

# The Archaeology of Merryspring Nature Center:

The Asa Hosmer Farm (ME 073.014)

and

The Lt. Benjamin Burton Militia Encampment  
(ME 073.015)

Part 4



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## **This Report**

In light of the overall amount of information gathered in two years of testing, and in an effort to make it as reader-friendly as possible, this report is comprised of five parts, Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, each being a separate volume. Each part represents a stand-alone section of the whole, with its own Table of Contents, Table of Figures, and Introduction.

Part 1 includes: Executive Summary; Acknowledgements; Table of Contents; Table of Figures; Introduction; Geographical and Geological Context; Historic Background; Historic Ownership of Lot 71; and Regional Archaeological Context.

Part 2 includes: Executive Summary; Table of Contents; Table of Figure; Introduction; Archaeological Rationale, Context, and Protocol .

Part 3 includes: Executive Summary; Table of Contents; Table of Figures; Introduction; Soil Stratigraphy; Archaeological Stratigraphy; Features; Cultural Materials.

Part 4 includes: Executive Summary; Table of Contents; Table of Figures; Introduction; Cultural Material Spatial Distribution; Conclusions; and References Cited.

Part 5 includes: Executive Summary; Table of Contents; Table of Figures; and Appendices A-D.

In its content, this report is primarily a descriptive effort – the what, where, and when of two years of archaeological testing. That said, given 1) an “umbilical” relationship between ME 073.015, ME 073.014, and the long forgotten trans-regional Warren Road, and 2) an identical relationship between the Warren Road and the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017), and all of their temporal interconnectedness, it is near impossible to avoid introducing some interpretation, at least as it relates to site location and relationships. The author does, however, endeavor to avoid unfettered speculation.

## **Executive Summary**

On April 16, 2018, the author began archaeological testing in an open hay field at Merryspring Nature Center, Camden, Maine (Figure 1). A sub-rectangular depression, located in the field's northeast corner, suggested the presence of a possible filled cellar. The first shovel test pit, located immediately north of, and adjacent to the depression, recovered 18<sup>th</sup> c. ceramics, confirming the author's suspicions of an occupation.

The author, recognizing the site as, if not unique, then extremely rare within the micro-region known as mid-coast Maine (i.e., Waldoboro to Stockton Springs), undertook additional testing. Transects and shovel test pit (STP) locations were established, and testing continued from April to October, 2018. Expanded testing included a much broader site area, encompassing agricultural field, field edge tree line, and egress to the site's only immediately available potable water, the spring after which Merryspring Nature Center is named. Testing resumed in April, 2019, and continued through October, 2019. Over the course of 2018's and 2019's field seasons, the author excavated no less than 100, 50cm<sup>2</sup> shovel test pits, and approximately 25, 1m<sup>2</sup> units (Figure 2).

Archaeological testing reveals spatially extensive archaeological deposits associated with two early historic period sites. The sites, located approximately 50m distant from one another, are: ME 073.015, the fourth quarter 18<sup>th</sup> c. Lt. Benjamin Burton Militia Encampment, named after the historically identified officer in charge an 18<sup>th</sup> c. militia encampment believed to be located there; and ME 073.014, the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Asa Hosmer Farm, named after the farm's first occupant, c. 1803.

### **ME 073.015: The Lt. Benjamin Burton Militia Encampment**

Minimally, ME 073.015 includes: a late 18<sup>th</sup> c., likely earthfast structure, estimated to be at least 24' x 30'. The structure is represented by: a very large, 4.5m x 5.5m (15' x 18') apparently unlined earthen cellar; and remnants of a 2.5 x 2.5m (8'x8') loose stone chimney base. Occupation is represented by: a spatially extensive midden, involving at least 200-300m<sup>2</sup> of A<sub>p</sub> and sub-A<sub>p</sub> soils; and, immediately south of the structure, a .75 acre agricultural field containing limited, but ubiquitous, temporally contemporary cultural materials, primarily ceramics.

Testing reveals ME 073.015 to be both spatially extensive and materially diverse. Chinese export porcelain, English soft paste porcelain, wheel engraved stemware, punchbowls (creamware glazed, China Glaze, and Fazackerly deft), engine turned refined white earthenwares and refined redwares, and Whieldonware are combined with numerous other examples of fourth quarter 18<sup>th</sup> c. material culture.

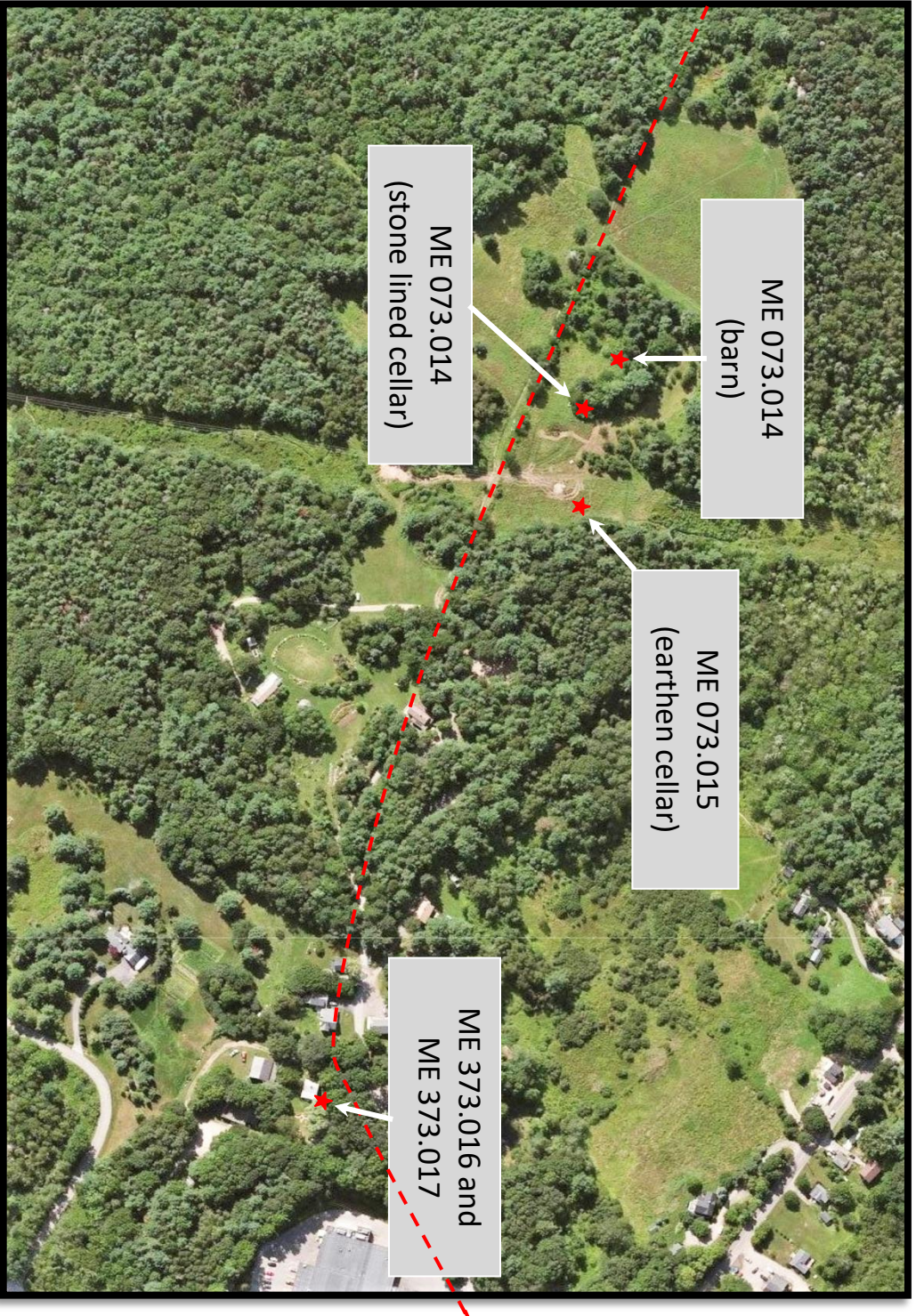


Figure 1: Merryspring Nature Center, ME 073.015 & .014, and ME 373.016 & .017

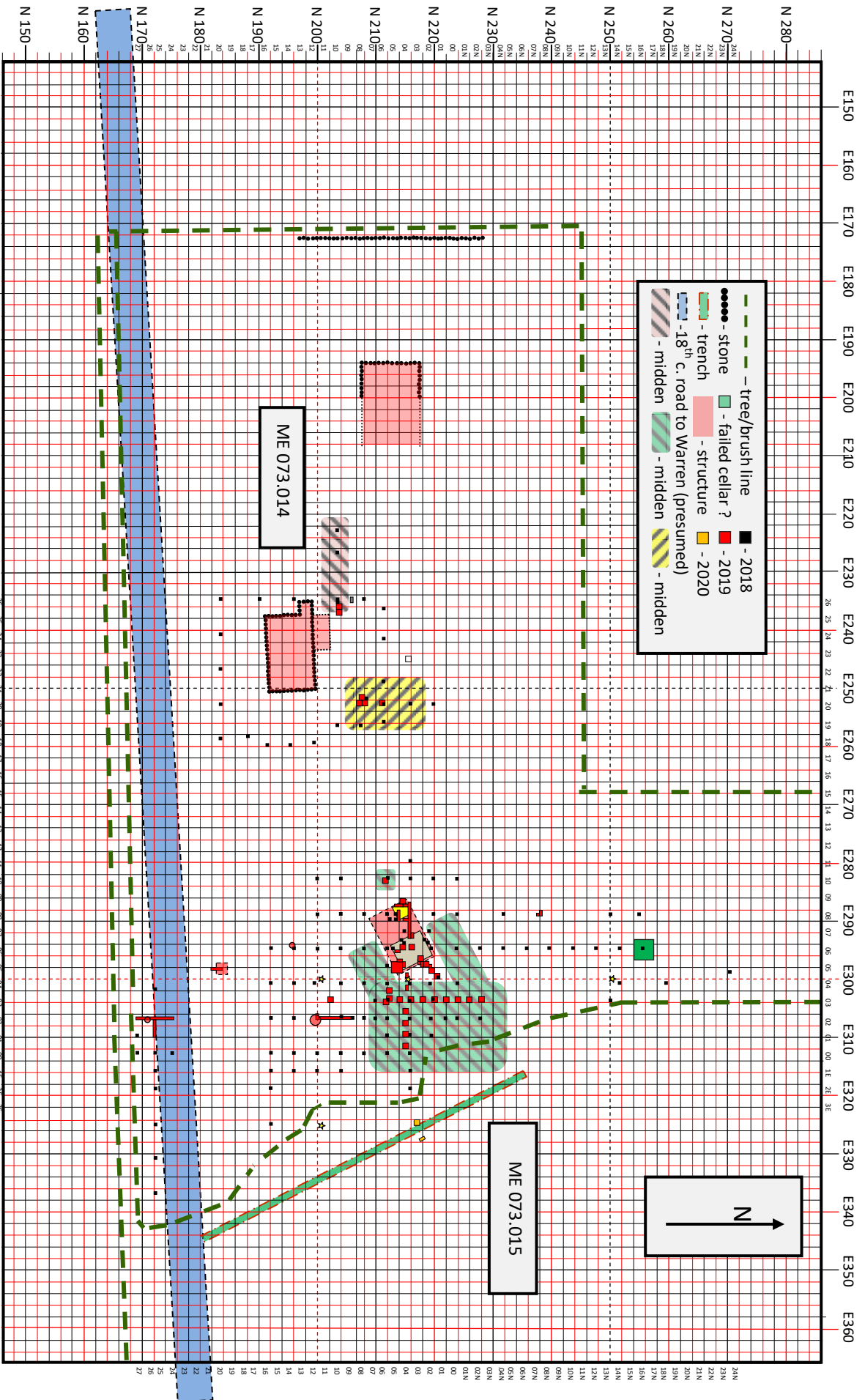


Figure 2: 2018, 2019, and 2020 archaeological testing at Merryspring Nature Center (blue line is the Warren Road))

The whole strongly suggests the site's initial occupation was not a frontier residence; it is likely the initial occupation was not an effort at frontier settlement by a simple settler-farmer (homesteader) and his family. Indeed, historical data suggest late 18<sup>th</sup> c. coastal and interior mid-Maine was not only grossly underdeveloped economically, but predominantly populated by under-educated or totally uneducated settlers/subsistence farmers, that is, families whose circumstances included permanent destitution and, in some cases, near, if not outright starvation (Taylor 1990).

During the site's occupation, c. 1775<sup>±</sup> - 1802, money was not a common reality for most in mid-Maine. "In August, 1788, Norridgewock's seventy-nine taxpayers collectively possessed a mere seven dollars in coin..." (Taylor 1990:66). "...in the early 1790's there was so little money in this country [mid-Maine] that dollars were shewn about among the farmers as curiosities." (Taylor 1990:66, citing Allis 1954). And, "in very long stretches of completely settled coast there is no specie... there all transactions are in the form of barter." (Taylor 1990:66, citing Talleyrand - no date)

Additionally, a great percentage of the region's settlers, whether arriving earlier or later in mid-Maine, lived in log homes, or hovels, with little or no resources to supply immediate, let alone longer term needs. So called "framed houses" (lumber constructed) were the rare exception. In 1792, in Jefferson, Maine, only twenty miles west of Camden, a mere 18% of taxpayers owned a framed house, and only 43% owned a barn. By 1801, those percentages had grown to only - 46% and 51%, respectively (Taylor 1990:258, Table 6).

Thus, a significantly large, albeit possibly earthfast, 18<sup>th</sup> c. structure with glass windows, nails, brick, an overly large cellar, and clear evidence of a broad subsistence economy and developed circumstances (e.g., tea sets and punch bowls) exists in stark contrast to the broader regional expectation.

Beyond the immediate structure and associated midden, ME 073.015 includes a broad distribution of cultural materials throughout the hay field immediately south of the structure. This distribution of cultural materials, principally small ceramic sherds, is interpreted as reflecting agricultural practice associated with one or more later, 18<sup>th</sup> c. occupations, specifically the spreading of pig manure. The agricultural field also includes a large pit feature containing sheep remains, and both 18<sup>th</sup> c. European and presumed Native American content.

Further, the physical extent of the site, overall, is not limited to the area of the structure, its midden, and adjacent field to the south. Limited testing reveals cultural materials,

specifically ceramics, at least 60m north of, and well down the steep valley slope leading north, away from the site's main structure - the current, and presumably historic path to the flowing spring located north of the site. Additionally, visual inspection of the small stream emanating from the spring identifies the presence of Euro-American, early 19<sup>th</sup> c., if not late 18<sup>th</sup> c. ceramics within its gravel bed. Clearly the preceding two centuries of historic use of the landform includes an inferred use/dependence upon this water source, indeed, the landform's only surficial water source of any kind.

As noted above, a non-European component is also suggested at ME 073.015. A contemporary Native American presence is strongly suggested by the recovery of: shattered rhyolite cobble fragments; possible red clay beads; and large, hammered, folded and rolled, 18<sup>th</sup> c. flat buttons (interpreted as possible ornamentation).

Given the limited scope of testing, a full understanding of this 18<sup>th</sup> c. Native American presence is not available. However, a similar presumed Native American assemblage at the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017) (Mitchell 2016a, 2016b, 2017), located approximately 1/5<sup>th</sup> mile east of ME 073.015, strongly suggests the Native American presence at both is likely more than incidental, or coincidental.

In 1779, Continental land and naval forces, including 290 Massachusetts Militia and Native American Penobscot warriors from a base in modern Glen Cove (Rockport), attempted to evict British forces from Castine, a town along the Penobscot River, north of Camden. The effort proved disastrously unsuccessful, resulting in a complete rout of Continental forces. Many of the retreating soldiers, and presumably Penobscots, fled south, seeking refuge at homes and farms in Camden (all of present-day Camden and Rockport).

As Camden remained the "front line" between British and Continental forces for the remainder of the Revolutionary War, it is reasonable that a Continental force remained in Camden for some period of time, in order to protect against, or at least warn others farther south, of any British advance. The historic record indicates such a force was stationed at "Camden Harbor" by at least 1780 - Lt. Benjamin Burton and a small force (Robinson 1907). The presence of a second, spatially and temporally contemporary Revolutionary War period site (Thorndike-Conway House, ME 373.017) along what was historically referred to as the "Warren Road" is suggestive of a strategic military intent.

The Warren Road, as it is referred to in 19<sup>th</sup> c. documents (e.g., deeds), was likely the only 18<sup>th</sup> c. overland route from the deep water anchorages of today's Camden and Rockport, to the Continental headquarters in Warren (present-day Thomaston). Recent

archaeological survey by the author located a remnant of the Warren Road approximately ¼ mile west of ME 073.015 (Mitchell 2019a). Not only does the Warren Road follow a route through Merryspring Nature Center, and past the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.0170) and its Revolutionary War period site, but evidence indicates it was a pre-19<sup>th</sup> c. *engineered* roadway (Mitchell 2019a).

Had the British chosen to pursue the retreating Continental forces in 1779, or initiated an offensive at a later date, Camden and Rockport harbors would have been strategically critical to such an effort. And 18<sup>th</sup> c. Warren, being only 11 miles south, was vulnerable to an unobserved and rapid overland approach by British forces, via the Warren Road. Had Warren fallen to British forces, all of northern Massachusetts (i.e., Maine) could have become British territory. It is, therefore, reasonable that some form of combined Continental Militia and Penobscot warrior force maintained semi-permanent, contemporary encampments at both the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017) and ME 073.015.

Further, a spatial extension of the Revolutionary War period component at ME 073.015 is inferred from recovery of fourth quarter 18<sup>th</sup> c. materials within ME 073.014's middens (e.g., an opaque glass trade bead, lithic debitage, large 18<sup>th</sup> c. flat buttons, and case bottle fragments). This apparent spatially remote component, contemporary with, but 50m distant from the 1770's occupation at ME 073.015, appears to have been present on, or adjacent to the landform on which the Hosmer farm's cellar is located. An immediate spatial overlap of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> c. components there appears to have led to incorporation of earlier, 18<sup>th</sup> c. cultural materials into the later, 19<sup>th</sup> c. middens (18<sup>th</sup> c. cultural materials are also found secondarily deposited within the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Thorndike-Conway House midden (e.g., glass trade beads).

Identification and separation of these two components will be an important aspect of any future investigative agenda at ME 073.014; some aspects of a possible fourth quarter, 18<sup>th</sup> c., Burton Encampment Site component *may remain extant beneath the Hosmer cellar's backdirt*.

#### **ME 073.014: The Asa Hosmer Farm Site**

ME 073.014 is principally represented by a roughly 30' x 33' loose (i.e., non-mortared) stone-lined cellar located, as noted above, approximately 50m west-southwest of ME 073.015. ME 073.014's spatial limits are not, as yet, fully defined. However, visual inspection identifies a site area potentially encompassing thousands of square meters - a main farmhouse (cellar), two middens, at least one outbuilding foundation 30m



northwest of the cellar, stone walls, and extensive agricultural fields with possible additional archaeological deposits.

Asa Hosmer arrived in Camden, c. 1785. Being both an early resident, and Camden's first school teacher, Hosmer's farm has local, if not regional significance. In addition, the value of an essentially undisturbed, first quarter, pre-War of 1812, War of 1812, and early Maine statehood, 19<sup>th</sup> c. farm site cannot be understated. Few, if any, such sites remain in the mid-coast Maine region. And likely none exist in such an undisturbed condition.

While limited to a small percentage of overall testing, data suggest initial construction of the Hosmer farm dates to between 1800 and 1810. It is possible that Elisha Gibbs, the Burton militia structure's last resident, having entered into a four year contractual lease/purchase agreement with the parcel's owner in 1799, began construction of the farmhouse, only to lose possession of it in 1801, due to unfortunate circumstances. In 1803, Asa Hosmer became the parcel's owner, and the farmhouse is likely either taken ownership of, completed, or built by Hosmer at that time.

ME 073.014 includes two spatially separate, but related household middens. The middens lie adjacent to the farm cellar's northwest and northeast corners. Ceramics from within the middens, being the best temporal indicator, suggest the farm's occupation begins at or immediately after the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Early polychrome pearlware glazed ceramics (possibly associated with occupation of ME 073.015) and early forms of blue shell edged pearlware glazed ceramics identify the approximate onset of occupation. Broad brush, cobalt blue floral decorated pearlware (c.1815-1830) identifies the terminal limit of occupation. No ceramics post-dating embossed shell edged pearlware, or broad brushed cobalt blue pearlware are present in the current sample; no whiteware is present.

While the significant volume of cultural materials present in both middens might suggest the farm to have been relatively prosperous, several indicators combine to suggest sustainability, but not prosperity:

- ✚ the paucity of high cost ceramics (e.g., Chinese export porcelain);
- ✚ the limited amount and diversity of otherwise available pearlware glazed ceramics (e.g., late polychrome decoration);
- ✚ the overwhelming dominance of creamware glazed ceramics;

- ✚ the extraordinary amount of utilitarian redware;
- ✚ and a noteworthy combination of low diversity within the faunal sample (e.g., no fish or bird) and low quality mammalian subsistence remains (e.g., pig's feet).

The above also suggests the Asa Hosmer farm was not what is commonly referred to as a self-sustaining farm, one which supplies its own internal needs. The appearance of (presumably) purchased (or bartered) butchered mammal parts (e.g., calf tail vertebrae, and pigs feet), and the high volume of utilitarian redwares, suggests the possibility of a dairy farm, perhaps supplying the micro-region with milk and other dairy products, while sustaining itself on food and other products purchase with the proceeds. This possibility also hints at growing post-Revolutionary War, micro-regional, economic specialization.

Ship building, a developing lime industry, and other economic and logistical "drivers" might have encouraged specialization (and possibly social stratification) within the immediate micro-regional population. Butchers, ship wrights, dairy farmers, mill workers, fishermen, carpenters, common laborers, blacksmiths, stone masons, quarrymen, and other non-agricultural, potentially *year-round* vocations would be required in an economically diverse and prospering, post-Revolutionary War Camden. Such a circumstance might explain the stark contrast between the archaeological evidence and the general state of hardship within mid-Maine (see above).

In light of the above, then, the farm's apparent sudden demise, while not understood, is all the more curious. Some circumstance caused the farm's complete abandonment by the mid to late 1820's, *with no ensuing reoccupation* ! Disease may have played a role.

Pyle identifies cholera began moving into Maine's central seaboard in the 1820's, arriving in Bangor by late 1832.

"During December 1832, a chest of clothing that had belonged to a sailor, who had died of cholera at a Baltic port, arrived at his home in a small village near Bangor, Me. The chest was opened, the clothing was distributed to his friends, and all who received the garments were taken with cholera and died." (1969)

Alternatively, economic hardship may have played a role in the farm's abandonment. Even if the Hosmer farm were economically viable at one time, the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup>c. was unforgiving. Climactic instability caused shortages on farms and across the

region. Additionally, the English, and the War of 1812, brought commerce and trade to a near standstill. As one Camden resident, William Parkman, put it, regarding the agricultural hardships:

*"As to the times they are very hard. The district of Maine is going [to] wreck as fast as ever a country did. Farms can be purchased for less than half of what they could have been 5 or 6 years ago. A great many is moving away to Ohio."* (Taylor 1990:239).

Yet another Camden resident, Alibeus Partridge, spoke to the English dominance of the bays in 1813.

*"The times are exceedingly dark... hundreds and hundreds have neither bread nor potatoes to eat... [shipping] is almost cut off. The British take and carry of [f] and burn numbers of [ships] so that... the southern trade is so stopt that no provisions is brought from thence to help the difficulty."* (Taylor 1990:239).

The above notwithstanding, the author believes another factor may have adversely impacted the large farm, making it less and less sustainable - lack of adequate on-site water supply. By the mid to late 1820's, and based on visual identification only, the farm had grown spatially to include at least one outbuilding, and extensive fields. The presence of an addition to the home, in a possible new kitchen on the rear of the house, suggests internal growth of the farm. Ever increasing demand on a limited water resource (the single spring) by a growing farm and household may have destabilized what was, at a smaller scale, previously economically viable.

By the 1830's, soon after the farm's abandonment, the 18<sup>th</sup> c. parcel on which both archaeological sites are located (Lot 71 of the Twenty Associates, c.1768) was divided longitudinally (east to west) by contractual agreement. While the portion north of the Warren Road, including both archaeological sites, was spared, the entire area south of the Warren Road was commercially leased for \$50 to "blow lime" (i.e., quarry lime). The line of demarcation between the lot's two halves is presumed to have been the then abandoned Warren Road, which, in earlier times, bisected the lot precisely as the lime contract identifies its subdivision. However, a western bypass of the Warren Road, identified in an 1811 survey map, suggests either its infrastructural inefficiency or obsolescence, or both, by that time.

Beyond a lack of economic sustainability, the "explosive" nature of a commercial lime operation in one's front yard would no doubt have contributed to abandonment and

lack of reoccupation of the farm, for at least the duration of quarrying (c. 1830's and 1840's).

Analogous circumstances are seen in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries – enormous pressure to exploit a natural resource on the same landform as a farm - gravel. Regionally, the financially lucrative 20<sup>th</sup> c. endeavor of gravel excavation has led to many, once prosperous 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> c. farms becoming little more than “the old homestead”, and a few outbuildings, with the balance of once lush fields and pastures now little more than large holes in the ground.

As it relates to the limited testing of the fourth quarter 18<sup>th</sup>, and first quarter 19<sup>th</sup> century archaeological record at Merryspring Nature Center, the following is clear:

- ✚ A very significant fourth quarter 18<sup>th</sup> c. component is present in ME 073.015, and includes: an earthen cellar; chimney base; and extensive, though historically disturbed, midden deposits.
- ✚ The site includes a Revolutionary War temporal component, with evidence of a coincident Native American presence.
- ✚ A temporal, and possibly immediate relationship exists between some portion of the 18<sup>th</sup> c. component at Merryspring Nature Center and that of the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017), a few hundred meters to the east. This relationship is believed related to Revolutionary War use of the two properties as semi-permanent, though possibly seasonal encampments/outposts by Continental forces, likely including Penobscot warriors.
- ✚ ME 073.015 includes extensive, likely terminal 18<sup>th</sup> c. agricultural activity. This is inferred via the presence of considerable, though broadly distributed terminal 18<sup>th</sup> c. ceramics thinly, but evenly distributed across an extensive area of field south of the structure itself. This activity is presumed related to spreading of (most likely) pig manure.
- ✚ First quarter, 19<sup>th</sup> c. occupation is present at ME 073.014, and includes: the farmhouse's loose stone lined cellar; one outbuilding foundation; and two undisturbed household middens.
- ✚ ME 073.014 also includes a possible fourth quarter 18<sup>th</sup> c., probable Revolutionary War period component, identified through contemporary cultural

materials (e.g., large 18<sup>th</sup> c. silver washed flat button, case bottle fragments, and glass trade bead).

- ✚ ME 073.014 maintains evidence of extensive agricultural activity, identified by at least one outbuilding foundation west of the farm's cellar, stone field walls, and well developed pastures across the land form.
- ✚ And lastly, the 1830s and '40s saw significant amounts of limestone quarrying on the parcel. There is certainly an important archaeological reality associated with this activity. Although untested, there are numerous quarries and, presumably, buildings and archaeological deposits associated with this activity. While no effort is currently underway to define this reality, it represents a near pristine opportunity to archaeologically explore the burgeoning, pre-industrial age lime industry and technology in mid-coast Maine.

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## Introduction

Part 4 focuses principally on the “where” of ME 073.014 and ME 073.015’s cultural material. As noted elsewhere, vertical stratigraphy is essentially not present within either site; little can be done to stratigraphically differentiate temporal components within the sites’ midden deposits.

Part 4 is an effort to utilize ceramics, in particular, to illustrate where presumed temporal differences might lie relative to refuse disposal. Rather than simply limit the analysis to identifying where a particular ceramic type is located horizontally, Part 4 considers where a particular ceramic type is most concentrated. And, rather than utilizing an arbitrary metric to make that determination (e.g., number of sherds), the author utilizes sherd weight (grams). Several assumptions are made in the process.

The most consequential assumption is a sherd of refined white earthenware with clear glaze will weigh the same per cubic centimeter of sherd, regardless of where it is located or how badly crushed or shattered a particular vessel might be. In other words, “polychrome decorated pearlware is polychrome decorated pearlware”. Thus, a horizontal concentration of such ware *by weight* should be indicative of its point of greatest discard, and identify subsequent horizontal distribution (i.e., greater to lesser weight per square meter of excavation in an outwardly declining amount).

There are certainly factors at play. One cautionary note, for example, is vessel wall thickness. But, assuming relatively consistent vessel wall thicknesses within the sample, a fairly well defined understanding of a ceramic type’s distribution should be gained. As a result, the temporal component represented by that type or vessel may also be isolated, and other, less temporally diagnostic horizontally associated cultural materials might be tentatively inferred as contemporaneous.

These weight data, along with other considerations, are then used to interpret the sites’ temporal components, where they are located, changes through time in discard patterns, and other insights. These conclusions are then ultimately paired with other awareness’ (e.g., Warren Road) to develop a site narrative.

## Spatial Distribution of Ceramics and Other Cultural Materials

With the exception of the earthen cellar, ME 073.015 has no natural (e.g., alluvium) or cultural vertical stratigraphy which positively impacts the understanding of the site. In other words, with the exception of the earthen cellar, the entire site exists within a roughly 30cm veneer of soil, often referred to as an A<sub>p</sub> or, as it is too often erroneously referred to, a plow zone. Yet, the author wished to attempt establishing both the midden's depositional integrity, and possible spatial/temporal differentiation within it.

The term plow zone, by default, implies plowing has taken place, and implicitly suggests not only significant disturbance but, less archaeological value. While this may be true to a greater or lesser extent in an actual plowed context, the circumstances within long-term sheet midden development, with an ever thickening A<sub>p</sub> resulting from periodic top dressing, are very different.

Top dressing a midden is a little understood, or even investigated concept. Too often, archaeological testing encounters sheet middens (or any midden deposit, for that matter) coincident with an occupation site. Yet, when archaeological screening takes place to recover cultural material, few, if any, ask the question, "Where did all the dirt come from?" The author asked this question at the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017) (Mitchell 2017). And the answer made all the difference in interpretation.

In 2016, while undertaking archeological testing of an early 19<sup>th</sup> c. home site (c. 1806-1825), the author encountered multifaceted glass trade beads midway down through a 19<sup>th</sup> c. midden, yet the beads likely date to the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> c. The obvious question – Where did the beads come from? And, how did 18<sup>th</sup> c. trade beads get into a 19<sup>th</sup> c. midden?

The answer to the first question was, of course – a previous occupation on site. But, the second question still remained – how did the beads get *into* the midden? The beads were recovered midway down through the midden, and 5-10m apart, horizontally. An occupation predating the 19<sup>th</sup> c. by 30-40 years would, presumably, be *under* the midden *unless significant disturbance had occurred*. What mechanism could incorporate and separate beads in such a manner?

After stratigraphic analysis, and review for rodent or other natural disturbances, the conclusion was the midden was essentially undisturbed. The beads, though certainly secondarily deposited, were exactly where they should have been –

midway down through, and 5-10m apart in the midden where they were deposited, presumably, between 1806 and 1825.

After considerable reflection, the author concluded that a culturally defined, midden related behavioral pattern was likely responsible. The hypothesized sequence of events was as follows:

- 1) a Colonial period Native American occupation occurred in the location of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. structure some 20<sup>+</sup> years prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> c. occupation;
- 2) 19<sup>th</sup> c. site preparation by the occupant, who house was partially earthfast, included removal *and curation* of topsoil from within the structure's footprint;
- 3) removed topsoil was likely piled up/accumulated adjacent to the pre-defined area of eventual midden development;
- 4) 19<sup>th</sup> c. cultural behavior relating to middens includes "top dressing" middens utilizing curated soil from construction of one's home, *thus spreading its contents secondarily*, but in an otherwise intact primary deposit;
- 5) distribution of curated topsoil took place for the duration of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. occupation (19 years), such that, at some point after the 19<sup>th</sup> c. occupation began, curated soil with beads was finally encountered within the pile, and broadcast over the midden.

Subsequent testing identified a second midden, with trade beads and an 18<sup>th</sup>c. occupation component, only 5-10m distant. There, all cultural materials appear to have been deposited on the ground surface, *with no apparent contemporary top dressing*. In fact, the 18<sup>th</sup> c. midden lies less than 15cm below the current surface, with most of the current overburden of gravel and loam being the result of 20<sup>th</sup> c. landscaping.

While trade beads and other, presumed Native American cultural materials also appear within the second midden, the midden's content overall, and the vertical and horizontal distribution of contemporary cultural materials, (e.g., cross-mended shattered rhyolite cobbles) suggests primary deposition. No plowing or other disturbance is noted.

From these two examples, then, it is clear - the need to consider middens from a depositional, distributional, and behavioral perspective is critical. How do people function relative to midden development? What cultural behavioral patterns are being represented? Should sheet middens be thin? And conversely, should a midden be considered disturbed (i.e., plowed) simply because they contain a significant thickness of soil with cultural materials randomly distributed within the soil column? And, how does one measure integrity within an  $A_p$ /midden context?

### **ME 073.015**

ME 073.015 maintains a relatively thick  $A_p$ , averaging 20-30cm (and sometime thicker). Within that  $A_p$ , cultural materials are consistently recovered throughout the soil column until an  $A_p$ /B horizon, or in the absence of such, a C horizon interface is encountered; no buried "A" horizon, or culturally sterile A or  $A_p$ , was encountered. For all intents and purpose, there is broadly deposited cultural material everywhere within the general bounds of ME 073.015 – minimally, 1200m<sup>2</sup> (Figure 3).

Of the 50<sup>+</sup>, 50cm<sup>2</sup> shovel test pits (STP's), and 19<sup>+</sup>, 1m<sup>2</sup> test unit excavated within the 1200m<sup>2</sup> general site area, only 11, 50cm<sup>2</sup> STP's were culturally sterile. ME 073.015's vertical, or Y axis reality cannot define whether  $A_p$  thickening results from top-dressing or plowing or some other form of post-depositional activity. The stratigraphic realities of ME 073.015 could suggest some form of broad, perhaps post-depositional distribution pattern (e.g., grading). But, given the potential for the soil column to be vertically enhanced through cultural disposal behaviors, some other form of assessment is necessary; vertical stratigraphic analysis is limited in its capacity to inform.

In an effort to assess the potential for horizontal disturbance, the author analyzed the X axis distribution of ceramics. No ceramics recovered from either the cellar fill, or the structure's post-occupation, top-dressed footprint, are mapped. To minimize bias from utilization of arbitrary metrics (e.g., number of sherds), the author weighed like ceramics.

Refined white earthenware is, presumably, the same general weight per cubic centimeter regardless of glaze, molding, or some other form of decorative treatment. While differences in individual vessel wall thickness may be substantial, there is some evidence to suggest particular genres are relatively comparable; one can compare "apples to apples".

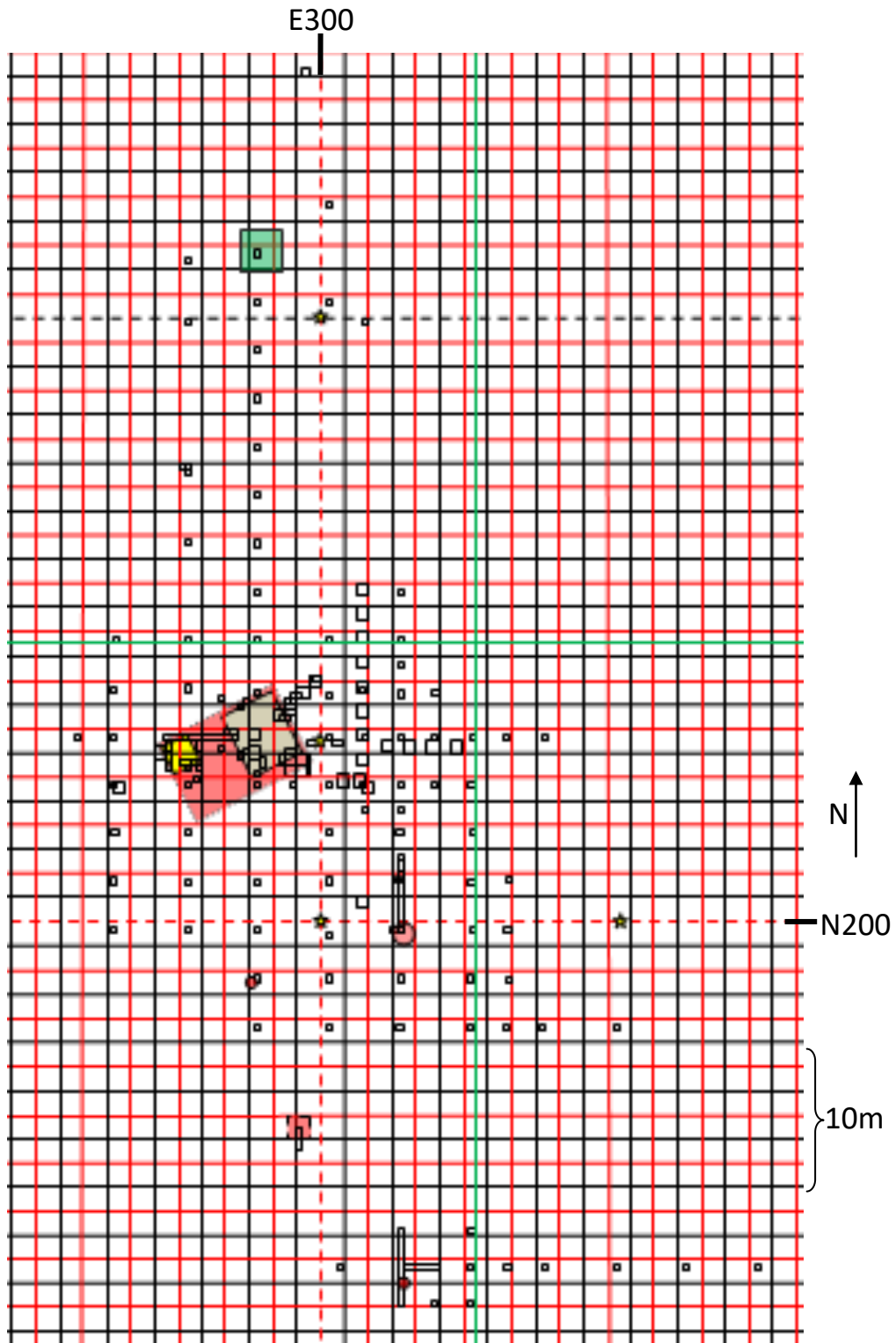


Figure 3: ME 073.015 testing map

For example, regardless of how crushed a given creamware plate may be, and how broadly distributed, the natural bias incorporated into distributional analysis via sherd *count* is essentially negated, in favor of total weight per square meter. To the extent that ceramic samples being compared by weight are generally of like form and thicknesses, or mixed in a like fashion across the site, the results should indicate concentrations more accurately.

While other, finer grained analyses could be accomplished utilizing individual sherd review (e.g., vessel distribution), the author limited initial analysis to a more generic form. The sample of white earthenware within a genre (e.g., 18<sup>th</sup> c. polychrome pearlware) is adequate to establish greater or lesser quantities, and indicate gross distribution patterns.

In an effort to view weight distribution comparably, the author averaged the total weight of a particular ceramic recovered from an STP, relative to a square meter. That is, the author multiplied an STP's weight of creamware, for example, by a factor of 4, to attain a comparable 1m<sup>2</sup> measure.

### **Creamware**

As can be seen in the distributional pattern for creamware as a whole, ME 073.015's sample is broadly distributed at the 10-49 gram-per-1m<sup>2</sup> level (Figure 4, black). This would be expected within a site involving an occupation by perhaps 10 - 20 militia, plus an additional 20 years of residential occupation. The severe crushing, totality of breakage, and diversity of ceramic decoration (e.g., royal, queens, and plain creamware plate forms) suggests either a considerable volume of individuals over time, or an individual (s) of some financial means or status, or both within the period of occupations.

Such a broad distribution of creamware generally, might also suggest disturbance, such as grading. The homogeneity and broad horizontal distribution of creamware might be consistent with such disturbance. However, when considered at a greater weight level, creamware begins to consolidate.

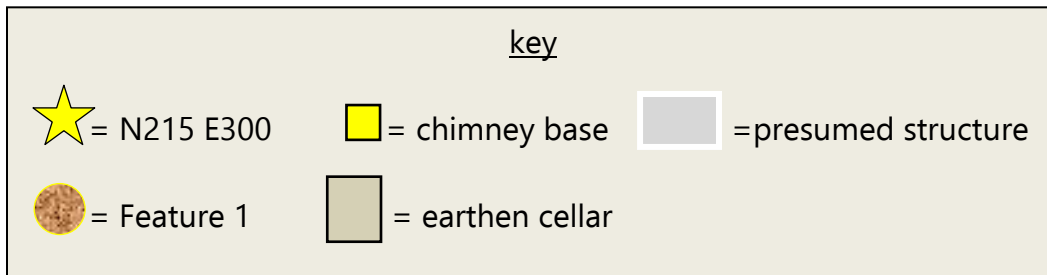
When considered at a 50-99 gram level (Figure 4, turquoise), creamware clearly begins to concentrate adjacent to the structure's east-southeast corner, its east gable end. The concentration's "fetal-like" shape suggests some consistency to the depositional activity/behavior, though not the time frame within which it occurred. It might also infer a point of origin; the deposit's concavity might suggest the point from which broadcasting of cultural material occurred.

When considered further, at the 100-199 gram level, an identical contour materializes; the same, "fetal-like" shape manifests. And, though slightly southeast of the first, the same concavity is present, seemingly affirming the impression of a point of origin for broadcasting of cultural materials (N215 E300).

When 200 grams or greater of creamware is considered (Figure 4, red) the pattern is obvious; the centralized point of origin for creamware, regardless of other distributional realities, is the southeast corner of the structure, likely a door. Clearly, one or more individuals, standing at a specific point, broadcast broken creamware in a north/south oriented 180<sup>0</sup> arc.

Two, additional creamware concentration are noted at ME 073.015. The first, and most curious, is located at the structure's west gable end. There, a very significant concentration of creamware is present. As will be noted later, this concentration also contains all other ceramic decorative motifs and forms reflecting the site's overall occupation. The concentration's broad temporal diversity, combined with its very tight bounding, strongly suggest a very late 18<sup>th</sup> c. (or extremely early 19<sup>th</sup> c.) event, not long-term midden deposition. The western concentration is considered secondarily deposited fill taken directly from the main midden deposit.

The third concentration, also quite noticeable at the grams-per-1m<sup>2</sup> level, is north of the structure. Although testing in the general area of this concentration is limited, the validity of the concentration is not in doubt. In fact, testing to date suggests an expanding, north/south distribution pattern to this concentration. The concentration appears to begin a short distance from the main creamware distribution area surrounding the structure; culturally sterile test pits separate the structure from this linear field of creamware sherds. It is also noted that the deposit is not only in a north/south line with the exit from the structure's southeast corner (the door), but in line with a direct route to the only natural potable water on site, the spring, located some 50m north of the site.





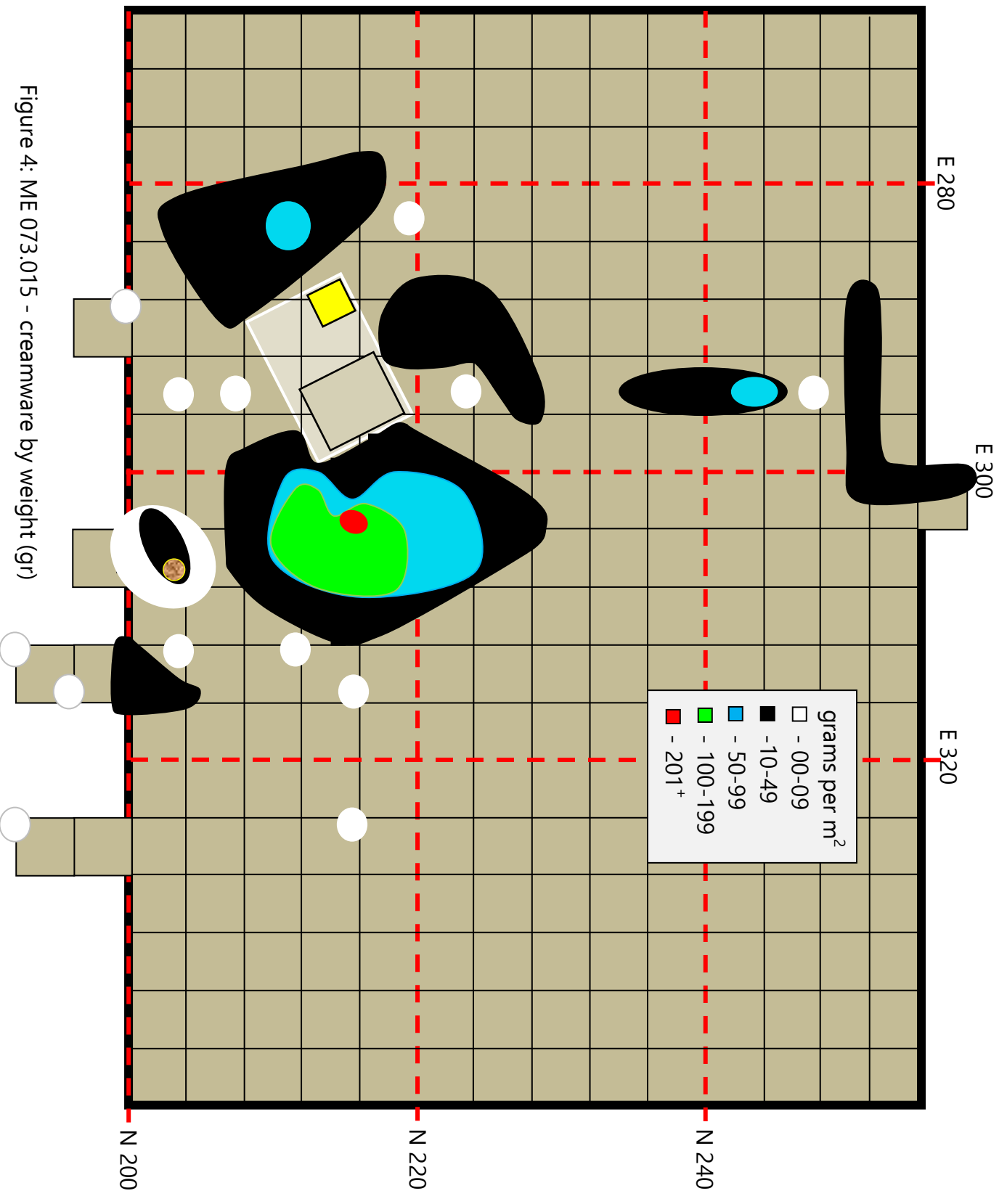


Figure 4: ME 073.015 - creamware by weight (gr)

Utilizing the distribution of broad ceramic genres for spatial analysis is limited; a genre's distribution through time is likely masked. Creamware, for example involves at least 60 years of production. Looking at the spatial distribution of creamware, then, in a site utilized for possibly as long as 30 years, and by several different occupants, does not necessarily identify when creamware came onto the site, how much was used during what period of the site's occupation, or if there was ever any cessation of its use. It only illustrates general spatial trends inherent in its disposal, as noted above.

### Plain Pearlware

Pearlware, as a glaze, has near equally long a history as creamware glaze. However, utilizing decorative motif and style, greater internal differentiation is possible. To begin analysis of pearlware glazed refined white earthenware, the author considered the undecorated pearlware glazed sample as a whole (Figure 5).

Firstly, it is quite clear that plain pearlware glazed ceramics account for a much lower overall percentage of the refined white earthenware sample. No unit possessed more than 42 grams of plain pearlware. By contrast, several midden related units, in the exact same portion of the midden, possessed over 500% more creamware by weight than pearlware. Additionally, and again in contrast to creamware, while creamware's greatest concentrations are bounded within greater than 120m<sup>2</sup>, the greatest concentrations of plain pearlware are bounded within only about 80m<sup>2</sup> of the midden.

These differences in overall spatial distribution of creamware and plain pearlware are significant. Although certainly there may be functional differences between the two samples, pearlware may tend to be tea service oriented, for example, that does not explain why creamware is so broadly distributed, and pearlware so localized. If post-occupation disturbance took place, such as grading or bulldozing, *both* glaze types should be broadly distributed, the distribution pattern should be similar, and the distribution might reflect greater to lesser grams of both glaze types per square meter, from point of origin to the margin of distribution. This is not the case.

Pearlware glazed sherds appear evenly distributed once a certain distance is gained from the centralized concentration southeast of the structure. That is, pearlware glazed ceramics tend to be concentrated within the main dumping area (adjacent to the structures east gable end). However, they are finely

distributed across a broad swath of the field immediately south of, and parallel to the structure. There, an area approximately 10m x 26m in size is consistently infused with approximately 4 grams of pearlware per-1m<sup>2</sup> (Figure 5). This, however, is not the case for creamware, which extends southeasterly into the field in some quantity – an extension of the main midden. The author hypothesizes that pearlware glazed ceramics, largely indicative of a period after 1795, are being distributed in the southern field as a result of agricultural practice.

A possible scenario is as follows:

- 1) a bucket of kitchen/dining waste, along with a few bit of pearlware, are being taken to slop pigs;
- 2) the pigs devour the waste, leaving pearlware sherds either untouched or in their own waste;
- 3) the pig pen is emptied of manure at some point, which is taken into the field for spreading;
- 4) the manure's sherd content, being homogenously mixed by both the pigs and shoveling the manure into receptacles, is then evenly distributed across an area of corn field on the structure' south facing (warmest) side.

Finer grained analysis is also possible. Utilizing unique, or time sensitive decorative motifs, styles, and forms, micro-distribution patterns within the midden may be illustrated. For example, finely painted polychromatic decorative motif under pearlware glaze did not exist before approximately 1795. Therefore, its spatial distribution suggests how post 1795 occupants utilized the midden. In this case, contribution to the midden is understood to have ceased with the Elisha Gibbs occupation, c. 1799-1802. And, while William Gregory, Jr. occupied the structure, c. 1793-1796, his early pearlware contribution to the midden would be limited to one or two years.

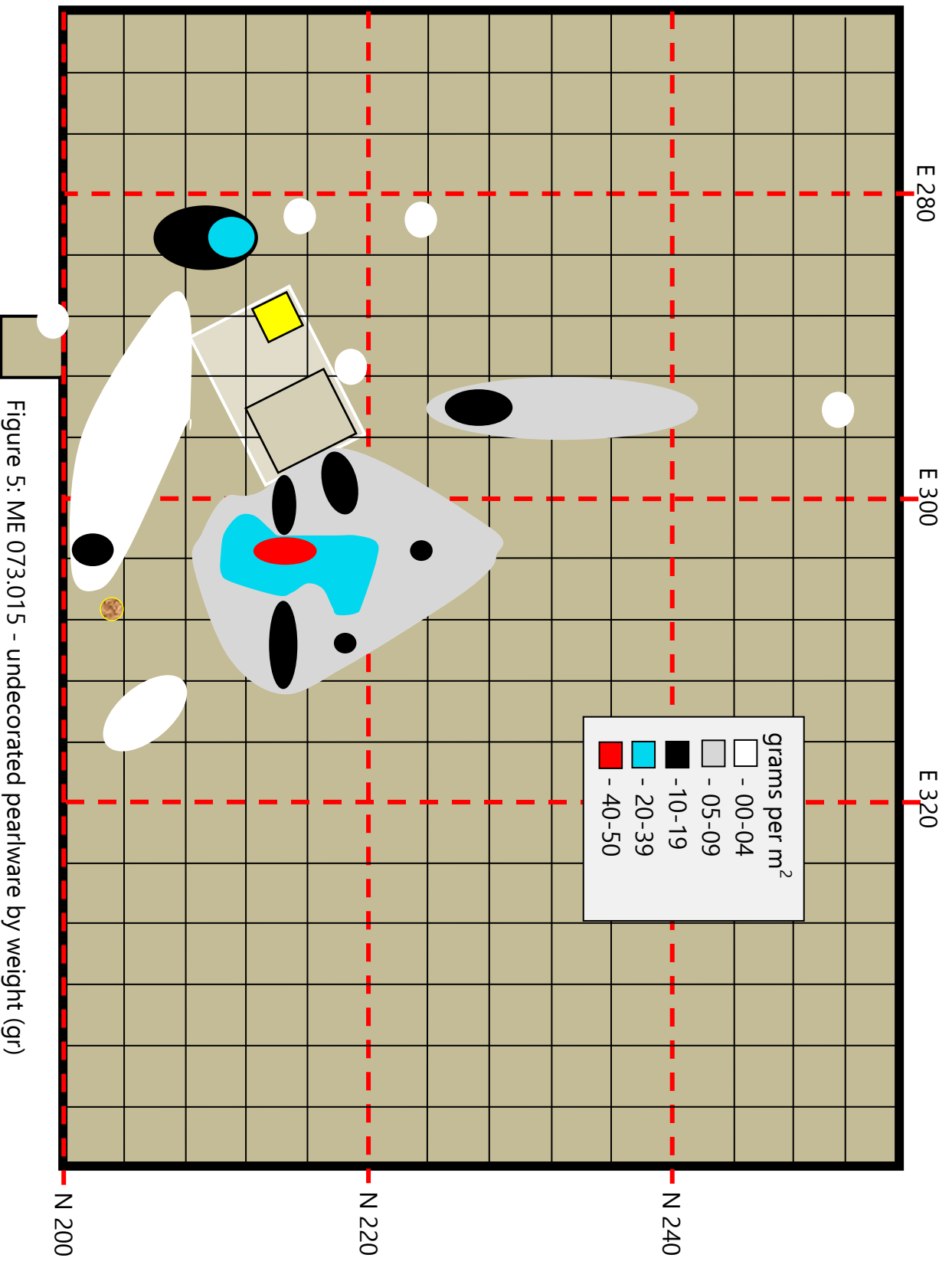


Figure 5: ME 073.015 - undecorated pearlware by weight (gr)

### **China Glaze Pearlware**

Hand painted, blue-on-white chinoiserie decorated pearlware glazed ceramics with pearlware glaze (aka, China Glaze) is perhaps the earliest “shift” in an otherwise predominantly colorless, refined white earthenware landscape. Its colonial presence, beginning perhaps as early as c. 1775<sup>+</sup> (Siedel 1990), presents a visual opportunity to identify this “shift” within ME 073.015. And its intra-site distribution reflects a reality more in keeping with creamware’s distribution than that of other, later ceramics’ distribution on site (e.g., polychrome pearlware) (Figure 6).

### **Early Polychrome Pearlware**

Figure 7 clearly illustrates the distribution of early polychrome pearlware glazed ceramics is both spatially limited, and not broadly distributed, generally (a low frequency northward extension is noted, however). That creamware should be so broadly distributed, and polychrome pearlware not, strongly suggests the occupants discarding polychrome are not necessarily the occupants discarding creamware, in the majority, and negates the idea that modern grading may have occurred.

In addition, such glaring spatial disparity may indicate internalized household reality, as well. For example, were the post-1795 occupants inclined to use pewter plates and mugs as table ware, creamware might not be present as a significant percentage of the household ceramic assemblage to begin with, thus, less likely to be incorporated into the midden. In such a circumstance, given that tea bowls and associated forms (e.g., slop bowls) are unlikely to be manufactured from pewter, polychrome pearlware glazed ceramics are more likely to be present in the midden. In the absence of other refined earthenware tableware, tea service related wares would, by default, represent a greater percentage of ceramic discard within the midden during that period of occupation. And, they may identify with greater clarity, the central area of discard relating to that period.

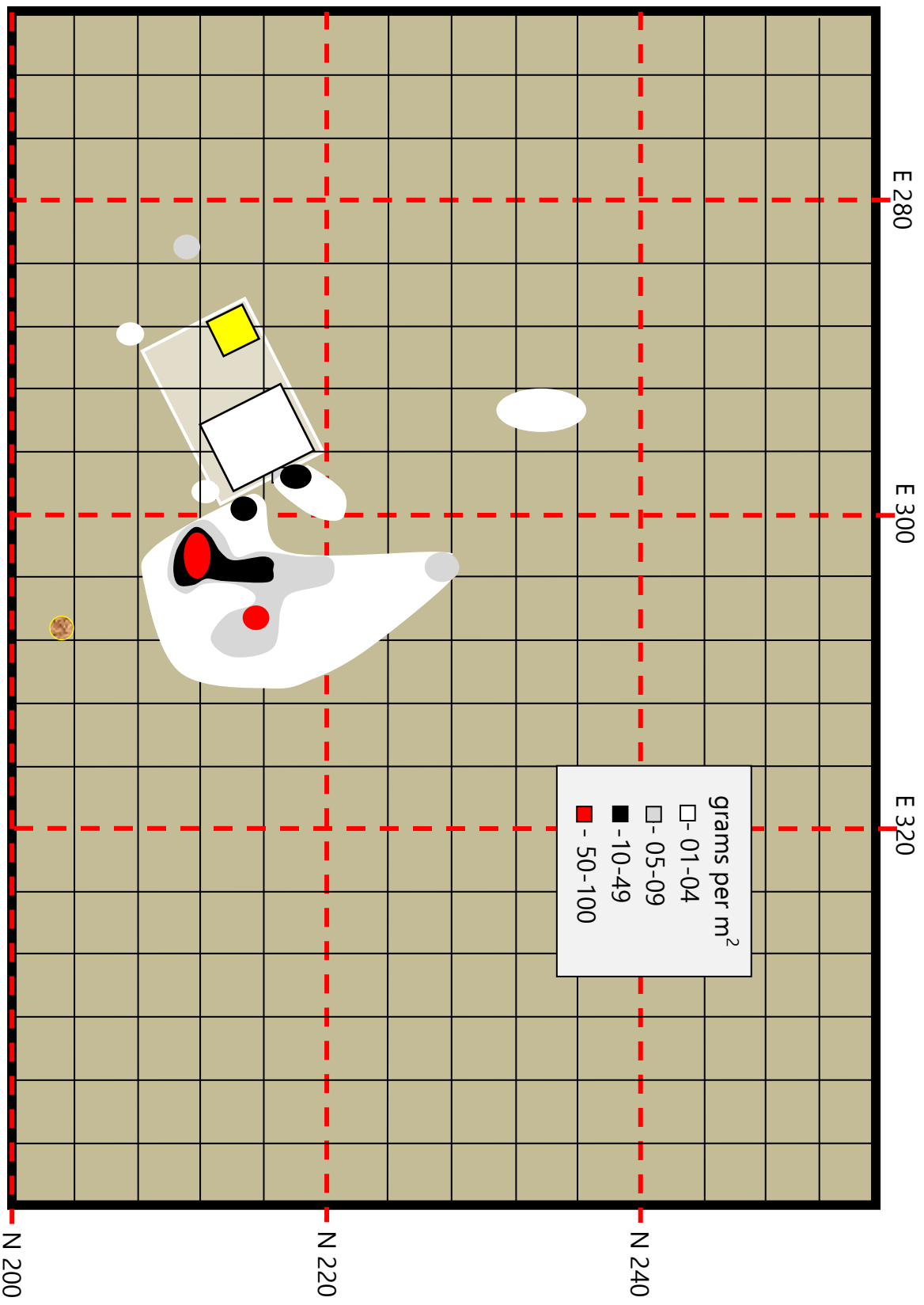


Figure 6: ME 073.015 - China Glaze pearlware by weight (gr)

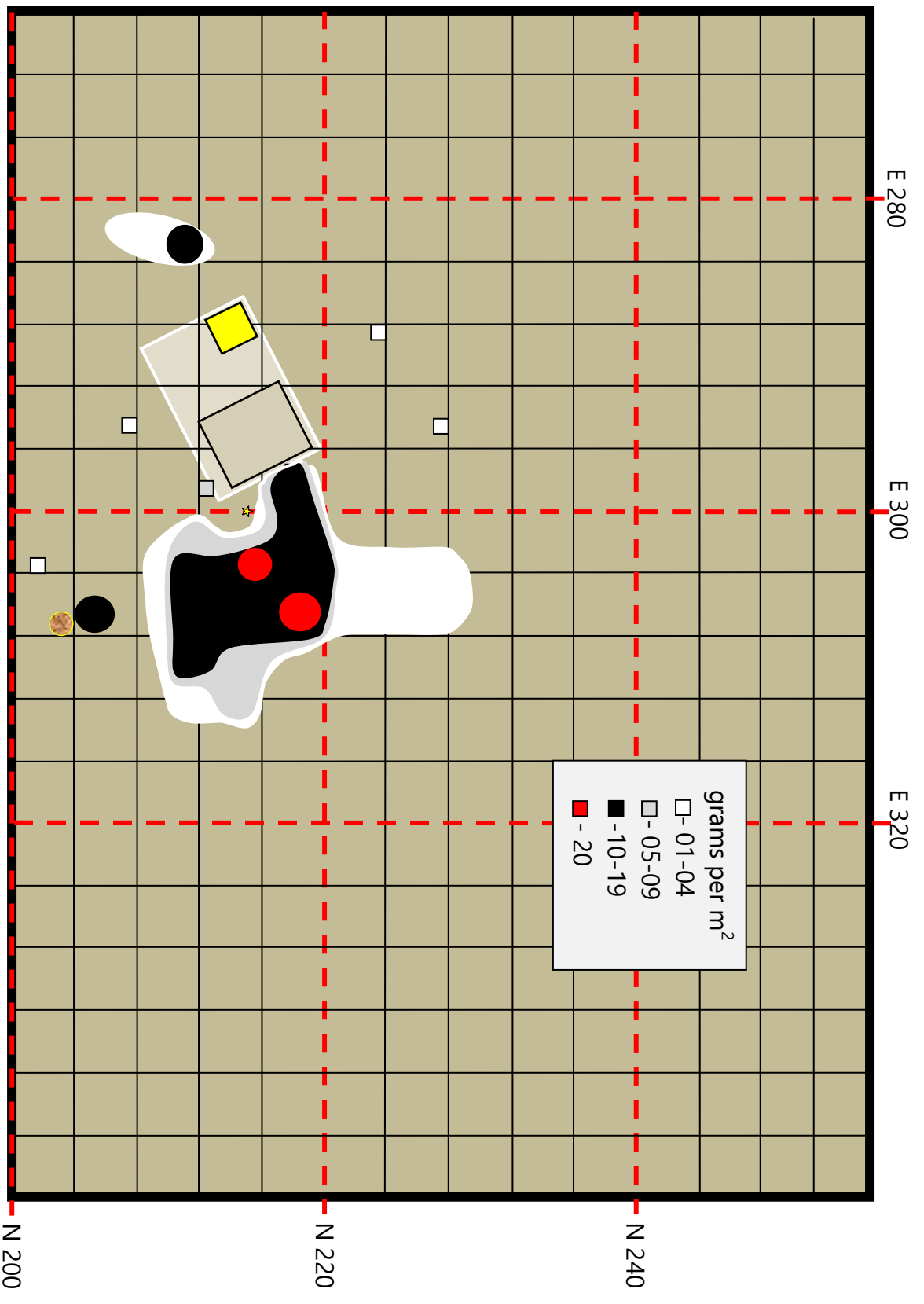


Figure 7: ME 073.015 - early polychrome pearlware by weight (gr)

### Fazackerly Delft

English delft, and ispecifically, Fazackerly, is narrowly defined as having a production period of c. 1750-1770 (Hume 1969). Mapping Fazackerly delft (Figure 8) confirms what was previously noted when mapping decoration specific pearlware glazed ceramic:

- 1) ceramic discard consistently involves an area oriented roughly north/south *through time*;
- 2) ceramic discard is located immediately east of, but in this case, slightly tangential to the structure's east gable end;
- 3) ceramic discard does not appear to have experienced post-depositional redistribution (e.g., grading);
- 4) and, relative to ceramics, an isolated, limited, highly concentrated, and broadly inclusive area of refuse is located 3-4m west of the structure's west gable end.

### Engine-turned Refined Redware

Utilizing a ceramic decorative and stylistic form equally as "visible" as Fazackerly delft, that is, refined, engine turned, clear glazed redware, one is able to discern the same discard pattern as previously noted with Fazackerly delft, but with even greater clarity (Figure 9).

Kitchen/table wares are being deposited immediate adjacent to the structure's southeast corner, adjacent to the structure's east gable end. In this particular case, given the extremely limited volume of the specific ceramic vessel being mapped (i.e., one coffee/tea pot), and its uniqueness on site, it is also reasonable to suggest the area east of the structure's east gable end is the source of the midden/fill deposit located west of the structure's west gable end.

Clearly, some post-depositional redistribution of the midden east of the structure's east gable end has occurred. Indeed, given the uniqueness of both Fazackerly delft, and engine turned refined redware, their presence within the highly localized, but all inclusive deposit, suggests the midden east of the structure's east gable end was "mined". That is to say, someone, perhaps after all occupation ceased, utilized what may have been a much larger, or at least thicker



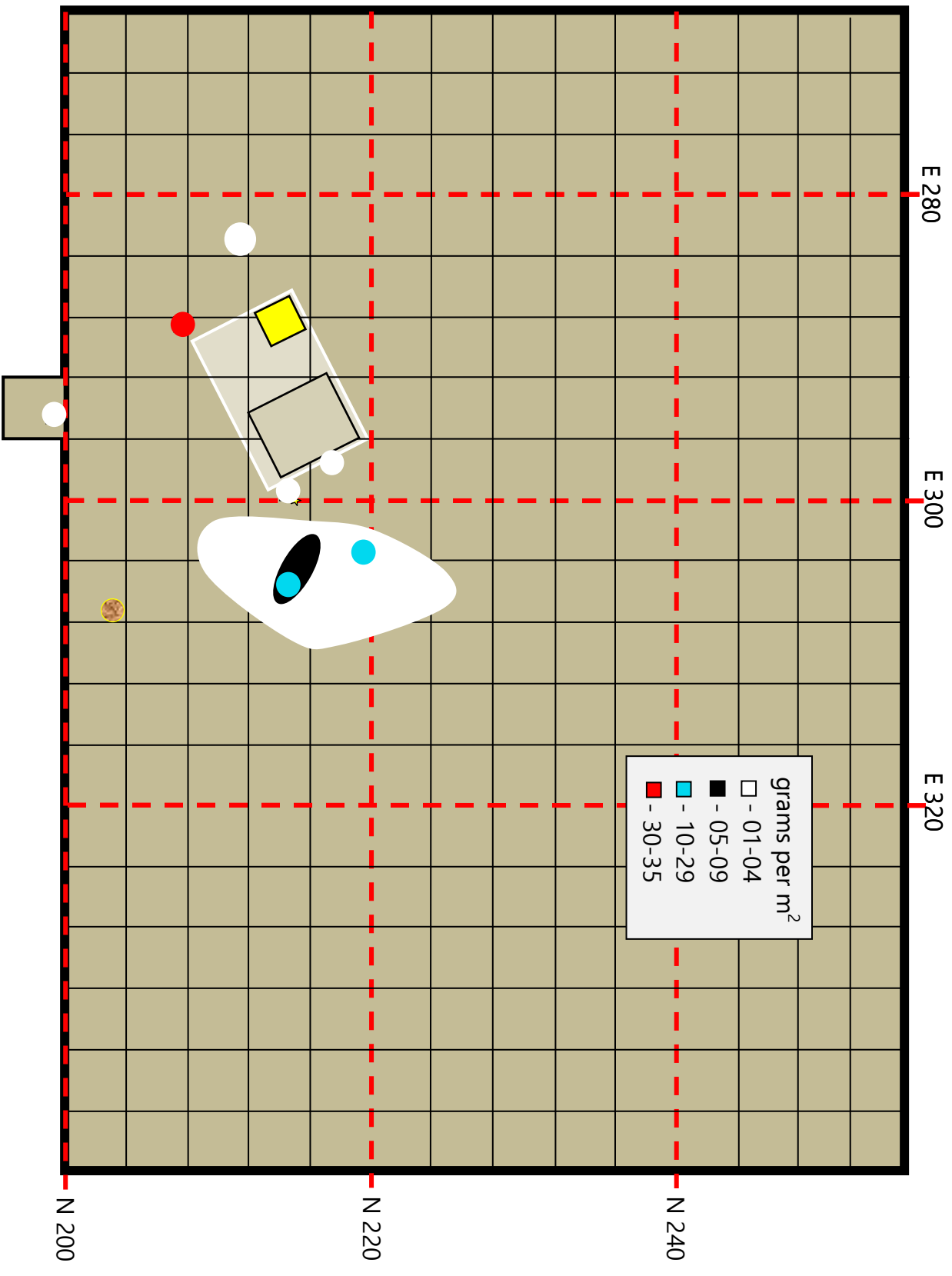


Figure 8: ME 073.015 - Fazackerly delft by weight (gr)

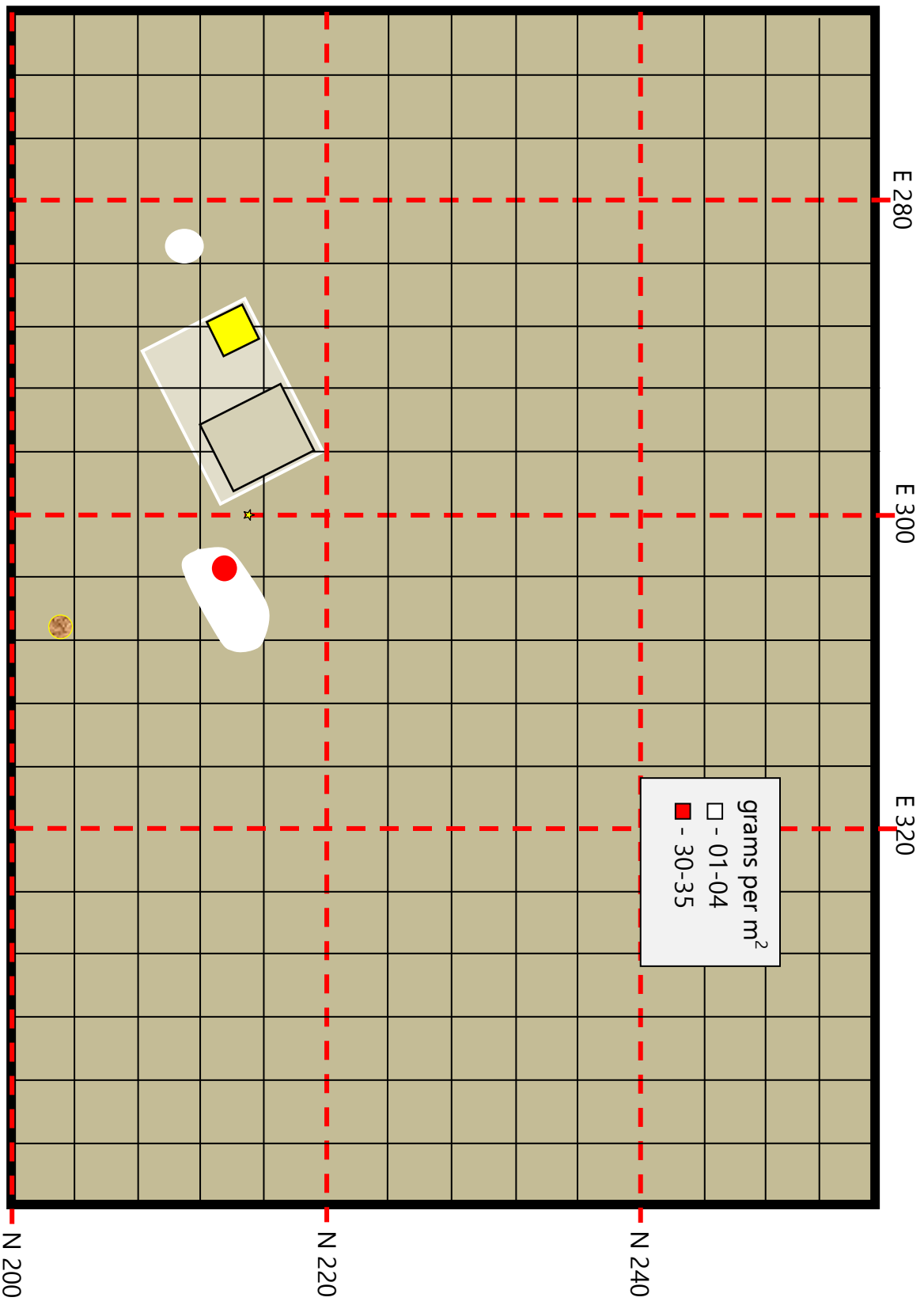


Figure 9: ME 073.015 - refined, engine turned, clear glazed redware by weight (gr)

midden, as a source of fill, transporting it to the structure's opposite end for an undetermined purpose. But, while the purpose may never be known, there is no doubt that its redistribution to that location was likely *intentional, and with purpose*.

### **Shell Edge Pearlware**

Mapping of shell edged pearlware glazed ware indicates a significant amount lies both within the cellar fill, and overlying the structure's footprint. Not only did post-occupation infilling and leveling take place in that area, but clearly it did so after shell edged wares were incorporated into the midden. This is consistent with the site's terminal 18<sup>th</sup> c., and extremely early 19<sup>th</sup> c. occupation by Elisha Gibbs.

Oddly, though a concentration of shell edge pearlware is noted east of the structure's southeast corner, and adjacent to its east gable end (Figure 10), the distribution is an elongated oval, generally north/south orientated. This differs from other ceramic types, and their localized and concentrated distributions (except for creamware).

Shell edge, pearlware glazed, refined white earthenware is also noted in the very limited fill deposit immediately west of the structure's west gable end. That it is present there, confirms the theory of post-depositional transport, or relocation of some portion of the eastern midden.

However, even with a slightly different distributional pattern, the essence of shell edge's distribution mirrors virtually all other ceramic wares – a main concentration east of the structure's east gable end, and a very localized, limited presence in an isolated midden-like concentration immediately west of the structure's west gable end.

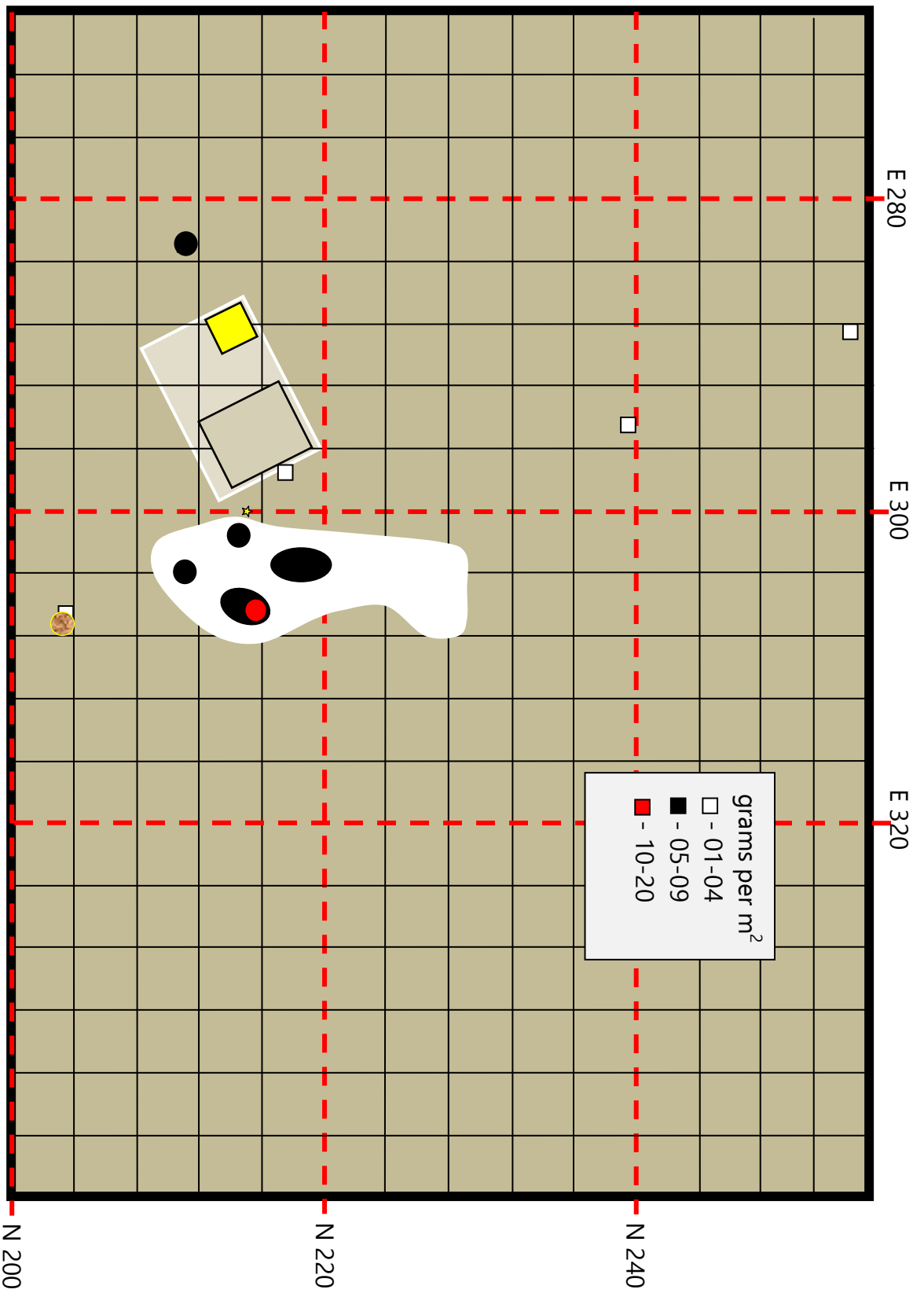


Figure 10: ME 073.015 - shell edge pearlware by weight (gr)

## Porcelain

Porcelain represents a very small percentage of ME 073.015's overall ceramic sample. Indeed, not more than 1 or 2 grams of porcelain are present in any one square meter (Figure 11). That said, what is represented suggests an intentional effort to acquire it diversely. The current porcelain sample includes at least three different vessels, two different decorative motifs, and both English and Chinese manufacture.

As with virtually all other forms of ceramics at ME 073.015, a central concentration exists adjacent to the structure's east gable end, east-southeast of the structure's presumed doorway,

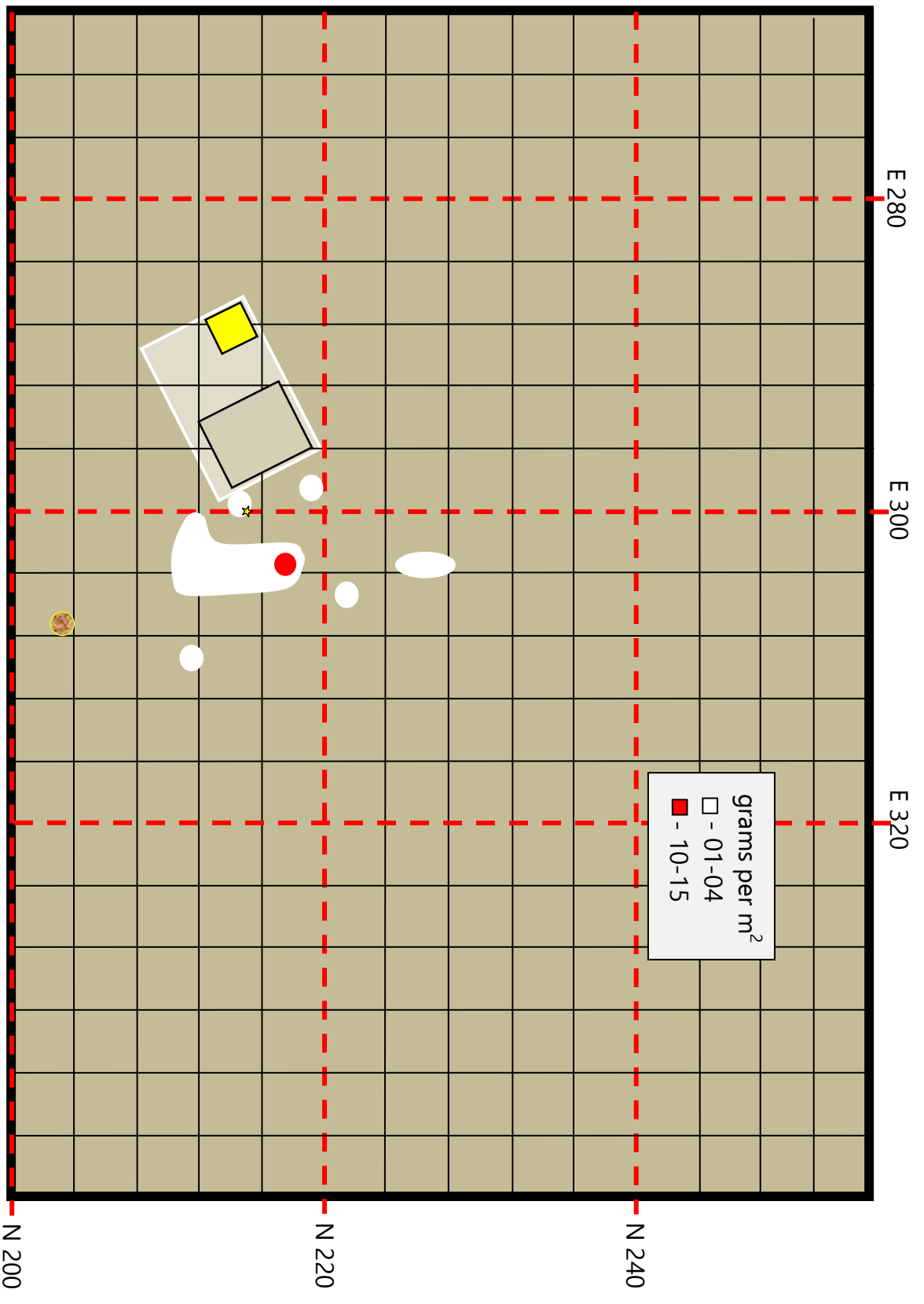


Figure 11: ME 073.015 - porcelain by weight (gr)

### Clam Shell, Buttons, and Lithics

As for other forms of cultural materials, specifically clam shell (Figure 12), buttons (Figure 13), and lithic debitage (Figure 14), their distribution patterns are similar to that of ceramics. However, their attribution is interpreted as Native American in origin.

While clams might have been utilized by a Euro-American occupant, it is considered more likely that clam shell reflects Native American subsistence. The recovered rhyolite debitage is, almost certainly, Native American in origin. And the discarding of buttons in a localized grouping, overlapping both shell and debitage, is conspicuous. Add the behavior of rolling, folding, and cutting large brass flat buttons, and an interpretation other than simple discard is strongly inferred– a Native American activity locus.

Analogous circumstances are present at the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017), 1/8 mile away on the same road (Mitchell 2018). There, numerous rhyolite flakes and cobble fragments, some with cobble cortex, were noted in a localized concentration. At least two fragments refit, one being a cobble fragment with cortex. Some battering was noted as well. The rhyolite at the Thorndike-Conway Site mirrors the sample recovered at ME 073.015 in several way.

- 1) the rhyolite recovered in both sites is cobble in origin (likely from the coastal littoral), medium green with white phenocrysts, and grossly shattered;
- 2) the rhyolite recovered in both sites is in direct association with clam shell (*Mya arenaria*) and late 18<sup>th</sup> c. flat buttons;
- 3) and, with the exception of a single rhyolite flake in ME 073.015's western fill deposit, both rhyolite and button are seen in a tightly localized concentration of midden immediately adjacent, but tangential to a corner of the presumed structures.

Additional support for a localized activity locus, is the reality of multiple button recoveries occurring within a single unit in the same area as clam shell and rhyolite. Twice, three buttons were recovered within a single unit. And once, two buttons were recovered within a single unit. And, multi-button units are present within a few meters of each other.

It is noteworthy, as well, that rhyolite debitage is also present in association with a deep, pit feature, south of the structure, along with an 18<sup>th</sup> c. button, creamware, and likely sheep remains – a roasting pit (Feature 1).

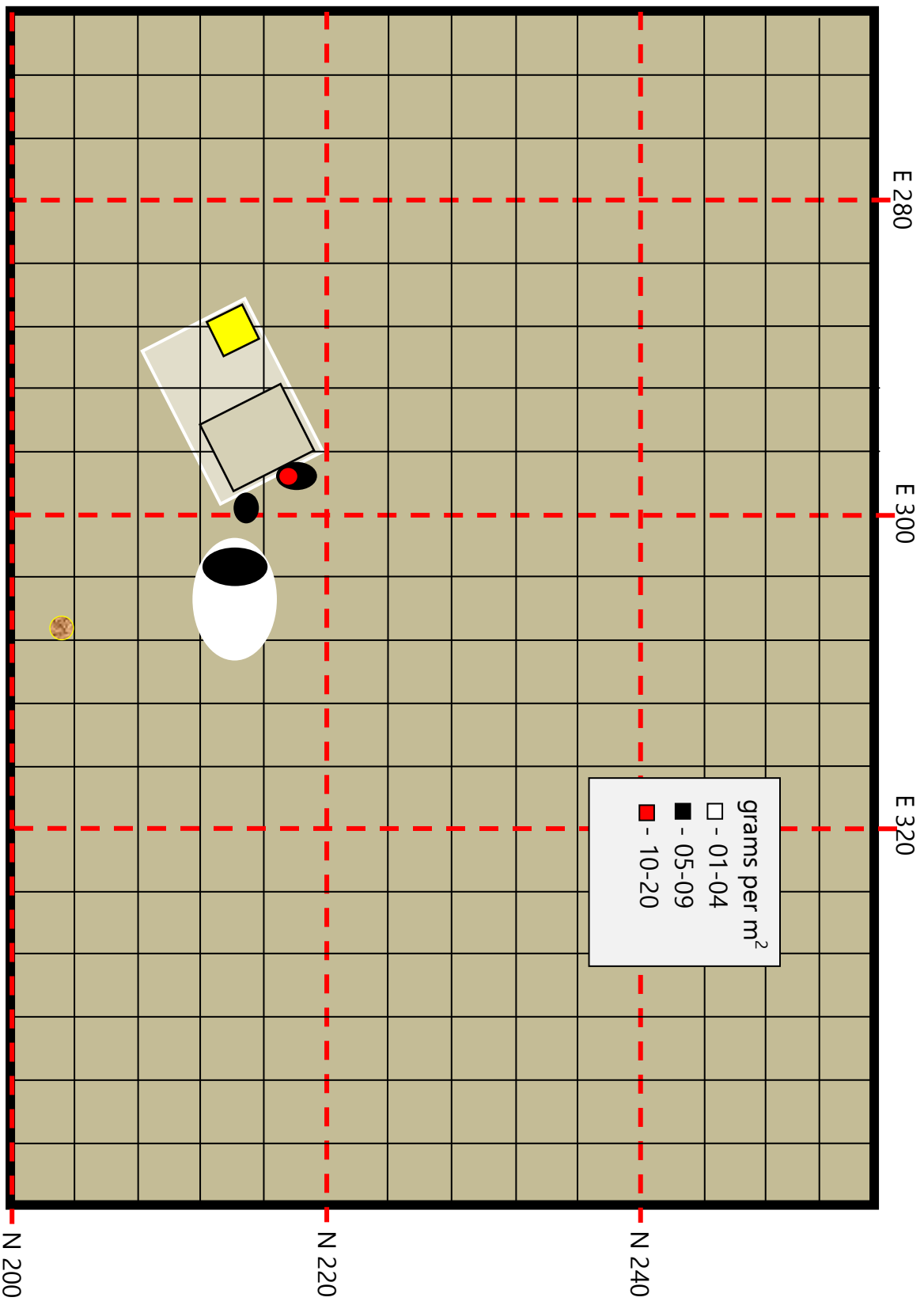
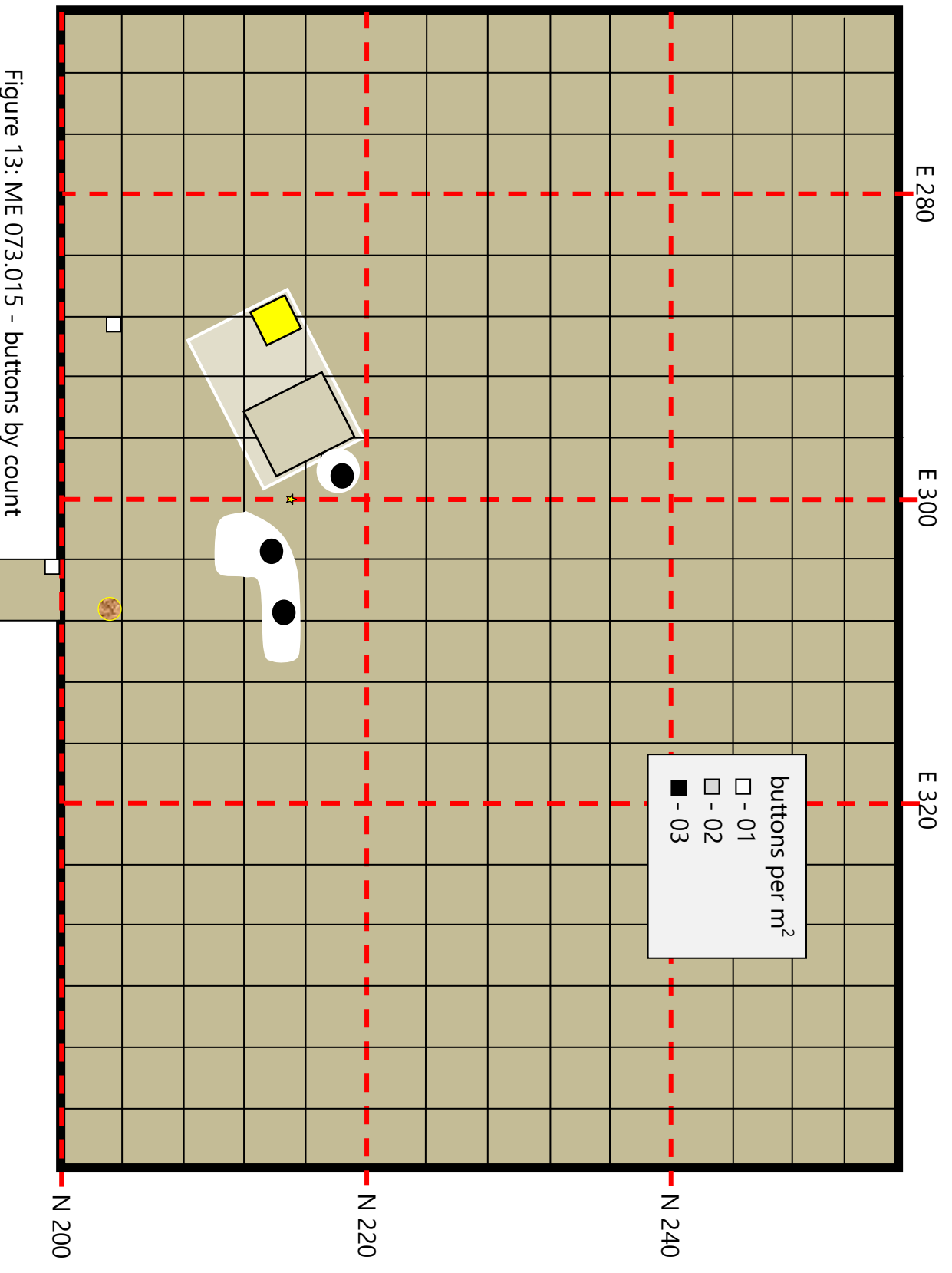


Figure 12: ME 073.015 - clam shell by weight (gr)





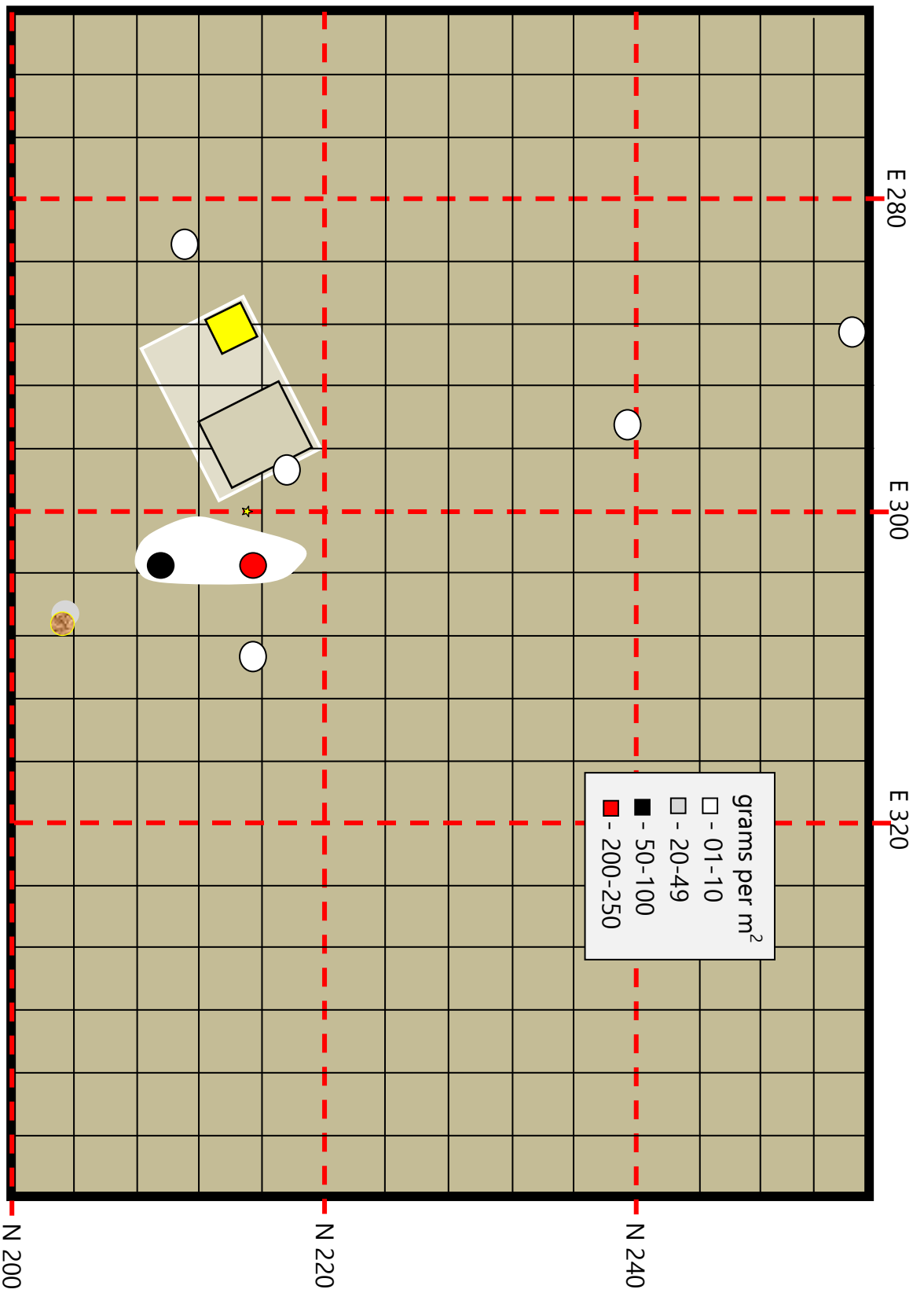


Figure 14: ME 073.015 - lithic debrisage by weight (gr)

## Distribution of Ceramics and Other Cultural Material at ME 073.015 – Conclusion

Regarding the distribution of ceramics, and other cultural material at ME 073.015, there are several principal “take-aways”.

- 1) With three exceptions, the majority of all cultural material in the site is located in an area of approximately 144m<sup>2</sup>, or a 12m x 12m area. Specifically, the principal area of deposition is located between N 208–220 and E 300–312 (Figure 15). That such a specific area is consistently identified as the site’s principal dumping area by disparate groups and/or individuals, over a period of 30 years, is noteworthy. Conversely, though sharing the same general dumping area, the broad distribution of creamware and plain pearlware to the north is also conspicuous.
- 2) Assuming:
  - a. lithic debitage, flat buttons, and clam shell are attributable to a Native American presence;
  - b. that the Native American presence is Revolutionary War related; and
  - c. engine turned refined redware, Fazackerly delft, and China Glaze pottery are also attributable to a Revolutionary War temporal component;

It is possible, then, to identify the earliest temporal prioritization of the dumping area noted above. And, wares and other materials associated with the site’s first occupation appear to be focused even more specifically at approximately N 212 E 304 (Figure 16), about 20’ southeast of the structure’s presumed door.

- 3) In terms of post-Revolutionary War period trash disposal, occupation during the mid to terminal 1790’s appears focused on an area slightly north of the initial occupation’s midden disposal area: N 216 E 304 (Figure 17). Though broadly distributed, shell edged pearlware and early polychrome pearlware both appear to concentrate at that location. This apparent shift from 20’ away, and “around the corner”, to approximately 10’ away and in front of the doorway is not explained, but could relate to a difference between military protocols and residential indifference.
- 4) Four meters immediately west of the structure’s west gable end is, in profile, a thick (40cm), “wedge” shaped concentration (in profile) of midden-like fill (Figure 18). This fill includes virtually every form of ceramic recovered on site. There is no question this fill *does not reflect in situ household trash disposal*; this fill is not a primary midden deposit. Rather, this fill is secondarily deposited, “mined” midden from east-southeast of the structure’s east gable end.

Based on wall profiles and photographic evidence, the area west of the structure was originally sloped downward to the north. Sometime after all occupation of the structure ceased (approximately 1802) someone filled in the north-facing slope in an effort to level the ground surface. It is hypothesized the need to do so relates to an effort to "slide" the structure west, to a new location, to be repurposed.

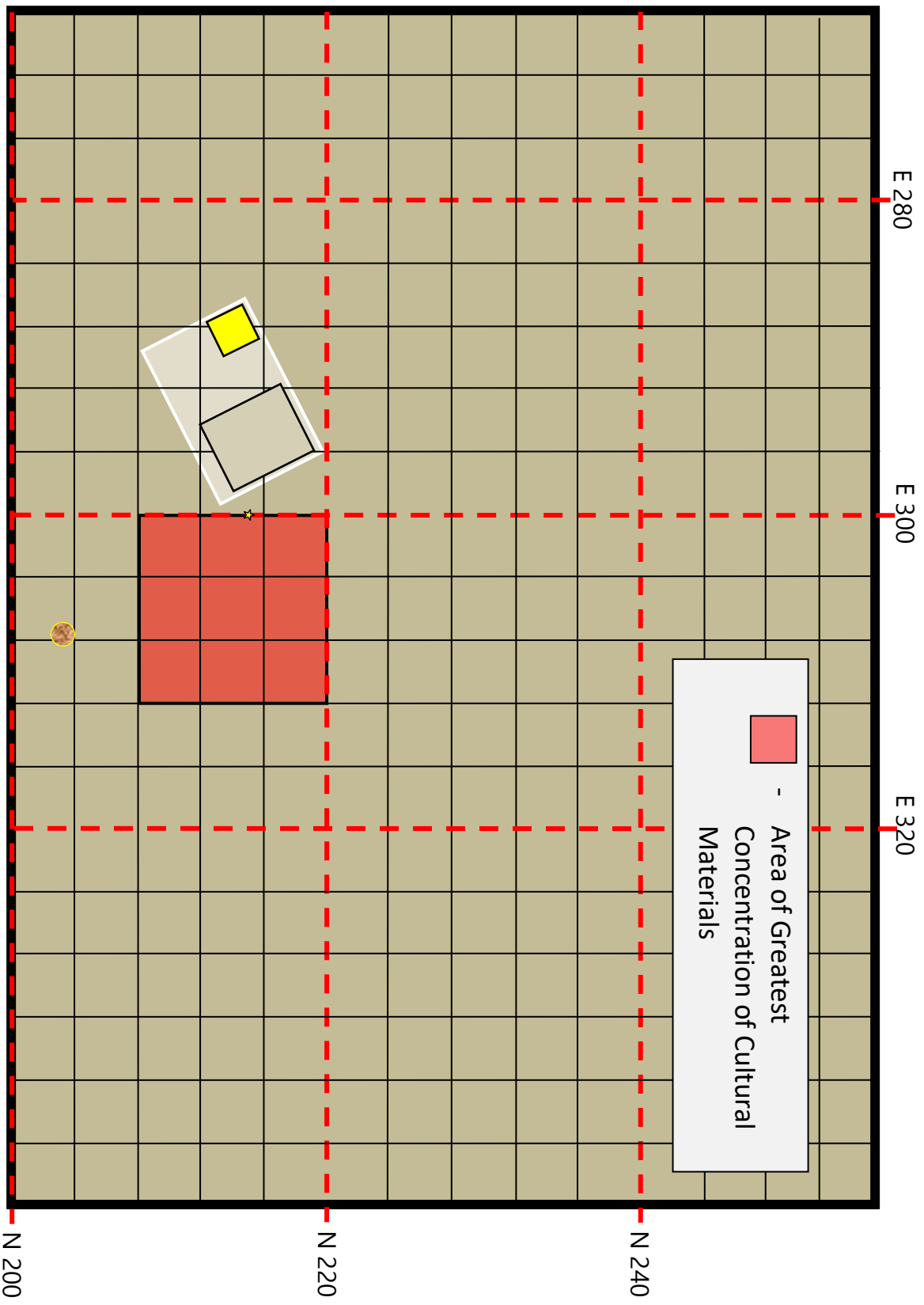


Figure 15: ME 073.015 - principal area of all trash disposal c. 1779-1802

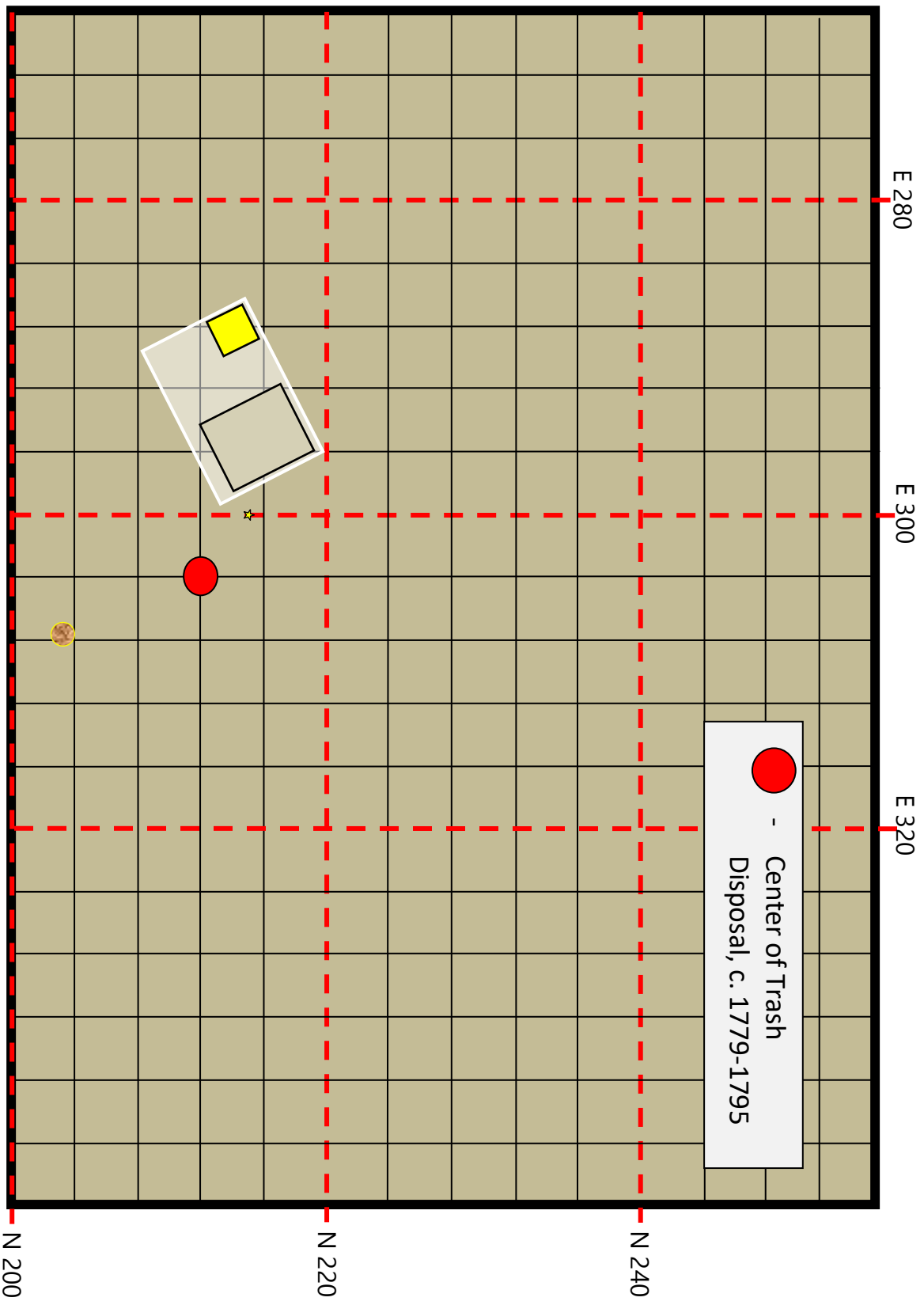


Figure 16: ME 073.015 - central area of Revolutionary War period trash disposal

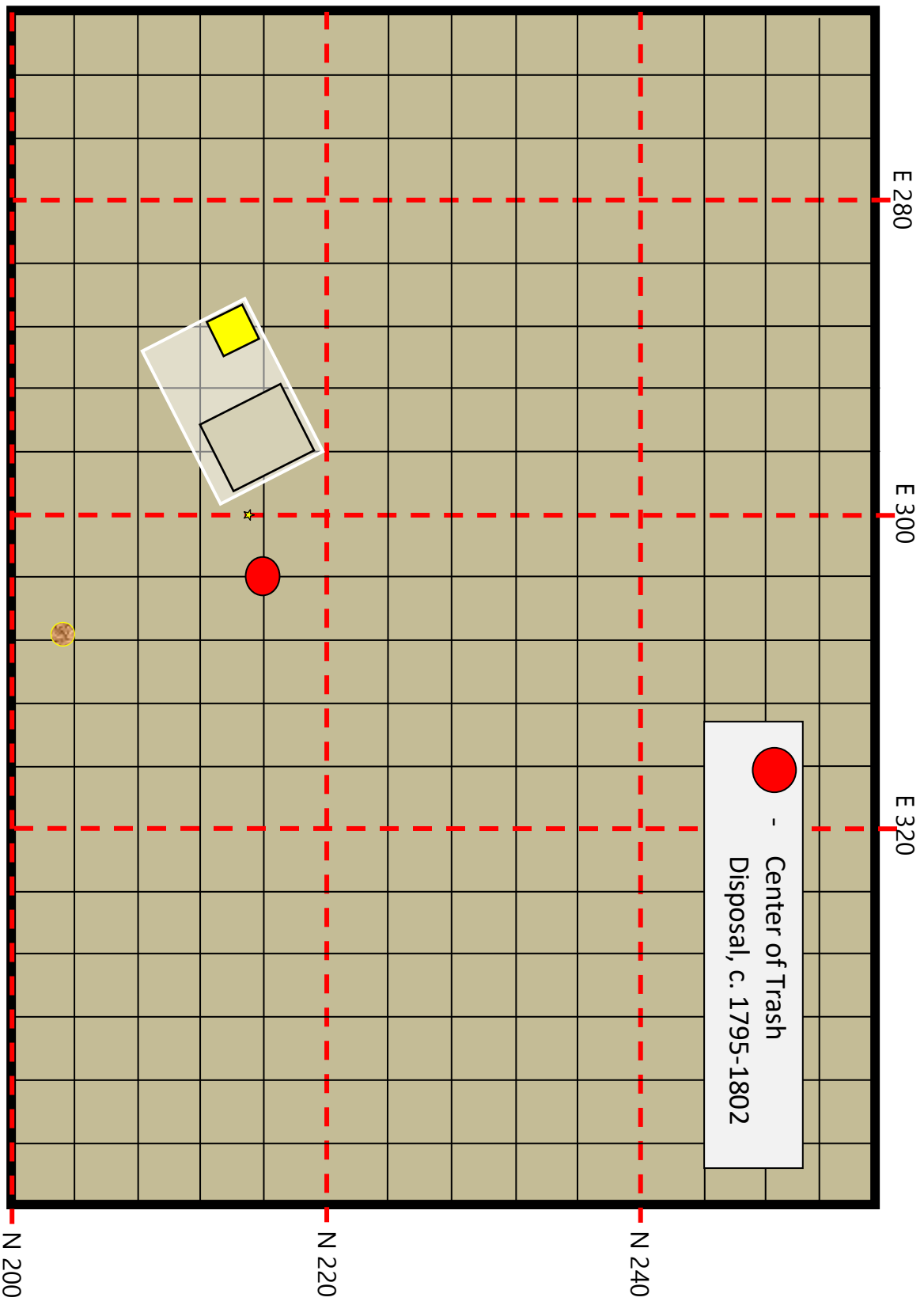


Figure 17: ME 073.015 - central area of post-1795 trash disposal (early polychrome and shell edge pearlware)

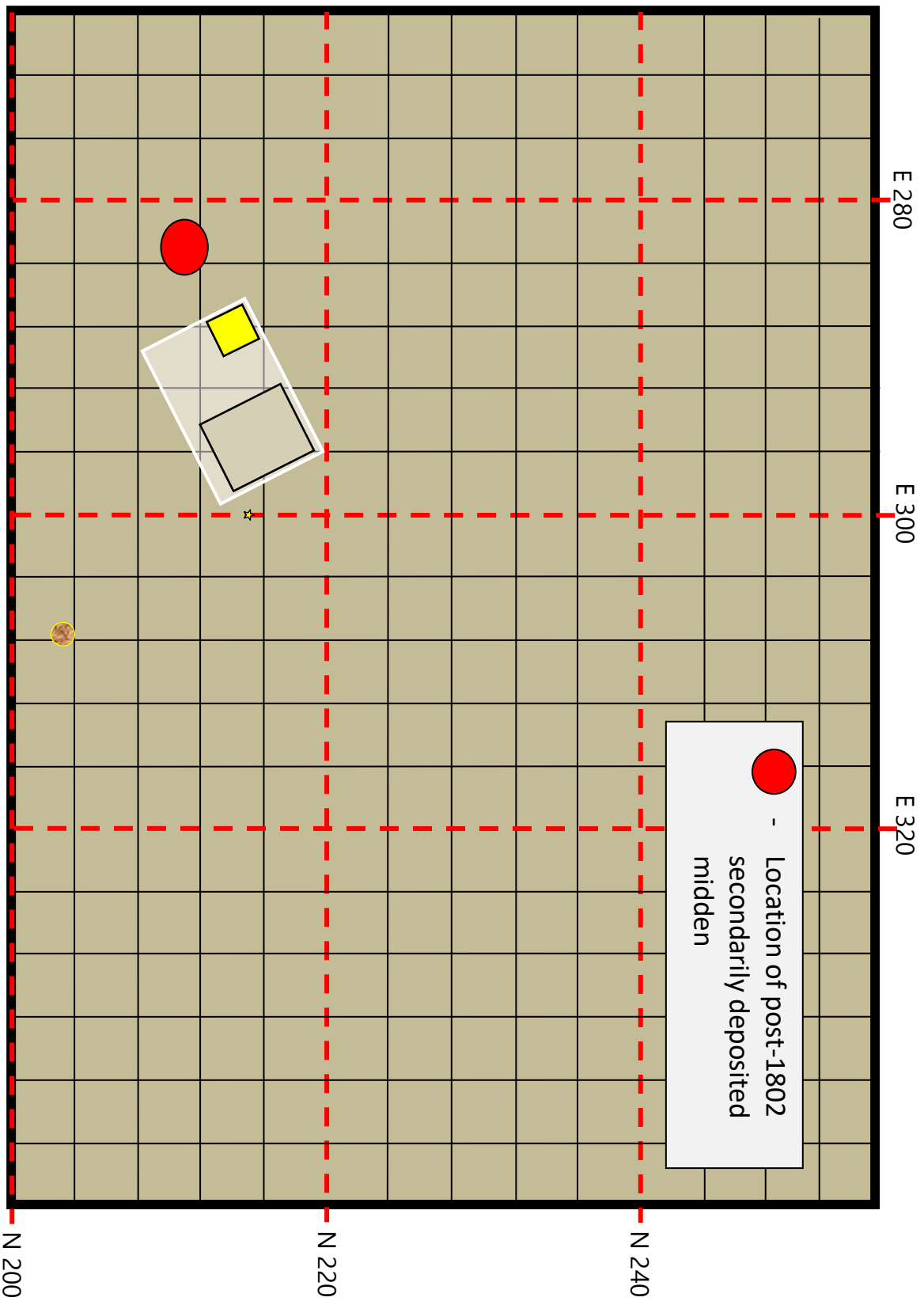


Figure 18: ME 073.015 - western fill concentration



### ME 073.014: The Asa Hosmer Farm Site

Very little archaeological testing has occurred at ME 073.014. Testing to date includes a series of shovel test pits (STP's) encircling the stone lined cellar, and several, larger, 1m<sup>2</sup> excavation units exploring those areas in which cultural materials are concentrated (i.e., middens) (Figure 19).

To the extent that it was accomplished, testing reveals household and other refuse in two discreet areas – N202-205 E 220-240 (60m<sup>2</sup>) and N 204-220 E 248-256 (128m<sup>2</sup>) (Figure 20). As with ME 073.015, ME 073.014's ceramic refuse is considered in its horizontal distribution. Given limited overall testing, any interpretations of such distributions is tentative. However, the results are highly suggestive of two, spatially separate, concentrated efforts at refuse disposal.

Additionally, testing not only indicates two contemporary 19<sup>th</sup> c. midden deposits, but cultural materials relating to an earlier, 18<sup>th</sup> c. component in both. The latter appears "masked" by the former, but is clearly represented by cultural materials attributable to an earlier period. The presence of China Glaze ceramics, a large green case bottle, and very large flat buttons mirror the material circumstances at ME 073.015, and suggest a remote extension of that Revolutionary War period occupation. And the recovery in ME 073.014's middens of trade and red clay beads, along with several small rhyolite flakes, confirms a Native American presence/co-occupation identical to that of ME 073.015. It is hypothesized that a remote extension of the militia encampment existed on, and downslope from the elevated landform later utilized to develop the Hosmer farm. Additional testing may encounter stratigraphically buried aspects of this Native American/colonial occupation.

### Creamware

ME 073.014 spans a period in which creamware glazed ceramics are not only being produced by multiple manufacturers, *but not at the same time as earlier creamware manufacture*. In other word, some of the creamware ceramics at ME 073.014 likely post-dates that of ME 073.015, and care should be taken when considering contemporaneity. For example, a creamware sherd with a partial maker's mark indicates it was produced by the Herculaneum pottery in Liverpool, England, ca. 1780-1840. The period during which this particular maker's mark ("HERCULANEUM") was in use, extends from 1796-1810 (Lewis 1993:87). While this particular Herculaneum creamware's initial production overlaps the terminal portion of ME 073.015's occupation, it is probably not contemporary with that occupation.

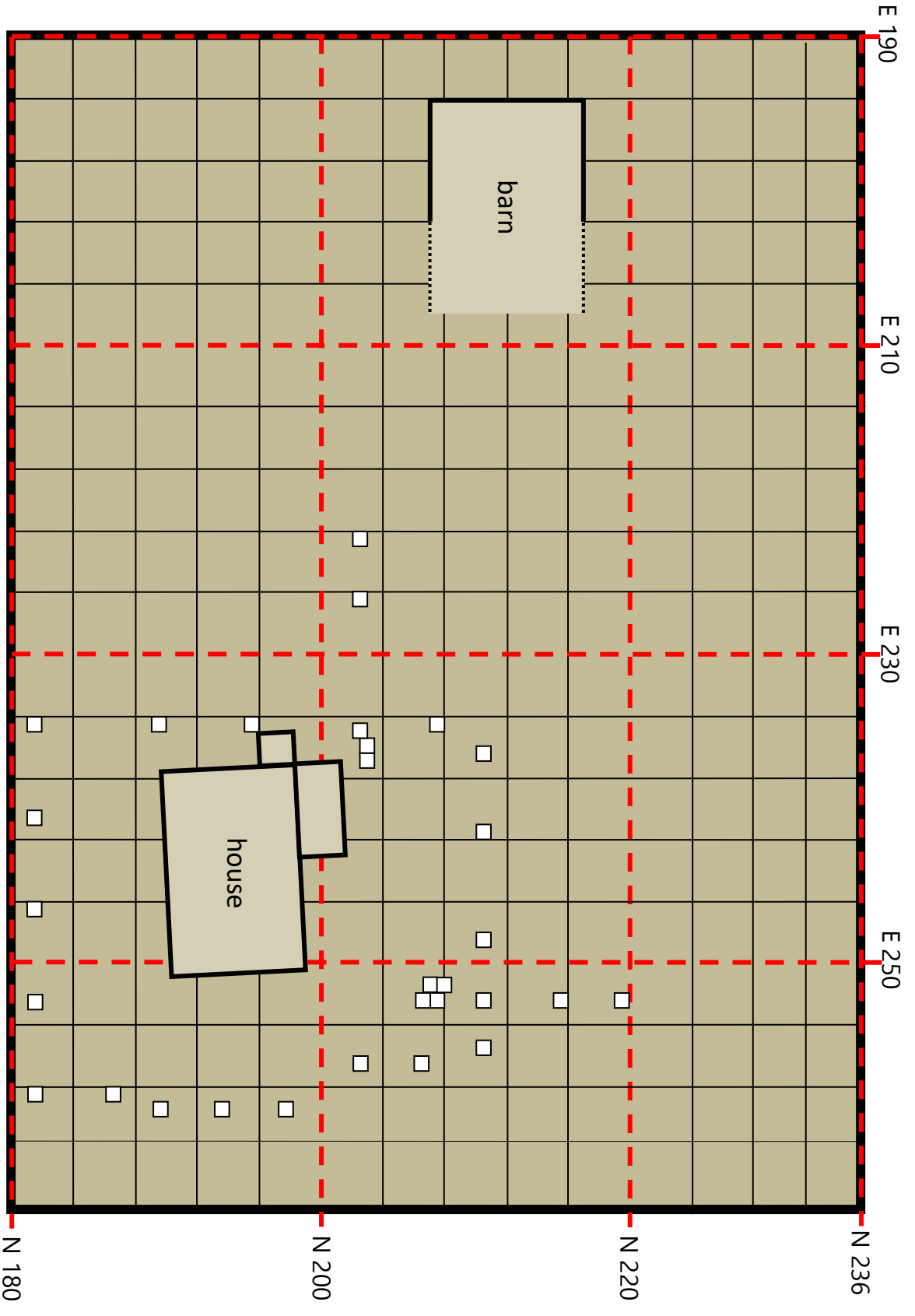


Figure 19: ME 073.014 - testing

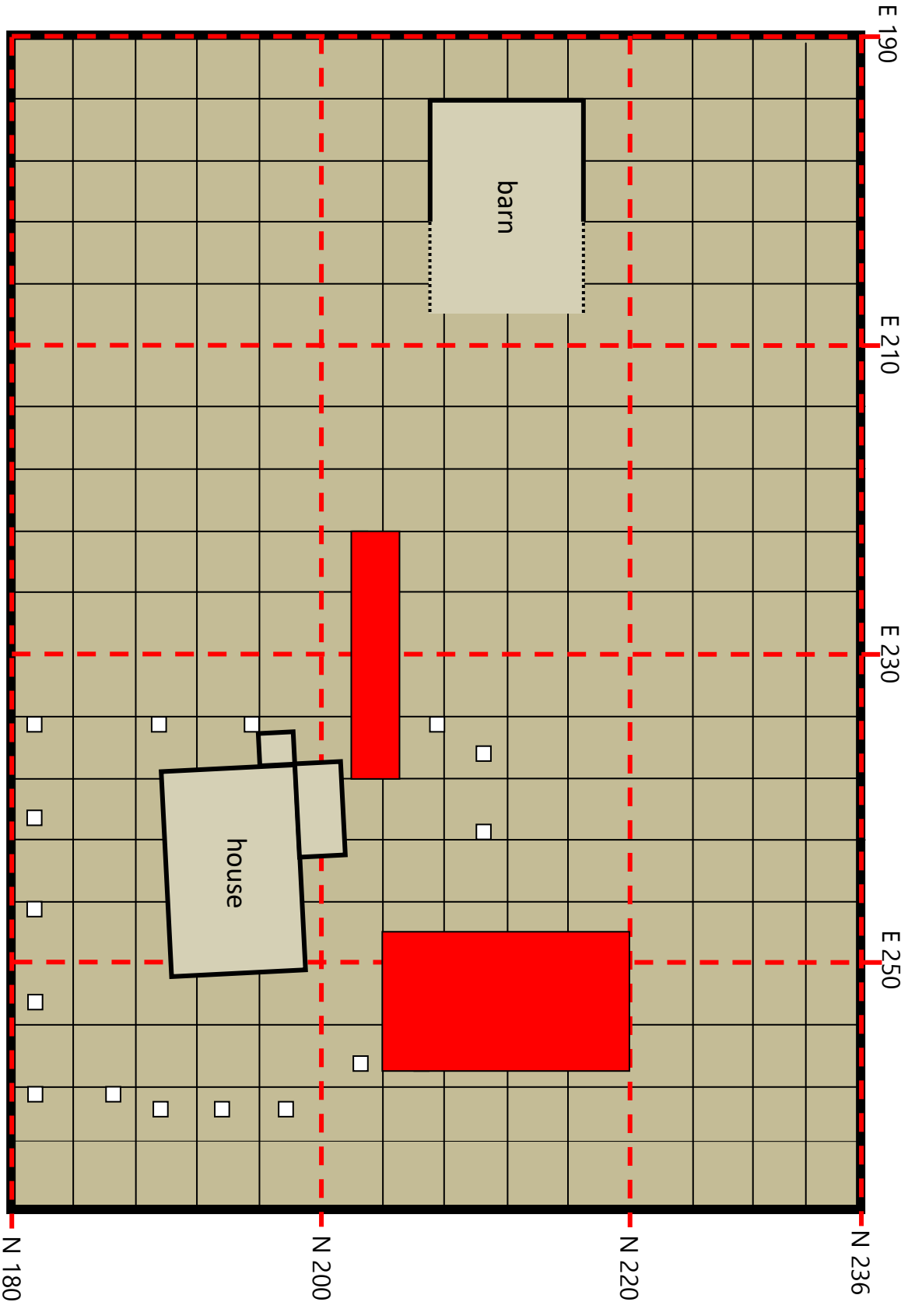


Figure 20: ME 073.014 - major midden concentrations

Additionally, it might, more correctly be call "CC" ware. Miller and Samford identify that "improvements in the glazing process further whitened creamware, which by the 1790s was being called "CC" ware. (2002 [https://apps.jefpat.maryland.gov/diagnostic/Post-Colonial %20 Ceramics/Post-Colonial-content.htm](https://apps.jefpat.maryland.gov/diagnostic/Post-Colonial%20Ceramics/Post-Colonial-content.htm)).

Creamware/CC ware appears to be present in some concentration in both the middens northwest and northeast of the farm's cellar (Figure 21). However, the greater concentration is located in the northeast midden, located 5-10m downslope from the farm's cellar. Units excavated there contain upwards of 300-400% more creamware by weight than units of like size in the northwest midden.

In terms of why such a location would be chosen, the answer is unclear. It is remote, relative to the cellar, and the midden to the northwest. While the northwest midden is, quite literally, immediately adjacent to the presumed kitchen on the rear of the house, the northeast midden is at least 4-6m distant from the cellar's nearest corner. If the current presumed kitchen is the general point of origin for the northeast midden, then the midden is 8-10m distant.

Although the northeast midden lies in direct line with a route to the spring, the only potable water on site, it is down a relatively steep slope formed by backdirt from cellar excavation which, presumably, was treacherous in wet condition, and not conducive to regular trips to take out the trash. An alternative rationale for so much concentrated cultural material in the northeast midden may lie in the possible relocation and repurposing of ME 073.015 structure. Were it moved to that general area, much of the northeast midden might relate to an occupation by a "farmhand", or other on-site occupant. The presence of turn of the 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> c. early polychrome pearlware glazed ceramics supports such a possibility.

### **Plain Pearlware**

While plain pearlware is present in a very light, general scatter along the cellar's west and south side, the main concentrations of pearlware mirror precisely those of creamware (Figure 22). This contemporaneity in disposal of the two glaze types, may suggest contemporaneity of occupation. Alternatively, it may also indicate a consistent use of these two disposal areas across time by sequential occupations.

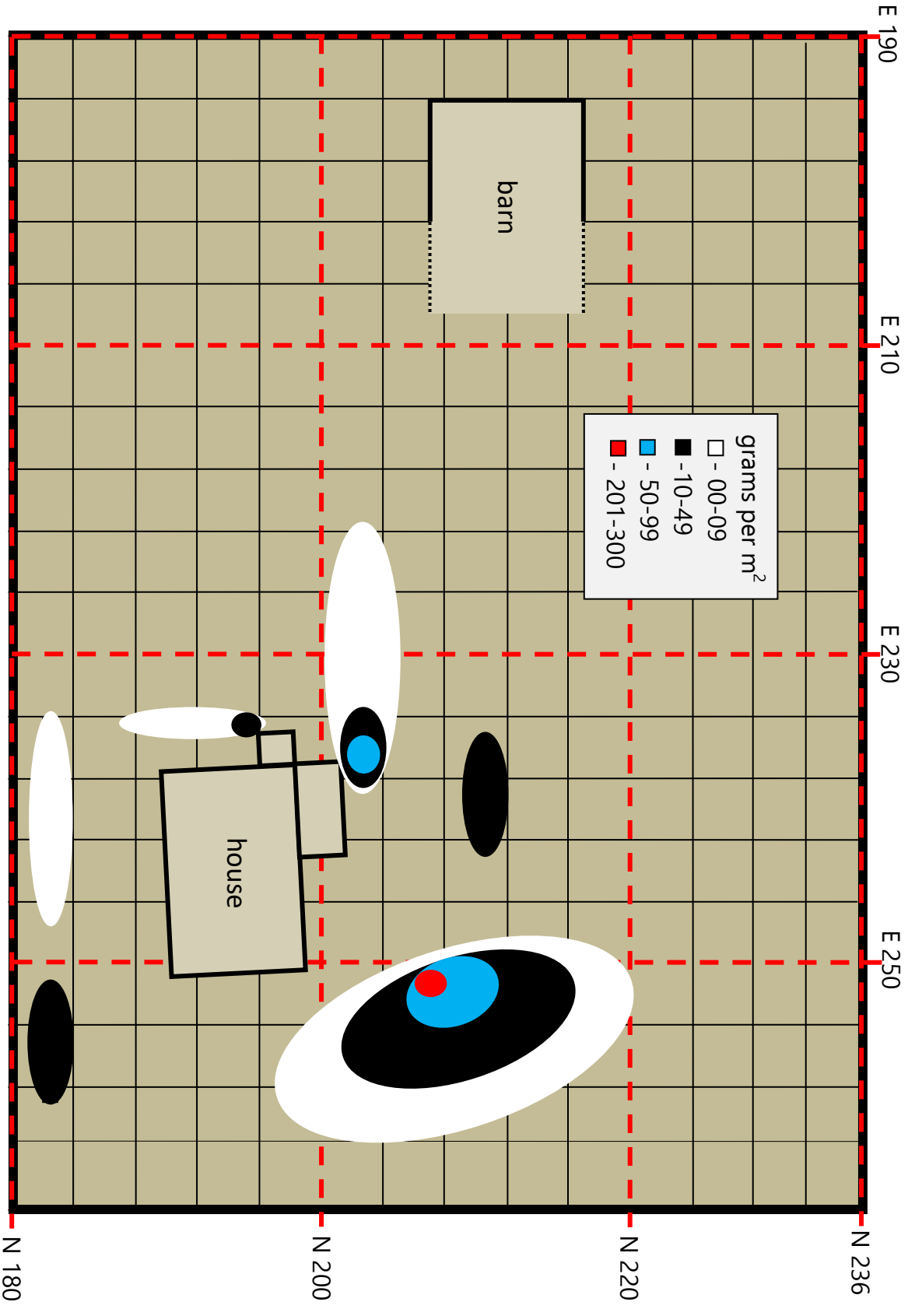


Figure 21: ME 073.014 - creamware by weight (gr)

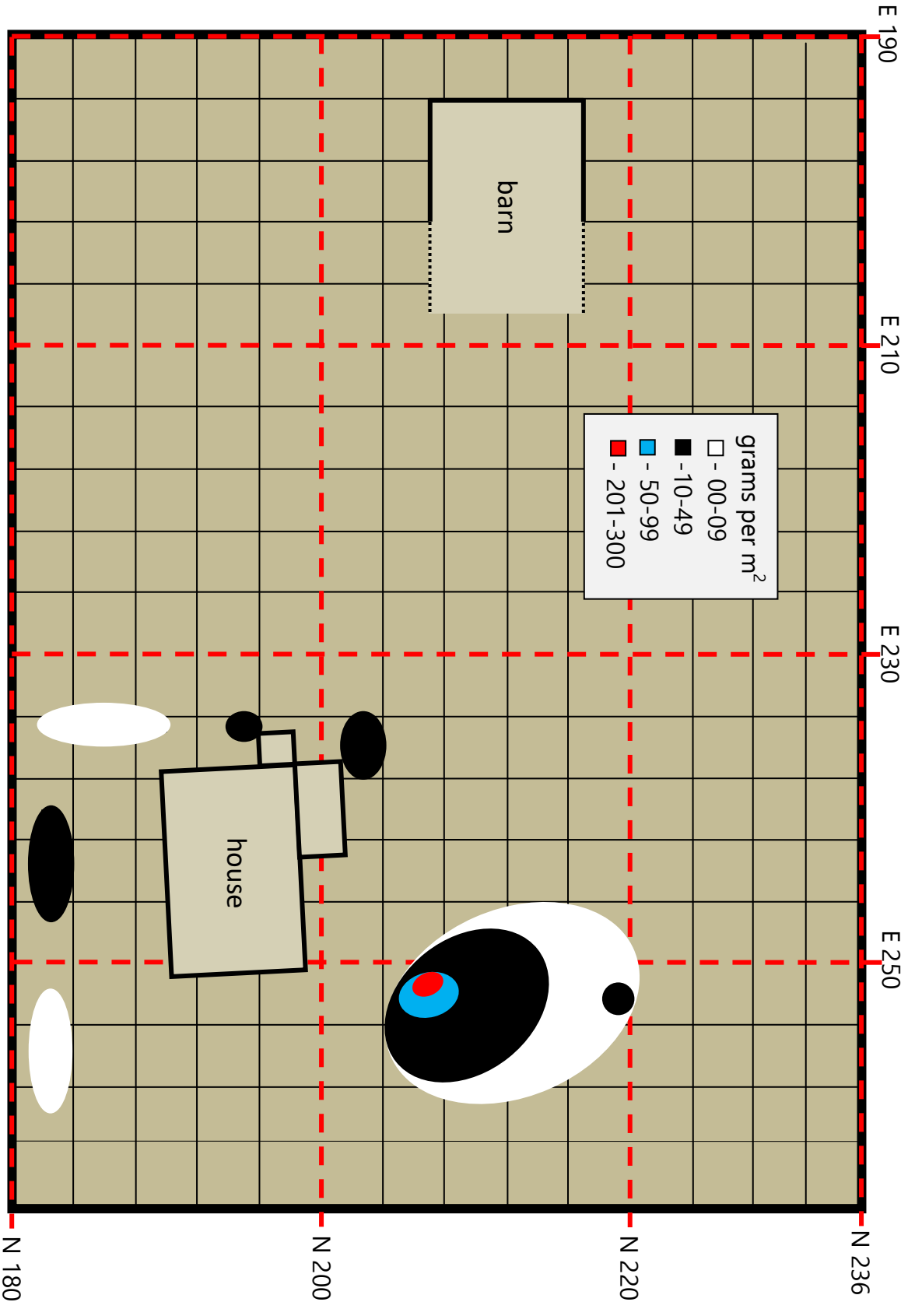


Figure 22: ME 073.014 - plain pearlware by weight (gr)

The one notable exception to this coincident ceramic relationship is seen north of the cellar, and centered at N210 E235. There, a notable creamware concentration is not mirrored by a plain pearlware presence, at all; no STP's in that area generated plain pearlware. And, early polychrome recovered there maintains only an incidental presence at best – random scatter. The suggestion is of a presence that is not coincident with the creamware – that the creamware sample, at least in part, may be from an earlier period. This would be consistent with recovery of earlier, colonial and post-colonial wares and other cultural materials (e.g, 18<sup>th</sup> c. case bottle and large flat buttons) in and near that location.

### **Hand Painted Early Polychrome Under Pearlware Glaze**

Interestingly, extremely little late polychrome pearlware, and no polychrome whiteware, is present at ME 073.014. Given the general evolution of polychromatic pearlware from the later 18<sup>th</sup> c to the very early 19<sup>th</sup> c., and the presence of cobalt blue pearlware and relatively abundant shell edged pearlware, the author expected it. However, early, finely brushed, “soft” colored polychrome pearlware is in the overwhelming majority. The later, cobalt blue-rich polychrome pearlware is not. And the later chrome colored polychrome decoration is not present.

In terms of its distribution, polychrome pearlware is very limited in its absolute amounts. Its recovery is limited to a minor concentration northeast of the cellar (similar to other ceramics). But oddly, polychrome pearlware appears consistently along the farm cellar's south and west sides (Figure 23).

### **Blue-on-White China Gaze Pearlware**

China Glaze is present in very limited amounts. Its greatest concentration is located in the northeast midden (Figure 24). Of note is the recovery of China Gaze immediately east of the cellar's northeast corner, some 6m downslope from the cellar. Its presence there is only duplicated by creamware. A pre-Hosmer farm occupation may have utilized this area, and its presence may be illustrated only by slight differences in ceramic types' distributions.

### **Blue and Green Shell Edge Under Pearlware Glaze**

It is not a surprise to recover shell edge pearlware at ME 073.014, as it is near ubiquitous by the 19<sup>th</sup> c. The concentrations of shell edged pearlware are also not a surprise (Figure 25), mirroring that of other ceramics on site. However, its condition is. The presence of severely burnt, large, shell edge rim portions, located at the cellar's northwest corner, suggests what may have been a “cleaning out” of wares within the house, *after burning them!* Were it not for the molding, and other pieces with them,

several well molded, and gilded green shell edge plate rims fragments are so severely burned as to render them unidentifiable.

A midden sample of severely burned, early 19<sup>th</sup> c. ceramics is present at the Philip Ulmer house site in Lincolnville (Mitchell 2015). There, Philip Ulmer died in October, 1816, of a bodily infection caused by an Revolutionary War wound in the thigh (Hubert 2014). It is hypothesized that the surviving residents burned all ceramics associated with his infection and demise in an effort to “inoculate” the household after his death. Given the reality of epidemics in the early 19<sup>th</sup> c., a similar pattern of burning ceramics utilized in the context of a localized (household) outbreak may be at play at ME 073.014.



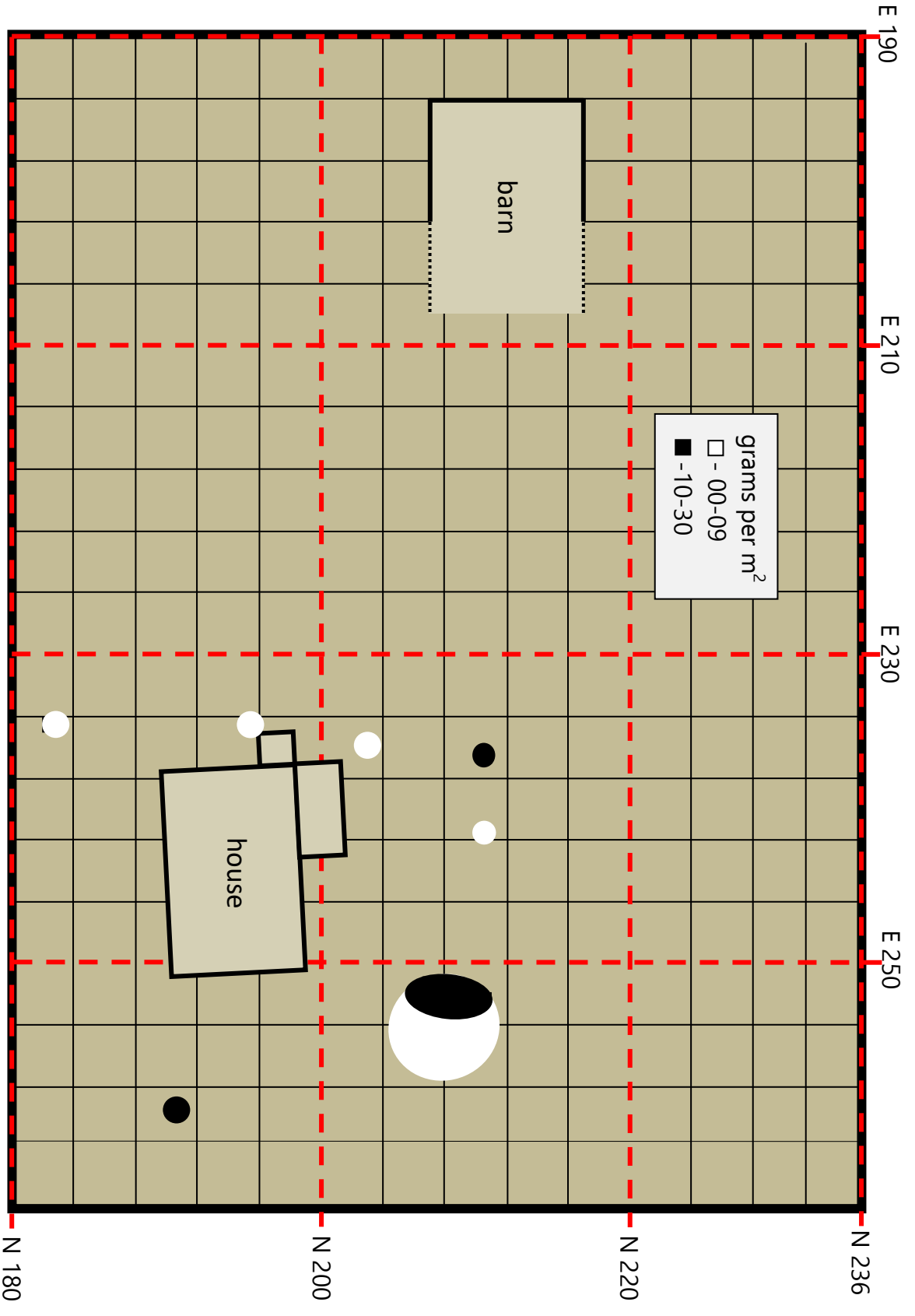


Figure 23: ME 073.014 - early polychrome pearlware by weight (gr)

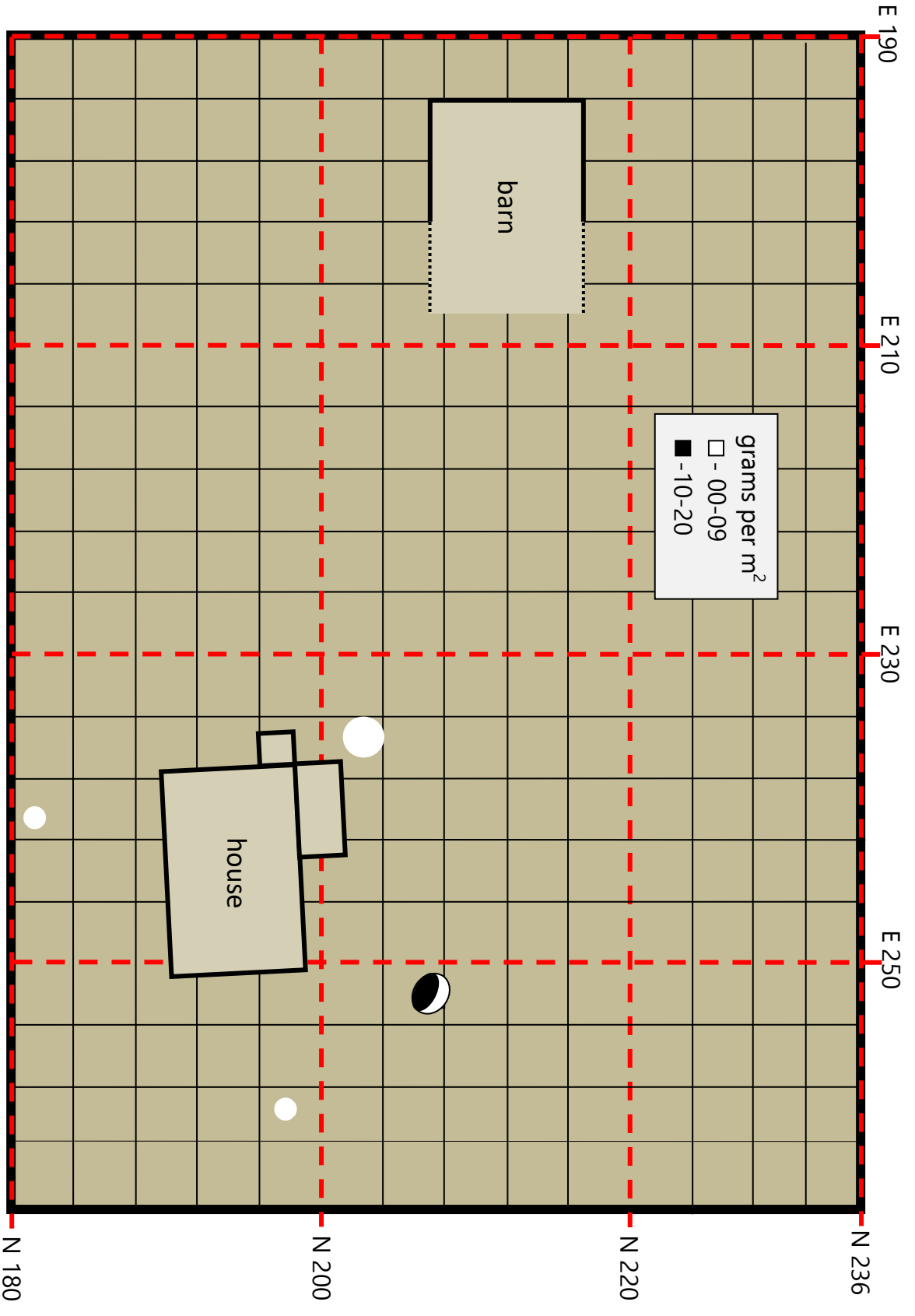


Figure 24: ME 073.014 - China Glaze by weight (gr)

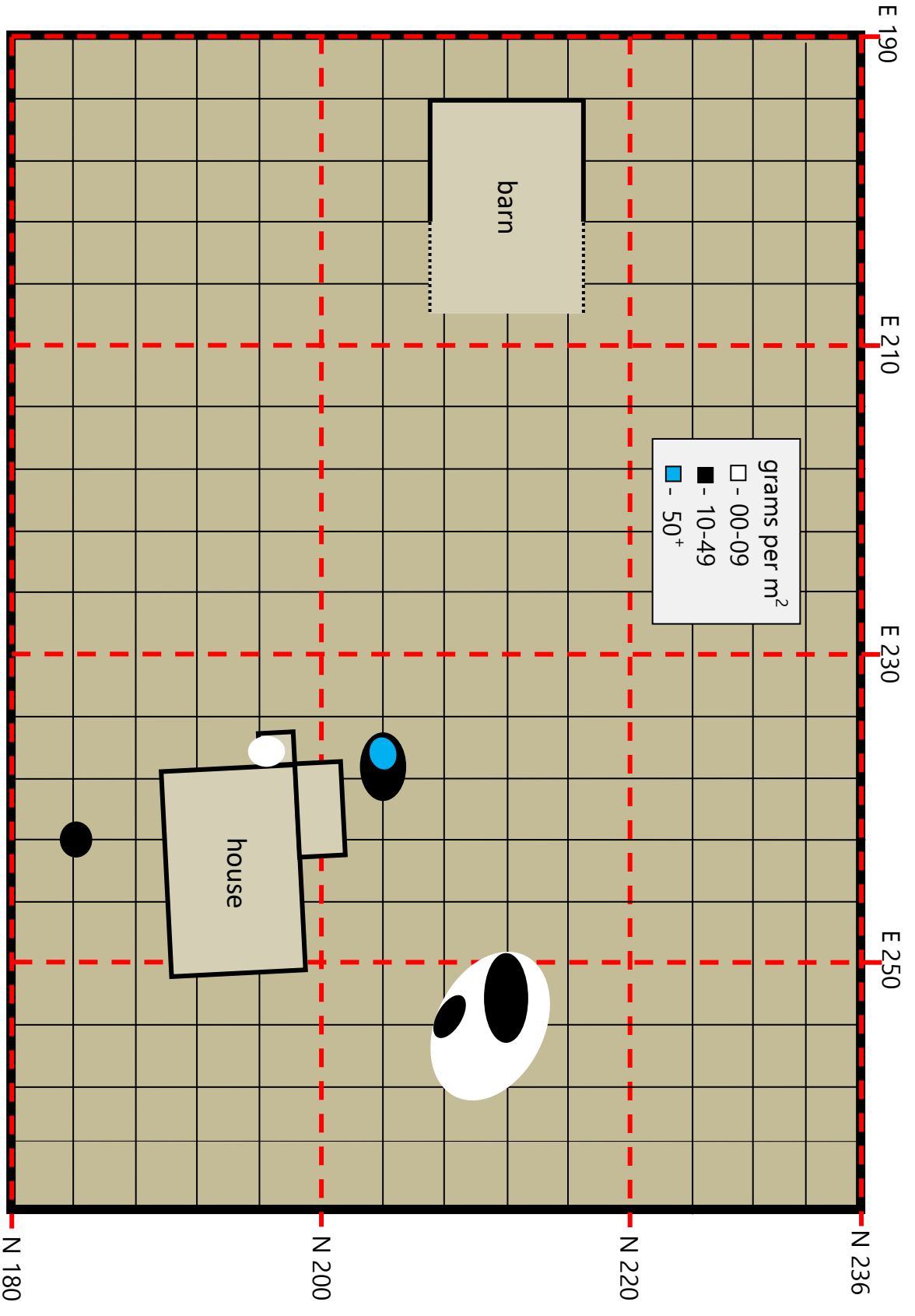


Figure 25: ME 073.014 - shell edge pearlware by weight (gr)

## Overall Conclusions

Merryspring Nature Center is home to two residential archaeological sites, one 18<sup>th</sup>c., and one 19<sup>th</sup>c. Each is a stand-alone occupation, or series of occupations collectively spanning a total of approximately 50-60 years.

Beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century's fourth quarter, and continuing uninterrupted through the 19<sup>th</sup> century's first quarter, members of the community known as Camden, Maine, faced the challenges of: colonial rule; a brutal war undertaken to throw off the oppressive yoke of tyranny; the unknown of a new way – self-governing; continued war, and the personal and economic sacrifices and losses which came with it; infestations; disease in epidemic and continental proportions; climactic change beyond any recorded experience; and the attainment of statehood in a new nation, with all that that brings with it. It is within this context that the archaeological record of Merryspring Nature Center developed.

The very first known European settlers in Camden, Maine, James Richard and Robert Thorndike, arriving in 1769. The archaeological record at Merryspring Nature Center reflects that era, the era of Camden's first settlement. The initial European occupation at Merryspring Nature Center is interpreted as established approximately 10 year after those first, 1769 occupations.

Merryspring Nature Center encompasses ME 073.015 (aka., the Lt. Benjamin Burton Militia Encampment), and ME 073.014 (aka., the Asa Hosmer Farm Site). As they existed in their own times separately, so each are considered separately herein. However, not including outlying fields, and more distant areas of archaeological record unknown to date, the two sites exist within a shared space of roughly 4.5 acres, approximately 20,000m<sup>2</sup>. As testing was limited principally to the areas immediately around the structures associated with occupations, there is a lack of insight into what that larger, little explored, shared context looks like archaeologically. As a consequence, all conclusions regarding the two sites remain tentative.

### ME 073.015

When it comes to ME 073.015, and based primarily on the site's ceramic assemblage, the author presents two interpretations. The first includes three temporal components, or periods of use, with the earliest possible temporal component (presumably initial site development) represented by the earliest ceramic evidence.

The second temporal component is an intermediate one, encompassing the Revolutionary War period, 1776-1783. This is identified via copious and diverse creamware glazed, and pearlware glazed "China Glaze" ceramics. These ceramics are

accompanied by early engine-turned creamware forms, and English soft paste porcelain, for example.

The third temporal component encompasses a series of deeded residential occupations, c. 1790-1802. This period is further subdivided via the presence of polychrome and shell edged, pearlware glazed, refined white earthenware, c. 1795<sup>+</sup>.

The second interpretation is less “linear”, looking at the broader archaeological and historic record, and attempts to “see” behavioral nuance. While still maintaining a view of ME 073.015 as multi-component, the second interpretation considers the earliest wares as temporally “intrusive”, though legitimate elements of the site’s occupation/s.

### *The First Interpretation*

Utilizing production dates for ceramics, there is cause to consider a near (or pre)-1769 occupation or temporal component. Fazackerly delft production began around 1750 in Liverpool, and ended at or slightly before 1770 (Hume 1969). As one presumably doesn’t end production of a popular, marketable ceramic type, it is suggested Fazackerly delft became less popular prior to its discontinuance. We might, therefore, assume the recovered archaeological sample reflects a period of popularity, perhaps the 1750’s to mid 1760’s.

Paralleling Fazackerly delft is recovery of several very small, mottled brown, creamware glazed, tea bowl lip sherds - Whieldon ware. In production sometime from perhaps as early as 1750 (Hume 1969), Whieldon ware continued in production into the early 1770’s. But again, as popularity declines, and markets shrink, one must ask the question, is an end date for production the actual end date for marketability? We might consider the purchase of Whieldon ware took place both some time prior to its archaeological deposition, but more importantly, sometime during its period of popularity (1750<sup>±</sup> - 1770<sup>±</sup>). Thus Whieldon ware recovered at Merryspring Nature Center could easily support a near-1769 attribution.

Then there is English, brown, salt-glazed pottery. According to Hume, “It is safe to say that all English mottled brown stoneware mugs found on American domestic sites date between 1690 and 1775.” (1969:114). Two refitting sherds of English, brown, salt-glazed, Fulham-type stoneware, are present in the ceramic sample from ME 073.015. While representing only a small portion of a single vessel’s exterior surface (2.5cm x 3.5cm x .3cm), they none-the-less reflect such a ware type. A possible near-1769 attribution is completely reasonable.

Additional reinforcement of a near-1769 temporal component at ME 073.015 is found in the recovery of Jackfield ware. In production between 1745 and 1790 (Hume 1969), Jackfield and its lesser cousins, produced by Whieldon and others, respectively, clearly emerged and lived out their popularity at or prior to 1769.

And then there is the recovery of Staffordshire engine turned, lead glazed red earthenware (c. 1765-1775). Its presence at ME 073.015 clearly suggests the potential for occupation around Camden's initial settlement - 1769.

When combined, the recovery of the above strongly encourages consideration of a first, or pre-1769 occupation. And such a potential is not unreasonable. Thomaston, only 12 miles south, saw initial settlement in the early 1720's. Surely someone could have reached what is now Merryspring, only 12 miles distant, and established a homestead, only to be forgotten in the fog of distant history recorded a century or more after the fact.

Ware after ware after ware at ME 073.015 are contemporary with, or could predate Camden's initial settlement, c.1769. However, while the ceramic evidence does suggest a relationship to an earlier, pre-creamware (pre-1762)/pre-Camden first settlement period, the question is – is that relationship representative of occupation? Consideration is given to an alternative interpretation.

### *A Second Interpretation*

While it is undeniable that third quarter 18<sup>th</sup> c. wares exist at ME 073.015, they exist within a broader intra-site context – the broader ceramic sample. Do these third quarter 18<sup>th</sup> c. wares represent evidence of a third quarter 18<sup>th</sup> c. occupation or presence?

The answer, the author believes, is no. There are no corresponding utilitarian or table wares. There are no white salt glazed wares. Where are plates or other table wares with molded "barley" or "dot-diaper-basket" marleys. There is no scratch-blue salt glazed stoneware waste (slop) or tea bowls. There are no "dipped" (dipt') salt glazed wares (e.g., tankards). There are no salt glazed hollow vessels (e.g., teapots).

Beyond white salt glazed wares, where is blue-on-gray, Westerwald stoneware? And where is the Rhenish brown stoneware (Bellarmine)? Where is the lustrous brown Nottingham? There are no yellow and brown Staffordshire wares. None of the above are to be found at ME 073.015.

What then *is* found there, relative to pre-creamware era wares – ceramics in the form of pre-creamware era punch bowls, coffee pots, teapots, tea bowls and waste bowls – all accoutrements of a social context. Such pieces might easily reflect *curation* of individually important ceramic pieces for display of social and/or financial status. And what of flat-wares and hollow-wares, for example, plates and chamber pots – the earliest are creamware and China Glaze!

Taken separately, it is possible to “see” a near, or pre-1769 ceramic component within ME 073.015’s ceramic sample. Clearly, a number of pre-creamware era *pieces* are present. However, when viewed in the context of the broader ceramic sample as a whole (post 1795 wares excluded), these *individual pieces of earlier wares* exist within an otherwise *creamware/early pearlware assemblage*. Indeed, the total lack of any daily use or utilitarian pre-creamware ceramics, and the otherwise complete adoption of creamware and *China Glaze pearlware*, indicates even a transitional period (e.g., 5-10 years) from one glaze and stylistic form to another has elapsed (i.e., salt glazed to creamware glazed). *Full cultural adoption of the new creamware and pearlware glazes, and decorative and stylistic forms is in place!* This can mean only one thing... an approximately post-1769 temporal attribution of the pre-1795 sample.

While the initial presence of creamware colonially, and its subsequent full adoption, might be understood as late 1760’s and early 1770’s, respectively, production of China Glaze pearlware is not. Evidence is mounting to support a mid to late 1770’s colonial adoption of China Glaze generally (Siedel 1990), and especially in British and Continental military contexts, but no earlier.

Archaeological testing of the Pluckeman Site, a Continental artillery encampment in Pluckeman, New Jersey, indicates the early presence of China Glaze, where “just over 60% of the pearlware is decorated in underglaze blue, with the recognizable patterns consisting of chinoiserie.” (Siedle 1990:86). Pluckeman was occupied by Continental forces from December, 1778 to June, 1779. Of importance to this effort is the fact that the Pluckeman military occupation predates the Battle for Castine, in Penobscot Bay, Maine, and Lt. Benjamin Burton’s militia company’s presence in Camden.

Additionally, two vessels from the Continental force in the battle for Castine were scuttled in the Penobscot River in 1779. Later professionally excavated, both are identified as having pearlware on board (Siedel 1990).

Further reinforcing its presence during the early Revolutionary War period is the recovery of China Glaze at the Ebenezer Story site in Preston, Connecticut. There, hand

painted, underglaze blue pearlware sherds (China Glaze) are present in Stratum 2, dated to 1777- c. 1790 (Harper and Clouette 2009). While the length of stratum 2's occupation could include China Glaze ceramic later in the period, Ebenezer Story's relationship to the site begins in 1776, with construction of his house. Initial construction related materials are present *immediately beneath Stratum 2* in Stratum 2A, effectively dating Stratum 2 as beginning soon thereafter.

Additionally, the Continental frigate *Confederacy* was constructed on the Storys' land in 1777, and a tavern in his home (Harper and Clouette 2009) supplied the needs of ship yard workers. Story joined the ship's company, immediately after its launch in November, 1778 (Harper and Clouette 2009), only to die in a British prison upon the frigate's capture in 1781 (Harper and Clouette 2009). As Story left his home in 1778 (and died in 1781), and the tavern presumably closed sometime after the *Confederacy's* launch, it is likely that the deeply buried Stratum 2 represents, in its majority, early Story occupation and tavern related refuse. As Mehitable Story (Ebenezzer's wife) did not remarry until 1791 (Stratum 1B, c. 1790-1810 [Harper and Clouette 2009]), and it seems unlikely she would spend what money she had on new pottery in a time of widowhood with three small children to raise alone, it is postulated that the China Glaze in Stratum 2 likely predates her being widowed. Combined, then, it appears China Glaze at the Ebenezer Story site likely dates between 1777 (initial house construction) and before 1781 (Story's death).

As a result of all the above, if recovered pre-creamware era wares are considered reflective of curation, the evidence supports a Revolutionary War period temporal component as the earliest on site... with one cautionary note. Deed research indicates the presence of a possible immediately post-Revolutionary War owner/occupant of Lot 71, Michael Shays (c. pre-1791). Shays, who could not sign his own name, and not considered a significant contributor to the archaeological sample at ME 073.015, is presumably there, none-the-less. Anything Shays contributed to the archaeological deposits there is almost certainly "invisible", being masked by their equivalency with preceding Revolutionary War cultural materials.

Beyond the Revolutionary War component (and any contribution by Shays) there is clearly a post-Shay's series of three documented occupations, c. 1791-1802. Only the last two of the three post-1791 occupations is clearly identified via ceramics. Like Shays' post-Revolutionary War period ceramics, any occupation related ceramics from 1791-1795 are identical to those which came before them. As a result, at least two of the three, post-Revolutionary War period occupations at ME 073.015 are archaeologically "invisible", relative to ceramics. That being said, they still exist.



### **Other Temporal Indicators**

Few non-ceramic temporal indicators are present at ME 073.015, and none with as tightly refined dating capability. However, several do inform this conversation, and are included.

#### ***Medicine Phial***

One, molded and embossed medicine bottle (phial) is present in ME 073.015's assemblage. It is a molded Turlington (Robert) patent medicine bottle. The bottle is represented by a small body sherd with embossed "...RAN..." above "TO" (i.e., GRANTED TO). This portion of an authentic Turlington bottle typically has "BY THE KINGS ROYAL PATENT GRANTED TO" on one face, with each word being above the next. Although Turlington patent medicine was available from the very early 1740's to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> c., this wording, in this organization, is consistent with a post-1754 form (Jones 2016).

Another partial Turlington patent medicine bottle was recovered in 2017, from a context similar to that of ME 073.015 – the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017). The Thorndike-Conway House is located 1/8 mile east of Merryspring, on the same road (Mitchell 2018). In his report of the Thorndike-Conway House, Mitchell states,

"The molded phial is identified as a Turlington elixir bottle (Hume 1969; Atkinson, no date; Atkinson 2013). Only the immediate base and a millimeter of sidewall is present (Figures 26 & 27), but the style is clearly identifiable. Although a similar bottle was recovered in Stockton Springs, at the Fort Pownall Redoubt #1 site [ME 418.011], circa 1759+, .017's example is not considered reflective of such an early period." (2018: 40, 41)

#### ***Spoon***

A single spoon is represented At ME 073.015; only the bowl is present. However, the spoon's temporal attribution can be established, at least in general terms. The spoon bowl, while not particularly temporally diagnostic, maintains a slightly pointed form, with a "scale-like junction ornament" (Hume 1969:183) at the point of the handle's attachment. Such an attachment style, in combination with a slightly pointed bowl form, is consistent with the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> c. (Hume 1969).

#### ***Forks***

Three, two-tined forks were recovered during testing at ME 073.015, two from the midden context, and a third from cellar fill. All three are consistent with forms dating to the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> c. Two are "stabbing" forms, one with a tapered shaft, the other with a "balustroid" (Hume 1969) shaft form. The latter is consistent with a late 18<sup>th</sup> c. style

(Hume 1969). The third fork is a table, or eating fork, designed with well develop, squared shoulder sloping into two long, slender tines. While it can be identified as an earlier form (Hume 1969), there is no reason to believe it is anything other than late-18<sup>th</sup> c.

As a result of all of the above - the historic written record, non-ceramic cultural materials, and especially the ceramic sample - it is concluded that Merryspring Nature Center's first occupation occurred sometime within the 18<sup>th</sup> century's fourth quarter, but prior to residential occupation, c. 1790.

Given the limited nature of occupation in Camden during the Revolutionary War period, the region's trend toward depopulation (especially north of Camden), the historic insight that a militia company was stationed in Camden (post-1779), the presence at both Merryspring Nature Center and Thorndike-Conway House of Revolutionary War temporal components, and a significant Native American presence within both, it is concluded that initial occupation of ME 073.015 is not homestead related.

It is further concluded that Merryspring's first European occupation is likely 1) Lt. Benjamin Burton's militia encampment, c. 1779, and 2) part of a larger, more expansive military complex which included, as its strategic goals: to guard the Warren Road leading to 18<sup>th</sup> c. Warren (present-day Thomaston); to act as a deterrent to a British offensive across the then front line between British and Continental forces; and to observe, if not impede, a British advance from either modern Camden or Rockport Harbors, and enable warning to points farther south.

The Burton militia encampment is interpreted as comprised of: a very large, either hewn log or framed, earthfast structure approximately 24' x 36' in size, with its long axis oriented slightly northeast/southwest; an oversized, 15' x 18' earthen cellar; and a large, approximately 7' x 8' chimney base, probably with a brick hearth. Based on distributional analysis of cultural materials, the structure is interpreted as having an east gable-end entrance.

The cultural material sample attributed to the structure's initial occupants suggest an individual/s of some status (likely an officer/s) possessing fine, older ceramics, including: refined white and red earthenware coffee and/or tea pots, elements of English and Chinese porcelain tea services (e.g., tea bowls and waste bowls); wheel engraved stemware, Fazzackerly delft, China Glaze, and creamware punch bowls; and considerable creamware table ware. The latter includes three, generally available, molded rim forms – Queen's ware, Royal, and plain rim forms, as well as round and octagonal plate forms.

Eating utensils, in the form of multiple two-pronged stabbing and eating forks, and contemporary spoon forms, further supports the interpretation of a high status presence within the occupation.

Additionally, there is currently no evidence to support the notion that a militia force was bivouacked in tents or other structures external to the one main building. Rather, it is suggested the main force likely occupied the currently identified structure: no segregated middens or other assemblages are present on site. A structure the size of ME 073.015's would be more than able to house upward of two dozen individuals.

*(cautionary note – ME 073.014 does appear to include a contemporary Revolutionary War component – China Glaze, case bottle, glass trade bead, clay beads, gun flint fragment, and large flat buttons)*

Analogously, a smaller, 14' x 24', British, hewn log redoubt (ME 418.011) in Stockton Springs, Maine, (c. 1759) is known to have housed, and fulfilled the daily needs of twenty-five armed British soldiers for an extended period (Bock, personal communication 2020). Given that the written historic record indicates Burton's militia company was part of a larger, approximately 300 man militia and Penobscot warrior force stationed in south Camden (Glen Cove), two dozen men is not an unreasonable deployment, and could have easily functioned within the known site parameters.

Beyond the Revolutionary War component, the structure saw post-Revolutionary War occupation by no less than four civilians/families. The first, Michael Shays, (c. pre-1791) is believed to have squatted on Lot 71, using the former militia structure as his home. No record of Shays, or his occupation is currently available. As with so many other early settlers in the region during that period (c. 1783+), Shays is presumed to have been a very poor, Revolutionary War veteran or extra-regional newcomer who, seeing "abandoned" property, moved in and set up housekeeping. Given the structure's presumed soundness, a developed site such as that would have been a prize. And, *culturally sterile*, deep, sub-surface disturbances/features, interpreted as stump removals, suggest the likelihood of militia-era tree clearing prior to midden development and distribution of cultural materials across the site; materials which would certainly have been incorporated into such features are not present in them.

Subsequently, the Joseph Hardy occupation (c. 1791), also reflecting a poor circumstance, only lasted one year, at which time the town of Camden drove the entire family from town to avoid town liability for their care. After Hardy and his family moved to Searsmont, Maine, the site appears to have been abandoned for approximately one

to two years. As a result, the Hardys' contribution to the site's overall assemblage is likely negligible.

In contrast to Michael Shays' and the Hardys' limited material "footprint", William Gregory, Jr. (c. 1793) and Elisha Gibbs (c. 1799) are responsible for the site's terminal 18<sup>th</sup> c. cultural assemblage (c. 1793-1802). All post-1793 (Gregory's purchase date) cultural materials, including all early hand painted polychrome, transfer printed, and shell edged pearlware glazed refined white earthenware, are directly attributable to one or both of these occupations.

As a result of all the above, for all practical purposes, ME 073.015 maintains two relatively well bounded periods of occupation: the Revolutionary War period (c. 1779-1785); and the Gregory/Gibbs period (c. 1793-1802).

### **Native American**

Too little is currently known regarding Native American socio-cultural behavior during the Revolutionary War period to adequately interpret the evidence at ME 073.015. Once past initial 17<sup>th</sup> c. contact, Euro-Native American socio-cultural behavior and relationships are known primarily from written history, history written by Europeans. The inherent bias is obvious. And even less (if any) work, relating to northern New England, is available to understand how late 18<sup>th</sup> c. Native American alliances, with either English or Continental forces, express themselves archaeologically.

Intuitively, while there should be a difference, though perhaps subtle, between a European and a Native American presence on Revolutionary War period archaeological sites generally, those differences may be even less evident on military related sites of the period. Use of similar or identical armament, personal equipment, and other enculturation related realities will likely obscure a Native American presence, causing it to "blend", archaeologically. In such a context, few aspects of material culture may be present to unequivocally identify a Native American presence there.

But does that leave us to simply guess, or worse, perpetuate simplistic stereotypes? The answer, unfortunately, may be yes, at least in the short term. Until such time as enough similar contexts are encountered, studied, and interpreted, we are, unfortunately, left with only our best guesses, and informed speculation. ME 073.015 is a case in point.

### **Beads**

A number of red (fired) clay beads are present within both ME 073.015 and ME 073.014; their forms vary, from disc, to football, to tubular. While it is always possible that some

colonial European or later United States American, produced these items, it is considered unlikely. They are also not natural occurrences – “root casts” or other forms of natural concretion. And so, whether stereotypical or not, one is left with little alternative interpretation other than - “beads”.

While the above interpretation may be correct, the issue at hand is not what these objects are, but rather, *who’s* they are (and what they mean to their owner/s). While we may, by default, have no alternative explanation for what they are, are we then, by default, left with no alternative to stereotypically attributing them to Native American culture? Would militia or Continental Army regulars utilize such items in their daily lives? While one might consider militia, being made up of all sorts of individual from all sorts of contexts, as possibly incorporating some aspect of Native American culture due to proximity, marriage, or other socio-cultural inclination, it seems unlikely they would adopt bead work broadly.

And so, given a well documented historic relationship to trading such items, albeit glass, with the Native American population throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is reasonable, as a working hypothesis, to suggest the recovered clay beads reflect a coincident Native American presence at ME 073.015 - European/Native American co-habitation.

### ***Shattered Rhyolite***

In the same way beads are interpreted as reflecting a Native American presence at ME 073.015, so, too, is lithic debitage. Lithic debitage at ME 073.015 takes several forms, but, ultimately, all appears derived from waterworn rhyolite cobbles, presumably from the ocean shoreline. The tradition most similar to this technological expression is prehistoric Native American culture.

For millennia, Native Americans utilized numerous types of stone to produce stone tools but, in coastal Maine especially, the stone of choice was rhyolite. Rhyolite scrapers, bifaces, drills, and other stone tool forms dominate prehistorically. While ME 073.015’s stone technology does not appear to take any specific form (e.g., bifaces) it is consistent with other, similar expressions within colonial period mid-coast Maine archaeological sites (Mitchell 2017) (Bock, personal communication May, 2020a) – rhyolite cobble shatter, still maintaining its waterworn cortex. Rhyolite flakes are present at both the ME ME 073.014 and ME 073.015, and interpreted as resulting from cobble preparation. No specific tool form appears being made, and no specific, intra-site context is associated with the rhyolite. It is hypothesized the shatter is being utilized in a manner consistent

with contemporary need (e.g., expedient gunflint). However, no evidence is present to support this theory.

### ***Glass Scrapers***

Glass scrapers is the third technology/cultural material item attributed to Native American production and use. This interpretation is based on the premise that Europeans had metal to produce scrapers if they wished. Expedient tool manufacture on a military site “seems” incongruous with military practice and capabilities.

### ***Modified Flat Buttons***

The final cultural material attributed to Native American at ME 073.015 is modified (i.e., hammered, folded, rolled, and cut) flat buttons. As with beads, there is little or no current insight into whether late 18<sup>th</sup> c. Native American practice included utilizing flat buttons for some socio-cultural purpose. However, in the absence of any other explanation, they are interpreted as “beads” or raw material for metal beads.

In sum, there is substantial circumstantial evidence to support the notion that not only did Lt. Burton’s Continental Massachusetts Militia company include a Native American contingent of some number, but that contingent left a “signature”, or cultural assemblage – beads, shattered rhyolite cobbles, rhyolite flakes, modified flat buttons, and glass scrapers. While this “signature” may be temporally short lived, and possibly unique to the Revolutionary War period, it may be rightly characterized as a cultural/technological tradition.

Additionally, the presence of an identical bi-cultural, Native American/European, Revolutionary War period component at the Thorndike-Conway House, with shattered rhyolite, lithic flakes, glass scrapers, and beads, strongly suggests some form of contemporaneity between the two sites (e.g., a number of Native Americans within Lt. Burton’s company, divided between the two sites). It also identifies a consistent pattern of behavior within a cohabitant group of Continental Militia and allied Native American warriors.

## **ME 073.014**

### **Initial Development/Occupation**

While it is clear Asa Hosmer owned and lived in the stone cellared farmhouse at Merryspring Nature Center (Lot 71), what is not entirely clear is when that occupation began, and whether the farmhouse was already complete, partially constructed by Elisha Gibbs, or constructed by Hosmer himself after purchasing the lot. What is known is as follows.

In 1799, Elisha Gibbs entered into a contractual agreement with the then owner of Lot 71, William Walter, one of the Twenty Associates, and a preacher in Boston. The agreement permitted Gibbs to live on and develop Lot 71, while paying Walter \$500, or approximately \$11,000 in today's U.S. dollars ("1799 dollars in 2018 Inflation Calculator." Official Inflation Data, Alioth Finance, 21 May. 2020; <https://www.officialdata.org/1799-dollars-in-2020>) over four years for the lot.

In 1801, only two years after entering into the agreement, Walter died. Walter's estate subsequently sells Lot 71 to Nathaniel F. Fosdick, an attorney in Portland, Maine for \$630.80, or the equivalent of over \$14,000 in today's U.S. dollars ("1801 dollars in 2018 Inflation Calculator." Official Inflation Data, Alioth Finance, 21 May. 2020; <https://www.officialdata.org/1801-dollars-in-2020>). This nearly 30% increase in value strongly suggests improvements may have been made to the property by 1801. However, Gibbs is identified by name, as currently living on the lot at that time.

In 1803, Nathaniel F. Fosdick sells Lot 71 to Asa Hosmer at the extraordinary price of \$1200, nearly twice what he paid for the lot only two years earlier, and the equivalent of over \$27,000 in today's U.S. dollars ("1803 dollars in 2018 Inflation Calculator." Official Inflation Data, Alioth Finance, 21 May. 2020; <https://www.officialdata.org/1803-dollars-in-2020>), a near 90% increase in value. By 1803, Lot 71, which had been worth only \$500 in 1799, has grown 240% in value, in only four years. The conclusion might be - the farmhouse is already there when Asa Hosmer purchases Lot 71 in 1803.

As for Lot 71's post-1800 chronology of ownership and occupation, Asa Hosmer clearly owned, and likely lived on the farm. An 1807 deed from Simeon Tyler to Robert Thorndike, Jr., for what is now known as the Conway House (Mitchell 2018b), located 1/8<sup>th</sup> mile east of ME 073.014, identifies the Hosmer farm as his home.

*... "beginning at the westerly corner of Lot 27.... To the road that leads from the [Camden] harbor, so called, to Asa Hosmer's house..."* (Lincoln County Registry of Deed, Volume 67, page 87).

In 1808, Hosmer sold his farm, still referred to as the "Gibbs Farm" in the deed, to Charles and George Barrett, of Boston, for \$3506.34, or the equivalent of over \$71,000 - a nearly 300% increase in value in only five years! For many years the property remained in the Barretts' hands, until, in 1833, they sold the whole of Lot 71 to Charles Pendleton for an unknown amount.

In 1837, Charles Pendleton subdivided the lot, selling off 52 acres, and allowed exploiting its other resource - lime. In 1837, Pendleton entered into a contractual agreement with William Charles Barrett whereby Barrett was permitted to "blow" (quarry) lime for \$50, but only on the southern side of the Warren Road. Presumably the farm was still present on the north side of the road. However, ceramic analysis suggests that while the structure may have been present, it was likely not occupied.

No ceramics styles, forms, or decorative motifs beyond approximately the mid-late 1820's are present within the ceramic sample. While the ceramic evidence clearly identifies several styles, forms, and decorative motifs consistent with the second quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., the expected transition from CC (creamware) and pearlware glazed white earthenwares to "whiteware" is not present.

Given the presence of, for example, broad brush, cobalt blue ceramics, c. 1815-1830, one can assume the farm was occupied to least 1815 (*terminus post quem*). Additionally, the recovery of embossed, shell edged pearlware glazed plate rim fragments pushes the occupation forward to at least 1820. Given a stylistic production range of 1820-1830 (Miller, et al. 2000, citing Miller & Hunter 1990), occupation of ME 073.014 may extend to that limit. However, as noted above, the author's expectation is of other wares (e.g., whiteware), and other decorative elements (e.g., red, blue, and black transfer print) being present if occupation extended past 1825<sup>±</sup>.

Based on the above, then, it is reasonable to suggest occupation of ME 073.014 extends from approximately 1803-1825<sup>±</sup>, but no later than 1830. Given the identified severe burning of c. 1820's ceramics, prior to their mass discard, it is postulated that some form of disease may have been present in the region/home which prompted those cleaning out the farm house to not only do so *en mass*, but "inoculate" its contents prior to doing so.

It is further postulated that the farm house itself was likely "cleaned out" prior to moving it, intact, off site. No evidence developed to date suggests the structure burned, rotted in place, or was dismantled (e.g., high nail count). That said, some evidence is present to suggest a continued presence on, or use of the site generally. Visual review of the associated outbuilding foundation (presumably a barn), located 30m west of the farmhouse, identified quarry drill or blast holes in some of the outbuilding's foundation stone. It is reasonable that the building/barn was present, and utilized by others, during the period of quarrying at the farm (c.1830's-1840's). Such use may have necessitated its being extended, thus incorporating quarried stone into its foundation. Additional testing may recover cultural materials there, relating to a post 1820's presence.



## The Warren Road

As a result of this effort, a previous effort (Mitchell 2017), and a subsequent effort (Mitchell 2019a) the author has pieced together evidence of a heretofore unknown – the Warren Road. As a result, an hypothesis is put forward to explain why both ME 073.015, and later ME 073.014, along with other residences, were located in the same general area of Camden.

Utilized for over two centuries (c. 1764-2020), the Warren Road, or parts of it, have been known by various names, throughout its life. As early as 1764, Massachusetts Governor Bernard ordered a road surveyed and *cut* from Fort St. Georges in Thomaston to Fort Pownall in Stockton Springs, some 40 miles north. Previously, for many scholars, the so called “fort-to-fort” road was likely a Governor’s aspiration, rather than an extant reality. Accessible only by water, Governor Bernard owned huge tracts of land along Maine’s eastern coast (downeast Maine). It was his presumed goal to utilize his position as governor to develop land-based access (i.e., a road) to these tracts.

However, late 18<sup>th</sup> c. maps clearly identify that at least some southern portions of the road were developed. Two, 1770’s Des Barres maps overlay exactly, portions of modern “Old County Road”, leading from Thomaston to Rockland, Maine (Figure 26).

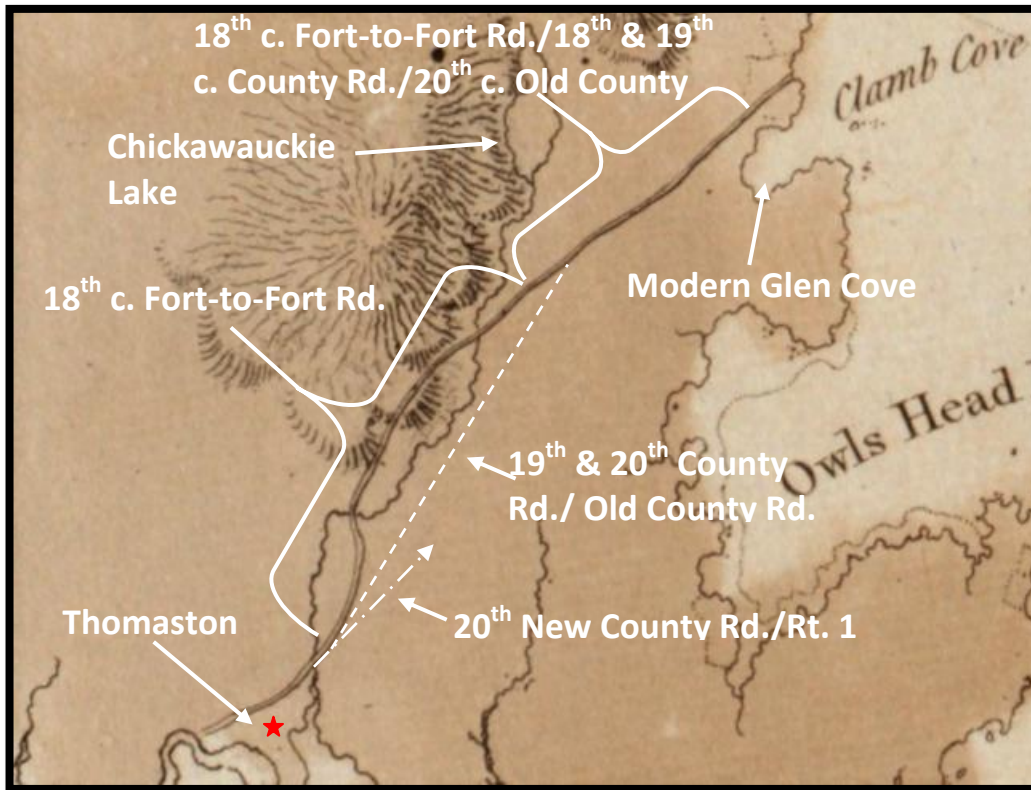


Figure 26: J.F.W. Des Barres map of Mid-coast Maine – April 24, 1776  
(red star – St. Georges Fort)

An even earlier, 1764 map (Figure 27), illustrates Bernard’s road just as it was illustrated on a previous, 1762 survey of the region. It is fairly certain that this early, 1760’s route, mirrored on various later maps as a road, was developed as far as modern Camden by at least 1769. The author has uncovered written historic evidence indicating not only an awareness of the route but its use as early as 1769.

“While the Warren Road is not specifically named, its presence is inferred in at least two written histories of Camden, Maine, as a “spotted trail” leading from Camden to 18th c. Warren (Thomaston) some twelve miles south (Locke 1859; Robinson 1907). The historic account suggests the trail was well enough developed, such that an individual could walk it with his/her corn to Warren’s mill without risk of getting lost. Clearly, this “spotted trail” was both known to, and utilized by the first settlers arriving in Camden, c. 1769.

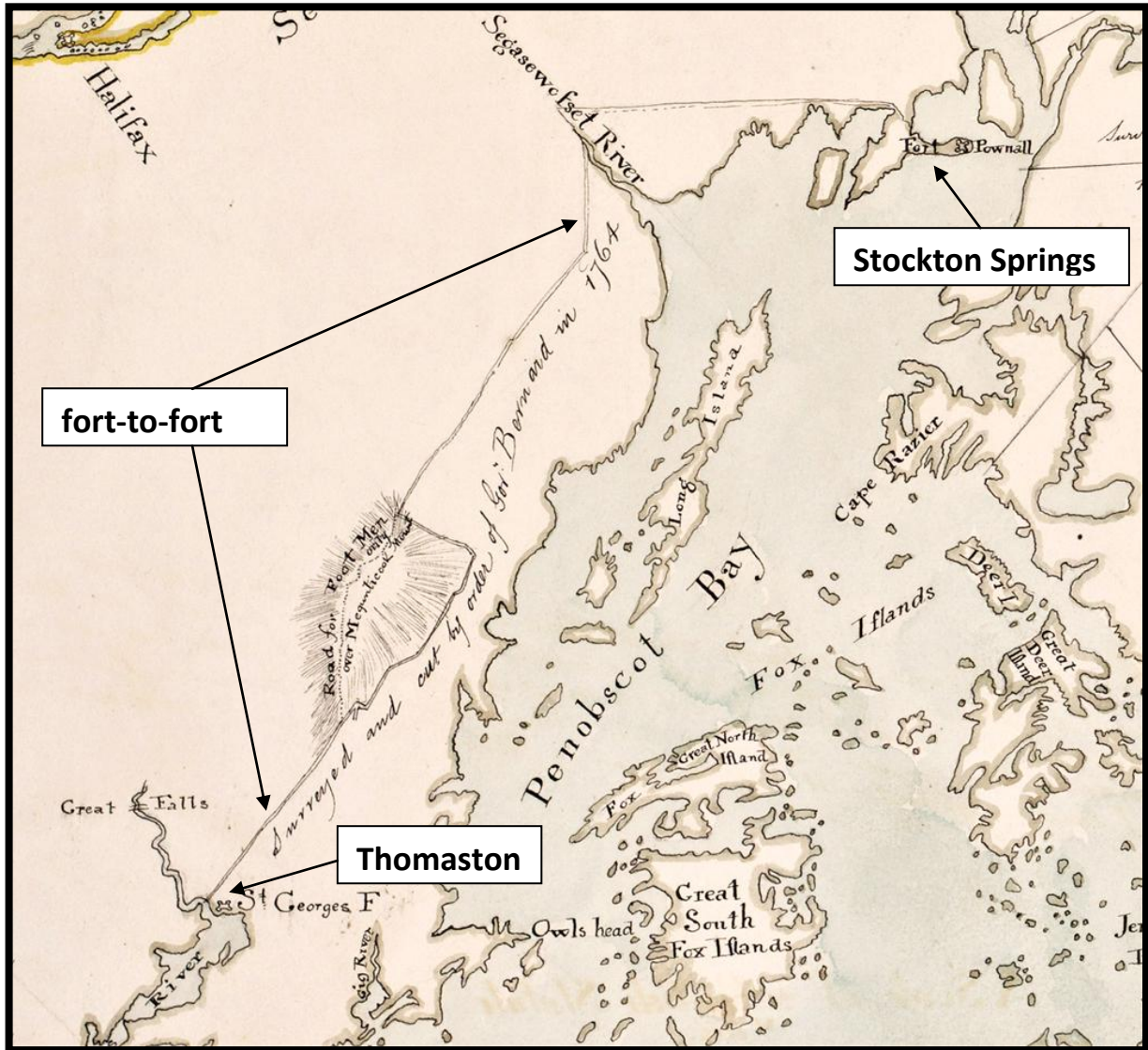


Figure 27: Gov. Bernard's 1764 "fort-to-fort"-road.

The historic narratives also include evidence that at least one established homestead already existed along the so-called "spotted trail". At the time of Camden's initial European settlement, an un-named homestead is identified as being within short walking distance of James Richard's home, located in what is today downtown Camden. Given the construction of a grist mill in Camden, c. 1771, transport of corn overland on the "spotted trail" to the mill in Warren was no longer necessary after that date. Therefore it is inferred that such journeys took place prior to at least 1771. Based on "deconstruction" of local historic narratives, then, it can be inferred that, 1) a so-called "spotted trail" was, minimally, an established and utilized route through mid-coast Maine's interior

from Camden to Warren prior to 1769. And 2), homesteading was not only present along this route, but had clearly begun prior to the arrival of Camden's first European settlers." (Mitchell 2019)

Throughout the early 19<sup>th</sup> c. numerous references to the road are noted in deeds of the period - the "Harbor Road" (i.e., the road leading to Camden Harbor), the "Gibbs Farm Road" (i.e., the road leading to Elisha Gibbs' farm), the Hosmer Farm Road (the road leading to ME 073.014), and the "Conway Road" (ie., the road leading to the Conway House). These are all names given to the same portion of the much longer, Warren Road.

However, by the 19<sup>th</sup> c., portions of the "fort-to-fort" road, aka, the Warren Road, were nearing obsolescence. Though well engineered (Mitchell 2019), a dirt road developed for occasional use in the 1760's, but now, 140 years later, in an age of regional growth and development, was nearing its end.

In 1811, a survey (Figure 28) was undertaken to bypass the Merryspring portion of the Warren Road. The precise date of when the Merryspring portion of the Warren Road was bypassed is currently unknown. However, it continued to be referred to as a "bridle path", "the old road", and "the meeting house road", at least as late as the 1830's; deed references identify the Merryspring portion of the Warren Road as a deeded "right-of-way" for many years after its being bypassed. Utilizing LiDAR, it is possible to "see" the Merryspring portion of the Warren Road. It is clearly visible both on and off the Merryspring Nature Center property (Figure 29). Archaeological visual survey of Town Line Farm, in Rockport, Maine, confirms the presence of a substantial remnant of the road there (Mitchell 2019).

Further research indicates a strong likelihood that what is today an area peripheral to Camden's and Rockport's current prosperous centers (i.e., the Merryspring Nature Center area), was originally intended by the Twenty Associates to be the "downtown", or urban center of the future, 18<sup>th</sup> c. Camden. Numerous lots associated with 18<sup>th</sup>c. urban needs are set out adjacent to and along what would have been the "fort-to-fort" Road. Ministerial lots, a meeting house lot, a school lot, the town animal pound, and more, were all located centrally to the generally area of the Merryspring Nature Center. Given its location, and the presence of a well developed road, individuals from both northern and southern 18<sup>th</sup> c. Camden could easily travel the relatively short distance to central colonial Camden for any urban related need (e.g., town meetings or religious worship).

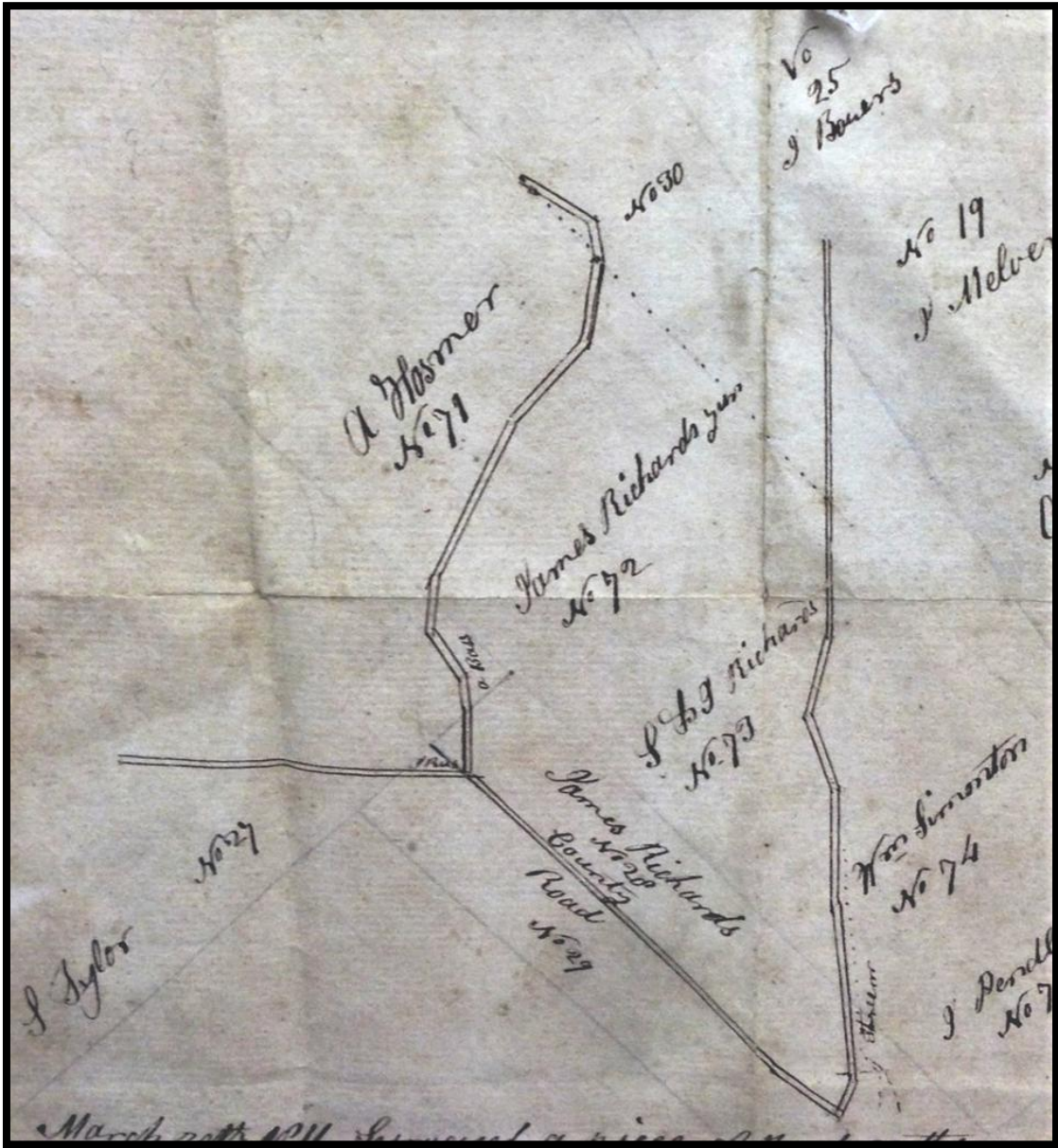


Figure 28: 1811 survey indicating the Warren Road through Lots 71 and 30/ Town Line Farm field, and the proposed Simonton Road extension (dotted line) (image courtesy of the Camden-Rockport Historical Society)

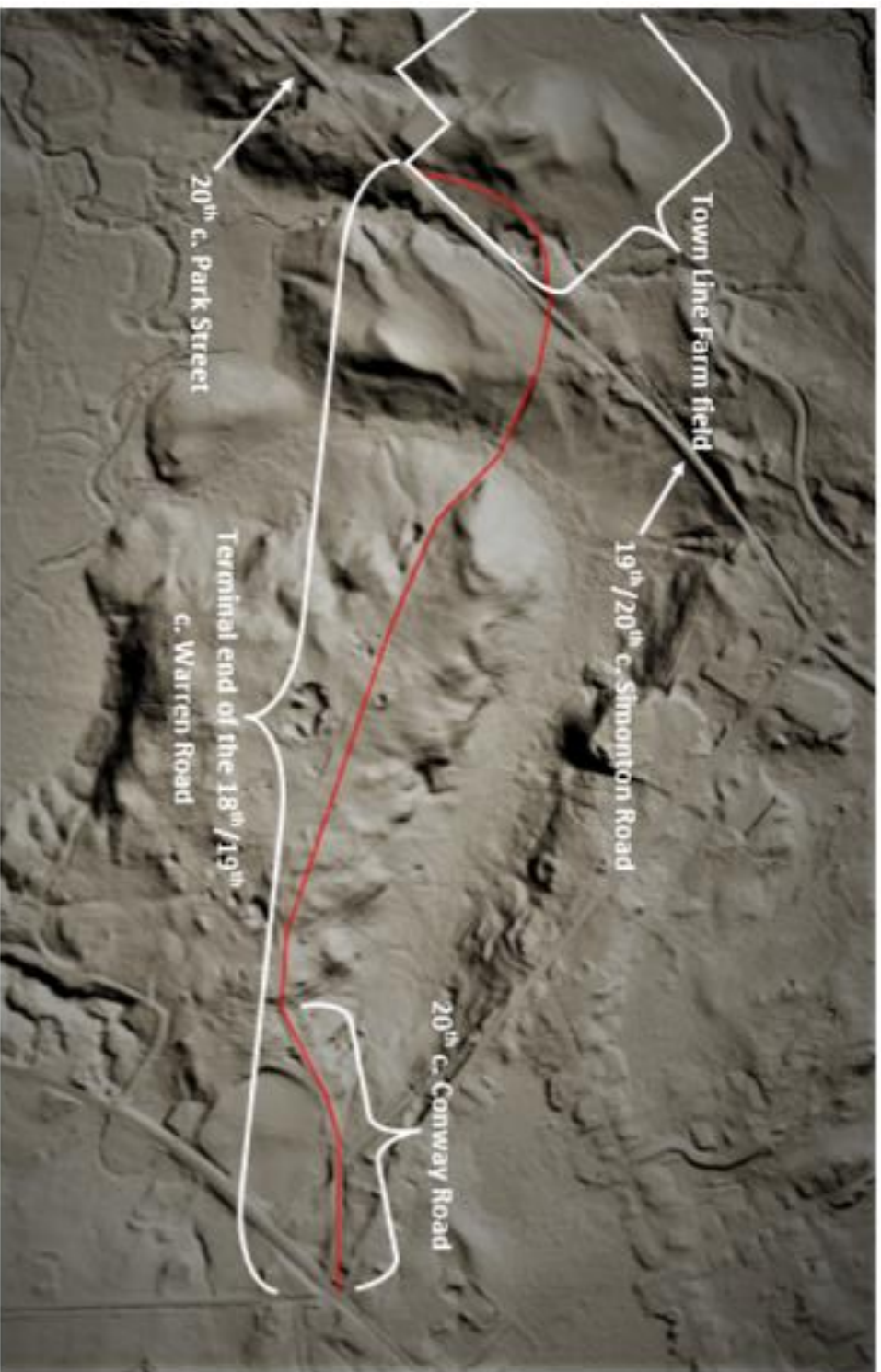


Figure 29: LIDAR image with the Warren Road/Conway Road (red line), and Park Street

It is hypothesized that during the 18<sup>th</sup> c., though for perhaps different reasons through time, the general area of the "fort-to-fort" Road/Warren Road encompassed by Merryspring Nature Center became both strategic and central to the region. Although already moving in that direction, highly localized and concentrated occupation (as opposed to broader geographic, rural, agricultural occupation) began developing along the Merryspring/Conway Road portion of the Warren Road between 1764 and the early 1770's. This trend appears to have continued well into the 19<sup>th</sup> c.

With the bypassing of the Merryspring portion of the Warren Road sometime after 1811, and development of 19<sup>th</sup> c. coastal Rt. 1, the utility of a Camden centered in the area of Merryspring Nature Center had been outlived. By the early 19<sup>th</sup> c., the geographically-centered urban layout that was 18<sup>th</sup> c. colonial Camden no longer served the community's needs. In its place a harbor-based, commercial waterfront-centered model evolved along coastal Rt. 1 (portions of which were the 18<sup>th</sup> c. "fort-to-fort" Road). Ultimately, the late 18<sup>th</sup>/early 19<sup>th</sup> c. shift from one urban model to the other led to the separation of present-day Rockport (18<sup>th</sup> c. southern Camden) from present-day Camden. Those separate identities, established on February 25, 1891 (Robinson 1907), continue to the present day and, ironically, act to physically divide Merryspring Nature Center, and its archaeology, in two.

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