enough to confidently characterize an 18th century assemblage, it did reveal that the west yard may have intact "sheet refuse" deposits reflecting the span of Wayside occupation from the 18th through the 20th century. This at least has potential for further archeological investigation.

In summary, the provenience data problems for Trench B prevented a more full scale analysis of the archeological materials. The artifacts did reveal that 19th century materials were present in all three excavated levels, though Level 3 may reflect an earlier assemblage which was combined with later materials during excavation. The abundance of 19th century materials did suggest that the site was actively used during this period, and we know from the documents that this was true, especially as concerns the Alcott and Hawthorne occupations. On a broader scale, it confirms archeologists' findings from elsewhere that during the 19th century, abundant fragments of people's material goods somehow came to be deposited across their yards (Moir 1983:321).

On the other hand, the lack of a clear 18th century assemblage does not imply lesser activity during this time period. Often such assemblages are difficult to detect in sheet refuse deposits, and excavation controls must be tight in order to separate possible 18th century components from later deposits. The Wayside Trench B data emphasize the fact that even on sites which are known to have been occupied in the 18th century, this occupation may be underrepresented in the archeological record, at least in sheet refuse deposits which characterize yard areas surrounding the house.

A final note should be made that there was no excavation evidence of wheelwright activity or the two wheelwright shops which the Hoar family apparently built somewhere on the property between 1778 and 1823. Wheelwrights occupied the house, and presumably worked the shops, fairly continuously from that time until 1844 when the Alcotts moved in (see Historical Background section of this chapter). It is possible that evidence of the shops still exists elsewhere on the property.

Under the House: The architects who worked at the Wayside, both for the Historic American Buildings Survey and the Wayside restoration projects, collected artifacts they encountered in the process (Accession #17, 272). Most of these were not pertinent to the current ACMP discussion, but those which were recovered from the crawl space under the house bear mention. At least eight assemblages came from under various rooms of the house. Their ACMP provenience codes are as follows:

Accession #17

WS-0000-0ORM-0U  
WS-0000-ORM4-0U  
WS-0000-ORM5-0U

Accession #272

WS-0000-CSOR-0U  
WS-0000-CSPR-0U  
WS-PZFL-0CSG-0U  
WS-0ORM-0000-0U  
WS-NWCK-FLBD-0U

(See Appendix 16.1 for provenience descriptions.)

The accumulation of cultural materials in the crawl spaces under historic structures is a phenomenon which has been noted but little studied by archeologists. This space underneath houses has been called the "Subactive Yard" by archeologist Moir in his study of artifact distribution across historic sites in Texas (Moir 1983:324). Moir suggested that the Subactive Yard is "shielded from most major domestic activities" (1983:324). He found that most non-structural artifact groups (e.g., not brick, window glass), such as refined and utilitarian ceramics or bottle glass, were "commonly absent" from this area (1983:330, Figures 4.4 - 4.6).

However, Moir was dealing with sites where the original structures no longer stood. At the Wayside, the house is still standing. Like many other New England homes, there are crawl spaces under a number of rooms which have no cellar component. The presence of artifacts in these crawl spaces may reflect an interesting form of refuse disposal practiced by the house occupants. Similar findings have been made at other New England sites, such as the Bixby home in Barre, Massachusetts, excavated by archeologists from Old Sturbridge Village. There, in the crawl space under the lean-to shed, was an abundance of cultural materials, especially fragments of refined ceramics (David Simmons, personal communication 1985).

At the Wayside, crawl spaces extended beneath the entire back and side portions of the house, and all areas contained artifacts. A total of 334 items were collected, though they cannot be regarded as a systematic or even representative sample given the nature of their acquisition. The assemblage contained a wide range of items, including ceramics, bottle glass, structural materials, bone, hardware, lamp glass, and household and personal objects, with diagnostic materials ranging from the 18th to the 20th century. Ceramics were most prevalent, and included both utilitarian and refined wares (see Inventory, Appendix 16.2).

It thus appears that crawl spaces may have served as convenient, and out of the way locations for the disposal of broken vessels and no longer useful items. They probably also collected lost items, such as children's toys. The precise reasons for the presence of these artifacts are unknown. It may be that such assemblages are common under still standing homes in rural New England, and therefore would merit consideration by archeologists studying refuse disposal patterns on historic sites. More systematic inventories of crawl space materials would also help to identify what kinds of behavior, during what time periods, were at work. The Wayside materials from the above proveniences could well serve as comparative data for such investigations.

Prehistoric Component: A single prehistoric projectile point was recovered from Snow's Wayside excavations. It was located west of the house in Section 2 of Trench B/Feature 1, in Level 1, and was typed as a quartzite Neville point dated to the Middle Archaic period, ca. 8000-7000 years ago (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1984:68-71).

This single prehistoric artifact did not indicate that the Wayside property was utilized during the Middle Archaic period. Indeed, it is possible that erosion from Revolutionary Ridge resulted in the point's deposition in Level 1, or that it was somehow carried in from another site.

Its presence, however, merits mention as several prehistoric sites have been identified in the surrounding area.

The Middle Archaic was, in fact, a time of heavy prehistoric occupation in the Concord area (Blancke 1981:11). Materials from this period have been found on multicomponent sites near the Wayside, including at least one located to the north along Revolutionary Ridge and several just south of the Wayside located along the opposite side of Lexington Road (Massachusetts Historical Commission n.d.). Artifacts from these sites suggest that the area, particularly that bounded on the north by Revolutionary Ridge and on the south by Mill Brook, was utilized from at least the Middle Archaic through the Late Archaic and into the Woodland period (Thomas Mahlstedt, personal communication 1985).

One such reported site (19-MD-112) may have been significantly disturbed during the unmonitored grading and recontouring for the current Wayside parking area. Site preparation plans revealed that 2.5 to 4 feet of soil was scheduled for removal, to be replaced with "granular fill," across an area roughly 100 by 270 feet (Figure 16.10). Unfortunately, if a portion of the site existed in this area, it was no doubt destroyed during parking lot construction.

The Neville point from Wayside excavations was an isolated find. However, the proximity of other sites with Middle Archaic components suggests that it may well have been related to nearby prehistoric activity. This provides us with a broader context for viewing the Wayside property and its role through time, and should certainly alert any future excavators to the possibility of a prehistoric component.

Summary: The ACMP has not been able to add significantly to the interpretation of Wayside data. It has been possible to show that Snow's interpretations were at times misleading if not incorrect. It has also been possible to more fully evaluate what is known about the features east of the house and the stratigraphic data west of the house. Unfortunately, poor excavation controls and other data problems hindered more extensive analysis.

The ACMP also noted interpretive points not addressed by Snow. These included discussions of the identification of an 18th century assemblage, the absence of wheelwrighting evidence, the disposal of refuse under the house, and the presence of a possible prehistoric component. The full potential for analysis of these and other issues cannot be realized given the current state of Wayside data, though they are presented as possibilities for intersite comparison, and as possibilities for future research.

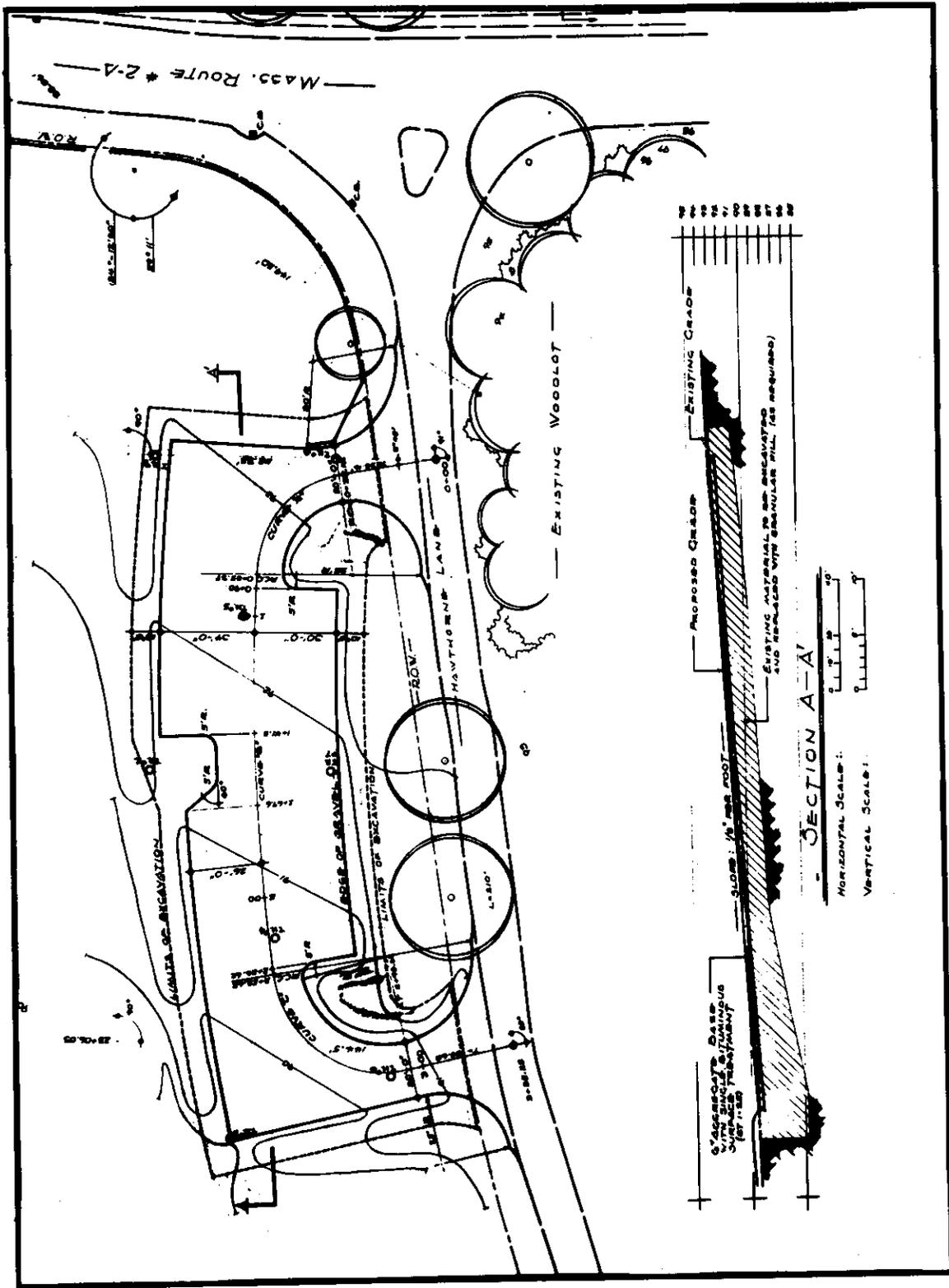


Figure 16.10. Plan and profile of Wayside parking area ground disturbance (NPS/NARO Engineering Microfilm Map #S41001, 9/68).

## Management Summary

The house known as the Wayside still stands today on the Battle Road, having survived over 250 and possibly as much as 300 years of history, as it was constructed sometime between 1688 and 1717. It is best known as the "Home of Authors," in reference to the famous American writers Bronson and Louisa May Alcott, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Sidney. However, during the preceding 150 years, it was also home to a series of artisans and farmers including housewrights, a worsted comber, a cordwainer, a number of wheelwrights, and in 1775, Concord Muster Master Samuel Whitney.

## Previous Archeology

MIMA Archeologist Leland Abel began excavations at the Wayside in the summer of 1966. Though only two days of work were completed that season, Abel opened a trench east of the house and excavated the well which he uncovered. His work was expanded upon during the following field season (1967) by Cordelia Snow, on contract to NPS. Snow extended the trench which Abel had begun east of the house, and also excavated a large area to the west of the house.

The purpose of Snow's excavations was to locate any physical remains of the former Alcott barn to the west of the house, and an Alcott ell addition to the east of the house. She was unable to find evidence of either structure. However, she did uncover several previously unknown features to the east of the house: a brick cistern, the well which Abel uncovered, and a cesspool and french drain.

The cesspool and drain were 20th century features, but the well and cistern were from an earlier period. Snow could not date the well, though it appeared to have been used during the early 19th century and she speculated that it may have been that which the Alcotts restored for renewed use.

Nor could the cistern be precisely dated, but Snow surmised that it was built during the 19th century and was probably in use during the Alcotts' occupation, as Mrs. Alcott mentioned such a feature in an 1845 letter. Snow further speculated that the Hawthornes may have filled in the cistern during their residence, as it contained more than 30 partially restorable bottles dating roughly to that period, including a number of French wine bottles. Snow cited some of Hawthorne's correspondence in which he had ordered or remarked upon obtaining similar bottles of wine from abroad.

Excavations west of the house were less informative, as no features were uncovered. Snow did find that the lowest level of excavation seemed to reflect the 18th century

occupation of the site, but was unable to offer further interpretation.

### ACMP Interpretation

The ACMP reanalyzed Snow's excavation data and artifact collection in an attempt to clarify site interpretation. Given the lack of excavation controls, the well could not be dated except as a probable 19th century feature, with the possibility of an earlier construction date. The cistern seemed to have been used and possibly constructed by the Alcotts, and was filled sometime after 1867, perhaps as late as the early 1900s. Although Snow suggested that Hawthorne may have filled the cistern, it was more likely done by a later occupant, perhaps during a change in ownership or concurrent with the removal of the wood house (ca. 1870-1883).

It is nonetheless possible that the contents of the cistern may in part relate to Hawthorne's days at the Wayside. In particular, several identifiable wine bottles recovered from its fill (St. Julien Medoc) correspond closely to wines which he was known to order. Given the date range of the cistern artifacts, it is quite likely that much of the cistern fill was refuse from Hawthorne's occupation, and was either discarded by the Hawthornes themselves or by one of the succeeding occupants when the cistern fell into disuse.

The ACMP revised Snow's interpretation of the stratigraphy west of the house. The artifacts revealed that the lowest level of excavation was not a pre-1765 deposit, as she had suggested, for it contained 19th century artifacts. However, this lower level contained proportionately fewer 19th century materials, suggesting that the site may well retain an intact deposit of materials which reflect its 17th-18th century occupation. This offers promise for future archeology at the site if the 18th century occupation is to be further investigated.

A single prehistoric (Middle Archaic) projectile point was recovered during Snow's excavations west of the house. Since it was in the top level of excavation, it had probably been redeposited on the site. However, the ACMP reviewed what was known about prehistoric sites in the area, and discovered that there was a great deal of prehistoric activity in the immediate area. Sites have been reported from the top of Revolutionary Ridge on the north side of the house, and from across Route 2A to the south in the meadows by Mill Brook. One such site underlies the current Wayside parking area on Hawthorne Lane. These areas were utilized by prehistoric peoples from at least the Middle Archaic into the Woodland periods (very generally, 8000 - 2500 Before Present). It is thus likely that the Wayside grounds were also used by

prehistoric people, though Snow discovered only the one Middle Archaic projectile point in the areas she excavated.

### The Wayside Collection

The ACMP inventoried 16,447 artifacts in the Wayside artifact collection. Snow's collection accounted for most of these, or 15,573 items, with the remainder reflecting unprovenienced materials or those recovered from architectural projects at the site. Her collection was largely intact, with only 4.5% of the materials missing. Historic ceramics composed nearly half of Snow's collection, with redwares being by far the most predominant type. Identifiable 17th-18th century materials were present in the collection (e.g., tin enameled and combed and dotted ceramics, white salt-glazed stonewares), but were less abundant than 19th century artifacts.

The Wayside collection has a certain degree of research potential, but the data problems identified in this chapter limit its value. The materials could, however, form the basis for an exhibit on archeology at the Wayside. In particular, the many nearly whole or restorable bottles which Snow recovered from the cistern are of display value, especially as they may have belonged to the Hawthornes.

### Public Interpretation of the Wayside

The Wayside is one of the most extensively interpreted sites in the Park. Interpretation focuses on the authors' period, but could also be expanded to include information on the earlier occupants identified during Snow's documentary research. For the roughly 150 years preceding the authors, many farmers and artisans lived in the house (Table 16.4). For example, during the very early 19th century a series of wheelwrights occupied the house, and there is a record of two shops being located on the property. The precise location of the shops is not currently known.

In addition, the site may have been used during prehistoric times, as early as 8000 years ago. Certainly the areas across the road were used by these peoples, where the Alcotts later created gardens and where the Park now maintains a parking area. The projectile point in Snow's collection could be used for display purposes.

The bottles excavated from the cistern could also be effectively used in an exhibit at the Wayside. These not only reflect the archeology that was conducted at the site, but may well be some of the wines consumed by Hawthorne during his residence at the house.

## Recommendations

The ACMP has noted the data problems concerning Snow's excavations and the resulting limitations of current Wayside collections. Although several features were uncovered east of the house and relatively undisturbed deposits to the west, little was revealed about the site occupants and their activities.

Certain areas of the site remain undisturbed if further archeological work is desired. Such work could address some of the questions noted in this chapter, such as the composition of artifact assemblages from various time periods or the evidence of wheelwrighting activity. A more tightly controlled excavation could yield more direct information about the site's occupants as well as provide better comparative data for other sites occupied from the 18th to 20th centuries.

The areas with potential for further work include, primarily, portions of the front and west yards. In addition, the area east of the barn is available for testing. In back of the house, more limited possibilities exist, and the area between house and barn has been completely disturbed. The ACMP recommends careful study of disturbed areas (Figures 16.4 and 16.5, and Carroll's descriptions of changes, 1968) prior to the placement of future excavation units.

The final recommendation for any future Wayside archeological work is that tight excavation controls, both horizontal and vertical, be maintained. The discussions in this chapter emphasize the necessity of these controls for full interpretation of the archeological record.

Appendix 16.1

ACMP Provenience Codes, Wayside

I) Cordelia Snow Collection, Accession #27

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Description</u>                                  |
|------------------|---|
| WS-00TA-00F1-01  | Trench A, Feature 1, Level 1                        |
| WS-00TA-00F1-02  | Trench A, Feature 1, Level 2                        |
| WS-00TA-00F1-03  | Trench A, Feature 1, Level 3                        |
| WS-00TA-00F2-01  | Trench A, Feature 2, Level 1                        |
| WS-00TA-00F2-02  | Trench A, Feature 2, Level 2                        |
| WS-00TA-00F2-03  | Trench A, Feature 2, Level 3                        |
| WS-00TA-00F2-04  | Trench A, Feature 2, Level 4                        |
| WS-00TA-00F2-05  | Trench A, Feature 2, Level 5                        |
| WS-00TA-00F2-06  | Trench A, Feature 2, Level 6                        |
| WS-00TA-2NFC-00  | Trench A, Feature 2, North face of Cistern          |
| WS-00TA-NEEX-01  | Trench A, Northeast Extension to Trench,<br>Level 1 |
| WS-00TA-OEEX-01  | Trench A, Eastern Extension, Level 1                |
| WS-00TA-WEX2-01  | Trench A, 2nd Western Extension, Level 1            |
| WS-00TA-NEXT-01  | Trench A, Northern Extension to Trench,<br>Level 1  |
| WS-00TA-ONEX-01  | Trench A, Northern Extension, Level 1               |
| WS-00TA-ONEX-02  | Trench A, Northern Extension, Level 2               |
| WS-TATP-0F1S-00  | Trench A, Test Pit, South end Feature 1             |
| WS-ATP3-0NWL-00  | Trench A, Test Pit 3, North of Well                 |
| WS-00TA-TNWL-00  | Trench A, Test North of Well                        |
| WS-00TA-TNWL-03  | Trench A, Test North of Well, Level 3               |
| WS-00TA-TNWL-04  | Trench A, Test North of Well, Level 4               |
| WS-00TA-FlWL-0B  | Trench A, Feature 1, Bottom of Well                 |
| WS-00TA-00F3-01  | Trench A, Feature 3, Level 1                        |
| WS-00TA-00F4-01  | Trench A, Feature 4, Level 1                        |
| WS-00TA-BHBN-0S  | Trench A, Surface between House and Barn            |
| WS-00TA-TORM-00  | Trench A, Test Outside Old Room                     |
| WS-00TA-OEBN-0S  | Trench A, Surface, East of Barn                     |
| WS-00TA-0BDT-00  | Trench A, Backdirt                                  |

Appendix 16.1 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Wayside

Snow Collection (Cont.)

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Description</u>                                  |
|------------------|---|
| WS-00TB-F1S1-01  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 1, Level 1              |
| WS-00TB-F1S2-01  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 2, Level 1              |
| WS-00TB-F1S3-01  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 3, Level 1              |
| WS-00TB-F1S4-01  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 4, Level 1              |
| WS-00TB-F1S4-1S  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 4, Level 1 Sand         |
| WS-00TB-F1S5-1S  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 5, Level 1 Sand         |
| WS-00TB-F1S1-02  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 1, Level 2              |
| WS-00TB-F1S2-02  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 2, Level 2              |
| WS-00TB-F1S3-02  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 3, Level 2              |
| WS-00TB-F1S3-2L  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 3, Level 2 Loam         |
| WS-00TB-F1S4-02  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 4, Level 2              |
| WS-00TB-F1S5-02  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 5, Level 2              |
| WS-00TB-F1S4-03  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 4, Level 3              |
| WS-00TB-F1S4-3C  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 4, Level 3 Clay         |
| WS-00TB-F1S5-03  | Trench B, Feature 1 Section 5, Level 3              |
| WS-00TB-F1FL-AL  | Trench B, Feature 1 Floors All Levels               |
| WS-00TB-00F2-01  | Trench B, Feature 2, Level 1                        |
| WS-00TB-00F2-02  | Trench B, Feature 2, Level 2                        |
| WS-00TB-00F2-2O  | Trench B, Feature 2, Level 2 Orange Soil            |
| WS-00TB-BNWL-AL  | Trench B, Barn Walls, All Levels                    |
| WS-00TB-00F3-01  | Trench B, Feature 3, Level 1                        |
| WS-00TB-00F3-02  | Trench B, Feature 3, Level 2                        |
| WS-00TB-F3TP-00  | Trench B, Feature 3, Test Pit                       |
| WS-00TB-0TP1-00  | Trench B, Test Pit 1                                |
| WS-00TB-0TP2-00  | Trench B, Test Pit 2                                |
| WS-00TB-0TP3-00  | Trench B, Test Pit 3                                |
| WS-00TB-TPWL-01  | Trench B, Test Pit Along Wall, Level 1              |
| WS-00TB-0000-00  | Trench B, no further provenience information        |
| WS-00TB-00WL-AL  | Trench B, Walls, All Levels                         |
| WS-00BN-00F3-01  | Wayside Barn, Feature 3, Level 2                    |
| WS-00BN-00BDT-00 | Wayside Barn, Backdirt                              |
| WS-0EHS-FRPO-00  | Wayside, East end of House, Front of enclosed porch |
| WS-TNHS-0ORM-00  | Wayside, Test Pit North of House, Outside Old Room  |

Appendix 16.1 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Wayside

Snow Collection (Cont.)

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Description</u>                                |
|------------------|---|
| WS-0000-00ED-0S  | Wayside, Surface find, Outside East Door          |
| WS-0000-0000-0U  | Wayside, "Under the Wayside"                      |
| WS-2700-0000-00  | Wayside (Accession #27), Unprovenienced Materials |
| WS-0TP1-FOXC-00  | Test Pit 1, Fox Cellar                            |
| WS-0TP3-FOXC-00  | Test Pit 3, Fox Cellar                            |
| WS-0000-00F1-02  | Feature 1, Level 2                                |
| WS-00BN-00F1-03  | Wayside Barn, Feature 1, Level 3                  |
| WS-0TP3-00C1-00  | Test Pit #3, Cellar Hole #1                       |

Appendix 16.1 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Wayside

II) Collection by NPS Historical Architect Carroll,  
Accession #272

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Description</u>  |
|------------------|---|
| WS-0000-CSOR-0U  | Under crawl space of old room                                   |
| WS-0NEC-00KE-00  | NE corner of Kitchen Exterior                                   |
| WS-00TA-0SEC-24  | Trench A, 20-24" deep, SE corner of enclosed porch to dry well  |
| WS-00TB-0SEC-20  | Trench B, 20" deep, SE corner, the dining room to dry well      |
| WS-0SWC-00HS-0G  | Southwest corner of House, Ground                               |
| WS-NWCW-0DWL-0G  | Dry well, NW corner of W Wing, Ground                           |
| WS-0SEP-0DWL-18  | Dry well, 18 ft. SE of enclosed porch, 18" deep                 |
| WS-0000-CSPR-0U  | Under crawl space of parlor                                     |
| WS-BWCT-00SL-0G  | Sill back of West Closet in Barn, Ground                        |
| WS-0ORM-SFBD-0A  | Old Room, Above Soffit Boards of overhang                       |
| WS-0000-BNDR-0G  | Ground near Barn Door Ramp                                      |
| WS-MDRM-0EPT-0G  | Ground, East Petition of Maid's Room                            |
| WS-00CL-BRPI-0A  | Pipe Connection Above Cellar Boiler                             |
| WS-00TW-0NWS-F2  | North wall Wallspace of Tower 2nd Floor                         |
| WS-NCWW-SFBD-0A  | N Cornice of West Wing, Above Soffit Board                      |
| WS-FGNT-0EHF-14  | Frontyard Gasline Trench, East Half, 0-14"                      |
| WS-SEAT-FLBD-0U  | Southeast Attic room (Alcott girls' bedroom) Under Floor Boards |
| WS-0GNT-CTNO-08  | Gasline Trench near Closet of North Overhang, 8" deep           |
| WS-0GNT-0NWO-0U  | Gasline Trench Under North Wall Overhang (Old Room)             |
| WS-0GNT-00BK-00  | Gasline Trench Behind Kitchen                                   |
| WS-0TNB-0NWC-24  | Trench North of Barn, Northwest Corner, 18" wide by 24" deep    |
| WS-KPAC-ADFL-0A  | Above Kitchen Pantry Ceiling, Adjacent to Flue                  |

Appendix 16.1 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Wayside

Carroll Collection (Cont.)

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Description</u>  |
|------------------|---|
| WS-WWSR-SPOD-WN  | Within West Wall of Sitting Room, South of<br>Porch Door            |
| WS-DRSW-FNSL-00  | Dining Room South Wall, On Foundation Sill                          |
| WS-00HL-0DTH-F2  | 2nd Floor Hallway, Door Threshold                                   |
| WS-00FN-NECK-0U  | Under Foundation (in soil), NE Corner of<br>Kitchen                 |
| WS-PZFL-0CSG-0U  | Under Piazza Floor, Crawl Space Ground                              |
| WS-0PTW-NWCK-WN  | Within Partition Wall, Northwest Corner of<br>Kitchen               |
| WS-00SR-0SWC-00  | Southwest Corner of Sitting Room                                    |
| WS-0ORM-0000-0U  | Under Old Room  |
| WS-TSFN-0EPO-04  | Trench South of Foundation wall, East<br>Porch, 12" wide by 4" deep |
| WS-0MDK-000C-00  | Ceiling of Maid's Kitchen   |
| WS-00CD-0CNE-00  | Corridor Ceiling NE   |
| WS-00CD-00SW-00  | Corridor South Wall   |
| WS-NWCK-FLBD-0U  | Under Floorboards in NW Corner of Kitchen                           |
| WS-2720-0000-00  | Unprovenienced materials from Accession 272                         |

Appendix 16.1 (cont.)

ACMP Provenience Codes, Wayside

III) Collection by HABS and NPS Architects, Accession #17

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Description</u>                     |
|------------------|--|
| WS-0000-0ORM-0U  | Under "Old Room"                       |
| WS-0000-0RM4-0U  | Under Room #4 (Alcott Addition), HABS  |
| WS-0000-0RM5-0U  | Under Room #5 (Hawthorne Parlor), HABS |
| WS-0000-0RM5-00  | Room #5, HABS                          |
| WS-0000-00CS-00  | Crawlspace                             |
| WS-1700-0000-00  | Accession #17 Unprovenienced Materials |

IV) Unprovenienced Materials, Accession #396

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Description</u>   |
|------------------|--|
| WS-3960-0000-00  | Unprovenienced materials from Wayside, collection origin unknown |
| WS-00HS-0SWC-00  | Southwest Corner of House, collection origin unknown             |

Appendix 16.2

ACMP Artifact Inventory

for Accession #27, 272, 17, 396

## WAYSIDE Site

|              |    |     |    |     |        |                              |
|--------------|----|-----|----|-----|--------|------------------------------|
| Accession #: | 27 | 272 | 17 | 396 | TOTALS | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------|----|-----|----|-----|--------|------------------------------|

## HISTORIC CERAMICS

|                        |      |    |    |   |      |       |
|------------------------|------|----|----|---|------|-------|
| Redware                |      |    |    |   |      |       |
| Plain                  | 2106 | 21 | 18 | 0 | 2145 |       |
| Lead Glazed, 1 surface | 1905 | 35 | 34 | 0 | 1974 |       |
| Lead Glazed, 2 surface | 322  | 7  | 3  | 5 | 337  |       |
| Sgraffito              | 0    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 0    |       |
| Trailed Slipware       | 317  | 2  | 7  | 0 | 326  |       |
| Jackfield              | 9    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 9    |       |
| Astbury                | 0    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 0    |       |
| Other                  | 468  | 2  | 1  | 0 | 471  |       |
| Total Redware          | 5127 | 67 | 63 | 5 | 5262 | 68.3% |
| Tin Enameled           |      |    |    |   |      |       |
| Delft                  | 42   | 0  | 1  | 0 | 43   |       |
| Rouen/Faience          | 2    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 2    |       |
| Other                  | 4    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 4    |       |
| Total Tin Enameled     | 48   | 0  | 1  | 0 | 49   | 0.6%  |
| Coarse Buff Body       |      |    |    |   |      |       |
| Combed Ware            | 61   | 2  | 0  | 0 | 63   |       |
| Dotted Ware            | 2    | 0  | 2  | 0 | 4    |       |
| N. Devon Gravel        | 0    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 0    |       |
| Mottled                | 0    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 0    |       |
| Other                  | 24   | 0  | 0  | 0 | 24   |       |
| Total Coarse Buff Body | 87   | 2  | 2  | 0 | 91   | 1.2%  |
| Creamware              |      |    |    |   |      |       |
| Plain                  | 438  | 32 | 17 | 0 | 487  |       |
| Shell-Edged            | 0    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 0    |       |
| Other Edge Decorated   | 0    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 0    |       |
| Handpainted            | 6    | 1  | 0  | 0 | 7    |       |
| Annular                | 3    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 3    |       |
| Transfer Printed       | 14   | 0  | 0  | 0 | 14   |       |
| Other                  | 0    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 0    |       |
| Total Creamware        | 461  | 33 | 17 | 0 | 511  | 6.6%  |
| Pearlware              |      |    |    |   |      |       |
| Plain                  | 413  | 47 | 18 | 0 | 478  |       |
| Shell-Edged            | 40   | 9  | 8  | 0 | 57   |       |
| Other Edge Decorated   | 1    | 1  | 0  | 0 | 2    |       |
| Handpainted            | 95   | 25 | 5  | 1 | 126  |       |
| Annular                | 18   | 3  | 0  | 0 | 21   |       |
| Transfer Printed       | 75   | 5  | 18 | 0 | 98   |       |
| Other                  | 21   | 1  | 0  | 0 | 22   |       |
| Total Pearlware        | 663  | 91 | 49 | 1 | 804  | 10.4% |
| Whiteware              |      |    |    |   |      |       |
| Plain                  | 344  | 21 | 19 | 0 | 384  |       |
| Shell-Edged            | 14   | 0  | 1  | 1 | 16   |       |
| Other Edge Decorated   | 0    | 0  | 1  | 0 | 1    |       |
| Handpainted            | 8    | 5  | 1  | 0 | 14   |       |
| Annular                | 4    | 1  | 3  | 0 | 8    |       |
| Transfer Printed       | 89   | 17 | 15 | 1 | 122  |       |
| Other                  | 3    | 1  | 2  | 0 | 6    |       |
| Total Whiteware        | 462  | 45 | 42 | 2 | 551  | 7.2%  |

WAYSIDE Site

| Accession #:             | 27   | 272 | 17  | 396 | TOTALS | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|--------|------------------------------|
| <b>Other Earthenware</b> |      |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Whieldon                 | 3    | 1   | 0   | 0   | 4      |                              |
| Lusterware               | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Agateware                | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Rockingham/Bennington    | 21   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 21     |                              |
| Yellowware               | 137  | 6   | 0   | 0   | 143    |                              |
| Other                    | 93   | 1   | 1   | 0   | 95     |                              |
| Total Other Earthen.     | 254  | 8   | 1   | 0   | 263    | 3.4%                         |
| <b>Porcelain</b>         |      |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Undecorated              | 24   | 1   | 0   | 1   | 26     |                              |
| Underglaze HP-monochro   | 17   | 2   | 0   | 3   | 22     |                              |
| Underglaze HP-polychro   | 2    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2      |                              |
| Overglaze HP-monochrom   | 2    | 1   | 0   | 0   | 3      |                              |
| Overglaze HP-polychrom   | 1    | 1   | 0   | 0   | 2      |                              |
| Gilted                   | 4    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 4      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 2    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2      |                              |
| Total Porcelain          | 52   | 5   | 0   | 4   | 61     | 0.8%                         |
| <b>Stoneware</b>         |      |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Nottingham               | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| Other English Brown      | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| Bellarmine/Frenchen      | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| Westerwald/Raeren        | 3    | 0   | 2   | 0   | 5      | 0.1%                         |
| <b>White Salt Glazed</b> |      |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 44   | 0   | 0   | 3   | 47     |                              |
| Moulded                  | 1    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1      |                              |
| Scratch Blue             | 4    | 0   | 0   | 1   | 5      |                              |
| Other                    | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Total White Salt Glz     | 49   | 0   | 0   | 4   | 53     | 0.7%                         |
| <b>Drybody</b>           |      |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Black Basaltes           | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Rosso Antico             | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Total Drybody            | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Other</b>             |      |     |     |     |        |                              |
| Utilitarian Import       | 3    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 3      |                              |
| Domestic                 | 17   | 2   | 5   | 0   | 24     |                              |
| Other                    | 22   | 2   | 0   | 0   | 24     |                              |
| Total Other              | 42   | 4   | 5   | 0   | 51     | 0.7%                         |
| Total Stoneware          | 94   | 4   | 7   | 4   | 109    | 1.4%                         |
| TOTAL HISTORIC CERAMICS  | 7248 | 255 | 182 | 16  | 7701   | 100.0%                       |
| % of Total Artifacts     |      |     |     |     |        | 46.8%                        |

WAYSIDE Site

|              |    |     |    |     |        |                            |
|--------------|----|-----|----|-----|--------|----------------------------|
| Accession #: | 27 | 272 | 17 | 396 | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|--------------|----|-----|----|-----|--------|----------------------------|

PIPES

White Clay

|             |     |   |   |   |     |  |
|-------------|-----|---|---|---|-----|--|
| Bowls       | 75  | 0 | 1 | 0 | 76  |  |
| Stems: 4/64 | 12  | 1 | 2 | 0 | 15  |  |
| 5/64        | 76  | 3 | 1 | 0 | 80  |  |
| 6/64        | 21  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 21  |  |
| 7/64        | 3   | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3   |  |
| 8/64        | 0   | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0   |  |
| 9/64        | 0   | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0   |  |
| INDT        | 15  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15  |  |
| TOTAL:      | 202 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 210 |  |

Red Clay

|        |   |   |   |   |   |  |
|--------|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| Bowls  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| Stems  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| TOTAL: | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |

Other

|             |     |   |   |   |     |      |
|-------------|-----|---|---|---|-----|------|
| TOTAL PIPES | 202 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 210 | 1.3% |
|-------------|-----|---|---|---|-----|------|

GLASS

Bottle Glass

|                   |      |    |   |   |      |       |
|-------------------|------|----|---|---|------|-------|
| Freeblown         | 1130 | 5  | 2 | 0 | 1137 |       |
| Blown in Mold     | 445  | 9  | 5 | 0 | 459  |       |
| Auto Machine Made | 343  | 10 | 1 | 0 | 354  |       |
| Indeterminate     | 9    | 0  | 0 | 0 | 9    |       |
| TOTAL             | 1927 | 24 | 8 | 0 | 1959 | 11.9% |

Drinking Vessel

|                       |    |   |   |   |    |      |
|-----------------------|----|---|---|---|----|------|
| Freeblown             | 1  | 1 | 3 | 0 | 5  |      |
| Machine blown/pressed | 38 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 50 |      |
| Indeterminate         | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0  |      |
| TOTAL                 | 39 | 7 | 9 | 0 | 55 | 0.3% |

Indet. Curved Glass

|             |      |    |    |   |      |       |
|-------------|------|----|----|---|------|-------|
| TOTAL GLASS | 48   | 1  | 0  | 0 | 49   |       |
|             | 2014 | 32 | 17 | 0 | 2063 | 12.5% |

BOTTLE CLOSURE

|                      |   |   |   |   |   |       |
|----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| Ceramic              | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |       |
| Glass                | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |       |
| Metal                | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |       |
| Wood/Cork            | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |       |
| Synthetic            | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |       |
| Other                | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |       |
| TOTAL BOTTLE CLOSURE | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0.02% |

WAYSIDE Site

| Accession #:                    | 27          | 272        | 17        | 396      | TOTALS      | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------------------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------|-------------|----------------------------|
| <b>APPAREL</b>                  |             |            |           |          |             |                            |
| Clothing                        | 2           | 0          | 0         | 0        | 2           |                            |
| Footwear                        | 56          | 3          | 2         | 0        | 61          |                            |
| Other                           | 0           | 4          | 0         | 0        | 4           |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 24          | 5          | 0         | 0        | 29          |                            |
| TOTAL APPAREL                   | 82          | 12         | 2         | 0        | 96          | 0.6%                       |
| <b>BUTTONS, ETC.</b>            |             |            |           |          |             |                            |
| Button                          | 16          | 9          | 1         | 0        | 26          |                            |
| Buckle                          | 3           | 1          | 0         | 0        | 4           |                            |
| Other Fastener                  | 2           | 4          | 0         | 0        | 6           |                            |
| TOTAL BUTTONS, ETC.             | 21          | 14         | 1         | 0        | 36          | 0.2%                       |
| <b>HOUSEHOLD &amp; PERSONAL</b> |             |            |           |          |             |                            |
| Tableware                       | 6           | 4          | 0         | 0        | 10          |                            |
| Kitchenware                     | 171         | 5          | 43        | 0        | 219         |                            |
| Furniture & Hardware            | 10          | 0          | 1         | 0        | 11          |                            |
| Lighting Fixtures               | 441         | 24         | 3         | 0        | 468         |                            |
| Decorative Objects              | 8           | 2          | 0         | 0        | 10          |                            |
| Toiletries                      | 5           | 0          | 0         | 1        | 6           |                            |
| Stationary                      | 2           | 5          | 0         | 0        | 7           |                            |
| Coins/Tokens/Medals             | 0           | 0          | 0         | 0        | 0           |                            |
| Personal Objects                | 33          | 15         | 0         | 1        | 49          |                            |
| Toys                            | 6           | 4          | 0         | 0        | 10          |                            |
| Other                           | 22          | 22         | 0         | 0        | 44          |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 34          | 2          | 0         | 0        | 36          |                            |
| TOTAL H & P                     | 738         | 83         | 47        | 2        | 870         | 5.3%                       |
| <b>SUBTOTAL</b>                 | <b>3057</b> | <b>149</b> | <b>71</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3279</b> | <b>19.9%</b>               |

WAYSIDE Site

|              |    |     |    |     |        |                            |
|--------------|----|-----|----|-----|--------|----------------------------|
| Accession #: | 27 | 272 | 17 | 396 | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|--------------|----|-----|----|-----|--------|----------------------------|

ARCHITECTURAL MATERIAL

Window Glass

|                |      |    |    |   |      |       |
|----------------|------|----|----|---|------|-------|
| Crown/Cylinder | 584  | 19 | 11 | 2 | 616  |       |
| Plate          | 908  | 10 | 7  | 1 | 926  |       |
| Other          | 0    | 0  | 0  | 0 | 0    |       |
| Indeterminate  | 284  | 1  | 1  | 0 | 286  |       |
| TOTAL GLASS    | 1776 | 30 | 19 | 3 | 1828 | 11.1% |

Nails

|                    |      |    |    |    |      |       |
|--------------------|------|----|----|----|------|-------|
| Handwrought        | 161  | 1  | 5  | 1  | 168  |       |
| Machine Cut I      | 86   | 5  | 1  | 2  | 94   |       |
| Machine Cut II     | 343  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 365  |       |
| Machine Cut Indet. | 879  | 3  | 19 | 0  | 901  |       |
| Wire               | 67   | 2  | 0  | 1  | 70   |       |
| Indeterminate      | 675  | 4  | 1  | 0  | 680  |       |
| TOTAL NAILS        | 2211 | 24 | 29 | 14 | 2278 | 13.9% |

Screws

|               |    |   |   |   |    |      |
|---------------|----|---|---|---|----|------|
| Handwrought   | 2  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2  |      |
| Machine Cut   | 8  | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9  |      |
| Indeterminate | 1  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1  |      |
| TOTAL SCREWS  | 11 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 0.1% |

Other Hardware

|                        |     |    |   |   |     |      |
|------------------------|-----|----|---|---|-----|------|
| Builders' Hardware     | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0   |      |
| Window Hardware        | 14  | 0  | 0 | 0 | 14  |      |
| Door Hardware          | 3   | 1  | 0 | 1 | 5   |      |
| Electrical Hardware    | 1   | 2  | 0 | 0 | 3   |      |
| Plumbing Hardware      | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0   |      |
| Lighting/Heating Hdwr. | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0   |      |
| Other                  | 124 | 7  | 1 | 0 | 132 |      |
| Indeterminate          | 279 | 2  | 2 | 0 | 283 |      |
| TOTAL OTHER HDWR.      | 421 | 12 | 3 | 1 | 437 | 2.7% |

Structural Material

|                       |     |    |   |   |     |      |
|-----------------------|-----|----|---|---|-----|------|
| Brick                 | 5   | 1  | 0 | 3 | 9   |      |
| Mortar/Plaster        | 51  | 14 | 0 | 0 | 65  |      |
| Wood                  | 51  | 5  | 0 | 0 | 56  |      |
| Linoleum              | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0   |      |
| Stone                 | 15  | 0  | 0 | 0 | 15  |      |
| Fiber                 | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0   |      |
| Porcelain             | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0   |      |
| Earthenware/Stoneware | 53  | 0  | 1 | 0 | 54  |      |
| Synthetic             | 76  | 0  | 0 | 0 | 76  |      |
| Metal                 | 11  | 0  | 0 | 0 | 11  |      |
| Other                 | 9   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 9   |      |
| TOTAL STRUCTURAL      | 271 | 20 | 1 | 3 | 295 | 1.8% |

WAYSIDE Site

| Accession #:                             | 27          | 272       | 17        | 396       | TOTALS      | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|--|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------------------|
| Other Fastening Devices                  |             |           |           |           |             |                            |
| Staples                                  | 12          | 0         | 0         | 0         | 12          |                            |
| Bolts                                    | 1           | 4         | 0         | 0         | 5           |                            |
| Wood Fasteners                           | 0           | 0         | 0         | 0         | 0           |                            |
| Other                                    | 3           | 1         | 0         | 0         | 4           |                            |
| TOTAL FASTENING                          | 16          | 5         | 0         | 0         | 21          | 0.1%                       |
| <b>TOTAL ARCHITECTURAL<br/>MATERIALS</b> | <b>4706</b> | <b>92</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>21</b> | <b>4871</b> | <b>29.6%</b>               |
| TOOLS & HARDWARE                         |             |           |           |           |             |                            |
| Hand Tools                               | 0           | 1         | 0         | 0         | 1           |                            |
| Machine Parts                            | 0           | 0         | 0         | 0         | 0           |                            |
| Domestic Animal Gear                     | 2           | 0         | 0         | 0         | 2           |                            |
| Transportation Objects                   | 0           | 0         | 0         | 0         | 0           |                            |
| Weaponry/Accoutrements                   | 7           | 0         | 0         | 0         | 7           |                            |
| Other                                    | 1           | 1         | 0         | 0         | 2           |                            |
| Indeterminate                            | 0           | 0         | 0         | 0         | 0           |                            |
| TOTAL TOOLS & HDWR                       | 10          | 2         | 0         | 0         | 12          | 0.1%                       |
| <b>SUBTOTAL</b>                          | <b>4716</b> | <b>94</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>21</b> | <b>4883</b> | <b>29.7%</b>               |

WAYSIDE Site

| Accession #:  | 27     | 272   | 17   | 396  | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---|--------|-------|------|------|--------|----------------------------|
| <b>FUEL &amp; FIRE BYPRODUCTS (Weight in grams)</b> |        |       |      |      |        |                            |
| Coal  | 55.62  | 20.43 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 76.05  |                            |
| Charcoal  | 16.35  | 0.00  | 0.00 | 0.00 | 16.35  |                            |
| Ash/Cinders/Clinkers                                | 167.20 | 4.00  | 0.00 | 0.00 | 171.20 |                            |
| Wood  | 29.57  | 0.00  | 0.00 | 0.00 | 29.57  |                            |
| Slag  | 235.28 | 2.55  | 0.00 | 0.00 | 237.83 |                            |
| TOTAL FUEL & FIRE                                   | 504.02 | 26.98 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 531.00 |                            |
| <b>FLORAL &amp; FAUNAL REMAINS</b>                  |        |       |      |      |        |                            |
| Shell (Weight in grams)                             |        |       |      |      |        |                            |
| Bivalves  | 51.00  | 5.30  | 1.00 | 0.00 | 57.30  |                            |
| Univalves   | 0.00   | 32.56 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 32.56  |                            |
| Indeterminate Shell                                 | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00   |                            |
| Other Organic                                       | 2.00   | 0.00  | 0.00 | 0.00 | 2.00   |                            |
| Bone  |        |       |      |      |        |                            |
| Fish  | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Whale   | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Human   | 0      | 3     | 0    | 0    | 3      |                            |
| Mammal  | 530    | 20    | 0    | 1    | 551    |                            |
| Bird  | 5      | 3     | 0    | 0    | 8      |                            |
| Other   | 2      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 2      |                            |
| Indeterminate                                       | 1      | 2     | 0    | 0    | 3      |                            |
| TOTAL BONE  | 538    | 28    | 0    | 1    | 567    | 3.4%                       |
| Vegetal Material                                    |        |       |      |      |        |                            |
| Seeds/Nuts  | 5      | 1     | 0    | 1    | 7      |                            |
| Other Comestibles                                   | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Other Vegetal Material                              | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL VEGETAL                                       | 5      | 1     | 0    | 1    | 7      | 0.04%                      |
| TOTAL FLORAL & FAUNAL                               | 543    | 29    | 0    | 2    | 574    | 3.5%                       |
| <b>LITHICS</b>                                      |        |       |      |      |        |                            |
| Fire Cracked Rock                                   | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Unworked Lithic                                     | 3      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 3      |                            |
| Gunflints   | 4      | 0     | 1    | 0    | 5      |                            |
| Groundstone   |        |       |      |      |        |                            |
| Historic  | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Prehistoric   | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Total Groundstone                                   | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Chipped Stone                                       |        |       |      |      |        |                            |
| Point   | 1      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 1      |                            |
| Biface  | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Other   | 0      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Total Chipped Stone                                 | 1      | 0     | 0    | 0    | 1      |                            |
| TOTAL LITHICS                                       | 8      | 0     | 1    | 0    | 9      | 0.1%                       |

WAYSIDE Site

| Accession #:        | 27         | 272       | 17       | 396      | TOTALS     | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|----------|----------|------------|----------------------------|
| <b>SAMPLES</b>      |            |           |          |          |            |                            |
| Soil                | 1          | 0         | 0        | 0        | 1          |                            |
| C-14                | 0          | 0         | 0        | 0        | 0          |                            |
| TOTAL SAMPLES       | 1          | 0         | 0        | 0        | 1          | 0.01%                      |
| <b>SUBTOTALS</b>    | <b>552</b> | <b>29</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>584</b> | <b>3.6%</b>                |
| <b>GRAND TOTALS</b> |            |           |          |          |            |                            |
| SUBTOTAL HISTCER    | 7248       | 255       | 182      | 16       | 7701       |                            |
| SUBTOTAL PIPES      | 3057       | 149       | 71       | 2        | 3279       |                            |
| SUBTOTAL ARCHITEC   | 4716       | 94        | 52       | 21       | 4883       |                            |
| SUBTOTAL FUELFIRE   | 552        | 29        | 1        | 2        | 584        |                            |
|                     | 15573      | 527       | 306      | 41       | 16447      |                            |



## CHAPTER 17

### THE ELIPHELET FOX HOUSE SITE ("CASEY'S HOUSE")

#### Introduction

In 1967, the Eliphelet Fox house site, better known as "Casey's House" (State site #19-MD-355), was visible only as a shallow depression at the base of a steep wooded hill. Personnel from MIMA had identified the site based on a description in Henry David Thoreau's journals (Snow 1969a:4, 10). The inferred location placed the house on the north side of Lexington Road (Route 2A), less than a mile east of Concord Center and just west of the historic Wayside (Figures V.1, V.2).

According to Thoreau, Casey was the African slave of Samuel Whitney, Muster Master of the Concord Minute Men and resident/owner of the Wayside between 1769 and 1778 (Snow 1969a:1, 1969b:4). Casey reportedly fled from his master and joined the revolutionary militia. When freed at the end of the War, he seems to have returned to Concord where he died in 1822 (for full discussion see Snow 1969a:1, 3-4).

With this story and the tentative house location in mind, Park Historian Robert Ronsheim approached archeologist Cordelia T. Snow. At the time (1967) Snow was conducting excavations on the Wayside grounds (see Chapter 16). Ronsheim asked if she might also "locate and investigate the site of Casey's house to the west" (Snow 1969a:2), and thus began a two season project at "Casey's" site.

Snow's work encompassed the delineation and complete excavation of house architectural features, as well as the documentary research to identify site occupants. The project ran from August 1 to October 13, 1967, and again for three weeks in May of 1968, under NPS contract 14-10-5-406-43 (Snow 1969a:2).

The documents revealed that the house on "Casey's" site had been constructed by 1666 and abandoned by ca. 1825 (Snow 1969a:5-9). Historical research has not clarified who lived in the house in 1775, but Eliphelet Fox was the site's first occupant, hence the Park's name for the site. At no time was Casey ever listed as an owner or occupant of the house. Nor did excavations produce evidence of Casey's occupation (Snow 1969a:9, 31). Snow nonetheless felt that Casey had at some point lived in the house, given Thoreau's description, and speculated that it had been "sometime between his return from the War and his death in 1822" (1969a:9). Her final site

report summarized this research as well as the excavations themselves and the resulting artifact collection (Snow 1969a).

A second excavation was conducted at Casey's during site stabilization in 1979. NPS archeologist Joan Bleacher dug a single trench across a previously excavated area "to determine the integrity of the fireplace and chimney area" (Bleacher 1979:1). Her work also entailed the demarcation of house foundations with a single row of field stones, and the addition of a layer of gravel across the structure's interior (Bleacher 1979:14, 18). All aspects of this project were well documented in Bleacher's 1979 report. Today the site remains much as she left it, with an interpretive sign briefly telling Casey's story (Figure 17.1).

The site will be referred to throughout this report as Casey's house, since the archeologists reported on it by that name and their collections were accessioned under that name. However, Casey's actual residence at the site remains questionable. Snow's research identified Eliphelet Fox as the first resident, and thus the site is more appropriately known by that name.

The ACMP has evaluated the status of the Casey's site collections, original field documents, and the site interpretation as posed by the original excavator. This chapter will provide a summary of ACMP findings, including an updated interpretation of the excavation results.



Figure 17.1. ACMP photograph of Casey's site, 1986.

## Provenience and Coding System

The ACMP has inventoried the two archeological collections from Casey's site. A systematic method of coding each provenience was designed to provide inventory consistency. The 12 digit codes retain the excavators' original provenience information, and appear in the following format:

CS-AAAA-BBB-CCC

Where:

CS = Casey's Site,  
AAAA = Archeological Field Excavation Unit (note that Snow excavated by "Feature" units),  
BBB = Cultural Feature,  
CCC = Stratigraphic Level.

Provenience codes are presented in Appendix 17.1, as are the original provenience descriptions. Many of Snow's proveniences were not mentioned in the site report, but rather were taken from the artifact bags themselves. These proveniences were inventoried separately as they provided a more detailed level of information. For example, Snow discussed "Feature 4" in her report, but the artifact bags listed several additional subdivisions (Feature 4 North Wall, Feature 4 Retaining Wall N of F3, etc.). These additional proveniences were not mapped by Snow, and their location can only be generalized from the bag descriptions themselves.

Both collections were retrieved from storage at MIMA. Most materials had been cataloged on MIMA catalog worksheets, and most items were individually labelled with catalog numbers. Many of Snow's artifacts had been removed from their original artifact bags and stored in large metal trays. Unlabelled objects had thus often been separated from their provenience information. The ACMP has grouped these items as unprovenienced, assigning the code: CS-0000-000-000.

The artifact collection from Casey's was sizeable, containing the following total assemblage counts as inventoried by the ACMP:

| <u>Collection</u>        | <u>Accession Number</u> | <u>Total Items</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Snow                     | 216, 263                | 31,387             |
| Bleacher                 | 299                     | 23                 |
| Total Casey's Collection |                         | <u>31,410</u>      |

These totals do not include the 157 shell fragments inventoried for Accession #263, as these were included in the site totals only by weight (Appendix 17.2). Missing items and other problems with the Casey's data will be discussed in the following section.

### Map Construction

Source maps used in the construction of ACMP maps and illustrations of the Casey's house site were evaluated according to the criteria of completeness, accuracy, accessibility of data, readability, physical condition of map and reproducibility (see Chapter 3, Methodology). Two archeologists worked at Casey's house site, Cordelia Snow in 1969 and Joan M. Bleacher in 1979. Snow's report contained a site map (1969a:32). Bleacher's report contained several photos (1979:25-26, 28), an illustration of a test trench excavated through Snow's Feature 2 (1979:27), and a copy of Snow's map showing the location of one of Snow's datum poles and the location of the test trench (1979:17).

### Snow's Excavation

Cordelia Snow's site map of the Casey house excavations (Figure 17.2) contained both a North arrow and a scale.

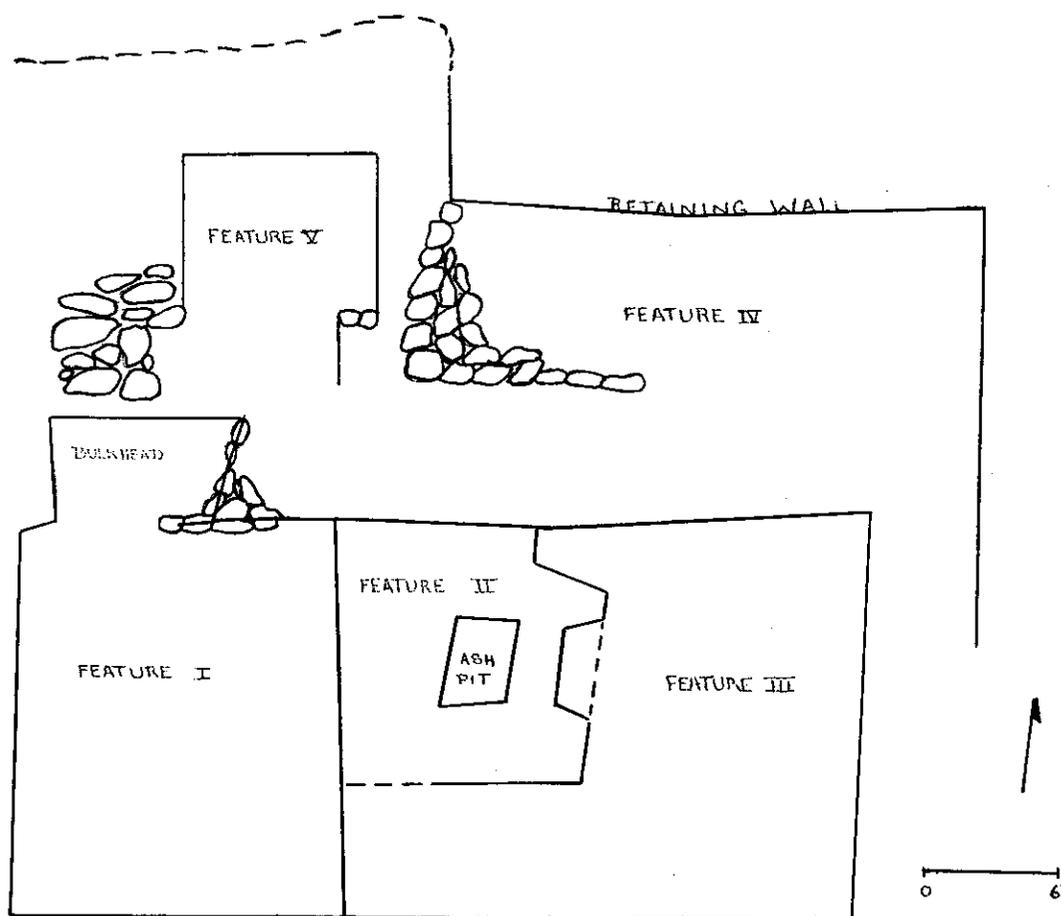


Figure 17.2. Snow's site plan (1969a:35).

Although not so stated, the arrow lined up with true north. The scale was a bar scale labelled 0 to 6 feet. Snow's report made reference to the features indicated on the site map and in many cases gave dimensions of the features. These documented dimensions were compared to the site map using the scale provided. It was concluded that the map was essentially accurate. Although further details of some of the feature areas were mentioned in the report, they were not specific enough to be added to Snow's map. Two of these details were the three foot by three foot trash pit in the center of the cellar, and the dividing line between the cobbles and handmade bricks in Feature 5 (Snow 1969a:12, 16).

### Bleacher's Excavation

Joan Bleacher excavated a test trench through Snow's Feature 2 for the purpose of determining the integrity of the fireplace and chimney area. Her illustration of the trench (1979:27) showed Feature 2 as she found it, which did not correspond directly with Feature 2 as illustrated by Snow (Figure 17.2). Bleacher's illustration (1979:17) showing the placement of the test trench on Snow's site map illustrated the trench as it was laid out and not as it was actually excavated. The ACMP addressed these discrepancies through the construction of a new site plan for Bleacher's excavations.

### Map Construction

Snow's site map was considered essentially accurate and as such it was reproduced and is included in this report (Figure 17.2). The discrepancies between Bleacher's two site plans prompted the ACMP to construct a composite site map which combined the most accurate elements of each plan with those of Snow's site plan (Figure 17.3). Since Feature 2 as illustrated by Bleacher differed from that illustrated by Snow, and since the trench drawn by Bleacher on Snow's site map did not accurately reflect the limits of excavation, it was necessary to rely not only upon the illustrations Bleacher provided, but also on the dimensions of the trench and the photographs documented in her report. Using this information, the ACMP located Bleacher's test trench on Snow's site map. The trench detail provided by Bleacher (1979:27) was included as a blowup on the resulting composite site map (Figure 17.3).

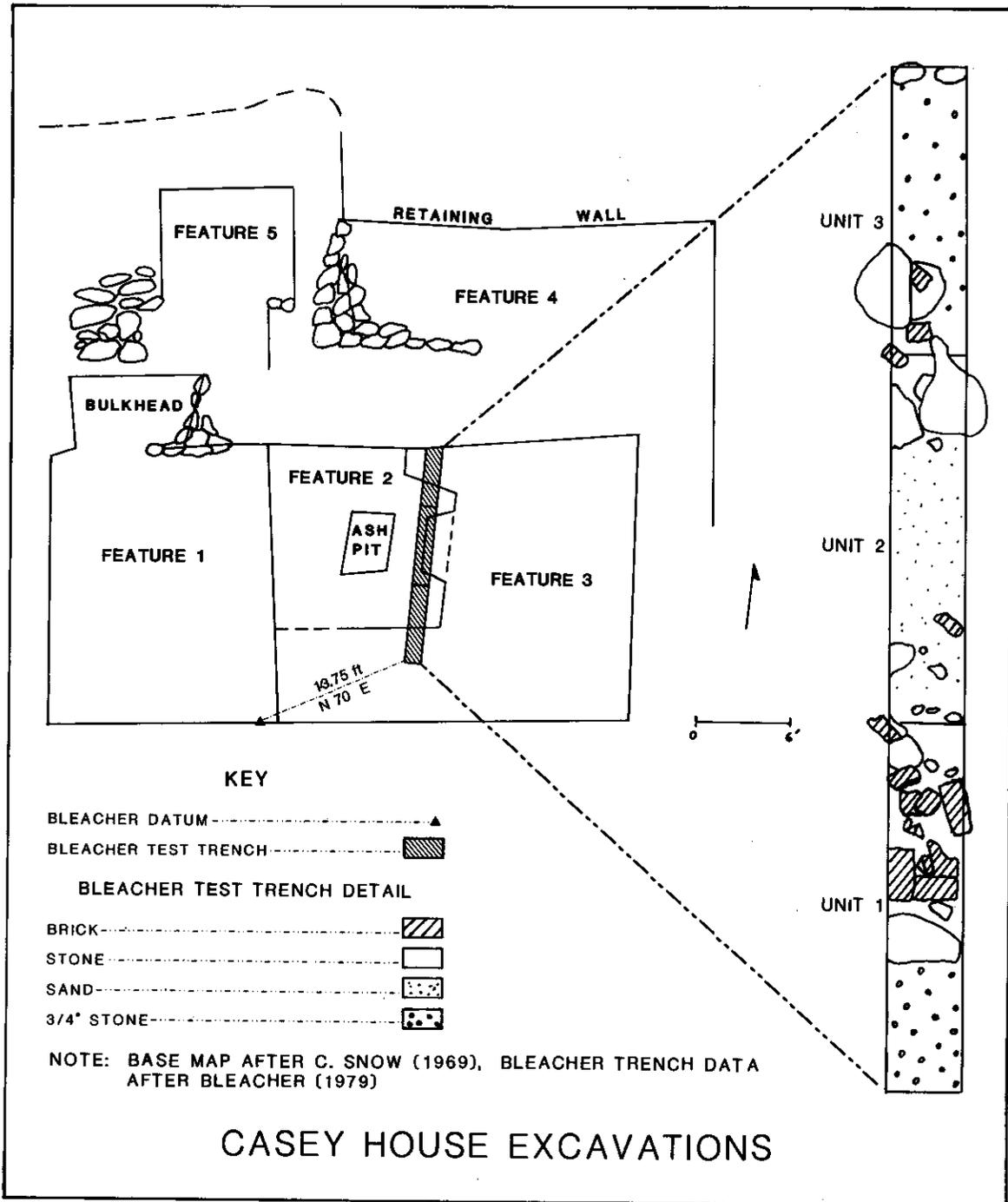


Figure 17.3. ACMP version of Bleacher's site plan.

## Data Problems

It has been nearly 20 years since Snow's excavations at Casey's. With time, both written and artifactual data has been lost. Additional more complicated problems have interfered with the ACMP's cataloging process and evaluation of site interpretation. In this section, data problems will be addressed by excavation.

### Snow's Excavation

Excavation Methodology and Documentation: Snow conducted the first and most extensive archeological investigation of Casey's site. Until this time, only the general location of the house was known, visible on the ground surface as "a shallow sump and what appeared to be the base of a chimney" (Snow 1969a:10). Snow's excavations explored and identified the general boundaries of the former house structure, and excavated it in its entirety (Figure 17.2). The final site report documented these excavations and provided a summary discussion of the abundant recovered artifacts. This documentation, however, left a variety of questions unanswered.

Snow's overall field methodology was to excavate the site "by features--i.e., rooms, hearths, etc., rather than by a grid system" (Snow 1969a:11). Further specifics of the excavation methodology, such as the use of shovels or trowels for digging, or the screening of all soils for artifacts, are uncertain. Several available photographs show crew members digging by shovel and filling wheelbarrows with excavated soil. Paper bags are located next to each excavator, presumably for deposit of recovered artifacts. In the collection there was a sizeable provenience of artifacts from the "backdirt" (ACMP provenience code CS-0BDT-000-000), suggesting that screening may not have been consistently practiced.

It is possible that the primary field documents such as field notes, maps, and photographs contained additional descriptions of excavation methodology. Snow reported that "field notes were kept, and are in the author's file" (1969a:11). In a later discussion with NPS archeologist Bleacher, Snow stated that "her field notes were left with the park at the conclusion of her project" (Bleacher 1979:24). To date, these records have not been located except for a handful of Snow's photographs (MIMA.BWP.CS.1-25).

Provenience Problems: Snow's choice to excavate by "feature," or large horizontal architectural unit, resulted in a number of data problems. Standards of field methodology in

historical archeology at that time did not always require tighter horizontal control. Features such as cellarholes or rooms provided convenient, bounded excavation units. Today, different forms of site analysis result in different needs in field methodology. Typically this includes the employment of smaller, consistently sized excavation units. In this way, a more complete and detailed story may be told about the archeological deposits and the people who created them. Snow is not to be faulted for the lack of tighter horizontal control. In fact, several MIMA sites were excavated in a similar fashion during this time period: the Ebenezer Fiske cellarhole (by Foley in 1963), the David Fiske cellarhole (by D. Snow in 1968), and the David Brown cellarhole (by Tremer in 1971) (see other chapters in this report). It is, however, of note to current and future researchers that such problems are inherent in the data.

Snow described the excavation of five "features" (1969a:11), which her report and site map enumerated as follows:

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Feature I(1)   | Cellar,  |
| Feature II(2)  | Central chimney base and south to exterior foundation, |
| Feature III(3) | East room,   |
| Feature IV(4)  | Possible kitchen ell,                                  |
| Feature V(5)   | Possible second chimney base (Snow 1969a:11-17).       |

These five "features" were the only proveniences specified as separate excavation units (Figure 17.2). However, additional proveniences appear to have been excavated. Some of these were reported by Snow and others were recorded on the original artifact bags and catalog cards. Some were sub-proveniences located within the five features, and others were apparently dug outside the feature boundaries. The precise locations of these proveniences were not mapped, and thus remain unknown. In certain cases the artifacts from the sub-proveniences remained separated. These are enumerated in the ACMP Provenience Codes (Appendix 17.1). In other cases, the only knowledge of the proveniences came from Snow's report itself, where neither excavation method nor final disposition of recovered artifacts was made explicit. These proveniences are summarized in Table 17.1.

The most significant such provenience recorded by Snow was located within Feature I, the cellarhole. Snow described it as "an intrusive nineteenth century trash deposit excavated as a unit" (1969a:11), and furthermore as:

deposited sometime during the last half of the nineteenth century. The deposit was eighteen inches in depth, and covered an area roughly three feet by three feet in the center of the cellar (1969a:12).

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Table 17.1

Reported Proveniences of Unknown Location

| <u>Provenience<br/>Description</u> | <u>Location</u>                  | <u>Disposition<br/>of Artifacts</u>                                   |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 19th c. trash deposit              | Unknown location<br>within Fea I | Unknown; most seem<br>to have been<br>combined with Fea I<br>Level 3. |
| 18th c. trash deposit              | NE corner Fea IV                 | Unknown, possibly<br>mixed with Fea IV.                               |
| Test trench north of<br>Fea II     | Unknown                          | Unknown; possibly<br>mixed with Fea IV.                               |
| Test trench north of<br>Fea V      | Unknown                          | Culturally sterile -<br>no artifacts.                                 |

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Snow apparently felt that the trash pit was a distinctive feature, containing 19th century materials and intruding into the surrounding 18th century deposit (1969a:12). Accordingly, she excavated it separately from the rest of Feature I, following the proper course of archeological procedures. However, the feature was not mapped in, and its precise horizontal and vertical locations are unknown. Moreover, the artifacts do not seem to have been kept separate from others in Feature I.

Instead, the materials appeared to have been combined with those from Level 3 of Feature I, and possibly with other levels as well. Snow's report gave a partial listing of the trash pit contents (Snow 1969a:12). A number of artifacts were described diagnostically enough that they could be matched with the descriptions on Snow's catalog cards. This revealed the proveniences under which trash pit materials were ultimately cataloged. Table 17.2 presents a summary of the trash pit artifacts as reported by Snow, and the respective proveniences under which she later cataloged them. Clearly, Feature I Level 3 seemed to contain most of these items. There were questions as to whether all trash pit materials were combined with Level 3 materials, whether other levels of Feature I were affected by this mixing, or whether Level 3 was simply a secondary name for the trash pit. The latter was doubted, as six consecutive stratigraphic levels were excavated across the entire cellar, and the trash pit measured only 3 ft. by 3 ft. in the center of the cellar. Also, one

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Table 17.2

Materials Reported from Late 19th century  
Trash Deposit in Feature 1

| <u>Item Description</u>                              | <u>Page in Report (Snow 1969a)</u> | <u>Cataloged Provenience Location (Feature, Level)</u> |
|--|------------------------------------|--|
| 2 cloth-covered buttons<br>(part of cloth remaining) | 26                                 | FI, L-3  |
| 2 pair iron scissors                                 | 27                                 | FI, L-3  |
| 2 bone toothbrushes (1<br>with Paris inscription)    | 29                                 | FI, L-3  |
| Diagnostic bottles:                                  |                                    |  |
| 1 - "Lydia Pinkham"                                  | 12                                 | FI, L-3  |
| 1 - "Sawyer's Blueing"                               | 12                                 | FI, L-3  |
| 1 - "Carter's Ink"                                   | 12                                 | FI, L-2  |
| 1 - "Gem" Mason Jar 1867                             | 12                                 | FI, L-3  |
| 1 - "Pond's Extract" 1846                            | 12                                 | FI, L-3  |
| 2 parasols (remains of)                              | 12                                 | pieces in FI, L-3                                      |
| Clock - works  | 12                                 | pieces in FI, L-3                                      |
| Ironstone Chamber Pots                               | 12                                 | 1 - FI, L-3  |
| Ironstone Pitchers                                   | 12                                 | 1 - FI, L-3  |

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diagnostic item ("Carter's Ink" bottle) had been cataloged by Snow as a part of Level 2.

These questions are raised for serious reasons. The implication of combining intrusive 19th century materials with those of a presumed earlier deposit is that they can no longer be separated out for analysis. In other words, the combination of materials could provide false information for site interpretation, particularly as concerns its date of abandonment and later usage. These issues will be fully addressed in the Interpretation section.

Snow discussed another discrete feature in the context of Feature IV. She described this as follows:

An accumulation of eighteenth century trash such as broken gin and liquor bottles, redware bowls, etc., was uncovered in the area of the northeast corner of

the retaining wall....The trash was separated from floor level by approximately five inches of sterile soil (Snow 1969a:16).

It did not appear that this feature was excavated separately from the rest of Feature IV. If it was, the artifacts were later combined with another Feature IV provenience(s). Several Feature 4E proveniences for example, contained sizeable quantities of redware and bottle glass. Again, had these materials been kept separate, they might have provided additional interpretive information. Mixed in with larger proveniences, they may bias the interpretation of those units if indeed they represented a separate deposit.

A further provenience of unknown location was a "test trench" dug "north of Feature II for a distance of eight feet" (Snow 1969a:15), in exploration for the rear retaining wall. This mention of the trench was the only indication of its excavation, and its location remains unknown. Presumably it and the artifacts from it were later incorporated into Feature IV (Figure 17.2).

Another trench, "five feet in length and six feet deep was dug into the hill immediately north of Feature V in hopes of uncovering evidence of a continuation of the retaining wall" (Snow 1969a:17). Snow reported the "sandy-gravel fill" to be culturally sterile (1969a:17), and thus there were no artifacts to complicate provenience problems. However, such locational information is basic to any archeological excavation, and is important for purposes of both interpretation and future fieldwork.

Provenience location was also missing for two features for which there were artifacts but no additional descriptions, labelled as Features 7 and 8 on the artifact bags. The ACMP accordingly assigned them provenience codes and inventoried the materials (Appendices 17.1, 17.2). These proveniences were not discussed in the report, and there was otherwise no clue as to their location. The problem of missing information regarding provenience location may be alleviated if Snow's original field records are located.

Snow thus did not report on the precise methods of provenience excavation in terms of: the location of sub-proveniences within Features, the location of additional tests outside of the Features, or the final disposition of the associated artifacts. As discussed above, brief mention was sometimes made of such proveniences in the report text. At other times, the artifact bags and catalog cards provided the only clues of proveniences more specific than the five Feature system.

From these latter sources, it also appeared that different areas within the five "features" may have originally been excavated separately. The artifact bags and catalog cards retained this more specific provenience information, while Snow combined the proveniences for reporting purposes.

The ACMP has maintained the more specific provenience descriptions by designing unique provenience codes to accommodate the artifact bag distinctions (Appendix 17.1). However, these proveniences were never mapped by Snow, and their locations can only be generalized from the bag descriptions. In addition, they may not reflect distinct excavation areas, but rather may reflect inconsistent bag labelling procedures by field personnel. A number of these proveniences contained only bone or redware. These were no doubt a biased representation of actual artifact recoveries. Most of the site's ceramics and glass had been removed from their original field bags and stored on large metal trays. Thus any additional, more specific provenience data for these materials would have been lost with disposal of the bags. The Provenience Code table is currently the most complete listing of proveniences in this category (Appendix 17.1).

The aforementioned features and proveniences were not indicated on Snow's site plan (Figure 17.2). The plan was incomplete in other ways as well. For example, the configuration of Feature II contradicted the textual description. The latter recorded the feature as containing the chimney base and "also that portion of the exterior foundation six feet south of the chimney" (Snow 1969a:12). This suggested that Feature II was excavated as described rather than as mapped, and encompassed a portion of what was mapped as Feature III, south of Feature II (Figure 17.2). Artifacts would also have been accordingly cataloged. Such issues of provenience location are significant for site interpretation.

Stratigraphic Data: The ACMP also noted problems with vertical provenience information. The excavation of features by stratigraphic levels was documented only for Feature I, the cellar. Snow recorded the cellar as "five and one-half feet in depth," its fill "excavated in arbitrary twelve inch levels" (1969a:11). Exceptions to the excavation by 12 inch levels were the "nineteenth century trash deposit excavated as a unit, and surface debris which ranged from two to seven inches in depth" (Snow 1969a:11).

Snow did not document excavation by levels for the remaining Features. Nonetheless, the artifact bags and catalog worksheets revealed multiple levels for Features 2, 3, 4, 4E, and 4W (Appendix 17.1). These may also have been 12

inch levels, but nowhere was the precise depth actually recorded. The full extent of vertical excavation is thus unknown.

In summary, there were a number of data problems regarding the methodology and documentation of Snow's excavation. These included the issues of: proveniences of unknown location, the final disposition of artifacts from such proveniences, and the lack of information on excavation strata. These data problems limit the possibilities for site interpretation as well as the use of the collection for research purposes. Perhaps the most serious problem is the fact that nearly all original excavation records (field notes, field maps, photographs) are missing. The location of these records might well help to unravel the other questions.

Artifact Collection: The artifacts from Snow's excavations have been stored at MIMA since 1968. Most of the ceramics, glass, and other miscellaneous items were kept on open metal trays inside metal storage cabinets. Bone and redwares remained in their original paper bags labelled by provenience. The ACMP brought all materials to EAFL for inventorying, and has defined the current status of the collection.

The first problem encountered concerned the collection's accession number. Three MIMA accession numbers were associated with Snow's materials from Casey's: 27, 216, and 263. The accession book designation for #27 read "Wayside and Casey's," dated 1967, and it was presumed that artifacts from Snow's 1967 excavations at both Casey's and the Wayside had been accessioned and cataloged together. Inspection of the collection revealed to the contrary that all 1967 Casey's materials had been set aside and accessioned with artifacts from the 1968 Casey's excavation.

All artifacts from Casey's thus appear to have been cataloged as a single collection. This collection was originally granted (1968) the accession #216. However, shortly thereafter the artifacts were labelled with accession #263. The reason for this shift remains unknown, as #263 was never recorded in the MIMA accession book for this collection. The apparent mixup resulted in the inscription of the two accession numbers on the artifacts themselves, in a code containing accession#-catalog#. Only six catalog numbers seemed to have been assigned to accession 216, (4157, 4159, 4160, 4163, 4164, 4165). These were all redwares from a single provenience, Feature 1 Level 1, though they did not account for all redwares of that provenience. The two accession numbers have been retained during the ACMP inventory. The great majority of the collection, however, belongs to accession #263.

To date, MIMA catalog cards have not been typed up for the Casey's collection. Snow used preliminary NPS catalog worksheets for purposes of inventory, and these were the sole source of information on the collection's contents. Some materials were lot cataloged by artifact class within provenience, while others were item cataloged. In the case of ceramics, Snow also employed her own "Pottery Distribution" sheets to record provenience counts. These sheets came to replace the NPS catalog worksheets for all ceramic inventories after a few proveniences were completed. Thus the NPS catalog worksheets were never filled out for most ceramic lots.

The ACMP has compared Snow's worksheets to the artifact collection itself. Several problems were immediately apparent. First, a number of catalog worksheets were missing for artifacts present and numbered in the collection. Second, Snow did not consistently count the individual items in each catalog lot. For example, a worksheet might list "window glass" as the lot contents rather than specifying the number of sherds. This was commonly the case with window glass, to a lesser extent with nails, and nearly always true for bone, mortar, and scrap metal. Glass and ceramic vessels which had been carefully crossmended in the lab were typically listed as single vessels rather than an enumeration of separate sherds. The ACMP has inventoried all individual artifacts (including individual sherds within a crossmended vessel), resulting in a larger overall collection size.

Snow's classification system is also of note. Her type designations for a variety of artifact classes differed from those used by the ACMP. Those which consistently differed are listed in Table 17.3. Typically they included different terms for ceramic types, and the lumping of certain classes into a single class, such as creamware for most refined earthenwares, hand wrought nails for all nails, or hand-blown bottle glass for all bottle glass. The latter practice led to a misleading inventory which suggested much earlier dates for the assemblage than was actually the case.

The ACMP also compared catalog worksheets to the artifacts present to determine how many items were missing from the original collection. Missing items were tabulated and are presented in Tables 17.4 and 17.5. A total of 1607 items, or 7.5% of the original total collection, were found to be missing. Ceramics accounted for the majority of these, totalling 1418 or 88.6%. This in turn represented 9.4% of the total original ceramic assemblage. Redwares and creamwares composed 92.9% of the missing ceramics, and had similarly composed 91.7% of the original ceramic collection.

There were additional missing materials which Snow never tallied on the catalog worksheets. This prevented their addition to the ACMP missing counts. These are indicated

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Table 17.3

Common Artifact Type Designation Differences:  
Snow/ACMP

| <u>Snow Designation</u>   | <u>ACMP Designation</u>   |
|---------------------------|---|
| English Buffware          | typically Coarse Buff-Bodied<br>Combed Wares                      |
| Creamware                 | included Creamware, Pearlware,<br>and Whiteware                   |
| Ironstone                 | Whiteware   |
| Yellow Mixing Bowl        | Yellowware  |
| German Cobalt Blue & Gray | Westerwald  |
| Handblown Bottle Glass    | included Freeblown, Blown-in-<br>Mold, and Automatic Machine Made |
| Molded Bottle Glass       | Automatic Machine Made  |
| Handwrought Nails         | included Hand wrought, Cut, and<br>Wire Nails                     |

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under the "Not Counted" column in Table 17.5 as N(M) (i.e., Not Counted and Missing). It was clear that certain artifact classes were routinely discarded sometime after cataloging, primarily mortar and scrap metal. Other classes suffered less consistent, and probably unintentional, loss. Further accounting for these materials was not possible.

It is likely that many of the missing artifacts can be accounted for by the unprovenienced materials from Casey's collection. These were unlabelled items which could not be associated with a specific provenience. The storage of artifacts on open metal trays no doubt contributed to the loss of provenience data. The number of unlabelled items in many cases closely matched the counts for missing materials. The counts for both are juxtaposed in Table 17.5. Certainly some additional loss has occurred, but the majority of missing artifacts may well be accounted for by the unprovenienced collection. Unfortunately, these materials could not be linked with their original proveniences.

Further note must be made of Snow's artifact totals as mentioned in her 1969 report. These were provided primarily for broad ceramic groups, such as redware, buffware,

Table 17.4

Missing Ceramics: Casey's Site  
Snow Collection

| <u>Snow Ceramic Type *</u>      | <u>Original<br/>Total Count*</u> | <u>Total<br/>Missing</u> | <u>%<br/>Missing</u> | <u>Unprovenanced<br/>Materials</u> |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Redware                         | 8618                             | 584                      | 6.8                  | 601                                |
| Jackfield                       | 118                              | 3                        | 2.5                  |                                    |
| Delft/Tin Enameled              | 159                              | 22                       | 13.8                 | 100                                |
| Buffware (usually combed wares) | 59                               | 1                        | 1.7                  | 1                                  |
| Creamware                       | 5152                             | 733                      | 14.2                 |                                    |
| Cream (Pearl) Ware              | 26                               | 1                        | 3.8                  | 776                                |
| Ironstone/Semi-china            | 274                              | 40                       | 14.6                 |                                    |
| Whieldon                        | 27                               | 1                        | 3.7                  | 1                                  |
| Yellow Mixing Bowl (Yellowware) | 27                               | 1                        | 3.7                  |                                    |
| Other Earthenware               | 22                               | 2                        | 9.1                  | 12                                 |
| Porcelain                       | 202                              | 9                        | 4.5                  | 6                                  |
| Bellarmine Stoneware            | 6                                | 1                        | 16.7                 |                                    |
| Fulham                          | 33                               | 1                        | 3.0                  |                                    |
| White Salt Glazed Stoneware     | 214                              | 11                       | 5.1                  |                                    |
| Domestic Stoneware              | 44                               | 2                        | 4.5                  | 17                                 |
| Other Stoneware                 | 35                               | 6                        | 17.1                 |                                    |
| Totals                          | 15,016                           | 1,418                    | 9.4                  | 1,514                              |

\* Ceramic type designations and original counts taken from Snow's catalog worksheets.  
Ware types in parentheses are ACPM equivalents.

Table 17.5

Missing Artifacts: Casey's Site  
Snow Collection

| Artifact Class*            | Original<br>Total Count** | Total<br>Missing | %<br>Missing | Items Not Counted<br>by Snow *** | Unprovenienced<br>Materials |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Ceramics (Table 17.4)      | 15,016                    | 1,418            | 9.4          |                                  | 1,514                       |
| Smoking Pipes              | 232                       | 7                | 3.0          | 1                                | 5                           |
| Bottle Glass               | 1,584                     | 89               | 5.6          | 122                              | 79                          |
| Other Curved Glass         | 106                       | 1                | .9           | 593                              | 7                           |
| Apparel                    | 63                        | 2                | 3.2          | 1                                | 1                           |
| Buttons                    | 53                        | 6                | 11.3         |                                  | 7                           |
| Tableware                  | 52                        | 4                | 7.7          | 1                                |                             |
| Tin Cans                   | 12                        | 12               | 100.0        |                                  |                             |
| Personal Objects           | 23                        | 2                | 8.7          |                                  | 1                           |
| Other Household & Personal | 184                       | 2                | 1.1          | 3                                | 3                           |
| Window Glass               | 1,169                     | 9                | .8           | 4                                | 27                          |
| Nails                      | 2,502                     | 13               | .5           | 3,116                            | 17                          |
| Screws                     | 8                         | 6                | 75.0         | 412 & N(M)                       | 5                           |
| Other Hardware             | 158                       | 4                | 2.5          | 5                                | 7                           |
| Structural Material        | 54                        | 5                | 9.3          | 130 & N(M)                       | 6                           |
| Scrap Metal                | 17                        | 1                | 5.9          |                                  |                             |
| Shell                      | 39                        | 3                | 7.7          | 117 & N(M)                       | 3                           |
| Bone                       | 11                        | 8                | 72.7         | 4,324 & N(M)                     | 1                           |
| Other Faunal/Floral        | 31                        | 8                | 25.8         | 88                               | 6                           |
| Lithics                    | 43                        | 7                | 16.3         |                                  |                             |
| Other                      | 25                        | 0                | 0.0          | 3                                | 2                           |
| TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE           | 21,382                    | 1,607            | 7.5          | 8,920                            | 1,691                       |

\* Snow's item-based counts combined into ACMF categories.

\*\* Original Counts taken from Snow catalog worksheets.

\*\*\* Materials given catalog #'s but not counted;  
N(M) = Not counted and Missing from collection.

creamware, etc. (Snow 1969a:18-23). The reported totals differed from ACMP totals which were derived from Snow's original catalog worksheets. The differences were not consistent, and some ACMP figures were larger while others were smaller than Snow's totals. It was assumed that Snow also derived her totals from the catalog worksheets. Theoretically this would have yielded counts comparable to ACMP counts. The discrepancies could not be further explained.

In summary, the ACMP found several data problems with Snow's artifact collection. Confusion over associated accession numbers has hopefully been resolved. The issue of missing artifacts was not so easily addressed. While the collection is fairly intact, missing 7.5% of the original total, researchers must note that there are gaps in the original data. These gaps are most significant in the ceramic collection, as noted in Table 17.4. As a final note, Snow's classification of artifact types may mislead site interpretation, an issue which will be further addressed in the Interpretation section of this chapter. The ACMP has reinventoried all materials, and these results appear in Appendix 17.2.

### Bleacher's Excavation

Excavation Methodology and Documentation: Bleacher's excavations at Casey's were minor, consisting of a test trench measuring 1 ft. by 14 ft. which transected Feature 2, the chimney base (Figure 17.3). The purpose of the excavation was to "explore the integrity of Feature II" (Bleacher 1979:18), and Bleacher's report documented the methods and results fairly completely. It also covered the stabilization procedures used to delineate the house foundations and add a shallow layer of gravel fill. Field notes, maps, and photographs were stored at MIMA, and provided further information. Trench location is noted on Figure 17.3.

Bleacher did not report on the base depth of excavations. She did describe several strata encountered: in-situ bricks, an underlying cobblestone base, and finally a "fine-grained loose yellow sand" beneath the cobbles (1979:21). It was presumed that these strata were excavated as a single unit. Further stratigraphic data was unavailable.

Bleacher's work raised several questions regarding Snow's earlier excavations. She reported difficulty in locating Feature III walls, and proposed that "some of this feature may have been removed" (1979:18). She also noted that in Unit 2 "no evidence of an intact hearth was observed nor was a cobblestone base located" (1979:18, 21). Snow told Bleacher that Feature II had been "left intact" and backfilled after

excavation (Bleacher 1979:24). The current integrity of Features II and III thus remains unknown.

Artifact Collection: Bleacher recovered a total of 14 artifacts from Unit 1 of the excavation trench. These were stored at MIMA under accession #299, a collection containing materials from Bleacher's work at a number of MIMA sites. Other accession #299 items came from the David Brown and Thomas Nelson Jr. sites. The ACMP inventoried each site separately.

There were no missing artifacts from the Bleacher collection. However, the metal items have suffered further corrosion since their description in Bleacher's report (1979:24). Specifically these were the axe head and the iron "skeleton key." The key was fragmented and unrecognizable, and the axe head was severely delaminated and fragmented. The ACMP has packed the latter with silica gel, but further attention is recommended if the artifact is to be properly stabilized. The MIMA catalog card for the axe head also appeared to be missing.

Bleacher noted that she removed loose whole bricks from the site and stored them in "separate, labelled stacks" in the Hartwell Barn (1979:30). The barn currently houses many stacks of bricks from various MIMA sites, but labels are no longer attached. The bricks from Casey's are thus currently undifferentiated from those of other sites.

### Summary

The primary purpose of identifying data problems was to notify both curator and researcher of gaps in the Casey's collections and in the record of the excavations themselves. Bleacher's 1979 excavation was minimal in scope, and its record and collection are largely in good shape. Snow's 1967-68 excavations were major, and more serious data problems have been identified.

The most significant problems have resulted from incomplete documentation. All of Snow's field records were missing as of this writing. The project report and the artifacts themselves revealed that certain proveniences and sub-proveniences were dug but never mapped or otherwise recorded. In addition, stratigraphic data was lacking for all but Feature I. Needless to say, this limits the use of the collection for certain research purposes, particularly those requiring tight horizontal and vertical provenience data.

Snow's artifact collection also exhibited problems. The ACMP found 1607 items missing, or 7.5% of the original

collection inventory. Most of this loss may be accounted for by the mixing of materials during storage and the resulting loss of provenience data for unlabelled artifacts. Additional loss has also occurred. The ACMP inventory provides a current classification and count for the Casey's materials. This data will be used to address the interpretation of Casey's archeological deposits.

## Site Interpretation

Cordelia Snow was the only researcher to study Casey's site in depth. In addition to excavating the site, she investigated the documentary history of the property and its various occupants. She then interpreted the excavation results using both forms of data. This section will offer a summary of Snow's interpretation and a current ACMP evaluation.

### Snow's Interpretation

Historical Background: Snow's interpretation of Casey's site was twofold, focusing on the documentary and archeological records respectively. In pursuing the former, she encountered a very essential problem: the documents did not clearly identify Casey as one of the site's occupants. Snow used a variety of primary source material (including Concord Tax and Town records, Middlesex County Probate and Deed records) to arrive at a history of the property. This is presented in summary form in Table 17.6, a chain of title. Clearly, Casey was never listed as an owner or occupant of the house.

There is currently only one known reference linking Casey to the house site researched by Snow: the journals of Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau's relative George Minott claimed to have been:

born in the Casey house, i.e., the same in which C. lived, the second of three that stood beyond the old black house [The Orchard House, Alcott's home] (Thoreau as cited in Snow 1969a:4).

The Park identified the actual location of the site from this description, and requested Snow's investigation (Snow 1969a:2, 4).

It should be noted that the ACMP was unable to find documentation of just how this location was determined. Presumably at least one additional cellarhole was located between the Orchard House and Casey's site, though this cellarhole was not identified as to location or occupants. The only direct link that Snow reported between Thoreau's description and the site excavated was the documentary record, which correlated the site location with the house occupied by Thoreau's relative Minott, which in turn was supposedly occupied by Casey.

Snow was unable to decipher just when, or indeed if, Casey lived on the site. Supposedly Minott, son of Abigail Prescott Minott, was born in the house in 1783. His family

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Table 17.6

"Casey's Site" Chain of Title\*

- 1635 Land willed to son Eliphelet by Thomas Fox.
- 1666 First mention of Eliphelet's house.
- 1711 Eliphelet wills property to son Benoni.
- 1716 Benoni sells house/barn/land to William Clark.
- 1720 Clark sells part (house & 1/2 well) to John Blythe.
- 1724 Blythe (worsted weaver) acquires all property, later purchases small parcel to West (barn).
- 1740 Blythe dies and wills property to former apprentice John Farrar.
- 1742 Farrar sells to Henry Euers (husband to Tabitha Fox, Eliphelet's granddaughter).
- 1757 Euers dies and widow, Tabitha Fox, inherits.
- 1778 Joseph Turner has by this time acquired property (no deed of sale to Turner).
- 1783 Dr. Abel Prescott must have purchased property by this time because George Minott was born there in 1783. Prescott's daughter Abigail and family lived there until 1797.
- 1797 Prescott bought a second house west of Casey's and moved it closer to Concord.
- 1805 Prescott dies; daughter Abigail inherits "Casey's."
- 1825 Abigail dies. Probate lists property with "old house stand." Property bought at auction by Abiel Heywood for \$30, suggesting that the house was not inhabitable.

\* (information from C. T. Snow 1969a)

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apparently moved from the site in 1797, though it was still owned by Abigail's father (Snow 1969a:6-7). Abigail herself inherited the home in 1805 (Snow 1969a:7-8), but it is unclear as to whether anyone actually lived there after 1797. When she died in 1825, the lot "embracing the old house stand" was sold for only 30 dollars, suggesting that the house was

unoccupied and probably uninhabitable (Snow 1969a:8), if it was standing at all. It is also possible that the house was moved.

There was thus a hazy period in the historical documents, from 1797 to 1825. It may be that some of the Prescott/Minott family continued to use the house, leased it to others, or left it vacant. Snow did not further explore the alternatives. She recognized that Casey's occupancy was not documented, but felt certain "from Thoreau's descriptions that Casey lived on the property" (1969a:9). As a final comment, Snow proposed that "Casey must have occupied the house sometime between his return from the War [1783], and his death in 1822" (1969a:9), during the hazy years of Prescott/Minott ownership.

Historian Joyce Malcolm has commented that indeed Casey could have been a tenant, as tenants were not necessarily recorded in the tax records (Joyce Malcolm, personal communication 1985). Research on the property has left this issue open-ended. It is possible that further documentary investigation could provide additional clues. At this point,



Figure 17.4. Snow's field photograph facing south showing: Feature 1 (cellarhole) to the right; Feature 2 (chimney base) in the center; and the general area of Feature 3 (east parlor) to the left (MIMA.BWP.CS.16).

however, Casey's occupancy has not been verified. The Park has thus chosen to call the site the Eliphelet Fox house, in reference to its first occupant.

Archeological Features: Regardless of Casey's historical presence or absence, Snow excavated the so-called "Casey's" site and ventured interpretations of the archeological record. What she found provided "no evidence, archeologically, that a former slave had occupied the house, although the house was excavated for that reason" (Snow 1969a:31). The excavation did reveal clues to the architectural structure of the house, and located various refuse deposits rich in artifacts. These composed the subject matter of the greater part of Snow's report (1969a:10-31), which was largely descriptive rather than analytical in nature.

The site's architectural features reflected, in part, an idiom common to many 17th and 18th century homes in the area: a two room house with a half cellar (with bulkhead) and a central chimney (Features 1-3, Figure 17.2, and Figures 17.4, 17.5; for discussion of house type see Cummings 1979:22-39). Additional features presented less clear cut interpretations.



Figure 17.5. Snow's field photograph facing south showing the foundation stones for Feature 3 (east parlor) and a portion of the excavated chimney base (Feature 2) to the right. Note also the two stones to the extreme left which indicate the southern extent of Feature 4 foundations (1969a:Figure 3) (MIMA.CS.CS.1).



Figure 17.6. Snow's field photograph showing retaining wall which Snow defined as the northern boundary of Feature 4 (1969a:Figure 4) (MIMA.CS.CS.2).

Feature 4, located across the back of Features 2 and 3, was possibly a kitchen ell (Snow 1969a:14). However, its composition was not altogether straightforward. Snow defined as its northern boundary a stone retaining wall built into the foot of the hill and located ca. 14-15 feet north of Feature 3 (Figures 17.2, 17.6). Other characteristics of the feature remained unexplained. First, the retaining wall turned to the south and traveled the eastern length of Feature 4 and an additional five feet along the east side of Feature 3, leaving a four foot gap or "passageway" between house and wall (Snow 1969a:15). Snow speculated that there may have been "an outside entrance in the southeast corner of the room" (1969a:30). At the west end of Feature 4, the retaining wall turned northward, its final destination remaining buried beneath the overburden of hill slumpage.

A second Feature 4 anomaly was an eight foot "east-west line of rocks" located seven feet north of Feature 2 (Snow 1969a:15). According to Snow's site plan (Figure 17.2), these stones also extended north at the western edge of Feature 4. Snow suggested "that it formed the base of another wall" (Snow 1969a:15), one which would thus have run through the center of the kitchen ell.

This stone wall and the rear retaining wall bounded a final Feature 4 anomaly: a "flagstone floor" (Snow 1969a:#15).

Snow did not venture an interpretation beyond calling it a "floor." Dimensions of the flagstone area were not specified or mapped, but it was clear from Snow's description that the flagstones did not appear between the anomalous line of stones and the Feature 3 foundation. The presumed "flooring" thus did not extend across all of Feature 4.

Feature 5 was also not clear cut. It covered an area 6 1/2 by 7 1/2 feet, with "cobbles laid in intensively burned clay" in the northern half, and "handmade bricks laid on edge in the clay" in the southern half (Snow 1969a:16). Snow felt that the feature could "best be interpreted as a second chimney base, although no indication of a hearth, or hearths, were uncovered" (Snow 1969a:16). To the west of the feature were more flagstones, which Snow again interpreted as flooring, the function of which was unknown. Excavations were curtailed in this area due to constraints of time and funding, and Snow recommended further research (Snow 1969a:17).

Identification of the foregoing architectural features was the major thrust of Snow's excavations and interpretations. Of the five features, three were easily interpreted while two remained incompletely defined (Features 4 and 5). Outstanding questions concerning the features will be addressed in the ACMP Interpretation section.

Artifact Analysis: Excavation of the five architectural features resulted in an artifact collection of over 30,000 items (ACMP count). Snow devoted twelve pages of her 31 page report to a descriptive discussion of the artifacts, primarily focusing on ceramics (1969a:18-29). In addition, she made some attempt to interpret the origin of these rich archeological deposits.

Generally Snow felt that erosion from Revolutionary Ridge, the hill abutting the backside of Casey's site, was responsible for the formation of the archeological deposits she excavated. The hurricane of 1938 had apparently nearly "denuded" the hill (Snow 1969a:10). Snow believed that:

this storm and others accounted for the very rapid filling of the site -- five feet of fill had accumulated since abandonment of the site in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Snow 1969a:10).

However, it seems that Feature 1, the cellarhole, was the only deposit to contain five feet of fill. Describing it, Snow reiterated that the fill (actually 5 1/2 feet deep across a 15 by 18 foot cellarhole) "consisted of wash from the steep hill behind the site" (1969a:11).

In the northeast corner of Feature 4, excavators uncovered "an accumulation of eighteenth century trash... separated from floor level by approximately five inches of sterile soil" (Snow 1969a:15-16). Snow also described the origin of this deposit as "not an intentional deposit, (but) rather an accumulation of trash from the slope in back of the house" (1969a:16). The reason for the presence of this material on the hillside was not specified.

Only one deposit was specifically described as originating from a source other than hill slumpage. This was the "intrusive nineteenth century trash deposit" in Feature 1 (Snow 1969a:11). The 18 inch deep, 3 foot diameter trash pit was located "in the center of the cellar" (Snow 1969a:12). Presumably Snow felt that the trash had been intentionally disposed of at the site "during the last half of the nineteenth century" (1969a:12), and that it intruded into the surrounding erosional fill.

From the foregoing statements, it would seem that Snow believed all deposits to be secondary. Presumably all but the 19th century trash pit resulted from erosional downwash from Revolutionary Ridge after the site was abandoned. In turn, this would mean that none of the materials excavated were from "in-situ" primary deposits, those which would have accumulated during the actual occupation of the site. Snow's interpretation of the origin of excavated deposits will be further addressed in the ACMP Interpretation section of this report.

In her report, Snow focused on the description rather than the analysis of excavation results. However, she did use the manufacture dates of certain artifact types to aid, in general ways, the interpretation of site history.

For the most part this involved the site's occupation dates. Historic ceramics provided one frame of reference. Snow wrote that "all of the pottery and porcelain recovered is common to late seventeenth and eighteenth century sites" (1969a:18). According to Snow, the only exception to this was the "Ironstone" excavated from the intrusive 19th century trash deposit in Feature 1. Snow reasoned that:

the fact that no Ironstone was recovered from the rest of the site, indicates that Casey's was abandoned before Ironstone gained popularity in the early nineteenth century (Snow 1969a:21).

To further specify an occupation date range, Snow used the "Harrington time scale" for tobacco pipe stem analysis. Results indicated "that the site was occupied from 1650 to 1800" (Snow 1969a:22). Snow explained that this agreed "with the historical documentation for the site" (1969a:22).

Indeed, Snow's chronological interpretations served only to confirm the documentary evidence she had located for Casey's.

In only one instance did Snow go beyond general site chronology to a more specific level of artifact interpretation. This involved the construction history of the house as reflected by the artifact class nails. Snow made two conclusions about the more than 1000 recovered nails:

1) the number of nails suggest that when the house was abandoned, little if any building material was salvaged, at least, few nails; 2) the fact that all the nails were hand wrought suggests that the house was not remodeled from at least 1790 on. If it had been repaired, one would expect that cut nails would have been recovered (Snow 1969a:24).

The lack of cut nails also neatly supported her conclusion that by at least 1825 the house had been abandoned.

It is clear that Snow did not go to great lengths to analyze the recovered artifacts or to interpret Casey's archeological deposits. There are also some questions about the few conclusions she did make based on artifactual evidence. These issues will be addressed in the following section.

### ACMP Interpretation

There were no specific objectives guiding Snow's excavations beyond the general stated purpose to "locate and investigate the site of Casey's house" (Snow 1969a:2). The resulting emphasis of Snow's work was thus to locate and expose architectural features, and she provided a descriptive report of the features excavated and the artifacts recovered.

The ACMP evaluated the results of Snow's research. She offered little in the way of artifact analysis or site interpretation. The interpretation she provided carried some implicit contradictions and misleading conclusions. These will be reviewed in order to increase the understanding of Casey's collection and the site research as a whole. In addition, this section will offer the ACMP's evaluation of the integrity of the Casey's collection and its research potential.

Problems with Snow's Interpretation: One contradiction in Snow's interpretation was her conclusion that the site had been filled by erosion from the adjacent hillside, resulting from various storms up through at least 1938 (1969a:10), while on the other hand she stated that all ceramics were 17th and 18th century wares (1969a:18). Moreover, she used some of

these redeposited materials to date the occupation of Casey's site (e.g., kaolin pipe stems (1969a:22)).

There were inherent problems in these arguments. First, it did not appear reasonable that storms affecting the hillside through the 20th century would result in erosion of only 17th and 18th century materials. It is true that a full range of interpretive possibilities might include such a scenario, but reason would argue for more likely explanations.

Nor did it seem that the steep 50 foot hillside would have contained the massive quantities of artifacts which were deposited at Casey's. More likely, hillside erosion would have deposited topsoil and organic debris with much smaller quantities of historic artifacts.

Perhaps the most serious flaw in Snow's interpretation was her assumption that artifacts deposited by hillside erosion could help to date the occupation of the site. Clearly, any materials thus deposited would be classified as secondary rather than primary refuse. As such, they would have nothing to do with the former residents of Casey's, but would rather compose a disturbed archeological deposit transported from a separate and unknown source location. It may be that some of the redeposited materials were from Casey's site, but they could also be from the Wayside or other nearby or more distant locations. Pipe stems from such an assemblage could not possibly provide occupation dates for the site (Snow 1969a:22). Nor would nails from such an assemblage reveal the construction history of the house (Snow 1969a:24).

Further interpretive confusion resulted from Snow's misidentification of artifacts. For example, all of the more than 1000 recovered nails were supposedly hand wrought (Snow 1969a:24). The ACMP inventory showed, to the contrary, that hand wrought nails accounted for only 16.4% of the total nail assemblage. The hand wrought percentage varied from feature to feature, but never rose to even 30% of the individual assemblages (Table 17.7). Machine cut nails composed the largest percentage of the total assemblage (56.6%), while wire nails composed only 2.8%, and 24.3% were indeterminate (Table 17.7).

Thus even if the Casey assemblage reflected the site itself rather than a secondary deposit, the nails would not support Snow's hypothesis that no house renovations were made after about 1790 (1969a:24). The large number of cut nails actually present would in fact argue for construction activity after the introduction of cut nail technology. Most importantly, however, if the assemblage resulted from secondary refuse, the nails would reveal nothing about the house construction.

Table 17.7

Nail Assemblage: Casey's Site  
Snow Collection

| <u>Nail Type</u> | <u>F1</u>         | <u>F2</u>        | <u>F3</u>        | <u>F4</u>         | <u>F5</u> | <u>Misc. Other</u> | <u>Total Assemblage</u> |
|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Hand wrought     | 158(11.8%)        | 7 (3.0%)         | 91(20.7%)        | 201(27.5%)        | 0         | 68(14.9%)          | 525(16.4%)              |
| Machine Cut      | 767(57.2%)        | 164(69.5%)       | 280(63.6%)       | 309(42.2%)        | 0         | 293(64.4%)         | 1813(56.6%)             |
| Wire             | 60 (4.5%)         | 0                | 12 (2.7%)        | 0                 | 0         | 16 (3.5%)          | 88 (2.8%)               |
| Indeterminate    | <u>356(26.6%)</u> | <u>65(27.5%)</u> | <u>57(13.0%)</u> | <u>222(30.3%)</u> | <u>0</u>  | <u>78(17.1%)</u>   | <u>778(24.3%)</u>       |
| Total            | 1341              | 236              | 440              | 732               | 0         | 455                | 3204                    |

Table 17.8

Bottle Glass Assemblage: Casey's Site  
Snow Collection

| <u>Manufacturing Technique</u> | <u>F1</u>       | <u>F2</u>       | <u>F3</u>  | <u>F4</u>       | <u>F5</u> | <u>Misc. Other</u> | <u>Total Assemblage</u> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Freeblown                      | 58 (7.9%)       | 29(41.4%)       | 105(54.4%) | 237(45.2%)      | 19(63.3%) | 32(10.8%)          | 480(26.0%)              |
| Blown-in-Mold                  | 130(17.8%)      | 10(14.3%)       | 32(16.6%)  | 252(48.1%)      | 5(16.7%)  | 89(30.2%)          | 518(28.1%)              |
| Automatic Machine Made         | 539(73.7%)      | 25(35.7%)       | 56(29.0%)  | 34 (6.5%)       | 6(20.0%)  | 172(58.3%)         | 832(45.1%)              |
| Indeterminate                  | <u>4 (0.6%)</u> | <u>6 (8.6%)</u> | -          | <u>1 (0.2%)</u> | -         | <u>2 (0.7%)</u>    | <u>13 (0.7%)</u>        |
| Total                          | 731             | 70              | 193        | 524             | 30        | 295                | 1843                    |

Snow also misidentified the bottle glass fragments from Casey's, reporting that "all of these were handblown" (1969a:24). The ACMP inventory found freeblown glass to compose just 26% of all Casey's bottle glass. Blown-in-mold bottle glass accounted for 28.1% and automatic machine made glass for the largest percentage, 45.1% (Table 17.8).

It was true that these percentages varied widely on a feature-specific basis, and that Feature 1 (especially Levels 2 and 3) contained the majority of automatic machine made glass (73.7% of the Feature 1 bottle glass assemblage). Features 2 through 5 contained higher percentages of freeblown glass, ranging from approximately 40 to 60%. Nonetheless, it was clear that a variety of bottle manufacturing techniques were represented throughout the Casey's assemblage. This was significant for purposes of site interpretation. Snow's comment would lead one to believe that the entire assemblage was deposited prior to the development of the mold and machine technologies of the 19th and 20th centuries. Clearly this was not the case.

Historic ceramics were similarly misreported. Snow believed all to be 17th and 18th century wares, except for the "Ironstone" recovered from the Feature 1 19th century trash pit (1969a:18, 20-21). Yet she herself cataloged the presence of "Ironstone" throughout Feature 1 as well as in Feature 2, 3, and 4W. The ACMP inventoried whiteware in these as well as other proveniences (Table 17.9).

In addition, Snow cataloged pearlwares as creamwares, thus representing a later ceramic type (late 18th-early 19th century) as an earlier ware (mid-late 18th century). The ACMP separated these types. The resulting inventory revealed the presence of late 18th and 19th century wares in proveniences other than the Feature 1 "trash deposit" (see Table 17.9 for pearlware locations). On the whole, these wares did not represent a large portion of the total ceramic collection (Table 17.10). However, they did suggest that Casey's collection should not be generalized as a 17th and 18th century assemblage with the one exception of materials from an intrusive 19th century trash pit in Feature 1.

There is a much larger question behind all discussions of artifact dates and their presence or absence in various Casey's proveniences. It is a question which ultimately determines the overall interpretive possibilities of Casey's collection. Namely, what was the origin of the site's archeological deposits, and were they related at all to its occupation? This question must be asked before the artifacts can be used to provide any site-specific interpretation.

Table 17.9

Casey's Ceramic Assemblage  
 Occurrence of "Ironstone" (Snow), Whiteware and Pearlware (ACMP)

| <u>Snow's Catalog</u>             |  | <u>ACMP Inventory</u>                              |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| <u>"Ironstone" Locations</u>      | <u>Whiteware Locations</u>                         | <u>Pearlware Locations</u>                         |  |
| F1: L2, L3,<br>L4, L5, L6,<br>ALL | F1: L1, L2, L3,<br>L4, L5, L6,<br>ALL, EW, SWY-ALL | F1: L1, L2, L3,<br>L4, L5, L6,<br>ALL, EW, SWY-ALL |  |
| F2: L2                            | F2: L2   | F2: L2, L3   |  |
| F3: L3                            | F3: L1, L2, L3                                     | F3: L1, L2, L3                                     |  |
| F4W: L2                           | F4W: L2  | F4E: L1, L2, ALL,<br>CCL-U                         |  |
| Backdirt                          | Backdirt   | F4W: L1, L2, L3, ALL                               |  |
|                                   | Unprovenanced                                      | F5: L1   |  |
|                                   |  | F7: L1   |  |
|                                   |  | Backdirt   |  |
|                                   | Unprovenanced                                      | Unprovenanced                                      |  |

Table 17.10

Casey's Site Ceramic Assemblage  
Snow Collection, ACMP Counts

| <u>Ware Type</u>     | <u>F1</u>   | <u>F2</u>   | <u>F3</u>   | <u>F4</u>   | <u>F5</u>  | <u>Misc.<br/>Other</u> | <u>Total<br/>Assemblage</u> |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>Earthenwares:</b> |             |             |             |             |            |                        |                             |
| Redware              | 2751        | 443         | 996         | 3882        | 350        | 983                    | 9405                        |
| Tin Enamel           | 59          | 9           | 22          | 48          | 3          | 112                    | 253                         |
| Coarse Buff-Bodied   | 14          | 9           | 7           | 25          | 1          | 6                      | 62                          |
| Creamware            | 1310        | 500         | 928         | 596         | 103        | 765                    | 4202                        |
| Pearlware            | 373         | 114         | 168         | 144         | 13         | 141                    | 953                         |
| Whiteware            | 443         | 20          | 27          | 1           | 0          | 55                     | 546                         |
| Other Earthenware    | 93          | 11          | 10          | 22          | 0          | 20                     | 156                         |
| <b>Porcelain:</b>    | 96          | 26          | 34          | 28          | 0          | 11                     | 195                         |
| <b>Stonewares:</b>   |             |             |             |             |            |                        |                             |
| Nottingham           | 10          | 2           | 0           | 11          | 18         | 1                      | 42                          |
| Westerwald           | 9           | 1           | 3           | 2           | 0          | 0                      | 15                          |
| White Salt Glazed    | 105         | 32          | 33          | 60          | 4          | 23                     | 257                         |
| Domestic             | 47          | 1           | 0           | 1           | 0          | 1                      | 50                          |
| Other                | 26          | 2           | 0           | 11          | 4          | 5                      | 48                          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>         | <b>5336</b> | <b>1170</b> | <b>2228</b> | <b>4831</b> | <b>496</b> | <b>2123</b>            | <b>16,184</b>               |

Casey's Site Archeological Deposits: There was little doubt that a large percentage of the Casey's material was deposited after the site was abandoned and the house either torn down or otherwise destroyed. Archeologists have noted this as a common pattern at historic sites. Once a structure is destroyed, the open cellarhole becomes a logical and prime candidate for trash disposal. Often it may be nearby residents who fill the cellar, either for purposes of convenience or to eliminate the hazard of an open cellarhole. One such procedure was documented, for example, in Simon Brown's diary when he tore down the Rhoades house and filled in its cellar (Chapter 20, Appendix 20.2).

Casey's site may well have become such a dump. Certainly erosion from the steep hillside would have had some impact on site formation through time. But it is doubtful that it would have caused complete filling as Snow suggested (1969a:10). Archeologist Baker, in his overview of MIMA archeology, has gone so far as to suggest "that the cellarhole and surrounding area became a dump for the residents of the Wayside" (Baker 1980:60), though this speculation cannot be confirmed.

The specific origin of the fill could not be determined from the artifact collection alone. However, available evidence did suggest that Casey's collection may be largely the result of post-occupation dumping and filling.

The presence of whitewares in the collection has already been noted (Table 17.9). Given that whiteware was not produced until 1820, its presence in the collection neatly dovetailed with the documentary record which strongly indicated that the house was no longer inhabitable in 1825 (Snow 1969a:8). It thus made sense that whitewares would be present in those proveniences which were deposited after site abandonment.

It was difficult to more specifically date the various deposits at Casey's. Previously mentioned data problems hindered the analysis and comparison of provenience assemblages. For example, proveniences appeared to represent arbitrarily designated deposits rather than distinct closed context features. They may also have represented only partial recoveries or material which was combined with other proveniences (see Data Problems section). In addition, the location, extent, and depth of many proveniences were unknown.

The inability to confidently date Casey's assemblages was particularly critical for interpretation of how the materials were deposited. For example, identification of possible dumping episodes could not be defined through common analytical channels. Typically this would involve the comparison of percentages and ratios of chronologically diagnostic artifact types as they appeared in successive

stratigraphic deposits. Often such procedures can also be used to determine whether certain proveniences represent "in situ" primary deposits related to the site occupants. For Casey's, the method of excavation and poor provenience data prevented the separation of possible primary deposits from secondary fill.

There was, however, one remaining form of information which aided the interpretation of Casey's deposits. Snow inadvertently provided this information when she and her crew attempted to crossmend ceramic sherds for vessel reconstruction. They in fact went to great length to crossmend even relatively small portions of vessels. The ACMP discovered this during the reinventory of the collection. Note was made of crossmends on ACMP coding sheets, and a list was drawn up of proveniences represented by crossmended vessels. As a result it was possible to trace where various sherds of the same vessel ended up in the archeological record. In turn, this aided the interpretation of how the record was created.

Proveniences containing crossmended sherds are indicated on Figure 17.7. This figure reveals that materials from a surprising number of proveniences were interconnected. Sherds of the crossmended vessels were located in seemingly disparate areas of the site, in a variety of stratigraphic positions. For example, sherds from the bottom of the cellarhole (Feature 1 Level 6) crossmended with sherds from higher cellar levels (1, 4 and 5) as well as various levels of other Features (Feature 3 Levels 2 and 3, Feature 4E Level 1, and Feature 4W). Level 3 of the cellarhole, which contained the materials from Snow's supposed "intrusive 19th century trash deposit" (Table 17.2), had sherds which crossmended with most Feature 1 levels (2-6) and with proveniences from Features 2, 4W, and 4E. These are just two examples of the wide dispersion, both horizontal and vertical, of vessel sherds throughout the Casey's site assemblage.

The crossmend data was perhaps the most useful interpretive tool available for Casey's. Such intermixing of materials from a specific set of vessels strongly suggested that the entire area excavated served as a dump for secondary refuse. The crossmends also suggested that if any primary deposits were present, they were either left unexcavated or they were not excavated separately from proveniences containing secondary refuse, thus mixing the artifactual assemblages.

It is possible to better evaluate the date of the dump if indeed it represented a single source deposit. The latest dated items in the collection were located in Feature 1 Level 3. This provenience contained a number of mid to late 19th century bottles, but also contained several ceramic vessels

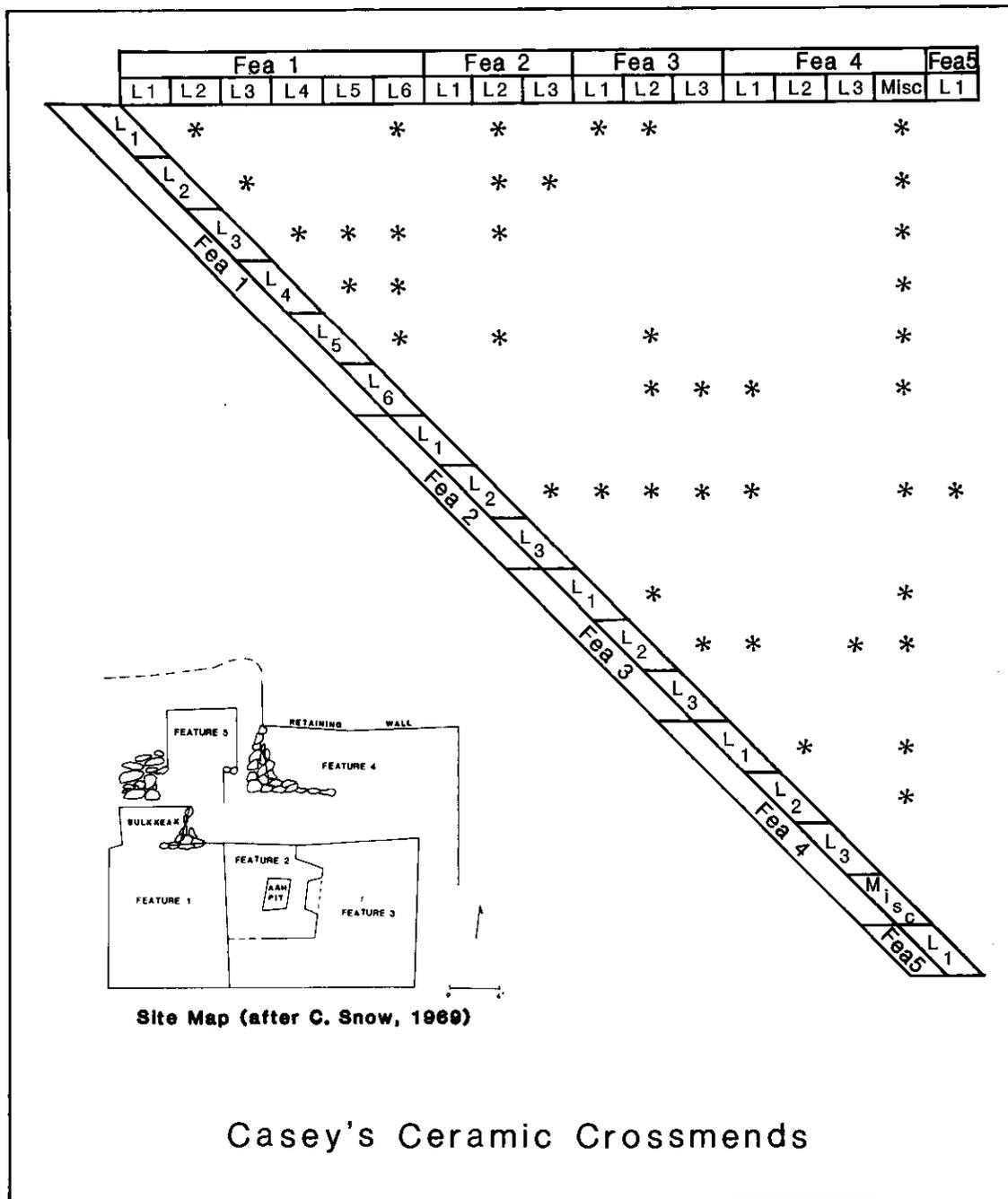


Figure 17.7. Ceramic crossmends from the Casey's site collection. Asterisks indicate presence of crossmended sherds from provenience at far left of row and provenience at top of column. For example, the asterisk in the upper left corner indicates that sherd(s) from Feature 1 Level 1 crossmended with sherd(s) from Feature 1 Level 2.

with maker's marks dating into the 20th century (a bowl dated to 1927+ and a saucer dated to 1931).

There was, however, a problem with dating the entire collection to a 20th century dumping episode, even though Level 3 items crossmended with materials from other proveniences. Namely, Level 3 contained many of the items listed by Snow as part of an "intrusive" 19th century trash deposit, indicating that she later combined the intrusive materials with those from the surrounding fill (see Data Problems section). If indeed the trash deposit was truly an intrusive feature and not part of the main fill deposit, its contents cannot be used to date the dump as a whole.

Excluding Level 3 materials, the remaining provenience assemblages would suggest a somewhat earlier date of deposition. Snow reported that the collection was composed of 17th and 18th century materials, but misidentified certain artifact groups. The ACMP inventory revealed a substantial early assemblage, but also identified 19th century materials. Whiteware (post-1820) constituted 1.8% of the ceramic collection (3.4% including F1-L3). Yellowware (post-1840) was also present, though more than half was located in Feature 1 Level 3 (18 of 27 total sherds), and even then it constituted only .2% of the total ceramic assemblage. Automatic bottle glass (late 19th century) accounted for 34.7% of the bottle glass assemblage (45.1% including F1-L3).

The percentages of 19th century materials, particularly the ceramics, were relatively small. Also, the recognized provenience data problems did not allow an assured interpretation of assemblage dates. Nonetheless, the presence of later materials argued that the intermixed (through crossmends) proveniences were deposited during the latter part of the 19th century. The range of materials present may further indicate that another trash deposit(s) was gathered from another location(s) and redeposited at Casey's, filling in the abandoned cellarhole and surrounding features.

In the final analysis we can say that the collection from Casey's was not exclusively a 17th-18th century assemblage. Nor did it appear to be related to site occupation. Rather, the ACMP interpretation argued that the materials were deposited at the site after it was abandoned, possibly during the latter part of the 19th century.

The data problems noted in this and the previous section have unfortunately limited the analysis of Casey's collection and thus the interpretation of potential in-situ deposits as well as the date of site abandonment and subsequent filling. It follows that future researchers will be confronted by the same limitations. For example, it has been suggested that the vast assemblage of animal bones from Casey's (3674 bones, or

11.6% of the entire Casey's collection) "be analyzed in detail" (Baker 1980:61), as they might provide interesting information about occupants' dietary patterns. This would be of particular interest to researchers studying the foodways of different ethnic groups (e.g., see Schuyler 1980). Had Casey, a free black, lived in the house and been responsible for deposition of the bones, the assemblage would truly be of larger historical significance. However, there was little doubt that the animal bones, like the other collection subassemblages, were secondarily deposited after site abandonment. They thus hold no interpretive value concerning the foodways of the people who lived in the so-called "Casey's" house.

Architectural Features: The interpretation of Snow's excavation results would not be complete without mention of the site's architectural features. Features 1, 2 and 3 most certainly represented a two room house with a massive central chimney and half cellar. Features 4 and 5 were less easily interpreted. Snow proposed that Feature 4 was a kitchen ell (1969a:14). It is quite likely that the house had a kitchen ell or "lean-to," as this was common for houses of the period (see Cummings 1979:22-39). However, Feature 4 dimensions were not at all certain. It possibly extended north just seven feet to the first stone wall discovered by Snow (Figure 17.2), rather than all the way to the retaining wall. A seven foot width is several feet narrower than usual for other MIMA lean-to's, but would not be beyond question (Orville Carroll, personal communication 1985). The "flagstone floor" would thus be an exterior feature between house and retaining wall.

Neither explanation of Feature 4's architectural configuration is certain, and each raises its own questions. The point is that a number of plausible explanations exist. Caution should be taken in interpreting the structure to leave these possibilities open-ended.

The same was true for Feature 5, which Snow hypothesized might have served as a second chimney base (1969a:16). Snow herself noted problems with its interpretation. A glance at the site plan shows that Feature 5 is an unlikely location for a chimney, given its proximity to the bulkhead (a stairwell entrance) and its disassociation from other structural features (Figure 17.2). Thus the interpretation of Feature 5 must also remain open-ended. Had the excavation been better controlled and more fully recorded, the archeological evidence (both soils and artifact assemblages) might have held answers to the interpretation of Features 4 and 5. As it stands, the site's architectural configuration remains partially undefined.

Summary: There were a number of interpretive points which could be made about Casey's site given the results and evaluation of Snow's excavation. Concerning the structure itself, there was no doubt that the house conformed to the standard architectural idiom of two rooms (hall and parlor) with central chimney and half cellar. It may well have had a rear lean-to, but its precise dimensions and the function of an additional feature (Feature 5) remain undefined.

The artifact collection from Snow's excavation contained a multitude of 17th-18th century artifacts, as well as some 19th and a few 20th century materials. It seemed that these materials were deposited after the house was abandoned, and were brought to the site as secondary refuse from an unspecified location. The artifacts could not be used, therefore, to interpret the history of the site itself. Nevertheless, the abundance and condition of the materials make them fine candidates for use in reference collections, for general study of the goods available to area residents at the time, or for exhibits interpreting the everyday life of early MIMA area residents.

Perhaps the most basic problem in the interpretation of "Casey's" site is that there is currently no real evidence that Casey ever occupied the house excavated by Snow. Henry David Thoreau's journal account has been the only basis for calling the house "Casey's" (Snow 1969a:3-4). Archeological excavations produced no evidence one way or another (Snow 1969a:31). Snow's documentary research yielded no positive evidence, but left open the possibility that Casey lived on the site during another family's ownership, sometime between 1783 and 1822 (1969a:9).

Clearly, an absolute association between Casey and the alleged "Casey's site" would be unfounded and erroneous. But regardless of Casey's presence, the site carries a story, a story as yet not well-defined by either historical or archeological research. The house on this site was occupied during the 17th, 18th, and possibly beginning of the 19th centuries (Table 17.6). Snow's work may have had shortcomings, but at the least it provided a beginning.

### Management Summary

The Eliphelet Fox house site was first located in 1967 by Park Historian Robert Ronsheim and Archeologist Cordelia Snow. They believed it to be the house once occupied by Casey. Henry David Thoreau had described Casey as a slave who was granted his freedom after participating in the American Revolution. However, historical research to date has not found evidence that Casey actually lived on the site. The house itself was situated on the Battle Road in 1775. It was first occupied by Eliphelet Fox during the early days of Concord settlement, and stood into the 19th century.

### Previous Archeology

One major archeological investigation has been conducted at "Casey's" site. Cordelia Snow, on contract to NPS, fully excavated the subsurface remains of the house during two field seasons in 1967 and 1968. She found architectural features which indicated that the house had conformed to the typical architectural idiom of the day, a two room house with a half cellar and central chimney. Possible evidence was also found for a kitchen ell which extended across the back of the house. In addition, Snow believed that she had excavated a second chimney base, on the western edge of the ell and north of the western parlor.

Snow's excavations resulted in a large collection of 17th and 18th century materials. She in fact reported that the only 19th century materials came from an intrusive deposit in the cellar fill. The evidence of these materials in conjunction with a date range derived from the site's pipe stems confirmed the documentary record of the site's occupation from the mid 17th century through the beginning of the 19th century. No direct evidence of Casey's occupation was found, but Snow still believed that he had lived on the site, possibly between 1783 and 1822 when the site was owned by the Prescott family.

NPS Archeologist Joan Bleacher conducted a minor excavation at Casey's site in order to determine the integrity of the central chimney base prior to site stabilization. Only a few artifacts were recovered during this work, adding no insight to site interpretation. Subsequently, Bleacher outlined the area of the two major rooms of the house with field stones and covered the interior with a layer of gravel.

### ACMP Interpretation

The ACMP evaluated Snow's analysis of the site. Indeed, it appeared that she uncovered the remains of a two room house

with half cellar, central chimney, and a possible rear kitchen lean-to. However, the identity of a second chimney base was questionable.

It did not appear that the artifacts recovered related to site occupation, and thus could not be used to date the site. Through the analysis of crossmended ceramic vessel data, the ACMP determined that most if not all of the artifacts had been brought to the site as secondary fill after the house was abandoned, probably during the late 19th century. This meant that the collection could not be used to interpret site history.

The lack of rigorous controls during Snow's excavations unfortunately limited the potential of the collection for analysis. Certainly no evidence of Casey's occupation was found in the archeological record, nor has it been established from the documentary record. The ACMP could thus not verify Thoreau's story.

#### The "Casey's" Site Collection

The artifact collection from Snow's excavation consisted of more than 31,000 items. The ACMP found 1607 additional artifacts to be missing, totalling 7.5% of the original collection. This large collection has limited research value. However, it does contain a multitude of 17th and 18th century materials, and would serve as a fine study collection or as material for exhibition.

#### Public Interpretation of the Site

The Eliphelet Fox house site currently remains much as Bleacher left it following site stabilization (Figure 17.1). The perimeter of the major architectural features is outlined with stones, and a sign briefly tells Casey's story. Casey's occupation of this site has not been verified by either historical or archeological research, and would be more appropriately interpreted as local tradition. Interpretation of the house foundations uncovered by Snow might instead focus on the known history of the site, including the dates of site occupation and its known inhabitants (Table 17.6). The impressive collection of artifacts from this site would also be prime candidates for an exhibit on 17th and 18th century material culture.

## Recommendations

Excavations at "Casey's" site revealed a previously undelineated colonial structure but left many questions unanswered. Primary among these was the issue of Casey's occupancy. The ACMP recommends further documentary research for trying to pin down whether or not Casey actually lived at the site, and if so, when. Cordelia Snow narrowed the possibilities to the years spanning 1783 to 1822, though no real evidence was located to confirm her speculation.

Regardless of Casey's possible residence, the site has its own range of interpretive possibilities. Most of the occupants have been identified and the architectural features partially defined. Potential for additional archeological research also exists. Snow concentrated on excavation of the house itself, thus leaving exterior yard areas undisturbed. Deposits outside the foundations could provide more useful information about site history, as they would potentially reflect residential activity (primary deposits) rather than post-occupation dumping and filling.

The area of potential excavation is relatively small and very different from the yard space on most other MIMA sites. The steep hill immediately adjacent to the north side of the house, and the location of Route 2A to the south, leave only the side yards as possibilities for study. Nonetheless, these areas should be relatively undisturbed and available for testing. It is also possible that remains of the barn may be located to the west, providing an option for study of an 18th century barn (Snow 1969a:2).

Future archeological excavations at Casey's should be systematic, with tight horizontal and vertical controls. This would allow for the separation of primary and secondary deposits. Furthermore, it would provide comparable data sets for investigation of questions related to site history and, more broadly, to assemblages and patterns from other sites of an early time period (ca. 1666-1825).

In all likelihood, evidence of Casey's occupation would not be obtained from the archeological record. If his presence was verified through the documents, and the time frame delineated, the archeological record might provide data concerning activity during that period. Certainly this would be of interest, particularly as regards the general archeological study of ethnicity and free black life in early America. However, "Casey's" site as currently understood is not an ideal site for investigation of these issues. The site known as "Casey's" has other as yet unrealized potential.

Appendix 17.1

ACMP Provenience Codes, Casey's Site

I) Cordelia Thomas Snow Collection  
(Accession # 216, 263)

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Snow Provenience</u>                                     | <u>Acc. #</u> |
|------------------|---|---------------|
| CS-00F1-000-001  | Feature 1, Level 1  | 216 & 263     |
| CS-00F1-000-002  | Feature 1, Level 2  | 263           |
| CS-00F1-000-003  | Feature 1, Level 3  | 263           |
| CS-00F1-000-004  | Feature 1, Level 4  | 263           |
| CS-00F1-000-005  | Feature 1, Level 5  | 263           |
| CS-00F1-000-006  | Feature 1, Level 6  | 263           |
| CS-00F1-000-ALL  | Feature 1, All Levels                                       | 263           |
| CS-00F1-SEC-0FL  | Feature 1, Floor -<br>SE Corner                             | 263           |
| CS-00F1-SWY-ALL  | Feature 1, Southway,<br>All Levels                          | 263           |
| CS-00F1-SWC-ALL  | Feature 1, SW Corner,<br>All Levels                         | 263           |
| CS-00F1-0EW-000  | Feature 1, East Wall  | 263           |
| CS-00F1-0SW-012  | Feature 1, South Wall,<br>Approx. 12" depth                 | 263           |
| CS-00F1-0WW-ALL  | Feature 1, West Wall,<br>All Levels                         | 263           |
| CS-00F1-0HT-000  | Feature 1, Hearth Area                                      | 263           |
| CS-00F2-000-001  | Feature 2, Level 1  | 263           |
| CS-00F2-NHT-003  | Feature 2, Level 3,<br>North Wall of Hearth                 | 263           |
| CS-00F2-000-002  | Feature 2, Level 2  | 263           |
| CS-00F2-000-003  | Feature 2, Level 3  | 263           |
| CS-00F2-0CH-000  | Feature 2, Chimney Flue                                     | 263           |
| CS-00F3-000-001  | Feature 3, Level 1  | 263           |
| CS-00F3-000-002  | Feature 3, Level 2  | 263           |
| CS-00F3-000-003  | Feature 3, Level 3  | 263           |
| CS-00F4-000-ALL  | Feature 4, All Levels                                       | 263           |
| CS-00F4-0NW-002  | Feature 4, Level 2,<br>Retaining Wall N of F3               | 263           |
| CS-00F4-0NW-000  | Feature 4, North Wall                                       | 263           |
| CS-00F4-NF3-000  | Feature 4, North of<br>Feature 3                            | 263           |
| CS-00F4-0EW-000  | Feature 4, East Wall  | 263           |
| CS-0F4E-000-001  | Feature 4E, Level 1   | 263           |
| CS-0F4E-WE3-001  | Feature 4E, Retaining<br>Wall East of Feature 3,<br>Level 1 | 263           |
| CS-0F4E-WE3-002  | Feature 4E, Level 2   | 263           |
| CS-0F4E-CCL-001  | Feature 4E, 1st Charcoal<br>Layer                           |               |

(NOTE: Snow's excavation units were called "Features.")

Appendix 17.1 (Cont.)

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Snow Provenience</u>                     | <u>Acc. #</u> |
|------------------|---|---------------|
| CS-0F4E-CCL-002  | Feature 4E, 2nd Charcoal Layer              | 263           |
| CS-0F4E-CCL-00U  | Feature 4E, Upper Charcoal Layer            | 263           |
| CS-0F4E-CCL-000  | Feature 4E, Charcoal Layer                  | 263           |
| CS-0F4E-000-ALL  | Feature 4E, All Levels                      | 263           |
| CS-0F4E-0NW-000  | Feature 4E, North Wall                      | 263           |
| CS-0F4E-000-000  | Feature 4E                                  | 263           |
| CS-0F4W-000-001  | Feature 4W, Level 1                         | 263           |
| CS-0F4W-000-002  | Feature 4W, Level 2                         | 263           |
| CS-0F4W-000-003  | Feature 4W, Level 3                         | 263           |
| CS-0F4W-000-ALL  | Feature 4W, All Levels                      | 263           |
| CS-0F4W-NEX-000  | Feature 4W, Ext. N                          | 263           |
| CS-0F4W-RTW-00A  | Feature 4W, Above Retaining Wall            | 263           |
| CS-0F4W-000-000  | Feature 4W                                  | 263           |
| CS-00F5-000-001  | Feature 5, Level 1                          | 263           |
| CS-00F5-NEX-001  | Feature 5, Level 1, North Extension         | 263           |
| CS-00F5-THT-000  | Feature 5, On Top of Hearth                 | 263           |
| CS-00F7-000-001  | Feature 7, Level 1                          | 263           |
| CS-00F7-000-000  | Feature 7                                   | 263           |
| CS-00F8-000-ALL  | Feature 8, All Levels                       | 263           |
| CS-TERM-0EW-000  | Test for East Wall - East Room              | 263           |
| CS-0BDT-000-000  | Backdirt                                    | 263           |
| CS-0000-000-00S  | Surface                                     | 263           |
| CS-0000-WNE-001  | Retaining Wall, North of East Room, Level 1 | 263           |
| CS-0000-0WE-000  | Retaining Wall, East Room                   | 263           |
| CS-0000-000-000  | Unprovenienced materials from Casey's House | 263           |

II) Joan M. Bleacher Collection  
(Accession #299)

| <u>ACMP Code</u> | <u>Bleacher Provenience</u>     | <u>Acc. #</u> |
|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| CS-00U1-000-000  | Artifacts recovered from Unit 1 | 299           |

Appendix 17.2

ACMP Artifact Inventory  
for Accession #216/263, 299

CASEY'S Site

Accession #: 216/263 299 TOTALS % of  
Historic  
Ceramics

HISTORIC CERAMICS

Redware

|                        |      |   |      |       |
|------------------------|------|---|------|-------|
| Plain                  | 2605 | 0 | 2605 |       |
| Lead Glazed, 1 surface | 4033 | 0 | 4033 |       |
| Lead Glazed, 2 surface | 2087 | 0 | 2087 |       |
| Sgraffito              | 0    | 0 | 0    |       |
| Trailed Slipware       | 397  | 0 | 397  |       |
| Jackfield              | 68   | 0 | 68   |       |
| Astbury                | 0    | 0 | 0    |       |
| Other                  | 215  | 0 | 215  |       |
| Total Redware          | 9405 | 0 | 9405 | 58.1% |

Tin Enameled

|                    |     |   |     |      |
|--------------------|-----|---|-----|------|
| Delft              | 253 | 2 | 255 |      |
| Rouen/Faience      | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Other              | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Total Tin Enameled | 253 | 2 | 255 | 1.6% |

Coarse Buff Body

|                        |    |   |    |      |
|------------------------|----|---|----|------|
| Combed Ware            | 56 | 0 | 56 |      |
| Dotted Ware            | 2  | 0 | 2  |      |
| N. Devon Gravel        | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| Mottled                | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| Other                  | 4  | 0 | 4  |      |
| Total Coarse Buff Body | 62 | 0 | 62 | 0.4% |

Creamware

|                      |      |   |      |       |
|----------------------|------|---|------|-------|
| Plain                | 4008 | 4 | 4012 |       |
| Shell-Edged          | 7    | 0 | 7    |       |
| Other Edge Decorated | 30   | 0 | 30   |       |
| Handpainted          | 55   | 0 | 55   |       |
| Annular              | 55   | 0 | 55   |       |
| Transfer Printed     | 26   | 0 | 26   |       |
| Other                | 21   | 0 | 21   |       |
| Total Creamware      | 4202 | 4 | 4206 | 26.0% |

Pearlware

|                      |     |   |     |      |
|----------------------|-----|---|-----|------|
| Plain                | 473 | 1 | 474 |      |
| Shell-Edged          | 38  | 0 | 38  |      |
| Other Edge Decorated | 1   | 0 | 1   |      |
| Handpainted          | 404 | 0 | 404 |      |
| Annular              | 16  | 0 | 16  |      |
| Transfer Printed     | 18  | 0 | 18  |      |
| Other                | 3   | 0 | 3   |      |
| Total Pearlware      | 953 | 1 | 954 | 5.9% |

Whiteware

|                      |     |   |     |      |
|----------------------|-----|---|-----|------|
| Plain                | 307 | 0 | 307 |      |
| Shell-Edged          | 3   | 0 | 3   |      |
| Other Edge Decorated | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Handpainted          | 17  | 0 | 17  |      |
| Annular              | 2   | 0 | 2   |      |
| Transfer Printed     | 204 | 0 | 204 |      |
| Other                | 13  | 0 | 13  |      |
| Total Whiteware      | 546 | 0 | 546 | 3.4% |

CASEY'S Site

| Accession #:             | 216/263 | 299 | TOTALS | % of<br>Historic<br>Ceramics |
|--------------------------|---------|-----|--------|------------------------------|
| <b>Other Earthenware</b> |         |     |        |                              |
| Whieldon                 | 32      | 0   | 32     |                              |
| Lusterware               | 0       | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Agateware                | 0       | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Rockingham/Bennington    | 3       | 0   | 3      |                              |
| Yellowware               | 27      | 0   | 27     |                              |
| Other                    | 94      | 2   | 96     |                              |
| Total Other Earthen.     | 156     | 2   | 158    | 1.0%                         |
| <b>Porcelain</b>         |         |     |        |                              |
| Undecorated              | 46      | 0   | 46     |                              |
| Underglaze HP-monochro   | 100     | 0   | 100    |                              |
| Underglaze HP-polychro   | 13      | 0   | 13     |                              |
| Overglaze HP-monochrom   | 2       | 0   | 2      |                              |
| Overglaze HP-polychrom   | 9       | 0   | 9      |                              |
| Gilted                   | 0       | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Transfer Printed         | 0       | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 25      | 0   | 25     |                              |
| Total Porcelain          | 195     | 0   | 195    | 1.2%                         |
| <b>Stoneware</b>         |         |     |        |                              |
| Nottingham               | 42      | 0   | 42     | 0.3%                         |
| Other English Brown      | 0       | 0   | 0      | 0.0%                         |
| Bellarmino/Frenchen      | 1       | 0   | 1      | 0.0%                         |
| Westerwald/Raeren        | 14      | 0   | 14     | 0.1%                         |
| <b>White Salt Glazed</b> |         |     |        |                              |
| Plain                    | 181     | 1   | 182    |                              |
| Moulded                  | 29      | 0   | 29     |                              |
| Scratch Blue             | 46      | 0   | 46     |                              |
| Other                    | 1       | 0   | 1      |                              |
| Total White Salt Glz     | 257     | 1   | 258    | 1.6%                         |
| <b>Drybody</b>           |         |     |        |                              |
| Black Basaltes           | 0       | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Rosso Antico             | 0       | 0   | 0      |                              |
| Other                    | 5       | 0   | 5      |                              |
| Total Drybody            | 5       | 0   | 5      | 0.0%                         |
| <b>Other</b>             |         |     |        |                              |
| Utilitarian Import       | 5       | 0   | 5      |                              |
| Domestic                 | 50      | 0   | 50     |                              |
| Other                    | 38      | 0   | 38     |                              |
| Total Other              | 93      | 0   | 93     | 0.6%                         |
| Total Stoneware          | 412     | 1   | 413    | 2.6%                         |
| TOTAL HISTORIC CERAMICS  | 16184   | 10  | 16194  | 100.0%                       |
| % of Total Artifacts     |         |     |        | 51.6%                        |



CASEY'S Site

| Accession #:                    | 216/263     | 299      | TOTALS      | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---------------------------------|-------------|----------|-------------|----------------------------|
| <b>APPAREL</b>                  |             |          |             |                            |
| Clothing                        | 0           | 0        | 0           |                            |
| Footwear                        | 50          | 0        | 50          |                            |
| Other                           | 5           | 0        | 5           |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 3           | 0        | 3           |                            |
| TOTAL APPAREL                   | 58          | 0        | 58          | 0.2%                       |
| <b>BUTTONS, ETC.</b>            |             |          |             |                            |
| Button                          | 56          | 0        | 56          |                            |
| Buckle                          | 29          | 0        | 29          |                            |
| Other Fastener                  | 1           | 0        | 1           |                            |
| TOTAL BUTTONS, ETC.             | 86          | 0        | 86          | 0.3%                       |
| <b>HOUSEHOLD &amp; PERSONAL</b> |             |          |             |                            |
| Tableware                       | 57          | 0        | 57          |                            |
| Kitchenware                     | 31          | 0        | 31          |                            |
| Furniture & Hardware            | 8           | 0        | 8           |                            |
| Lighting Fixtures               | 783         | 0        | 783         |                            |
| Decorative Objects              | 8           | 0        | 8           |                            |
| Toiletries                      | 4           | 0        | 4           |                            |
| Stationary                      | 7           | 0        | 7           |                            |
| Coins/Tokens/Medals             | 4           | 0        | 4           |                            |
| Personal Objects                | 34          | 0        | 34          |                            |
| Toys                            | 4           | 0        | 4           |                            |
| Other                           | 39          | 0        | 39          |                            |
| Indeterminate                   | 6           | 0        | 6           |                            |
| TOTAL H & P                     | 985         | 0        | 985         | 3.1%                       |
| <b>SUBTOTAL</b>                 | <b>3496</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>3497</b> | <b>11.1%</b>               |

CASEY'S Site

|              |         |     |        |                            |
|--------------|---------|-----|--------|----------------------------|
| Accession #: | 216/263 | 299 | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|--------------|---------|-----|--------|----------------------------|

ARCHITECTURAL MATERIAL

Window Glass

|                |      |   |      |       |
|----------------|------|---|------|-------|
| Crown/Cylinder | 1519 | 0 | 1519 |       |
| Plate          | 2740 | 0 | 2740 |       |
| Other          | 0    | 0 | 0    |       |
| Indeterminate  | 3    | 0 | 3    |       |
| TOTAL GLASS    | 4262 | 0 | 4262 | 13.6% |

Nails

|                    |      |   |      |       |
|--------------------|------|---|------|-------|
| Handwrought        | 525  | 0 | 525  |       |
| Machine Cut I      | 219  | 0 | 219  |       |
| Machine Cut II     | 37   | 1 | 38   |       |
| Machine Cut Indet. | 1556 | 0 | 1556 |       |
| Wire               | 88   | 0 | 88   |       |
| Indeterminate      | 778  | 0 | 778  |       |
| TOTAL NAILS        | 3203 | 1 | 3204 | 10.2% |

Screws

|               |    |   |    |      |
|---------------|----|---|----|------|
| Handwrought   | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| Machine Cut   | 18 | 0 | 18 |      |
| Indeterminate | 0  | 0 | 0  |      |
| TOTAL SCREWS  | 18 | 0 | 18 | 0.1% |

Other Hardware

|                        |     |   |     |      |
|------------------------|-----|---|-----|------|
| Builders' Hardware     | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Window Hardware        | 8   | 0 | 8   |      |
| Door Hardware          | 11  | 8 | 19  |      |
| Electrical Hardware    | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Plumbing Hardware      | 1   | 0 | 1   |      |
| Lighting/Heating Hdwr. | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Other                  | 66  | 0 | 66  |      |
| Indeterminate          | 164 | 0 | 164 |      |
| TOTAL OTHER HDWR.      | 250 | 8 | 258 | 0.8% |

Structural Material

|                       |     |   |     |      |
|-----------------------|-----|---|-----|------|
| Brick                 | 19  | 0 | 19  |      |
| Mortar/Plaster        | 72  | 0 | 72  |      |
| Wood                  | 72  | 0 | 72  |      |
| Linoleum              | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Stone                 | 10  | 0 | 10  |      |
| Fiber                 | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Porcelain             | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Earthenware/Stoneware | 13  | 0 | 13  |      |
| Synthetic             | 0   | 0 | 0   |      |
| Metal                 | 5   | 0 | 5   |      |
| Other                 | 28  | 0 | 28  |      |
| TOTAL STRUCTURAL      | 219 | 0 | 219 | 0.7% |

CASEY'S Site

| Accession #:                         | 216/263  | 299    | TOTALS   | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|--------------------------------------|----------|--------|----------|----------------------------|
| Other Fastening Devices              |          |        |          |                            |
| Staples                              | 3        | 0      | 3        |                            |
| Bolts                                | 1        | 0      | 1        |                            |
| Wood Fasteners                       | 0        | 0      | 0        |                            |
| Other                                | 1        | 0      | 1        |                            |
| TOTAL FASTENING                      | 5        | 0      | 5        | 0.02%                      |
| <br>TOTAL ARCHITECTURAL<br>MATERIALS | <br>7957 | <br>9  | <br>7966 | <br>25.4%                  |
| <br>TOOLS & HARDWARE                 |          |        |          |                            |
| Hand Tools                           | 4        | 1      | 5        |                            |
| Machine Parts                        | 1        | 0      | 1        |                            |
| Domestic Animal Gear                 | 3        | 0      | 3        |                            |
| Transportation Objects               | 0        | 0      | 0        |                            |
| Weaponry/Accoutrements               | 7        | 0      | 7        |                            |
| Other                                | 4        | 0      | 4        |                            |
| Indeterminate                        | 1        | 0      | 1        |                            |
| TOTAL TOOLS & HDWR                   | 20       | 1      | 21       | 0.1%                       |
| <br>SUBTOTAL                         | <br>7977 | <br>10 | <br>7987 | <br>25.4%                  |

CASEY'S Site

| Accession #:  | 216/263 | 299  | TOTALS | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|---|---------|------|--------|----------------------------|
| <b>FUEL &amp; FIRE BYPRODUCTS (Weight in grams)</b> |         |      |        |                            |
| Coal  | 22.43   | 0.00 | 22.43  |                            |
| Charcoal  | 1.41    | 0.00 | 1.41   |                            |
| Ash/Cinders/Clinkers                                | 0.00    | 0.00 | 0.00   |                            |
| Wood  | 442.56  | 0.00 | 442.56 |                            |
| Slag  | 87.31   | 0.00 | 87.31  |                            |
| TOTAL FUEL & FIRE                                   | 553.71  | 0.00 | 553.71 |                            |
| <b>FLORAL &amp; FAUNAL REMAINS</b>                  |         |      |        |                            |
| <b>Shell (Weight in grams)</b>                      |         |      |        |                            |
| Bivalves  | 306.98  | 0.00 | 306.98 |                            |
| Univalves   | 0.00    | 0.00 | 0.00   |                            |
| Indeterminate Shell                                 | 0.00    | 0.00 | 0.00   |                            |
| Other Organic                                       | 1.00    | 0.00 | 1.00   |                            |
| <b>Bone</b>   |         |      |        |                            |
| Fish  | 0       | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Whale   | 0       | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Human   | 1       | 0    | 1      |                            |
| Mammal  | 3603    | 2    | 3605   |                            |
| Bird  | 68      | 0    | 68     |                            |
| Other   | 0       | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Indeterminate                                       | 0       | 0    | 0      |                            |
| TOTAL BONE  | 3672    | 2    | 3674   | 11.7%                      |
| <b>Vegetal Material</b>                             |         |      |        |                            |
| Seeds/Nuts  | 31      | 0    | 31     |                            |
| Other Comestibles                                   | 0       | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Other Vegetal Material                              | 1       | 0    | 1      |                            |
| TOTAL VEGETAL                                       | 32      | 0    | 32     | 0.1%                       |
| TOTAL FLORAL & FAUNAL                               | 3704    | 2    | 3706   | 11.8%                      |
| <b>LITHICS</b>                                      |         |      |        |                            |
| Fire Cracked Rock                                   | 0       | 0    | 0      |                            |
| Unworked Lithic                                     | 7       | 0    | 7      |                            |
| Gunflints   | 12      | 0    | 12     |                            |
| <b>Groundstone</b>                                  |         |      |        |                            |
| Historic  | 2       | 0    | 2      |                            |
| Prehistoric   | 2       | 0    | 2      |                            |
| Total Groundstone                                   | 4       | 0    | 4      |                            |
| <b>Chipped Stone</b>                                |         |      |        |                            |
| Point   | 1       | 0    | 1      |                            |
| Biface  | 1       | 0    | 1      |                            |
| Other   | 1       | 0    | 1      |                            |
| Total Chipped Stone                                 | 3       | 0    | 3      |                            |
| TOTAL LITHICS                                       | 26      | 0    | 26     | 0.1%                       |

CASEY'S Site

| Accession #:      | 216/263  | 299   | TOTALS   | % of<br>Total<br>Artifacts |
|-------------------|----------|-------|----------|----------------------------|
| SAMPLES           |          |       |          |                            |
| Soil              | 0        | 0     | 0        |                            |
| C-14              | 0        | 0     | 0        |                            |
| TOTAL SAMPLES     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0.0%                       |
| <br>SUBTOTALS     | <br>3730 | <br>2 | <br>3732 | <br>11.9%                  |
| GRAND TOTALS      |          |       |          |                            |
| SUBTOTAL HISTCER  | 16184    | 10    | 16194    |                            |
| SUBTOTAL PIPES    | 3496     | 1     | 3497     |                            |
| SUBTOTAL ARCHITEC | 7977     | 10    | 7987     |                            |
| SUBTOTAL FUELFIRE | 3730     | 2     | 3732     |                            |
|                   | 31387    | 23    | 31410    |                            |

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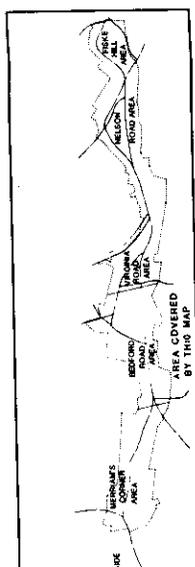
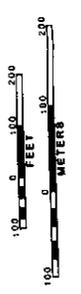
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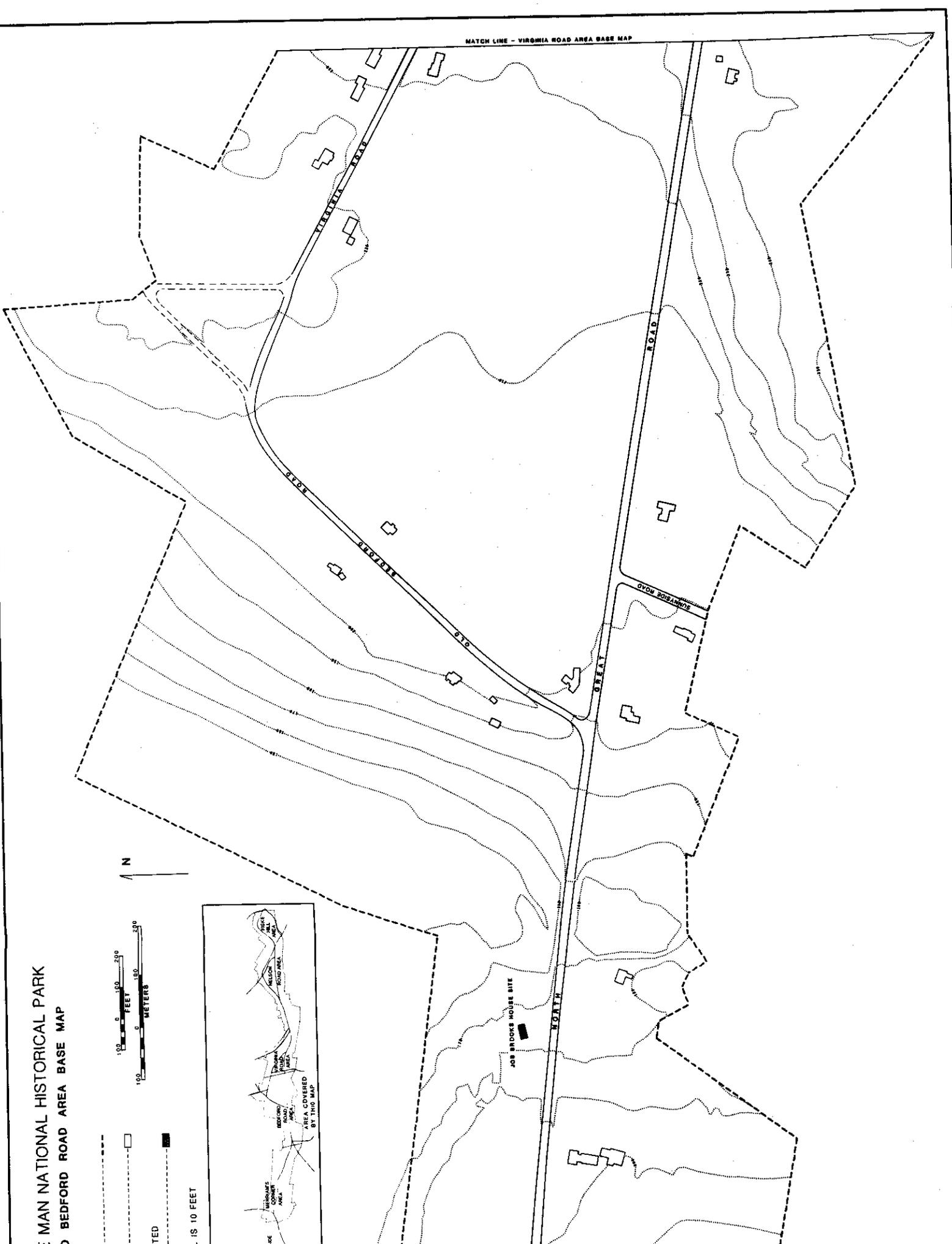
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MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK  
 BEDFORD ROAD AREA BASE MAP



UNDEVELOPED  
 1" = 10 FEET

MATCH LINE - VIRGINIA ROAD AREA BASE MAP

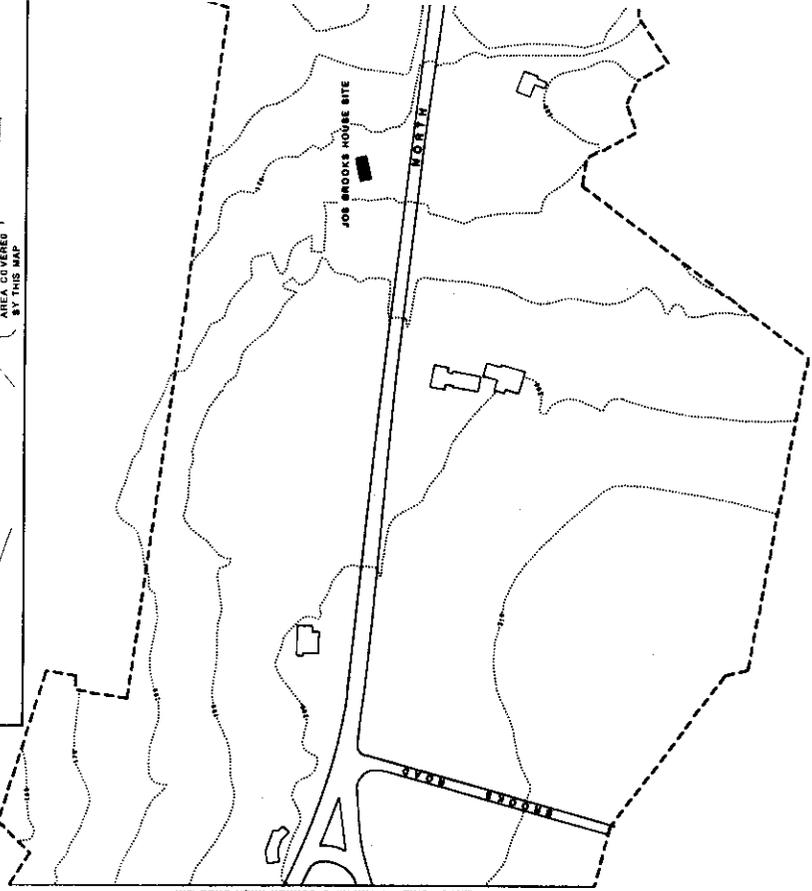
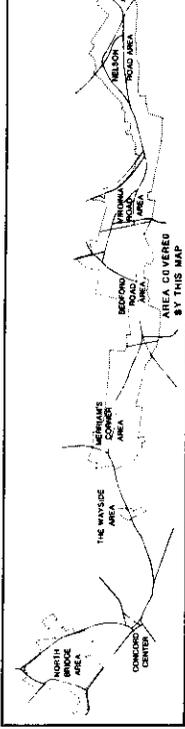


MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK  
 OLD BEDFORD ROAD AREA BASE MAP

- PARK BOUNDARY - - - - -
- STANDING STRUCTURE - - - - -
- ARCHEOLOGICALLY INVESTIGATED STANDING STRUCTURE - - - - -



CONTOUR INTERVAL IS 10 FEET



MATCH LINE - WESTERN CORNER AREA BASE MAP

# MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

## VIRGINIA ROAD AREA BASE MAP

- PARK BOUNDARY-----
- STANDING STRUCTURE-----
- ARCHEOLOGICALLY INVESTIGATED STANDING STRUCTURE-----
- ARCHEOLOGICALLY INVESTIGATED CELLARHOLE-----

CONTOUR INTERVAL IS 10 FEET

