

## V. ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

### A. OVERVIEW OF THE ARTIFACT COLLECTION

Artifacts are the things that people living in the past made and used, and the study of artifacts is the primary way archaeologists learn about the past. Approximately 38,000 artifacts and animal bones were recovered during the excavation of the McKean/Cochran Farm, 7,500 from the plowzone and 30,500 from the features. The collection was particularly rich in bones, which are described in Chapter VI, and ceramics (pottery) (Plate 16). Of the total of 38,000 artifacts, about 9,500 were bone, and over 13,000 were ceramics. The other large categories were 2,700 fragments of bottle or vessel glass, 5,600 nails, and 5,800 pieces of window glass. The remainder of the historic artifacts were a miscellaneous assemblage of objects, including tools, buttons, buckles, tobacco pipes, unidentifiable bits of iron, seven coins, and even a few fragments of jewelry. About 650 prehistoric artifacts were also found, most of them waste flakes from the manufacture of stone tools. The collection did not include much material from after the abandonment of the site, around 1830.

### B. THE DEPOSITS

In analyzing artifacts from archaeological sites, it is important to know not only what they are but where they came from. Artifacts found in different places can imply different things about the past. A pot found in a grave, for example, would have a different meaning than a pot found in a trash pit. Archaeologists sometimes speak of a place where artifacts were found as a *deposit* or *context*. A deposit is usually either a single feature, such as a pit, or a soil layer that contained artifacts. For some purposes it is useful to consider all the artifacts from a site, or all the artifacts from one period on a site, but archaeologists usually want to analyze the artifacts from each deposit separately.

At the McKean/Cochran Farm, artifacts were found in the plowzone, which is here considered as a single deposit, in shallow pits, in abandoned wells, and in the cellars of houses that had been destroyed. The wells and cellars each contained more than one deposit. At least 20 separate deposits can therefore be identified on the site.

How did the artifacts come to be in the places where they were found? This question is one of the hardest in archaeology, and often cannot be answered at all. Some items were simply dropped or lost. The two coins found in the plowzone at the McKean/Cochran Farm were probably lost, since they were both silver and therefore worth too much to have been thrown away. Most artifacts were thrown away as trash. But "throwing away trash" can describe many different actions. Some objects were just tossed out the window or swept out the door, and left to lie on the ground; others were deposited in pits. Sometimes trash was carted substantial distances and disposed of out of sight, and at other times it was left next to the house. To make matters more confusing for archaeologists, sometimes trash is dumped in one place, left there for a time, and then moved somewhere else. We say that artifacts that were dumped, or deposited, and then moved to another place have been



Plate 16: A Selection of Artifacts from the McKean/Cochran Farm

*redeposited*. At Kingsmill on the James River, just east of Williamsburg, archaeologists excavated a colonial well that was eroding out of the riverbank (Kelso 1984:161). The well contained several distinct deposits, most of them dating to the eighteenth century. However, in the middle of the well, above deposits dating to the 1730s, was a layer of soil containing artifacts dating to the period 1650 to 1680. These artifacts had obviously been lying somewhere else for at least 50 years, and were then moved and redeposited. Where had they been? And why did someone feel the need to move them? One can imagine many scenarios. The trash could have been piled in a semi-abandoned outbuilding, which was then cleaned out for some reason or torn down to build another. Or the artifacts could have been dumped in an old drainage ditch, which 50 years later someone decided to redig and deepen. However it happened, such possibilities remind us that the journey of an artifact from the hands of its last user to the place where it is found may have been long and complicated, and that artifacts lying next to one another in the ground may have traveled to that spot along completely different routes.

1. *Feature 4, the Early Cellar, 1750-1800*

Feature 4, the cellar of the first house on the site, contained several distinct deposits, including a thick layer of nearly sterile clay and a layer of burned boards that seemed to be the remains of the house. The burned layer produced more than 50 nails, all of which were handwrought. (Nail-making machines were introduced around 1790.) Most of the artifacts, however, came from a single deposit, a thick layer of brown loamy soil at the north end of the cellar. Thin layers of washed-in

sand within this deposit show that it was not all dumped in at once but accumulated over some period of time. After the old house had been torn down and its stones and nails salvaged for other building projects, the residents, by then living in the new house a few yards away, probably carried some of their trash to the open cellar hole and dumped it in.

This deposit contained at least two vessels of creamware, a cream-colored refined earthenware used to make tablewares and teawares that was introduced by Josiah Wedgwood in 1762 (and made him rich and famous). Fragments of glass tumblers, etched with a wheel in patterns dating to after 1760, were also found. The most recent objects found in the cellar were three sherds of pearlware or early whiteware. Pearlware, a white ceramic tinged with blue, was introduced around 1775. One of these had a pattern introduced in about 1795, but it is dangerous to date a deposit on the basis of one small artifact. The cellar was therefore filled in sometime after 1775, and quite possibly after 1795. The small quantity of these later ceramics, however, suggests that the filling was done not long after 1795, and probably before 1800. The majority of the artifacts were significantly earlier. Several fragments of at least one North Devon sgraffito (scratched) slipware pan were found, and the standard references on eighteenth-century ceramics assert that these vessels were not made after 1710 (Noël Hume 1970; South 1977). We believe that this date is too early, and that these vessels may have been made as late as 1750 (Allan 1984), but these pans were certainly old by the time they were dumped into the cellar hole. Vessels of Westerwald blue and gray stoneware with sprigged and incised decoration were also identified, as well as fragments of "Midlands Mottled" ware, both of which were probably made before 1750. The identification of these vessels was puzzling, since we had been thinking that the site had not been occupied before about 1770. It would not be too surprising to find a few old ceramic vessels on any site, especially if the old specimens were porcelain or some other fine ware that might have been handed down in a family for generations. It seems less likely that coarse slipware pans, which see heavy use, would stay around so long, but it is still possible. These few old ceramic vessels could not, therefore, tell us by themselves that the site was older than we thought; we needed some more general way of dating the deposit.

One method historical archaeologists use for estimating the date of a deposit is the mean ceramic dating technique (South 1977). Many types of ceramics have known dates of manufacture. White salt-glazed stoneware, for example, was made only between 1720 and 1805. The mid-point of this range is 1762.5. Slipware with comb and dot decoration was made primarily between 1670 and 1795, which yields a mid-point of 1732.5. To compute a Mean Ceramic Date, one simply multiplies the number of sherds of each kind of ceramic by the mid-point of its date range, and then divides by the total number of datable sherds. The technique works well only for the period between about 1670 and 1850, when there was rapid evolution in ceramic manufacturing techniques, and even in that period it is not a precise tool. Still, the number can give us some idea of the time we are dealing with. The Mean Ceramic Date for Feature 4, based on 414 datable sherds, is 1744. This number indicates that the cellar contained not just a few old pots but a predominance of material from before 1770. The ceramics from Feature 4 therefore convinced us that the McKean/Cochran Farm Site was occupied before 1770, probably from about 1750, and possibly even earlier.

The ceramic vessels from Feature 4 were highly fragmentary. Ninety-seven of the 108 vessels identified were less than 10 percent complete, and none were more than 50 percent complete. The deposits in the cellar therefore do not, in general, represent trash that was carried directly from the place where it was produced to the cellar; no one dropped a pot, scooped up the pieces, and tossed them into the old cellar hole. The objects dumped in the cellar had probably been lying in piles somewhere else for a considerable time and had been moved, or redeposited, at some point. Quite possibly the artifacts in this case had been in old buildings (such as Structures A and B) that were being torn down at the time, or in soil that was in the way of new construction. Therefore, despite the large number of artifacts in the cellar fill that had been used and discarded long before 1800—and possibly before 1750—the cellar may have been filled around 1800, since this was not the first resting place for these artifacts.

## 2. *Feature 29, the Early Well, 1750-1800*

Feature 29 was a well that was abandoned before 1800. After the lower part of the shaft had filled with washed-in sand, the upper part was used as a trash pit. Among the objects recovered from this feature were a brass candlestick (Plate 17), a sickle blade, and quantities of ceramics. Strata A, B, and C, the top three layers in the well, were all very similar and contained similar artifacts. Because fragments of what appeared to be the same teapot were recovered from Strata A and C, the entire upper portion of the well is here treated as a single deposit. No lenses of washed-in sand, such as one would surely find if the well had been open for any length of time, were found in the top three strata. The artifacts may therefore have been thrown into the well within a period of a few



PLATE 17: Brass Candlestick from the Early Well, Filled Around 1800

months or even less. The deposit contained several creamware vessels and two sherds of pearlware, but, as in the early cellar (Feature 4), the majority of the datable artifacts from the feature were older. The Mean Ceramic Date for this deposit was 1763.

One of the peculiarities of this deposit was that it contained several very large sherds of coarse red earthenware that appeared to be the only fragments of the vessels they came from. One usually finds that very incomplete vessels are represented by small pieces and that large sherds come from vessels that are more or less complete. When a pot has been broken into a few large pieces, those pieces are usually carried out and dumped together. In Feature 29, however, a piece of a pipkin (clay cooking pot) was found that included the handle and about a quarter of the body, but there were no other pieces of the pipkin. Other isolated large sherds were also found. Some of the fill in the well had probably been redeposited from trash heaps located elsewhere. However, it must be remembered that the top foot or so of the well fill had been destroyed by plowing, so the rest of the partial pots may have been plowed away. As the feature did contain some nearly complete vessels, it is likely that some trash was dumped directly into the well.

*What type of trash was thrown directly into the well?* Certainly it was not mostly ceramics and glass, even though these were the objects that appeared most prominent to the archaeologists digging in the well. Eighteenth-century farms generated large amounts of wood ash, and archaeologists can usually identify trash deposits from the large amount of charcoal they contain. The soil of the trash deposits in the well was flecked with charcoal. The well also produced large numbers of bones, including waste from the butchering of chickens and the processing of cow and sheep carcasses, as well as fish scales and vertebrae. When the trash was dumped into the well, it probably consisted largely of hearth sweepings, kitchen scraps, and butchery waste.

### 3. *Feature 15, the Dairy, 1800-1840*

Feature 15, the dairy, contained one artifact-rich deposit, designated Stratum A. Stratum A was a layer of brown loamy soil, very similar to the plowzone, that accumulated on top of the rubble of the demolished building. This deposit was therefore not directly related to the dairy, and most of the artifacts may have washed into the hole left by the dairy years after it was abandoned. Most of the ceramic and glass fragments were small, like those in the plowzone. For this reason, Minimum Number of Vessel (MNV) determinations (defined below) were not made for the dairy.

However, the artifact deposit in the dairy was not like the deposit in the plowzone in every other respect. For one thing, the artifacts found in the dairy were significantly more recent than those recovered from the plowzone. The Mean Ceramic Date for the dairy was 1815, and the Mean Ceramic Date for the plowzone was 1790. The dairy yielded the most recent artifacts from the site, including sherds of yellowware from after 1827 and whiteware from after 1825. Also, examination of the dairy structure showed that it had been repaired with concrete, suggesting that this building might have remained in use after the house was abandoned. The artifacts in the dairy fill are therefore probably associated with the structure in the sense that many of them date to the last phase in the site's history, when activity seems to have centered around the dairy. Since the late artifacts

are sherds of yellowware bowls and whiteware plates, they suggest that someone was living on the site, not just working in the dairy; the dairy building itself may even have been used as a residence. The dairy fill did not yield a particularly large number of milk-pan fragments. However, large numbers of coarse redware sherds, many of them probably from milk pans, were found in the plowzone south and southeast of the dairy. Broken pans were probably swept or thrown down the slope in that direction. In this case, the dairying artifacts were found in the plowzone around the feature, not inside it.

#### 4. *Feature 1, the Later Cellar, 1800-1830*

Feature 1, the later cellar, contained nearly half of the artifacts recovered from the McKean/Cochran Farm. Most of these artifacts were mixed in with the rubble fill in the cellar. Because the house at Feature 1 was the last house, so far as we know, to stand on the site, a deposit like the rubble fill in this cellar raises a difficult question. *If no one was living on the site, who dumped the trash into the cellar hole? Did the trash belong to the people who dumped it in, or to the people who had lived in the house before it was torn down?*

For the later cellar at the McKean/Cochran Farm, this problem is not so acute as is the case for some other sites. *When the Cochrans left the site they moved only a few hundred yards away, and they seem to have continued using the dairy building after they had moved their residence. It was probably the Cochrans themselves who tore down the house to salvage its usable building materials. At some other sites, no residence is known to have been occupied anywhere in the vicinity after the site's abandonment, so the origin of material found in the cellar holes on such sites is even more obscure (Bedell 1997). In addition, the deposits in the cellar present several difficulties. The artifacts recovered include fragments of 64 teacups and 71 saucers, most of them less than 10 percent complete. One can imagine events that would lead to the discarding of a large number of broken teacups at once—for example, a shelf collapse—but the remains of such an accident would be expected to include complete or nearly complete cups. The mass of tiny teaware fragments from Feature 1 cannot be from a single episode, and so it probably represents floor sweepings for a long period of time. For years, possibly for decades, broken cups and saucers were swept out of the McKean/Cochran house and dumped. When the house was torn down, some of these artifacts were put back into the cellar hole. In contrast to the teacups and saucers, the coarse earthenwares and stonewares found were much more complete. These vessels may represent trash that was placed directly in the cellar hole. The clear difference between the teawares and the coarse earthenwares suggests that trash from the hall, where teaware would have been used and stored, was disposed of in different places from the kitchen trash.*

The cellar also contained a large number of intact or nearly intact objects, some of them quite unusual. Among the items recovered were a prehistoric stone axe, a cannon ball, a surgeon's lancet, five keys, an intact stoneware ink bottle, and a complete glass case bottle. Fifty-one knives, forks, spoons, and utensil handles were found—an extraordinary number. Knives and forks are rather rare finds at archaeological sites from before the Civil War, and finding even one such item is usually an exciting moment. The presence of these intact items suggests that much of the contents of the

house was dumped into the cellar. The Cochrans must have used their move as an opportunity to dispose of things they no longer wanted or needed, such as keys to broken locks, empty ink bottles, and souvenirs that no longer held any emotional value. Perhaps they were tired of their old tableware and bought a completely new set, tossing their old knives and forks onto the ruin of their old house. A few burned items were found in the cellar, so it is also possible that the house had suffered a small fire in which a number of household objects were burned or damaged by smoke, and these may have been dumped together.

In the center of the cellar, resting on the cellar floor, the excavators identified several piles of window glass, as much as a foot across and four inches tall. A total of 3,763 window glass fragments were counted in Feature 1, most of them from these piles. The piles of window glass were probably created during the demolition of the house. The first thing salvaged from the house must have been the windows. However, many of the panes in the windows were either already broken or were broken during the salvage process. The broken pieces of glass accumulated on the floor of the house and on the ground outside. Because of the danger the glass represented, it was swept up before the salvage continued. The swept-up glass was then dumped in the cellar in discrete piles.

Almost all of the identifiable nails found in the cellar were handwrought. Their presence argues strongly that the house was built before 1800, since machine-cut nails were quite common by 1810.

### C. CERAMICS

Potsherds are the particular joy of many archaeologists. Pottery can be made in an infinite variety of forms and decorated in an infinite variety of ways, so it provides an excellent medium for dating and defining past cultures. Pottery also lasts thousands of years in almost any kind of soil. However, despite its usefulness, pottery can mislead as well as inform. For example, ceramic plates first became common in Britain and British North America in the 1760s, and fragments of plates from this period soon became common artifacts. But this does not mean that people had not used plates before 1760; the plates had simply been made out of wood or pewter, materials that do not usually survive in the soil.

More than 13,000 sherds of ceramics were found on the McKean/Cochran Farm Site. The most common were coarse earthenwares and slipwares, pearlware, creamware, white salt-glazed stoneware, faience or delftware, and porcelain. Smaller quantities of whiteware, refined redware, Westerwald stoneware, English brown stoneware, English gray stoneware, and an unusual American-made creamware or early yellowware were also found. The ceramic sherds from Features 1, 4, and 29 received a higher level of analysis than the material from other features, and determinations of the Minimum Number of Vessels were made only for these features. The Minimum Number of Vessels, or MNV, is the smallest number of different plates, pots, or cups that could have produced the fragments found in a particular feature. Determination of the Minimum Number of Vessels is a more useful way of counting ceramics than simply adding up the number of sherds, since it gets us closer to the ceramics as used by the people on the site. In Features 1, 4, and 29, 721 different ceramic vessels were identified. Tables 2 and 3 present these vessels in two

**Table 2. Feature Summary of Ceramic Vessels, by Functional Group**

FUNCTIONAL GROUP	THE LATER CELLAR, 1800-1830		THE EARLY CELLAR, 1750-1800		THE EARLY WELL, 1750-1800	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Teawares	160	31	12	11	21	22
Tablewares	160	31	23	21	11	12
Non-Tea Drinking Vessels	18	4	12	11	11	12
Food Preparation	31	6	7	6	10	11
Food Storage	15	3	5	5	5	5
Multifunction	45	9	14	13	17	18
Sanitary	2	<1	2	2	1	1
Activities/Toys	3	<1	.	.	.	.
Pharmaceutical	.	.	1	1	.	.
Unidentified	83	16	32	30	18	19
TOTAL	517		108		94	

**Table 3. Feature Summary of Ceramic Vessels, by Ware Group**

WARE GROUP	THE LATER CELLAR, 1800-1830		THE EARLY CELLAR, 1750-1800		THE EARLY WELL, 1750-1800	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Coarse Earthenwares	159	31	56	52	49	52
Refined Earthenwares	234	45	28	26	19	20
Refined Stonewares	34	7	14	13	13	14
Coarse Stonewares	6	1	.	.	.	.
Porcelains	84	16	10	9	12	13
Unidentified	.	.	.	.	1	1
TOTAL	517		108		94	

different ways. In Table 2 they are listed according to the apparent function of the vessels, and in Table 3 they are listed according to the material from which they were made, or the ware type. More detailed listings are provided in the tables for each feature, referred to in the discussions that follow, and in Appendix B.

### 1. *Feature 4, the Early Cellar, 1750-1800*

A total of 108 ceramic vessels were identified in Feature 4, the cellar of the first house built on the site (Tables 4 and 5). (Note that the numbers given in Tables 4 and 5, and subsequent vessel tables,

**Table 4. The Early Cellar (1750-1800), Minimum Number of Ceramic Vessels, Teawares and Tablewares**

WARE TYPE	TEAWARES			TABLEWARES			NON-TEA WARES		TOTAL
	Cup	Saucer	Plate	Bowl	Porringer	Misc. Tableware	Mug	Misc. Drinking	
Porcelain	4	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	11
Creamware	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Pearlware	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1
Faience (delft)	.	.	.	9	.	3	.	.	12
White salt-glazed stoneware	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	2
"Midlands Mottled" British earthenware	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	2
British slipware	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
Westerwald stoneware	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	6
Red-bodied earthenware	.	.	.	.	8	.	1	1	10
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>47</b>

**Table 5. The Early Cellar (1750-1800), Minimum Number of Ceramic Vessels, Other Functions**

WARE TYPE	STORAGE	PREPARATION		MULTIFUNCTION			SANITARY		TOTAL
	Jar	Milk Pan	Colander	Dish	Pan	Jug	Chamber Pot	Ointment Pot	
Faience (delft)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Red-bodied earthenware	5	6	1	.	.	4	2	.	18
Red-bodied slipware	.	.	.	2	5	.	.	.	7
Red-bodied with sgraffito decoration	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	2
North Devon sgraffito earthenware	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>29</b>

do not include unidentified vessels.) The collection was highly fragmentary: 97 of the vessels were less than 10 percent complete and no vessel was more than 50 percent complete. The vessels were bought and used over a long period of time. They included a North Devon sgraffito pan, a type usually dated to before 1710, and a blue shell-edged pearlware plate made after 1795. Since the fill

from which most of the sherds were recovered appeared to be redeposited, the vessels may have been discarded over a long period as well. Four oriental porcelain teacups and seven saucers were found, as well as a teacup made of clouded creamware, showing that the tenants at the McKean/Cochran Farm were equipped to serve tea with modest elegance. Most of the tableware consisted of bowls made of tin-glazed earthenware, here called faience but also known as delft, and red earthenware porringers (bowls for porridge). Faience was the most common material for fancy tableware before the middle of the eighteenth century, but it became much less common after that time. Only one plate was identified; it was made of shell-edged pearlware. Ceramic plates became quite common after the introduction of creamware in 1762, so the rarity of plates in the feature shows either that most of the contents of the feature date to before that time or that the tenants had traditional tastes in this regard, preferring to eat off pewter or wood. Six Westerwald stoneware drinking vessels were also found. These stoneware mugs and jugs, especially associated with the drinking of beer and cider, were quite common in the eighteenth century, and they remind us that most immigrants from northern Europe thought of these alcoholic drinks as essentials of life; in Europe they provided rations of these beverages even to prisoners and monks. Vessels of white salt-glazed stoneware, dot and combed slipware, and "Midlands Mottled" ware were also identified.

The food storage and preparation vessels were almost all made of red-bodied coarse earthenware. They included five storage jars and six milk pans, a colander, and two chamber pots. Five vessels of a type often referred to as "pie plates" were found. These are here called "dishes," because they appear to have been used for many purposes besides making pies. Dishes or pie plates were often elaborately decorated. Most of those found at the McKean/Cochran Farm were probably made in the Delaware Valley, and one was decorated in a distinctive Pennsylvania Dutch style. Other archaeologists sometimes class these vessels as tablewares (Catts et al. 1995), but because they were used for both preparing and serving food we prefer to classify them as "multifunction" vessels. It is also our practice to identify smaller pans, larger bowls, and larger jugs as "multifunction" vessels, since they could all be used for both preparation and serving, and jugs can also be used for storage.

## 2. *Feature 29, the Early Well, 1750-1800*

Feature 29, a well located a few feet away from the early cellar (Feature 4), also dated to the eighteenth century. The top few feet of the well yielded a large number of artifacts, including 94 ceramic vessels (Tables 6 and 7). Ten vessels of creamware and only two of faience were identified, so the collection from this well appears to be somewhat more recent than that from the early cellar, perhaps dating primarily to the 1760s and 1770s. The early well contained twice as much teaware as the early cellar, including eight cups, 12 saucers, and a teapot. A fragment of a creamware vessel molded into a vegetable shape and another fragment from a feather-edged platter were also found, suggesting a table setting of some sophistication. Only one plate, made of creamware, was identified, which suggests that even in the 1770s the tenants were still not using ceramic plates extensively. Five stoneware mugs or jugs were found.

In both the early cellar and the early well the ceramic collections were divided in similar proportions between coarse, utilitarian vessels and refined vessels. In both features the utilitarian vessels were

**Table 6. The Early Well (1750-1800), Minimum Number of Ceramic Vessels, Teawares and Tablewares**

WARE TYPE	TEAWARES			TABLEWARES					NON-TEA		TOTAL
	Cup	Saucer	Teapot	Plate	Platter	Bowl	Porringer	Misc. Tableware	Mug	Misc. Drinking	
Porcelain	4	7	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	12
Creamware	2	3	1	1	1	.	.	2	.	.	10
Faience (delft)	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	2
"Midlands Mottled" British earthenware	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1
British slipware	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
White salt-glazed stoneware	2	2	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	6
Westerwald stoneware	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
British brown stoneware	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2	4
Red-bodied earthenware	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	2	.	4
Red-bodied slipware	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>43</b>

**Table 7. The Early Well (1750-1800), Minimum Number of Ceramic Vessels, Other Functions**

WARE TYPE	STORAGE	PREPARATION		MULTIFUNCTION				SANITARY		TOTAL
	Jar	Milk Pan	Pipkin	Dish	Pan	Jug	Bowl	Misc. Multi.	Chamber Pot	
Creamware	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Red-bodied earthenware	4	9	1	.	2	1	.	2	.	19
Red-bodied slipware	.	.	.	5	4	.	2	.	.	11
North Devon earthenware	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>33</b>

mostly coarse red earthenware, although one creamware chamber pot was found. The coarse vessels included nine milk pans, seven smaller pans, five dishes, two bowls, four jars, and a single pipkin or cooking pot.

### 3. *Feature 1, the Later Cellar, 1800-1830*

Feature 1, the cellar of the second house on the site, produced more than 5,100 ceramic sherds, from which 517 different vessels were identified (Tables 8 and 9). The assemblage includes a large number of very fragmentary vessels, especially the porcelain teawares, as well as several nearly complete vessels, and even an intact stoneware ink bottle. This range of vessel completeness seems to indicate that some of the artifacts in the feature had been deposited somewhere else first and then moved, while some had been discarded directly into the cellar.

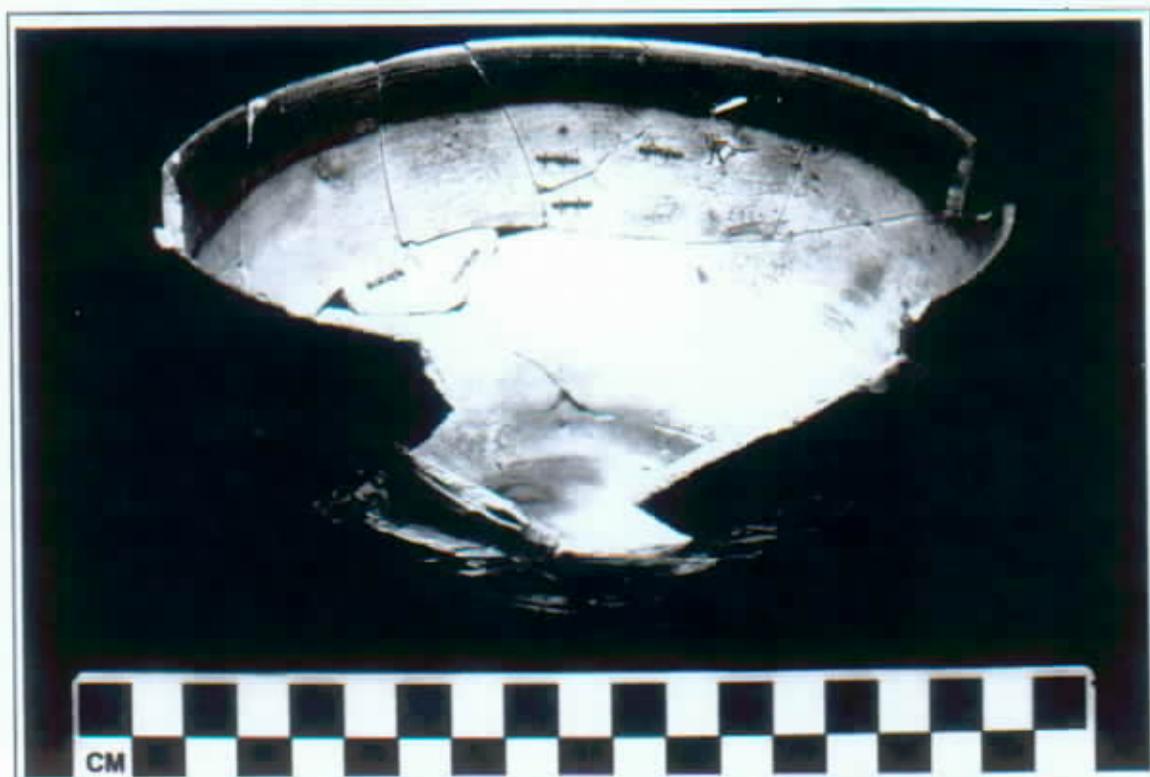
**Table 8. The Later Cellar (1800-1830), Minimum Number of Ceramic Vessels, Teawares and Tablewares**

WARE TYPE	TEAWARES				TABLEWARES						NON-TEA	TOTAL
	Cup	Saucer	Teapot	Misc. Tea	Plate	Dish	Bowl	Pitcher	Porringer	Misc. Table	Mug	
Porcelain	29	38	1	10	.	.	6	.	.	.	.	84
Creamware	7	5	6	.	33	.	8	2	.	2	4	67
Pearlware, painted	22	25	3	.	.	.	9	.	.	1	.	60
Pearlware, shell-edge	.	.	.	.	38	.	.	.	.	2	.	40
Pearlware, dipped	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1	.	.	.	3
Yellowware/local creamware	.	.	.	.	7	.	.	.	.	1	.	8
Faience (delft)	1	1	.	.	4	1	4	.	.	.	.	11
White salt-glazed stoneware	5	2	.	.	7	.	2	1	.	.	.	17
Red-bodied, engine-turned earthenware	.	.	5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
Red-bodied earthenware	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	5	.	5	15
Red-bodied slipware	.	.	.	.	.	.	18	.	.	.	.	18
Westerwald stoneware	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3
British brown	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	4	5
British slipware	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>338</b>

**Table 9. The Later Cellar (1800-1830), Minimum Number of Ceramic Vessels, Other Functions**

WARE TYPE	STORAGE	PREPARATION		MULTIFUNCTION					SANITARY	HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES/TOYS			TOTAL
	Jar	Milk Pan	Col-ander	Dish	Pan	Jug	Bowl	Misc. Multi	Chamber Pot	Ink	Toy	Whistle	
Creamware	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Pearlware, painted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Red-bodied earthenware	14	30	1	-	-	7	-	2	1	-	1	-	56
Red-bodied slipware	-	-	-	14	21	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	36
Buckley earthenware	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gray salt-glazed stoneware	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>96</b>

The ceramics in the later cellar betray a strong connection to the potters of the Philadelphia region. Several redware bowls found had a distinctive pedestal foot known as the "Philadelphia foot," which identifies them as the product of Philadelphia-area potters (Plate 18). This form, which was copied



**PLATE 18: Philadelphia-Style Redware Bowl from the Later Cellar, 1800-1830**



PLATE 19: Slip-Decorated Dishes or Pie Plates from the Later Cellar, 1800-1830

30 years or so during which the house was occupied, the residents used and broke 64 teacups, 71 saucers, and 15 teapots. These vessels were mostly oriental porcelain and painted pearlware, and included three matched sets of highly decorated pearlware (Plate 20). A large amount of tableware was also found. In the early cellar, which contained primarily mid-eighteenth-century material, only a single plate was found, but in the later cellar, 89 plates were identified. The McKean and Cochran owned a large number of tea and table vessels and used them often enough to break them with great regularity. As no fancy vessel types, such as jelly molds, sauceboats, or fruit dishes, were found, the McKean and/or the Cochran do not appear to have furnished their tables in the highest style.

from Chinese porcelain bowls, has been found at several sites in Philadelphia (Dent et al. 1997) and one other eighteenth-century site in Delaware at least (Catts et al. 1995). These bowls were thin and well made, and were often decorated, so they were probably used on the table rather than in the kitchen. Other forms made locally in the Delaware Valley include redware pots, bowls, and milk pans and the distinctive slip-decorated dishes or pie plates (Plate 19). Thirty milk pans were identified in the feature. This large total probably indicates that the pans in the cellar were used and broken over a long period of time.

A very large number of teaware vessels were identified in the feature. These vessels were highly fragmentary, most of them less than 10 percent complete. We believe that they represent decades of floor sweepings from the hall and parlor which were dumped back into the cellar when it was abandoned. Despite the long period of time represented by these vessels, the number and variety of vessels is impressive. During the



PLATE 20: Handpainted Pearlware Teawares from the Later Cellar, 1800-1830

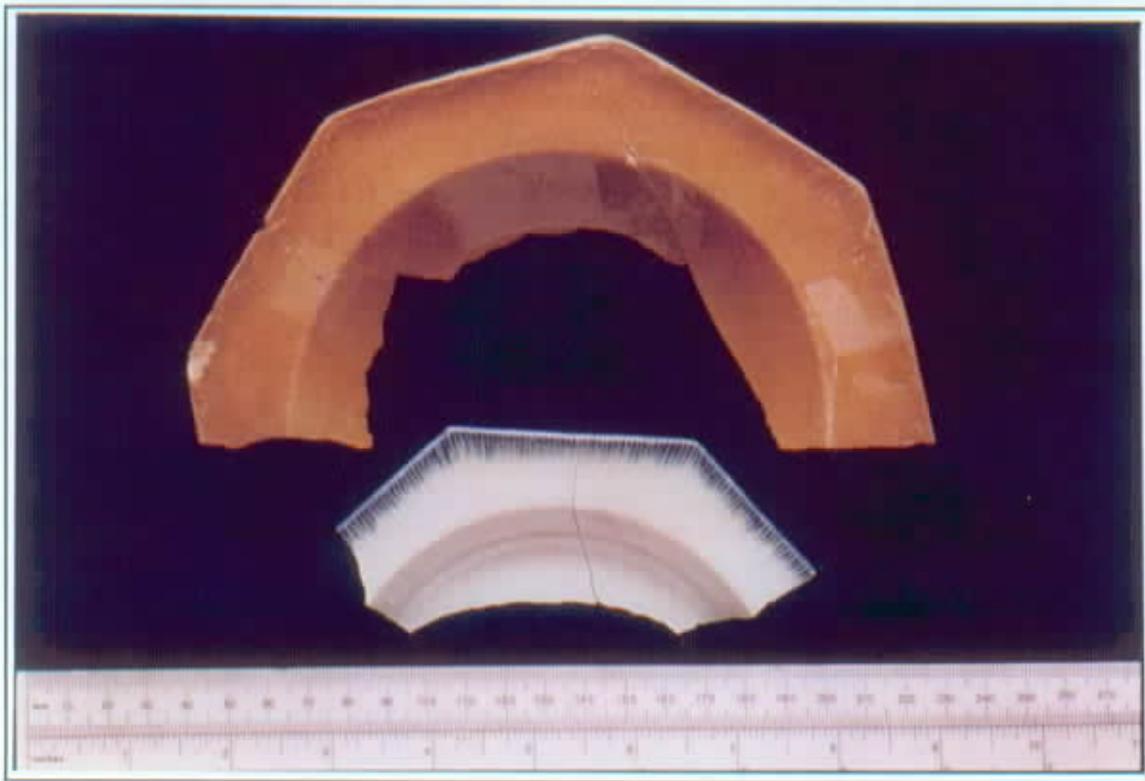


PLATE 21: American-Made Creamware Octagonal Plate and Similar Pearlware Plate

One very unusual type of ceramic was found in the cellar, as well as in the plowzone and at the top of Feature 27, the second well. Sherds from at least 11 plates made of a distinctive yellow earthenware body were found in these contexts. They are unusual because yellow-bodied refined earthenware vessels (commonly called yellowware) do not ordinarily appear on American archaeological sites before the 1830s, and do not appear in significant amounts until after mid-century. The plate bodies are light yellow to buff colored and the glazes are clear. The rims are decorated with shell edging, a style that is associated with English pearlware, creamware, and whiteware plates (Miller 1980, 1991; Noël Hume 1970:116). Shell-edge decorated pearlware and whiteware plates were the most common tablewares during the first half of the nineteenth century. The plates in this collection have two different rim decorations. The first is a simple shell-edge



PLATE 22: Pearlware Whistle in the Form of a Bird

design that consists of a scalloped rim outline with straight lines colored with green. The second rim motif is found on octagonal plates (Plate 21). One of these plates is strikingly colored, with an orange base, a yellow rim, and a green edge. The glaze is clear, and the yellow and orange color variations are probably caused by firing conditions.

These vessels were probably made by American potters in imitation of imported English tablewares. After the American Revolution, various groups of merchants and governmental organizations attempted to encourage American manufacturers to produce goods that would supply local markets with substitutes for goods made in England. These attempts were aided by the effects of Jefferson's 1807 Embargo Act and the blockade of east coast port cities by the British during the War of 1812.

Potters were among the craftsmen-entrepreneurs who tried to manufacture merchandise that would fit the demands of consumers accustomed to English goods (Myers 1980:5-11). A full technical description of these interesting ceramics is given in Appendix C.

Among the other interesting artifacts recovered from the cellar were a pearlware whistle in the form of a bird (Plate 22) and an intact stoneware ink bottle, stamped "Poyntel's Durable Ink" (see Plate 16). No ink manufacturer named Poyntel has yet been identified, but the vessel's form suggests that it is American, so the maker may have been a Philadelphia or Baltimore manufacturer.

#### 4. *Some Comparisons*

##### a. *Time Comparisons*

One of the goals of the research program at the McKean/Cochran Farm was to evaluate theories of a behavioral revolution in the eighteenth century. According to Carson (1994), Shackel (1993), and others, a comparison of the consumer goods found on sites from late in the eighteenth century to those from early in the century ought to reveal major changes in the ways people worked, cooked and ate, and cared for their bodies. The artifacts from the McKean/Cochran Farm have therefore been systematically compared to those from two Delaware sites of the mid-eighteenth century and to one site from early in the century. The two mid-century sites are the William Strickland Plantation Site in Kent County, occupied from 1726 to 1764 (Catts et al. 1995), and the Charles Robinson Plantation, just across the Appoquinimink River from the McKean/Cochran Farm, occupied from about 1740 to 1776 (Thomas et al. 1994). Both sites were occupied by families who were well-off but not conspicuously wealthy or politically prominent, and the ceramics from both sites were studied in considerable detail. The early eighteenth-century site is the John Powell Plantation in Kent County, occupied from about 1690 to 1735 (Grettlar et al. 1995). John Powell was heavily in debt, and though he tried to buy his 300-acre farm he never effectively controlled it, and he was probably of somewhat lower status than William Strickland, Charles Robinson, or Letitia McKean.

It is perhaps appropriate to begin the analysis with a discussion of change over time within the McKean/Cochran Farm itself. Although excavation of the site began with the idea that it dated no earlier than about 1770, analysis of the ceramics from the early cellar showed that it probably dates to 1750, and possibly even earlier. Therefore a comparison of the ceramics from the early cellar and well (Feature 4 and Feature 29) with those from the later cellar (Feature 1), which dates to about 1825, covers at least 75 years of Delaware history. Overall, the collections are quite similar. All three features yielded the same range of vessel types, including teacups and saucers, plates, bowls, mugs, storage jars, dishes, milk pans, smaller pans, and chamber pots. Differences emerge only in the details. Compared to the earlier features, the later cellar contained more refined wares and fewer coarse, utilitarian vessels. In the early features coarse earthenwares made up 52 percent of the vessels, while in the later cellar they made up only 31 percent. The difference was largely caused by the 89 plates found in the later cellar, since only a single plate was found in each of the eighteenth-century features. By 1830 ceramic plates made of pearlware or whiteware had almost

completely replaced pewter and wooden plates, and sherds of these plates are among the most common archaeological artifacts from the period.

Comparison of the ceramics from the McKean/Cochran Farm to those from the William Strickland and Charles Robinson plantations reveals no dramatic change in ceramic use during the second half of the eighteenth century. The ceramics from William Strickland's plantation closely resembled those from the early cellar of the McKean/Cochran Farm. The collection from the William Strickland Plantation included teacups, saucers, and teapots, so tea drinking was already well established in Delaware by the middle of the eighteenth century. Strickland also owned many vessels produced by redware potters in the Delaware Valley, including bowls with the distinctive "Philadelphia foot," milk pans, porringers, and slip-decorated dishes and pans. Strickland actually owned more ceramic plates than the tenants at the McKean/Cochran Farm, including four made of refined stoneware and seven of faience. The Charles Robinson Plantation Site yielded a large quantity of teaware, including more than 50 teacups, several of them Chinese porcelain. More than 30 plates were found, most of them creamware. The Robinsons owned the same range of locally made red earthenware vessels, especially slip-decorated dishes or pie plates, of which more than 100 were found. Taken together, the collections from the three sites suggest that Delaware farmers shared a common attitude with respect to ceramics. At all three farms, with occupations spanning the century from 1730 to 1830, a wide range of coarse redware dishes were used in the dairy and the kitchen, and the table was set with a combination of imported refined earthenwares and locally made slipware dishes.

More significant changes appear when we compare the sites from mid-century to the John Powell Plantation, abandoned by 1735. First, the collection from the John Powell Plantation Site was much smaller than collections from the later sites. Although the site was occupied for about 40 years, only about 1,300 sherds and 56 identified vessels were found. The great increase in the number of ceramic vessels found on North American sites from the second half of the eighteenth century has been noted before (Deetz 1972), and it seems to represent both an increase in the availability of ceramics, from improved trade and growth in local manufacture, and real changes in how ceramics were used. In the eighteenth century ceramics came to replace wood, metal, and leather for a variety of applications, including drinking vessels, bowls, and, finally, plates. The John Powell Plantation Site yielded no refined tea vessels of the type found at later sites. The only vessels from the site identified as teawares were five Staffordshire slipware cups, and these cups were probably used for drinking liquids other than tea. If the residents of the John Powell Plantation Site drank tea at all, it was not as important in their lives as it was for Delawareans later in the century. Seven plates were found, six of them faience or delft. The assortment of coarse redware vessels found included seven coarse redware milk pans and seven crocks or butter pots. The use of ceramics in dairying was traditional in Britain, going back to the Middle Ages, so the discovery of these vessels at the site was expected. However, the quantity of ceramic dairying vessels found at the site was much lower than would be found at the later sites. One item completely missing from John Powell's kitchen was the slip-decorated dish or pie plate so common on the later sites; the Delaware Valley industry that produced these vessels seems not to have developed until after 1730.

*b. Regional Comparisons*

A second goal of the research program at the McKean/Cochran Farm was to compare the site with others within and beyond the Delaware Valley region to see if regional cultural patterns could be observed. The sites chosen from within the Delaware Valley were the Strickland, Robinson, and Powell plantation sites, referred to above; the Benjamin Wynn tenant farm in Kent County, circa 1765 to 1822 (Grettlar et al. 1996); The Whitten Road Site, a tenant farm in New Castle County, occupied from 1760 to 1830 (Shaffer et al. 1988); the Darrach Store Site in Kent County, occupied by tenants from 1775 to 1860 (De Cunzo et al. 1992); deposits from the parsonage of Old Swedes Church in Wilmington, dated to 1757-1768 (LeeDecker et al. 1990); the John Tyndall Site, a farm in Mercer County, New Jersey, dating to circa 1720 to 1740 (LBA 1986c); and a privy at the New Market Street Site in Philadelphia, circa 1765 to 1775 (described in Thomas et al. 1994).

The region for which the most archaeological data on eighteenth-century sites are available is the Chesapeake of Virginia and Maryland, and we have compared the data from the McKean/Cochran Farm and other Delaware Valley sites with data from a number of Chesapeake sites. The Chesapeake sites, chosen solely on the basis of the availability of data, were a group of sites at Kingsmill in James City County, Virginia (Kelso 1984), including the Pettus Plantation (ca. 1660-1680), the Utopia tenant farm (ca. 1680-1700), the Bray Plantation (ca. 1720-1750), and two slave quarters—the Kingsmill Quarter (ca. 1780-1800) and the North Quarter (ca. 1780-1800); the John Hicks Farm in St. Marys County, Maryland, 1723-1743 (Stone et al. 1973); the mid-eighteenth-century Notley Hall Site, also in St. Marys County (Pogue 1981); two contexts at Shirley Plantation in Charles City County, Virginia (Reinhart 1984); three contexts at Oxon Hill, a plantation in Prince Georges County, Maryland (Garrow and Wheaton 1986); and five contexts at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello—three slave houses (Gruber 1990), a tenant house (Heath 1991), and from around the house foundations (Heath and Patten 1992).

Overall, the collections are broadly similar. All of the sites yielded coarse and refined ceramics, all of the sites from after 1730 yielded teawares, and all of the sites from after 1770 yielded ceramic plates. Both the Chesapeake and the Delaware Valley residents were clearly members of a transatlantic European culture. The most salient difference concerns the amount of coarse earthenware found on the sites (Tables 10 and 11). In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries coarse earthenwares were the most common ceramics on all sites in both regions. However, after 1740, when refined ceramics such as white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware became available, the amount of coarse earthenware on Chesapeake sites fell dramatically. By 1800, coarse earthenware was rare. This pattern holds true for all of the Chesapeake sites examined, whether the homes of great planters, small yeomen, or slaves. In the Delaware Valley, by contrast, coarse earthenware remained common well into the nineteenth century.

Part of the difference in the amount of coarse earthenware in the collections from the Chesapeake and Delaware Valley sites may be accounted for by the presence of a thriving redware industry in and around Philadelphia; if coarse red earthenwares were cheaper and more easily available in the Delaware Valley, that could explain why they were more common. However, other factors may

**Table 10. Ceramics from Chesapeake Sites, by Ware Type**

SITE	DATE	TYPE	COARSE EARTHEN- WARES	COARSE STONE- WARES	REFINED WARES	PORCELAIN	TOTAL NUMBER OF VESSELS
Pettus <sup>1</sup>	1660-1680	Plantation	59.4	.	40.1	0.6	352
Utopia <sup>2</sup>	1680-1700	Tenant Farm	58.3	.	41.7	.	60
John Hicks <sup>3</sup>	1723-1743	Farm	55.2	1.4	35.7	7.6	277
Notley Hall <sup>4</sup>	1720-1750	Farm	64.9	.	30.6	4.1	222
Bray <sup>5</sup>	1720-1750	Plantation	16.8	.	71.4	11.8	119
Oxon Hill <sup>6</sup>							
Feat. 5000	1750-1800	Plantation	18.9	10.8	56.8	13.5	37
Well, Strat. B,C	1750-1770	Plantation	20.2	5.3	58.5	16.0	94
Well, Strat. A	1750-1840	Plantation	22.5	3.4	60.7	13.5	178
Kingsmill Qtr. <sup>7</sup>	1780-1800	Slave Quarter	6.2	8.4	64.4	21.0	186
North Qtr. <sup>8</sup>	1780-1800	Slave Quarter	6.8	14.5	72.1	6.6	137
Shirley Plantation <sup>9</sup>							
Hill House	1750-1830	Plantation	3.4	1.1	79.6	15.9	345
Root Cellar	1760-1830	Plantation	4.6	4.8	58.7	31.9	542
Monticello							
Foundations <sup>10</sup>	1780-1830	Plantation	5.5	3.9	57.0	32.8	128
Monticello r <sup>11</sup>	1780-1830	Slave House	2.6	7.7	69.2	20.5	39
Monticello s <sup>11</sup>	1780-1830	Slave House	4.2	8.7	67.6	19.6	312
Monticello t <sup>11</sup>	1780-1830	Slave House	4.8	10.6	60.8	23.8	273
Stewart/Watkins <sup>12</sup>	1800-1810	Tenant House	1.6	5.6	80.0	12.8	125

Sources: <sup>1,2</sup>Kelso 1984; <sup>3</sup>Stone et al. 1973; <sup>4</sup>Pogue 1981; <sup>5</sup>Kelso 1984; <sup>6</sup>Garrow and Wheaton 1986; <sup>7,8</sup>Kelso 1984; <sup>9</sup>Reinhart 1984; <sup>10</sup>Heath and Patten 1992; <sup>11</sup>Gruber 1990; <sup>12</sup>Heath 1991.

**Table 11. Ceramics from Delaware Valley Sites, by Ware Type**

SITE	DATE	TYPE	COARSE EARTHEN- WARES	COARSE STONE- WARES	REFINED WARES	PORCELAIN	TOTAL NUMBER OF VESSELS
John Powell <sup>1</sup>	1690-1735	Farm	72.5	.	27.5	.	51
John Tyndall <sup>2</sup>	1720-1740	Farm	69.5	5.7	22.4	2.3	174
Wm. Strickland <sup>3</sup>	1726-1764	Farm	65.5	4.4	25.8	4.4	229
Charles Robinson <sup>4</sup>	1720-1776	Farm	57.2	2.1	35.8	4.9	528
Old Swedes <sup>5</sup>	1757-1768	Town Parsonage	51.2	.	38.4	10.5	86
McKean/Cochran							
Early Cellar	1750-1790	Tenant Farm	51.9	.	38.9	9.3	108
Early Well	1750-1790	Tenant Farm	53.3	.	34.8	13.0	92
New Market St. <sup>6</sup>	1765-1775	Urban Privy	36.7	0.7	44.9	17.6	403
Benjamin Wynn <sup>7</sup>	1765-1822	Tenant Farm	45.4	0.5	53.7	0.5	218
Whitten Road <sup>8</sup>	1760-1830	Tenant Farm	61.5	1.6	33.3	3.6	384
Darrach Store <sup>9</sup>	1775-1860	Tenant House	58.6	1.6	35.9	4.0	251
McKean/Cochran							
Later Cellar	1800-1830	Farm	30.8	1.2	51.8	16.2	517

Sources: <sup>1</sup>Grettler et al. 1995; <sup>2</sup>LBA 1986c; <sup>3</sup>Catts et al. 1995; <sup>4</sup>Thomas et al. 1994; <sup>5</sup>LeeDecker et al. 1990; <sup>6</sup>Thomas et al. 1994; <sup>7</sup>Grettler et al. 1996; <sup>8</sup>Shaffer et al. 1988; <sup>9</sup>De Cunzio et al. 1992.

have been at work. To search for these other factors we compared tables of vessel functions from sites in both regions. (Table B.2 and Table B.3 in Appendix B list the vessels from sites in the two regions.) The comparison is difficult because of differences in the ways archaeologists classify and describe ceramic vessels, but the various classification schemes have enough in common to make some general conclusions possible. The coarse earthenware vessels from Delaware Valley sites generally fall into the categories of Food Storage, Food Preparation or Kitchen, Dairy, and Serving or Tableware. Coarse earthenware serving vessels, such as the decorated “pie plates” made in Pennsylvania, were virtually unknown in the Chesapeake after 1750, where they had been entirely replaced by imported refined wares. The only one found at any of the sites in the sample was from the small Stewart/Watkins tenant house at Monticello, and one of the residents at that house was William Stewart, who had moved to Monticello from Philadelphia and had probably brought his dish with him (Heath 1991). Coarse earthenware storage vessels have been found on most Chesapeake sites, and they are supplemented by coarse stonewares; the rise of American stoneware manufacture helps to explain the lack of coarse earthenware in the Chesapeake region. However, a great difference remains in the categories of Food Preparation or Kitchen wares and Dairy vessels. Milk pans were identified on all the rural sites studied in the Delaware Valley, but many of the Chesapeake sites yielded none. The keeping of dairy cattle appears to have been almost universal in the Delaware Valley, but after 1750 it was less common in the Chesapeake. The difference in Food Preparation or Kitchen vessels is even more striking. These vessels are found in great numbers in the Delaware Valley, but are rare in the Chesapeake region; many sites produced none. This discrepancy seems to indicate a real difference in how people in the two areas prepared and cooked their food. Where people in the Delaware Valley used ceramics, people in the Chesapeake must have used metal or wooden vessels.

These observations show that there were clear differences between the material culture of the Chesapeake and the Delaware Valley regions. The ceramic data also suggest that these differences were not present from the beginning of the colonies, but developed over time. When the colonists arrived from the Old World in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries they brought with them broadly similar ceramic traditions, and they were dependent on imports for most of their dishes. Almost all of the colonists were farmers. In the eighteenth century, the economies of the Middle Atlantic and New England colonies diversified much more than did those of Maryland and Virginia, where the plantation system continued to focus on the production of tobacco and grain for export and local manufacturing never really developed. There were potters in the southern colonies, but no pottery-making traditions as strong as the one that developed in the Delaware Valley. After 1740, when technological advances in Britain produced new kinds of refined ceramics, people in the two regions responded differently to the new goods. People everywhere in America bought and used white salt-glazed stoneware, creamware, and pearlware, particularly for serving tea, but in the Delaware Valley people continued to buy and use large quantities of locally made coarse earthenwares. Decorated slipware dishes, which had gone completely out of fashion in the Chesapeake, remained on the tables of well-to-do farmers in the Delaware Valley. These differences seem to have reached even into the kitchen, one of the most conservative realms of any culture. (The conservatism of cooking techniques in most cultures is one reason we speak of “hearth and home” as the seat of culture, and may explain why we still have “Chinese food” and “Mexican food,” when

phrases like "Japanese car" or "Malaysian stereo" have ceased to mean much.) A comparison of ceramics from the two regions suggests that by 1800 cooking techniques used by people in the Delaware Valley were different from those used by people in the Chesapeake region, a clear sign that different cultural traditions had appeared.

## D. GLASS

### 1. *Glass from the McKean/Cochran Farm*

The collection of bottle and vessel glass from the McKean/Cochran Farm included about 2,700 fragments, much smaller than the ceramic collection. About half of this glass came from green wine bottles, and most of the rest was unidentified. However, the collection did include 131 fragments from tumblers (drinking glasses) and 36 fragments from stemmed goblets or wine glasses (Plate 23).

The glass from the two cellars, the early well, and the dairy (Features 1, 4, 29, and 15) was analyzed in more detail, which included Minimum Number of Vessel calculations (Table 12). The early cellar produced parts of six tumblers, all with etched designs. Some of these designs are quite elaborate, as Figure 21 shows, and can be dated to after 1760 (Spillman 1982:43). A stemmed glass with a design that probably dates to before 1740 (Noël Hume 1970:180) was also found in the early cellar, and at least one of the wine bottles was also made before 1740, so the glass from this cellar presents the same long time span as the ceramics. Most of the glass from the later cellar was highly fragmentary, like the ceramic teawares and tablewares. One interesting glass vessel was a very pale green bottle recovered from the early well, illustrated in Figure 22.



PLATE 23: Stems from Wine Glasses, from Features 4 and 1, the Cellars

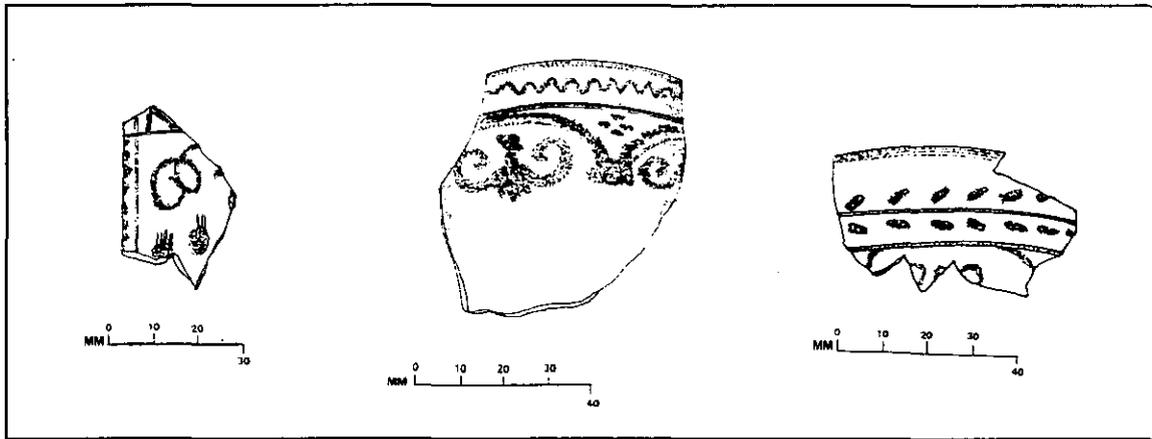


FIGURE 21: Drawings of Decorations on Glass Tumblers

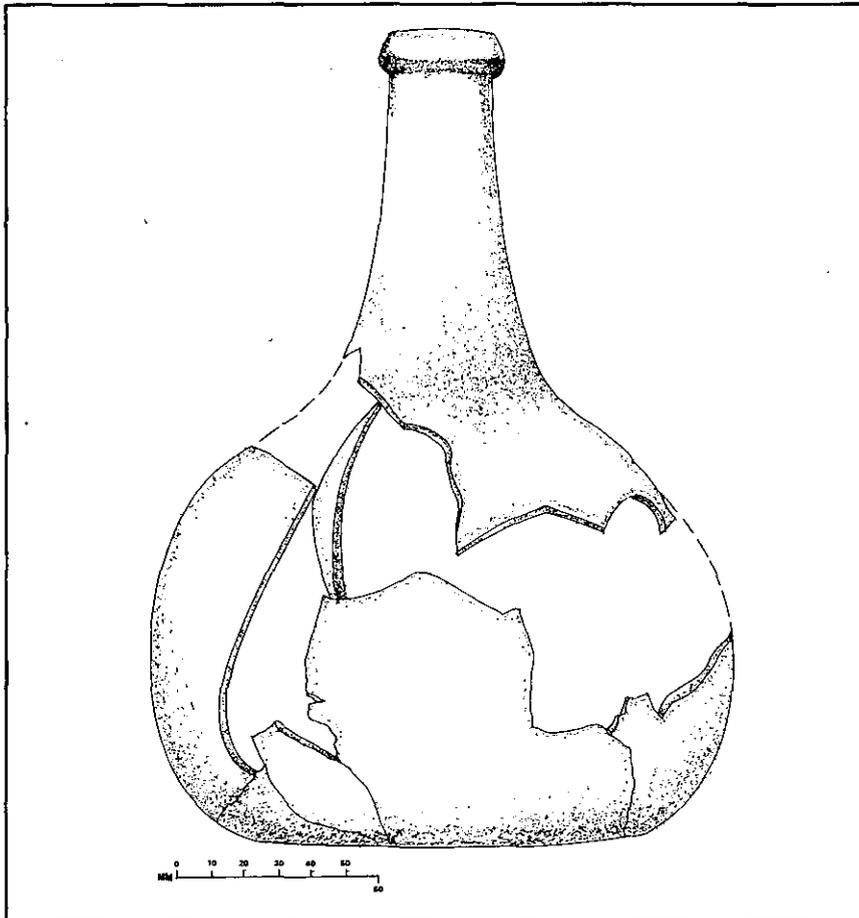
Table 12. Summary of Glass Vessels, by Feature

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY	THE LATER CELLAR, 1800-1830	THE EARLY CELLAR, 1750-1800	THE DAIRY, 1800-1840	THE EARLY WELL, 1750-1800	TOTAL
<b>Bottle Glass</b>					
Beverage					
Wine/Liquor	12	4	2	3	21
Pharmaceutical					
Snuff	1	.	.	.	1
Miscellaneous					
Vial	10	5	1	2	18
Unidentified					
Bottle/Container	8	3	2	.	13
<b>Table Glass</b>					
Drinking Vessel					
Tumbler	4	6	.	1	11
Stemware	3	3	.	.	6
Unidentified					
Tableware	2	1	2	.	5
Table-Associated	1	1	.	.	2
<b>Other Glass</b>					
Unidentified					
	3	.	1	.	4
TOTAL	44	23	8	6	81

## 2. *Some Comparisons*

### a. *Time Comparisons*

There were few differences between the early and late deposits on the site, or between the McKean/Cochran Farm and earlier eighteenth-century sites in Delaware. While the ceramic



**FIGURE 22: Pale Green Bottle from the Early Well, 1750-1800**

collection showed much more material and a greater variety in later contexts than in earlier ones, this difference was not nearly so pronounced for the glass vessels. The early cellar produced more tumblers than the later cellar and the same number of stemmed goblets. Stemmed drinking vessels were also found at the William Strickland, Charles Robinson, and John Powell plantation sites, and in the Chesapeake they have been found in large numbers at sites dating to the seventeenth century (Doepkins 1991; Noël Hume 1970). The presence of these stemmed goblets on sites throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is important, because it reminds us that

while the tea ceremony was a new introduction of the eighteenth century, Europeans had long practiced a rich ceremony associated with the drinking of wine. Teacups were a new introduction, but refined glassware and decorative drinking vessels were not new. Although the collection of glass from the McKean/Cochran Farm is very similar to collections from earlier sites, great changes in the use of glass did take place after the McKean/Cochran Farm was abandoned. By the end of the nineteenth century, new manufacturing techniques had made glass much cheaper and more versatile than it had been earlier, and it is usually the most common artifact type on sites dating from after the Civil War.

*b. Regional Comparisons*

A comparison of the glass from eighteenth-century sites in the Delaware Valley to collections from the Chesapeake does not reveal any major differences in the types of material or the vessel forms encountered. However, there is an obvious difference in the amount of glass found. Compared to similar Chesapeake sites, Delaware Valley sites simply do not yield very much glass. At the McKean/Cochran Farm the number of glass fragments was about 20 percent of the number of

ceramic sherds, and the number of glass vessels identified was only about one-eighth as many as the ceramic vessels. Similar ratios are found throughout the region. For example, at the William Strickland Plantation, 36 glass vessels were identified, compared to 237 ceramic vessels, and at the Charles Robinson Plantation glass accounted for only 2 percent of the total artifacts. In the Chesapeake region, glass was much more common overall, and one encounters eighteenth-century sites on which glass outnumbered ceramics. At Oxon Hill, a plantation in Prince Georges County, Maryland, more than twice as much glass as ceramics was found, even in the most tightly dated eighteenth-century deposits (Garrow and Wheaton 1986). Glass also outnumbered ceramics at Middle Plantation in Maryland (Doepkins 1991). Much of this glass came from what are usually called "wine" bottles, although they have been found to contain many other substances, including paint and ink. The difference may arise from the greater dependence of Chesapeake farmers on direct trade with England, which was more likely to include things shipped in these bottles, or a preference in the Chesapeake for wine sold in bottles rather than casks (South 1977:178), but it may actually indicate that Chesapeake planters drank more wine than Delaware Valley farmers did.

#### E. SMALL FINDS

Ceramics, glass, building materials, and bones are usually the main categories of artifacts recovered from a historic archaeological site, but many other kinds of objects are also found. We lump these into the amorphous category of "small finds." The McKean/Cochran Farm produced a wealth of fascinating objects, full of information about the residents' lives. The collection includes both an ordinary assortment of lost and broken items from across the site and a remarkable assemblage of intact items from Feature 1, the cellar of the second house on the site (Table 13).

The most common item in the small finds category were fragments of white clay tobacco pipes. More than 450 pieces of pipes were found, and they were found in quantity in both the early and the late features. Tobacco pipes are common on all colonial sites in North America, reminding us that smoking was nearly universal. Tobacco pipes can be dated because they changed shape over time. The pipe bowls grew larger and went through several stylistic phases, and the diameter of the hole that carried smoke through the stem steadily shrank. The first pipes found in North America had tiny bowls no bigger than a thimble and holes in the stems  $\frac{8}{64}$  or  $\frac{9}{64}$  of an inch in diameter; by 1750 the pipe bowl was four or five times as big, but the diameter of the hole in the stem had shrunk to  $\frac{4}{64}$  or  $\frac{5}{64}$  of an inch. The experience of smoking must also have changed greatly, from an intense "light it up and gulp down the smoke" to a slower, more even burn. The pipes from the McKean/Cochran Farm were all late eighteenth-century styles, with large bowls and small stem-hole diameters. Little tobacco was grown in central Delaware in the 1750 to 1830 period, so the McKean and Cochran had to buy theirs.

The McKean/Cochran Farm was occupied during the American Revolution, and several objects were found at the site that suggest an association with the Continental Army. Three regimental buttons were found, two in the later cellar (Feature 1) and one in Feature 53, a small pit. The button from Feature 53 was embossed with the letters "RIR," indicating the Rhode Island Regiment (Calver and Bolton 1950:91). One of the buttons from Feature 1 showed an eagle grasping arrows in one talon

**Table 13. Summary of Small Finds, by Feature**

ARTIFACT GROUP/ Type	LATER CELLAR	EARLY CELLAR	DAIRY	EARLY WELL	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL
<b>Kitchen</b>						
Knives	22	.	1	.	.	23
Forks	2	.	.	.	3	5
Spoons	7	1	.	.	1	9
Teaspoons	1	.	.	.	.	1
Unidentified Utensils	19	3	.	1	1	24
Iron Kettle Fragments	4	.	2	.	.	6
Metal Can Fragments	.	.	61	.	.	61
SUBTOTAL	55	4	64	1	5	129
<b>Furnishings</b>						
Clock Parts	2	.	.	.	.	2
Candlesticks	2	.	.	1	.	3
Furniture Hardware	13	1	.	.	2	16
Door Parts	11	.	2	.	3	16
SUBTOTAL	28	1	2	1	5	37
<b>Arms</b>						
Ammunition	1	2	.	.	1	4
Gunflints	2	1	.	.	.	3
SUBTOTAL	3	3	.	.	1	7
<b>Clothing</b>						
Gilt Buttons	4	1	1	1	3	10
Military Buttons	2	.	.	.	1	3
Other Buttons	68	2	3	4	14	91
Shoe Buckles	9	.	.	.	1	10
Belt Buckles	1	2	.	2	.	5
Other Buckles	12	1	2	2	4	21
SUBTOTAL	96	6	6	9	23	140
<b>Personal</b>						
Coins	3	2	.	.	2	7
Keys	5	.	1	.	.	6
Jewelry	.	2	.	.	1	3
Comb/Hairbrush	8	.	.	.	.	8
Surgeon's Lancet	1	.	.	.	.	1
Pipestem Fragments	94	78	16	51	52	291
Pipe Bowl Fragments	81	22	11	12	45	171
SUBTOTAL	192	104	28	63	100	487
<b>Activities</b>						
Toys	2	.	.	.	.	2
Hand Tools	9	1	.	2	4	16
Farm Tools	2	.	.	1	1	4
Thimbles	3	.	.	.	1	4
Straightpins	18	1	.	1	1	21
Livestock Related	15	.	3	1	2	21
Musical	1	.	2	.	.	3
Barrel Hoops	8	.	.	7	.	15
Padlocks	1	.	.	1	.	2
Other Activities	86	4	.	7	17	114
SUBTOTAL	146	6	13	20	27	208
TOTAL	520	124	109	94	161	1,008

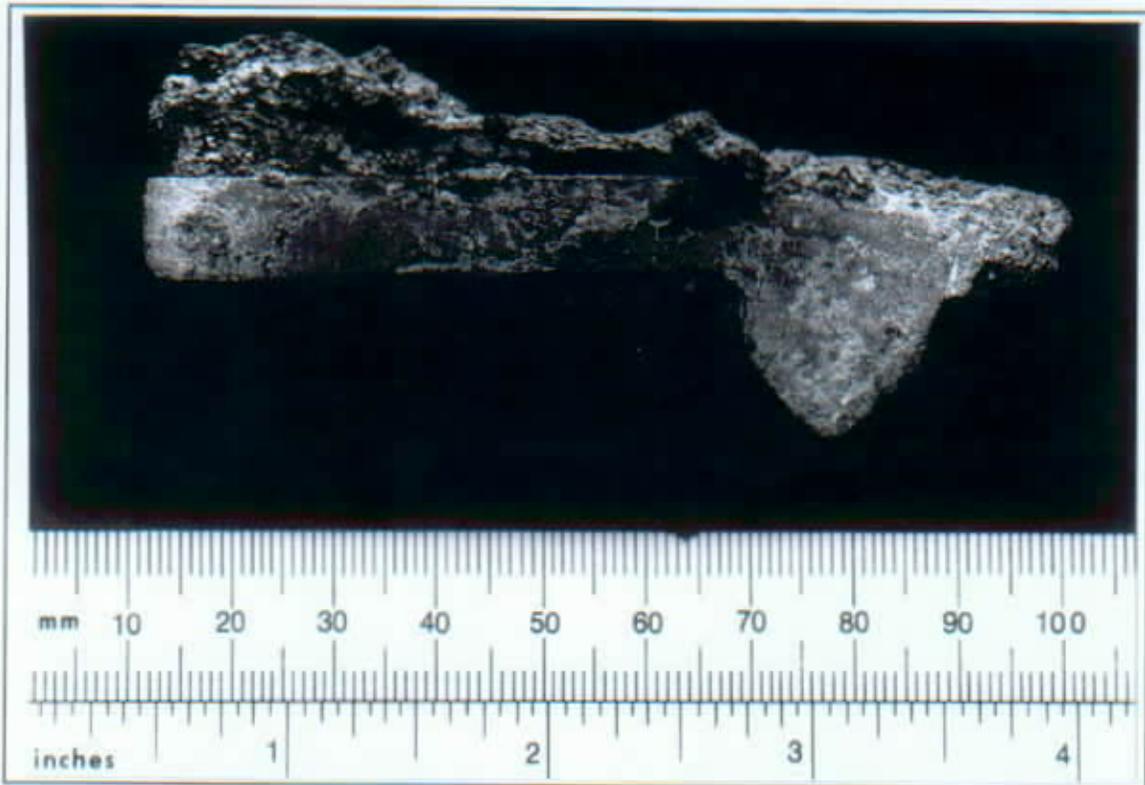


PLATE 24: Surgeon's Lancet or Fleam, from the Later Cellar, 1800-1830

and an olive branch in the other, with five stars above and a branch below; the other showed an eagle surrounded by concentric circles. A brass bracket that may have been part of a musket stock was also found in Feature 1, along with a single small cannon ball (see Plate 16). It is hard to think of any use for one cannon ball, so this must have been a souvenir. Perhaps the most unusual object was a surgeon's lancet or fleam, a blood-letting tool, also found in the later cellar (Plate 24). This particular lancet had several blades contained within a box handle, rather like a Swiss Army knife, and it was identical to lancets issued to surgeons by the Continental Army (Neumann and Kravic 1989:187). None of the residents at the McKean/Cochran Farm is known to have served in the Continental Army, but the presence of these objects certainly argues strongly that one did. An obvious candidate is Letitia's second husband, William Clark, but since the army included several officers named William Clark, this conjecture cannot be verified. These souvenirs also suggest something of a sentimental attachment to the war. The American Revolution was a critical event, not only in the life of the nation, but also in the life of a particular young man associated with the site who saved mementos of his service for years afterwards. However, the sentiment toward these items does not appear to have endured among the future residents at the farm, who eventually tossed the buttons (perhaps along with the garments to which they were attached) and the cannonball into the trash.

One object that reminds us of the long journeys many artifacts took from their place of manufacture to the place where they were found was a piece of turned window lead found in Feature 1, the cellar of the second house on the site. Turned lead was used in casement windows to hold the small,

diamond-shaped glass panes in place. A casement window was made as a unit, and whole windows were shipped intact for sale in America. Because of guild regulations, the date of manufacture was impressed onto the lead during the milling process that created the turned lead. This date can sometimes be found by unrolling the folded edges of the turned lead. When one of the turned lead fragments from the cellar was unrolled, the date 1677 became visible. It will be remembered that the second house at the McKean/Cochran Farm had been constructed around 1800, so this window was already over a century old when it was incorporated into the structure. An earlier house had stood on the farm, but that house was probably built around 1750, when the window was already over 70 years old. In 1677, or soon afterwards, this window must have been built into some other, unknown house that has probably long since disappeared. This house was probably in Delaware or Pennsylvania—a used window seems an odd thing to ship across the Atlantic—but it may have been in England. When that house was torn down, the window was saved for use in some other house, and so on through perhaps any number of houses until it ended up at the McKean/Cochran Farm.

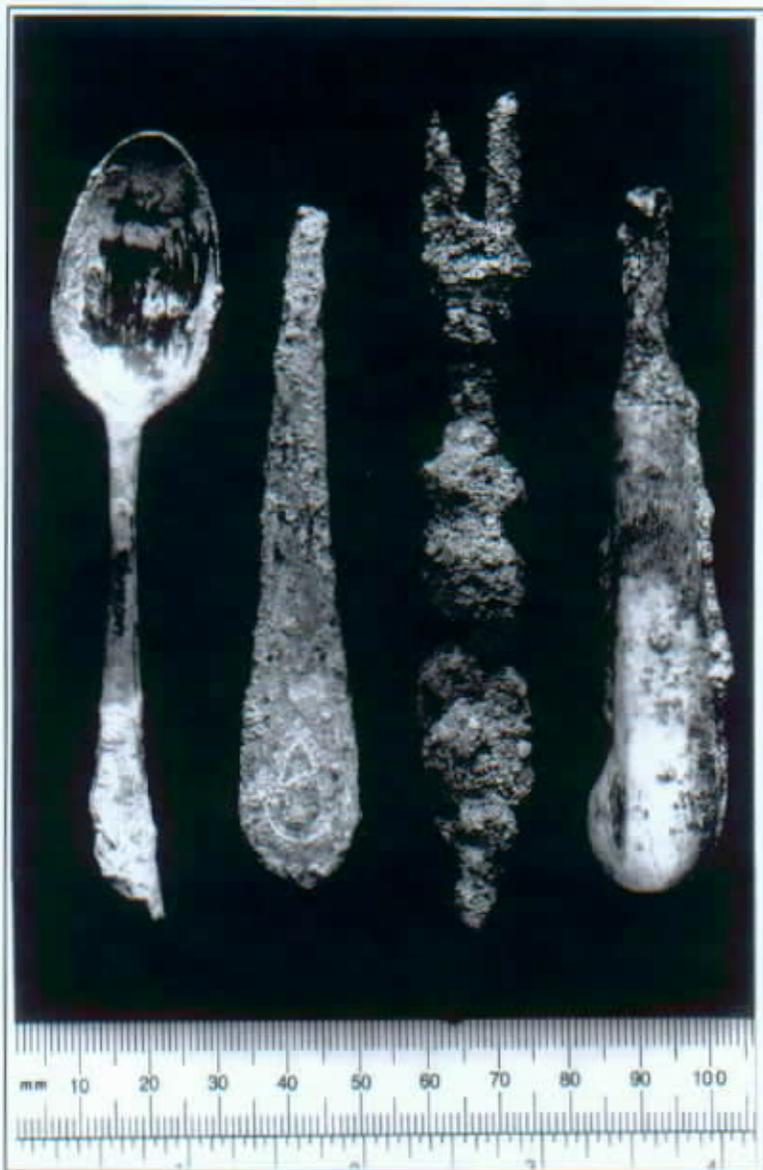


PLATE 25: Tableware from the Later Cellar, 1800-1830

Two door locks and one padlock were found in the later cellar, and a second padlock was found in the dairy. Six keys were also found on the site, five of them in the later cellar. Keys and locks are common items on eighteenth-century farm sites, and their presence reminds us that crime is not an invention of contemporary urban life. Theft, robbery, cattle rustling, and murder were all major problems in the eighteenth century. Homicide rates, which are the only crime statistics that can be meaningfully compared over such long periods of time, seem to have been about the same in 1800 as they are today (Hanawalt 1979; Stone 1983). We of the twentieth century fear crimes committed

by outsiders or strangers for the most part, so we put our locks on the doors of our houses to keep strangers out; but wealthy people in the eighteenth century had to worry about theft by the servants or slaves who lived in their own houses. To help combat this problem they bought padlocks, like those found at the McKean/Cochran Farm, and locking chests, which are common in contemporary household inventories. The common image of the mistress of a large farm included a ring of keys dangling at her waist, and a few women were even buried with their keys (Noël Hume 1982).

A particularly interesting category of small finds from the McKean/Cochran Farm consisted of the eating utensils. The site produced a total of 62 utensils, including 23 knives, five forks, nine spoons, and a teaspoon. Fifty-one of these utensils came from Feature 1, and many of them seem to have been intact when they were thrown away (Plate 25). Such large deposits of discarded objects have been found in other places. Archaeologist James Deetz found deposits in both South Africa and New England, dating to the 1830s, that included dozens of complete plates, bowls, teacups, and other table and tea dishes, and after mulling over these finds for years he decided that they must represent the rise of fashion in table settings. The only reason he could imagine for the disposal of complete sets of intact dishes was that they had simply gone out of fashion (Deetz 1977). The presence of such deposits on sites from the 1830s implies, to Deetz, that fashion had become very important for the purchasing and use of dishes, important enough for some people to discard perfectly good sets of dishes when they were no longer thought to be up to date. Something similar could have happened with the knives, forks, and spoons at the McKean/Cochran Farm. The fork was a new introduction to the later seventeenth century, and for decades just having a knife, fork, and spoon for each diner might have been seen as sufficiently elegant. In the nineteenth century, however, forks became commonplace, so to achieve elegance required not only forks, but matched sets of decorative flatware. The old utensils, when they became an embarrassment, were retired, and when it came time to move they were thrown away rather than being carried to the new house. However this particular collection of 51 utensils came to be thrown away, the discard of these pieces certainly indicates that dining utensils were becoming more common, since no earlier Delaware site has yielded more than a dozen such items.

Elaborate dining was an innovation of the eighteenth century, but personal vanity is eternally human; among the oldest metal objects in the world are mirrors. Evidence of primping found at the McKean/Cochran Farm includes jewelry parts, such as a small gilded chain, the pin for attaching a broach, and what may be a locket, as well as gilt buttons and pieces of combs and hair brushes. No pieces of toothbrushes were found, so we lack evidence that the residents had adopted that late eighteenth-century innovation in personal hygiene.

One of the ways in which modern houses are quite different from medieval houses is in the amount of furniture and the number of different kinds of furniture used. A house in fifteenth-century England might contain only a mattress, benches, a table, and a storage chest, and must have looked strangely bare by our standards. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a great increase in the amount and variety of furniture in the houses of wealthy people, so that by 1800 rooms in the better houses looked much more like they do today. For example, the Reverend John Thompson,

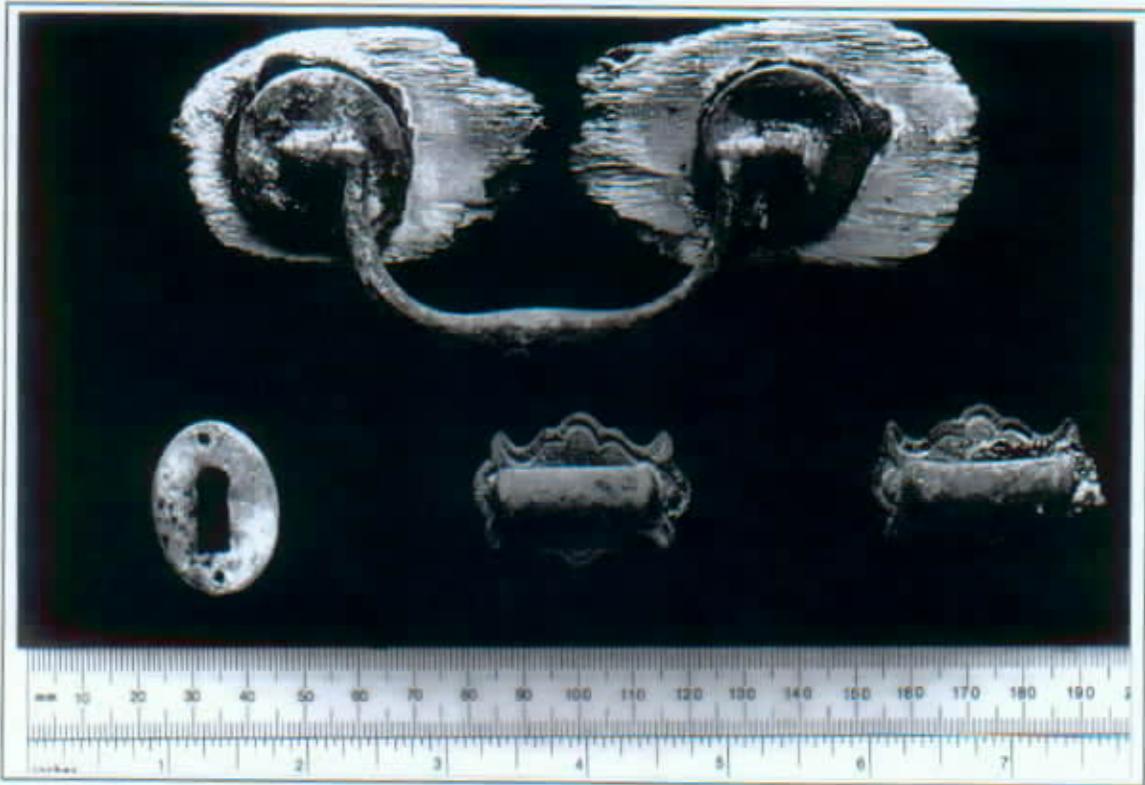
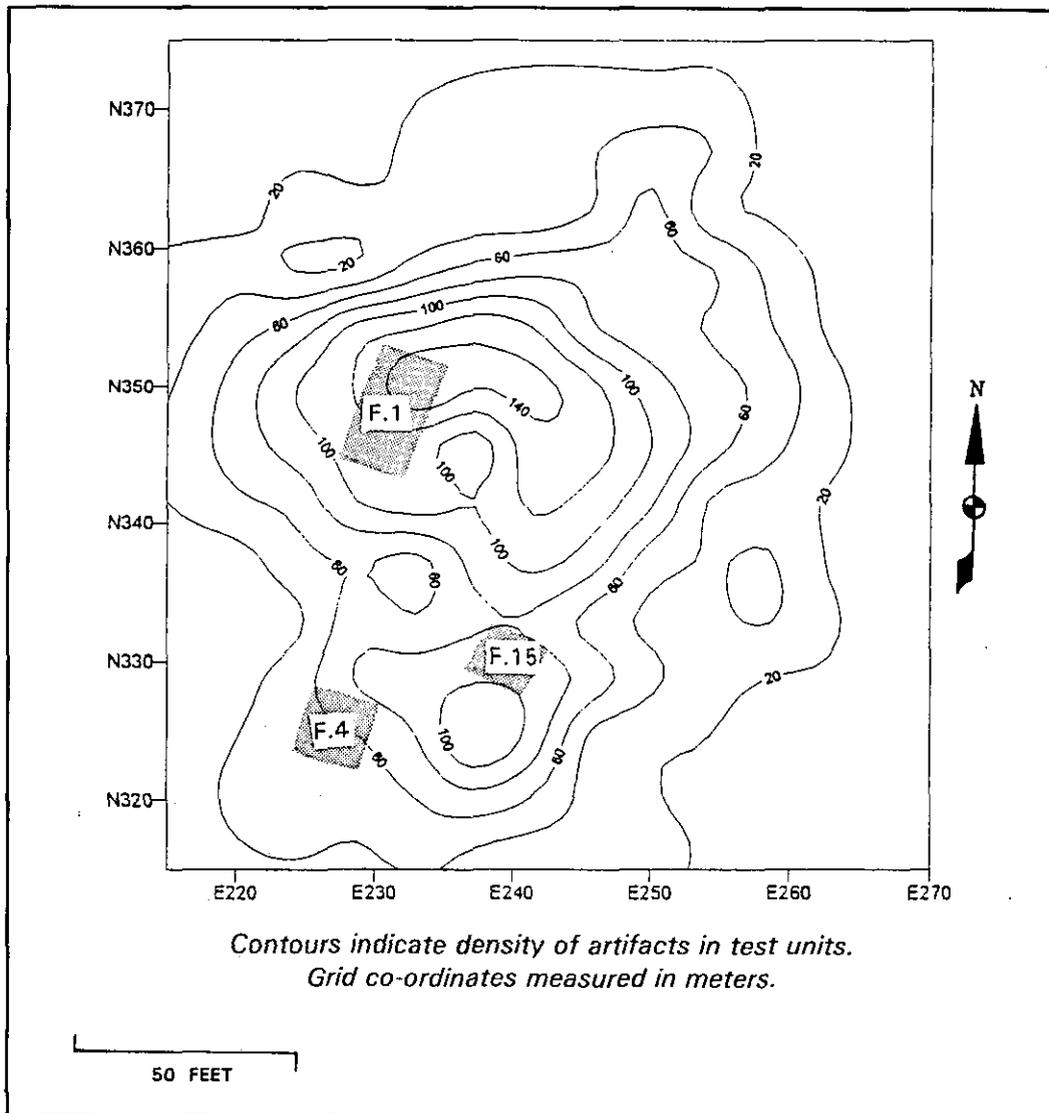


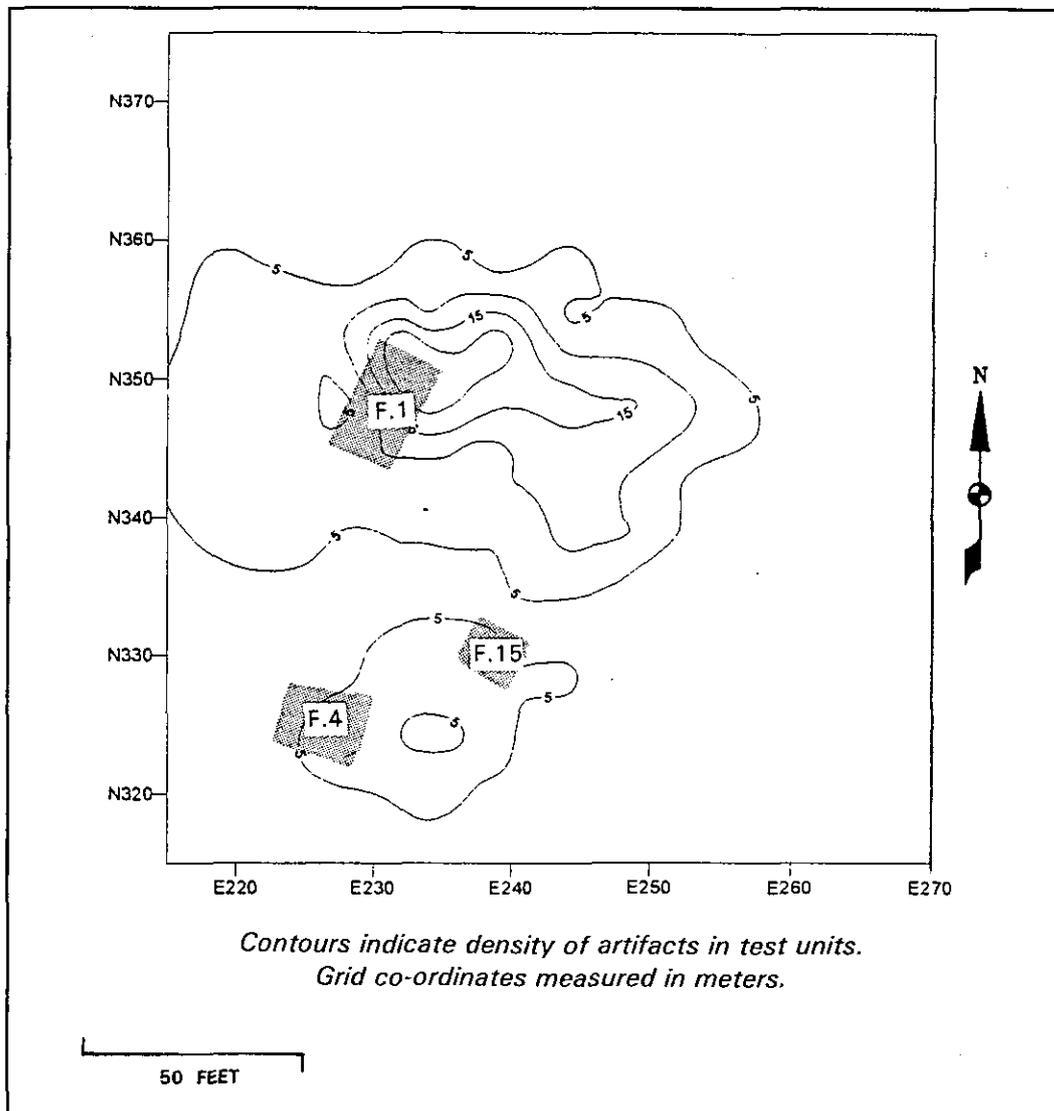
PLATE 26: Furniture Hardware from the Later Cellar, 1800-1830

Letitia McKean's first husband, owned two Mahogany bureau tables (what we would call dressers), a dressing table, a breakfast table, a walnut dining table, a writing desk, two beds with wooden frames, and an unspecified number of chairs (NCC Estate Files, John Thompson 1795). However, poorer and even some middle-class people continued to get by with very little furniture. Charles Robinson was a well-off farmer, but according to his 1764 inventory his four-room house held only a feather bed, a cattail bed, two chests, nine old chairs, and two pine tables (Thomas et al. 1994). Sometimes probate inventories, our only good source for the furniture of poor and middling people, are very vague about furniture, listing only "furniture in the front room" (Catts et al. 1995:145). We would therefore like to learn more about household furnishings from archaeology. Unfortunately, most household furniture was made of wood in the eighteenth century, so discarded pieces rarely survive for archaeologists to find. However, some pieces of furniture, especially chests and chests of drawers, had many metal parts, and these can survive. Sixteen pieces of furniture hardware were found at the McKean/Cochran Farm, 13 of them in Feature 1. These objects included drawer pulls, which show that the household included a desk or a chest of drawers, and several decorative brass elements, which argue for substantial expenditure on furniture (Plate 26). One item of luxury furniture that was first distributed widely in the eighteenth century was the clock. Display of clocks indicated not only the wealth to afford these expensive items, but a modern, up-to-date concern with clock time, as opposed to the traditional daily and seasonal rhythms of the medieval world (Shackel 1993). Two clock parts were found at the McKean/Cochran Farm, both in Feature 1.

A wide variety of metal tools was found at the McKean/Cochran Farm, and, again, the majority were from the later cellar. The tools included two axes, two sickles, a shovel, a pitchfork, a file, an auger, a saw set, and an ash shovel. Two hoes were found, one in Feature 4 and one in Feature 2, as well as two chisels, a third axe, and a screwdriver. Most people are surprised to see a screwdriver on an eighteenth-century site, but the screw was an ancient invention and in colonial times these tools were not particularly rare. Another item that to us looks out of place among colonial artifacts is a brass pipe spigot found in the early cellar. The Romans had of course developed sophisticated plumbing nearly two thousand years before, so such things were hardly an innovation. Since the farm had no running water, the spigot must have been on a barrel or water tank.



**FIGURE 23: Distribution of Historic Artifacts in the Plowzone**

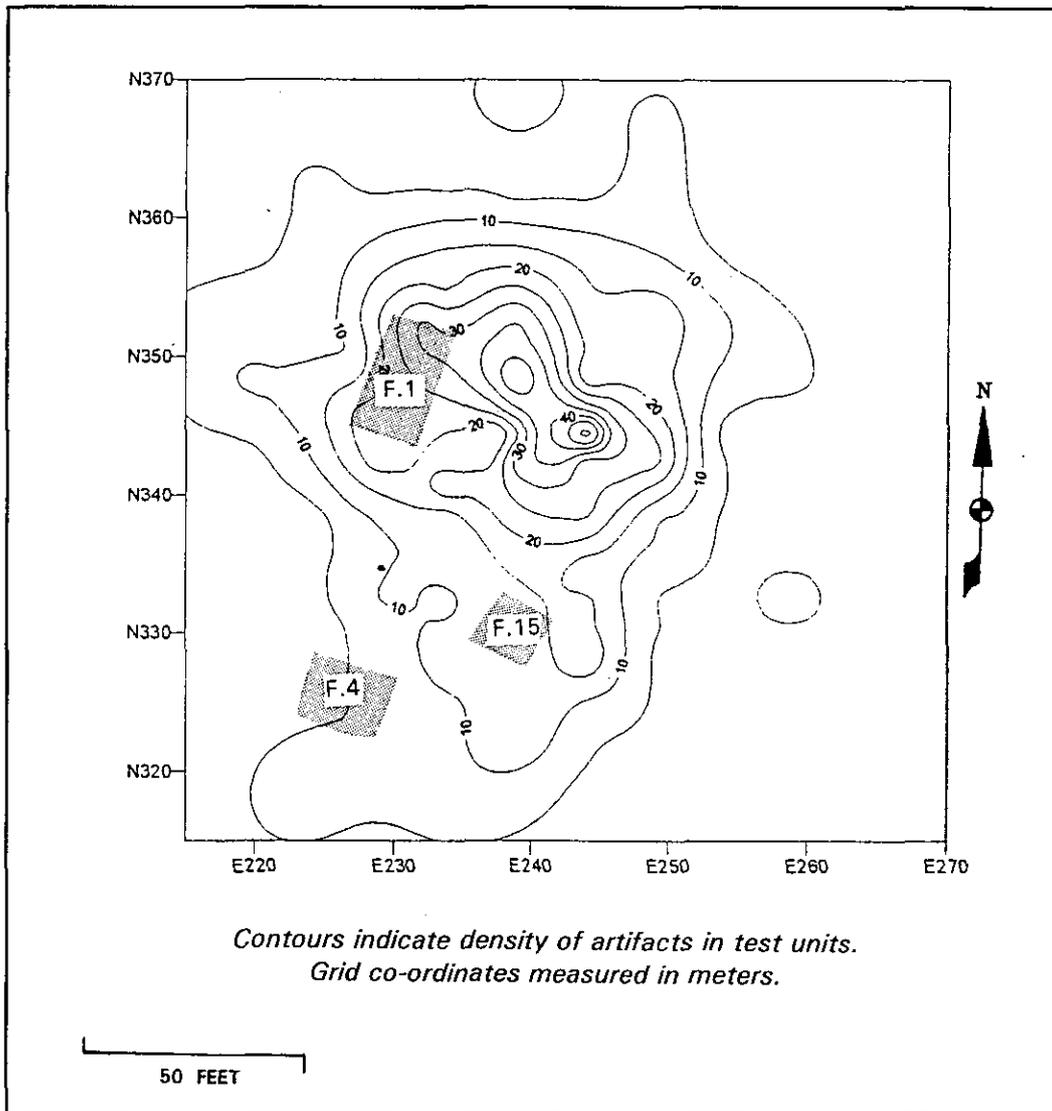


**FIGURE 24: Distribution of Creamware in the Plowzone**

Five coins were found at the McKean/Cochran Farm. Two were Spanish silver reals dating to 1691 and 1695, both from the plowzone. These rather valuable coins were probably lost rather than thrown away. Two English halfpennies from the reign of George I (1714-1727) were found in Feature 1, the later cellar, along with an American penny from 1810.

#### F. DISTRIBUTION ANALYSIS

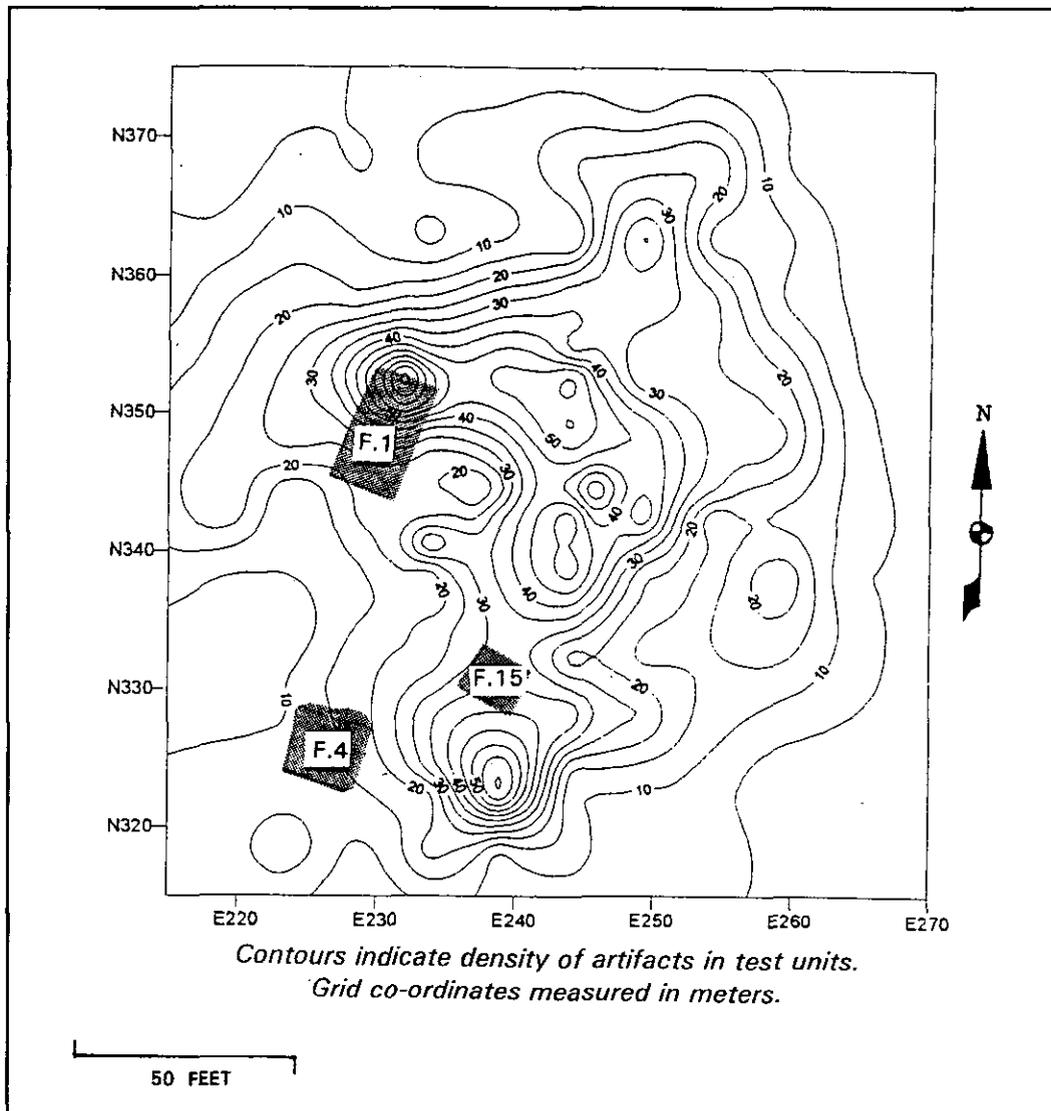
The primary use of the plowzone deposit from the McKean/Cochran Farm was for *distributional analysis*, that is, analysis of where the artifacts came from. If different kinds of artifacts came from different parts of the site, that might tell us where different kinds of work was done. Of course, the place where an artifact was found is not necessarily the place where it was used



**FIGURE 25: Distribution of Pearlware in the Plowzone**

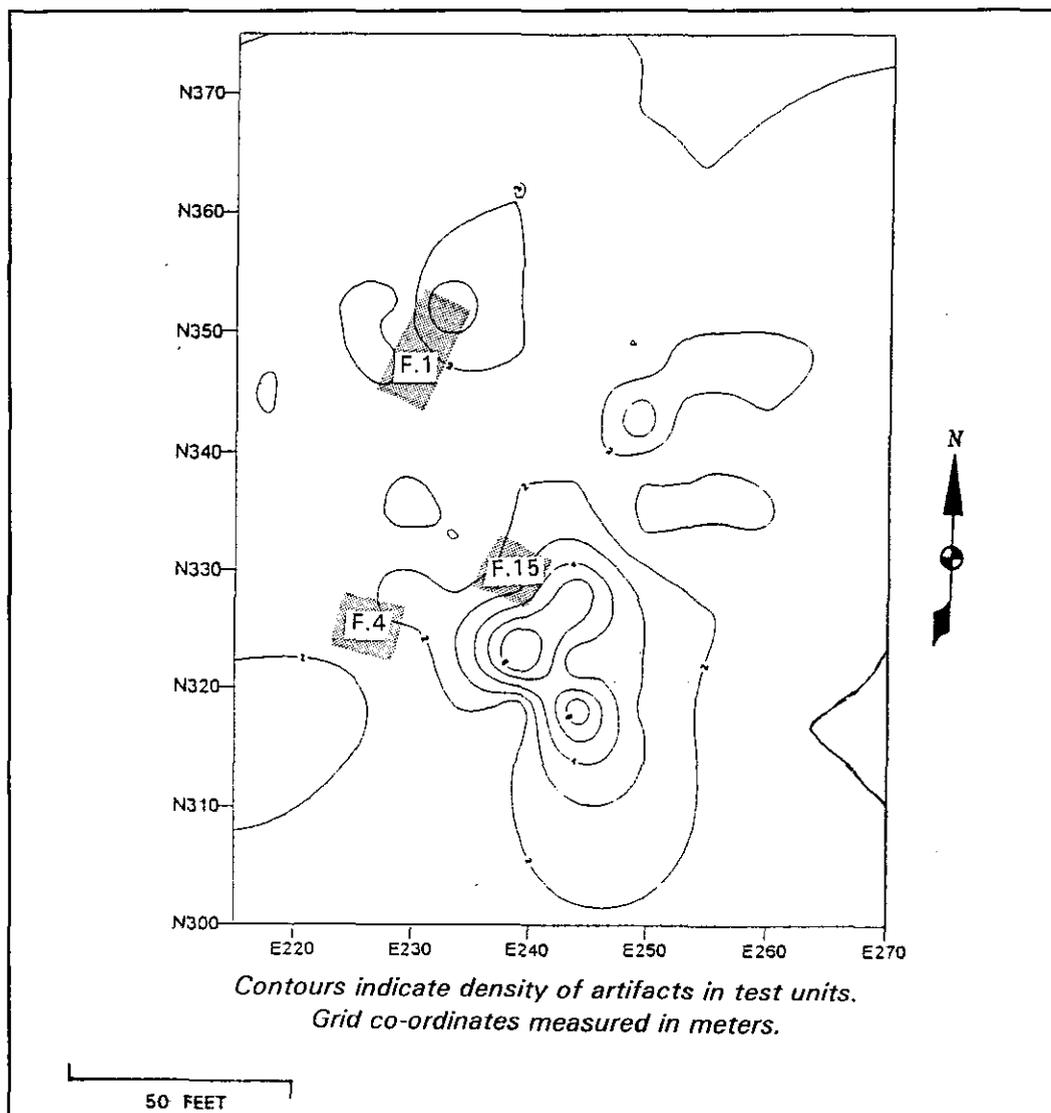
(Schiffer 1987). Trash may have been collected from some parts of the farm and dumped in other places. At the McKean/Cochran Farm, trash was certainly dumped into the old well and the two cellar holes. However, there is no reason to think that the residents would have sorted their trash before disposing of it, or that they would have shifted trash around the site in ways that would have disturbed the patterning—for example, by carrying trash from the front yard into the back yard and from the back yard into the front yard. Therefore, variations in the distribution of the different types of artifacts recovered from the plowzone of the site probably do represent the organization of the farm.

The overall distribution of the artifacts found in the plowzone is shown in Figure 23. Figure 23 was prepared using the Surfer mapping program, which employs a mathematical algorithm called Kriging



**FIGURE 26: Distribution of Coarse Earthenware in the Plowzone**

to turn a set of discrete points into a continuous surface. The counts on which the map is based do not include brick or bone. The numbers represent the number of artifacts per meter-square plowzone unit. This map shows that the highest artifact concentrations on the site were just north and east of the second house and in the vicinity of the dairy. In general, the artifact distribution indicated that many objects were used or thrown away near the houses, in the front yard of the second house, and in the work yards behind the two houses. The presence of high artifact counts in such work yards has been noted on other sites (Bedell and Lucchetti 1988; Grettler et al. 1995) and is not surprising. Many objects would be broken or dropped in such a yard, and any pits might be filled in with trash to maintain a level work surface. To measure any changes in the distribution of artifacts over time, the distributions of creamware and pearlware were plotted (Figures 24 and 25). However, the maps are essentially the same. Both show high counts in the yard behind the second house, with a secondary concentration in the yard east of the first house. This distribution suggests that the second



**FIGURE 27: Distribution of Tobacco Pipe Fragments in the Plowzone**

house was established fairly early in the site's history, early enough for its occupants to still have been using a substantial amount of creamware. Figures 26 and 27 depict the distribution of coarse earthenwares and tobacco pipe fragments, both of which show significant variations from the overall pattern. High coarse earthenware counts were recorded near the northwest corner of the later house, in the yard behind the later house, and south of the dairy. The concentration south of the dairy stands out from the other distributions. This concentration may represent milk pans and jars that were broken in the dairy and just thrown down the hill, or it may indicate that during the first phase of the site, when this area was the main work yard, most of the residents' ceramics were coarse earthenware. The distribution of tobacco pipe fragments is centered on the dairy. Because tobacco pipes were easily broken and left rather small pieces, the pipe fragments are more likely than other artifacts to have been left where the pipes were used. The distribution suggests that people spent a good deal of time in this area, and therefore that the area around the dairy was a focus of farm work.

## G. PREHISTORIC ARTIFACTS

The McKean/Cochran Farm was located within a large prehistoric site called the Appoquinimink North Site (7NC-F-13). During the excavation and testing of the McKean/Cochran Farm, a number of prehistoric artifacts were also found, almost all of them in the plowzone. This site measured more than 200 yards north to south and stretched for more than 150 yards east to west along the riverbank. The site was bounded on the east by a ravine that extended more than 300 yards from the river. The lower reaches of the ravine held tidal marshes like those along the river, and the upper reaches contained an intermittent stream. The eastern boundary of the site was a bend in the river and a small ravine. The site included a broad, gently sloping area along the river, about 100 yards wide, a steeper slope, and a flat area about 150 yards from the river, where the McKean/Cochran Farm was located. During the Phase I and Phase II testing of the site, a thin scatter of prehistoric artifacts was found throughout this area. Two areas of somewhat higher prehistoric artifact density were identified within the site, one on the hilltop at the McKean/Cochran Farm, and the other on a low rise near the river. The stone artifacts from the site are summarized in Table 14. Most of the artifacts were waste flakes from the manufacture of stone tools; 14 projectile points (spearheads or knives) were also found (Plate 27).

One of the identifiable spearpoints was a type known as a St. Albans bifurcate (Broyles 1971) that is probably about 8,000 years old (see Plate 27, far left). This object was unusual for the area. All of the other datable artifacts found during two years of work on the SR 1 project in and around



PLATE 27: Prehistoric Artifacts from the Appoquinimink North Site

Odessa were 5,000 years old or less, so very few people lived near the McKean/Cochran Farm when this spearpoint was dropped (Bedell et al. 1997). (They probably lived further east, on land that has now been flooded by rising sea levels.) The other datable artifacts included small, contracting-stemmed spearpoints from the 3000 BC to AD 1000 period, a Jack's Reef pentagonal point (AD 600 to 900) (Ritchie 1971), three large, heavy "broadspear" points resembling the Snook Kill variety (see Plate 27, second from left) (Ritchie 1971), and a small triangular stone arrowhead (AD 1000 to 1600) (see Plate 27, far right). A few pieces of prehistoric ceramics were also found. Some of these were undatable grit-tempered varieties, but a few were shell-tempered specimens datable to the Late

**Table 14. Summary of Prehistoric Stone Artifacts**

ARTIFACT TYPE	RAW MATERIAL										TOTAL
	Chert	Jasper	Rhyolite	Argillite	Quartz	Quartzite	Chalcedony	Siltstone	Metasedim.	Ind.*	
<b>Bifaces</b>											
Projectile Point	4	2	1	1	3	3	.	.	.	.	14
Early-Stage Biface	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	3
Middle-Stage	2	.	.	1	5	.	.	.	.	1	9
Late-Stage Biface	1	1	.	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	5
Indet. Biface	1	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
<b>Unifaces</b>											
Retouched Flake	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Utilized Flake	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
<b>Groundstone</b>											
Grooved Axe	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1
<b>Cores</b>											
Freehand Core	1	3	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	7
Bipolar Core	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
Tested Cobble	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	3
<b>Debitage</b>											
Flake Fragment	76	41	11	.	42	8	1	.	.	8	187
Flake Shatter	1	5	.	.	7	2	.	.	.	1	16
Block Shatter	19	39	1	.	62	3	1	.	.	2	127
Decortication	20	23	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	2	49
Early Reduction	59	51	11	.	24	8	3	.	1	12	169
Biface Reduction	20	12	7	.	.	4	1	.	.	2	46
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>646</b>

\*Ind. = Indeterminate; Metasedim. = Metasedimentary

Woodland period, AD 1000 to 1600. A stone axe was found in Feature 1, the historic cellar (see Plate 27, bottom). This object may have been incorporated into the cellar fill by chance, since several flakes and one other stone tool were found in the cellar fill. However, the axe seems rather large to have been washed into the cellar hole, and it may have been part of the house. Medieval English people called stone axes "thunder stones," and believed that such a stone, placed in the rafters, would help keep lightning away from a house. The later house at the McKean/Cochran Farm was built decades after Benjamin Franklin developed the lightning rod, but his conclusions were not accepted by everyone and this axe may represent a medieval belief that survived into the first decades of the scientific age. The axe itself could have been made any time between about 6000 BC and the end of prehistoric times.

The artifacts recovered from the McKean/Cochran Farm show that its advantageous setting, overlooking the Appoquinimink River at its confluence with a marshy stream, also drew prehistoric peoples to the spot, and they camped there occasionally for nearly 8,000 years.