

ISLAND FIELD MUSEUM  
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MILFORD, DEL. 19963

# *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Delaware*

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*Number Seventeen, New Series*

*Winter 1984*

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Excavations at Icehouse Point, 18Qu28:

The Sayer-Bennett Plantation

by

Kit W. Wesler



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Table 1. Icehouse Point, provenience group totals

Artifact Group	Mean Ceramic Dates****	General Surface	Tests I (1-4)	Foundation	Refuse Deposit IIC-D
Delftware	1750	24	5	52	295
White saltglaze	1763*	2	6	95	19
Chinese porcelain	1730	33	8	50	61
Trailed yellow	1733	2	1	6	9
Creamware	1771	2	1	15	7
Burslem stoneware	1738	1		1	1
Nottingham stoneware	1733			20	2
English brown stoneware	1733	3	3	64	17
Rhenish grey stoneware	1738	7	1	52	11
Coarse grey stoneware		6	1	21	9
North Devon gravel tempered**	1713	10	2	16	27
Clouded glaze***				10	1
Black glazed redware**		20	7	51	55
Brown glazed redware**		5	6	59	182
Black glazed red stoneware				12	
Sgraffito	1680	2	3		6
Black glazed buff-bodied**				5	
Miscellaneous		4			4
No glaze redware		2		34	30
Whiteware/ironstone	1860	13	1	7	2
Pearlware	1805				
Black glass		58	11	572	628
Window glass		17	15	330	41
Tinted bottle glass		17		12	17
Clear bottle glass		6	1	56	6
Special forms		4	2	15	1
Delft tile		7	2	37	4
Refined earthenware, no glaze					
Pipestems: 4/64 bore diam.		82	6	14	9
5/64 " "		217	4	46	122
6/64 " "		38	7	47	28
7/64 " "		20	13	74	22
8/64 " "		14	3	19	2
9/64 " "		2		1	2
split		9			
Pipe bowls		114	7	26	53
Dressed stone			80	2358+	62+
Brick			9	147	11
Mortar			12	677+	26
Nails		8	161	2897+	448
Spikes			2		2
Scrap iron			1	121	20
Animal bone			17	556	707
RB wine bottle seals		4			

\* 1760 for scratch blue  
\*\* Coarse earthenware  
\*\*\* Type name unknown: brown lead glaze with black streaks, buff earthenware body  
\*\*\*\* See Wesler 1982

IN MEMORIAM

John L. Ludlow

This issue of the Bulletin consists of a report on excavations conducted by members of the Archaeological Society of Delaware from 1966 through 1973, and an analysis of the artifacts recovered from these excavations. The project was led by John L. Ludlow and ended with his untimely death in 1974.

John will be remembered as an indefatigable member of the Society, having served as chairman of the membership committee, president of the Society, and editor of the Bulletin. He was also active in the formation of the Tancopian Chapter. In addition to his work at Bennett's Point, Ludlow was a frequent helper with the excavations at the Minguanan site.

The Bennett's Point site was occupied by some of the wealthiest and most influential residents of Maryland during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. The excavations conducted by Ludlow and his assistants salvaged at least a part of the archaeological record of this occupation from destruction by development. The publication of this report is a tribute to John's efforts, a fitting memorial to a recipient of the Archibald Crozier Award.

Cara L. Wise, Editor



# EXCAVATIONS AT ICEHOUSE POINT, 18Qu28:

## THE SAYER-BENNETT PLANTATION

Kit W. Wesler

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### INTRODUCTION

According to his field notes (Ludlow 1966-1973), in 1966 Mr. John Ludlow and several other members of the Archaeological Society of Delaware began an archaeological survey of Bennett's Point, a narrow peninsula of Queen Anne's County, Maryland (Figure 1). The point was known to have been named after Richard Bennett III, a wealthy colonial planter, an identification supported by a small cemetery that contains Bennett's grave. The investigators began with a series of probings and small tests (Figure 2), including several in the vicinity of a foundation eroding from the east bank of the peninsula, on a smaller protuberance known as Icehouse Point. Tests in this area proved to be quite productive of colonial materials, and Ludlow's team began an extensive excavation of the foundation and an associated trash area. The project was conducted intermittently between the summers of 1966 and 1973, when construction of the present lot owner's house was begun.

Ludlow (1974) presented a preliminary description of the excavation, but was unable to prepare a full report due to his untimely death. Most of the collection from Bennett's Point, and the field notes from Ludlow's investigation, were transferred into the keeping of the Division of Archaeology, Maryland Geological Survey. Because this is an important collection, the present author undertook a brief analysis as part of a larger study of the Chesapeake tidewater (Wesler 1982).

Unless otherwise noted, the following description of the Bennett's Point investigations are based on Ludlow's project notes. These include several file folders, five small notebooks, and a large blueprint drawing of the final state of the exposed foundation (Figure 3). This final site plan proved to be invaluable. It was prepared with the aid of a transit in the field (Steven Israel, personal communication), and is taken to be the "authorized version" in the few cases of conflict between it and the field notes.

It should be emphasized that the following analysis is far from exhaustive. The purpose here is to provide a basic idea of the materials and their contexts, and to suggest overall patterns

in the assemblage and the occupation.

#### SETTING

Bennett's Point is a narrow peninsula, bounded on the west by the Eastern Bay and on the east by the Wye River estuary. The whole of the point lies less than 20 feet above sea level. The area of the archaeological investigations is a small part of the southern portion of the peninsula, an eastward hump in the shoreline that protrudes into Wye River. The bump is known as Icehouse Point. Its shoreline is marshy in spots, but on the east and south rises in a small bluff of about four feet in height. At this writing, the area is covered by a housing subdivision, but until about a decade ago it was cultivated.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although a thorough title search for Bennett's Point has not been completed, Ludlow was able to identify ownership through most of the colonial period. The original English owner of Bennett's Point was Henry Morgan, who received a grant of "Morgan's Neck" from Cecilius Calvery, second Lord Baltimore, in 1650. Morgan died intestate ca. 1663, and his daughter, Frances Morgan Sayer, was awarded the property by court action. Frances Sayer died in 1698, willing the land to her niece, Elizabeth Rousby Bennett, wife of Richard Bennett III (Ludlow 1966-1973).

Evidently, Richard Bennett III never owned the land then called Morgan's Neck, but he did live there, possibly as early as 1698. It was by Bennett's authority that Morgan's Neck was resurveyed in 1735 (Maryland Hall of Records, Queen Anne's County Patented Certificate of Survey #688). The location of the land, and the area defined by the metes and bounds, clearly refer to Bennett's Point.

None of the sources mentioned above describes or locates buildings on the property. Augustine Herrman's map of Maryland, dated 1673 (Browne 1894:135), shows a structure or plantation symbol on Bennett's Point. This would have been during the time of Frances and Peter Sayer's ownership.

"An Inventory of all and singular the Goods Chattels and Credits of Colo: Peter Sayer late of Talbot County deceased" was taken in March of 1697/8, apparently upon the death of Frances Sayer (Maryland Hall of Records, Inventories and Accounts, liber 17, fols. 78-92). An indication of the economic status of the Sayers is that the inventory covers 14 folio pages. A room-by-room inventory implies that the house in which the belongings were recorded was a substantial structure. This and other documents (Wesler 1982) indicate that Icehouse Point was a large and busy plantation.

The survey begun in 1966 by John Ludlow, then, might have had

a number of expectations in attempting to locate the Sayer-Bennett plantation. The diversified plantation should have had numerous outbuildings, such as animal shelters, grain and tobacco storage, a well house, servants' quarters, and a main dwelling house. The house would be a substantial structure, perhaps the one-plus story described in the Sayer inventory, artifacts associated with it should reflect the wealth of the inhabitants.

#### THE EXCAVATIONS

John Ludlow and his team began their examination of Bennett's Point on Sunday, September 18, 1966. Their initial approach was by use of a steel probe, in conjunction with shovel test pits. Ludlow's field notes\* record weekend visits through mid-November, resuming in March 1967 for a brief period and then again in May 1968. (Actually, the field notes seem primarily to be the work of Mr. & Mrs. John Watkins, but for convenience are referred to as Ludlow's.) The notes include sketches of test holes and probe locations, and explanations of findings. Most tests were excavated to determine the nature of solid surfaces indicated by the probe. Figure 2, redrawn from Ludlow's notes, shows the test areas.

In June, 1968, the team began another test, pit A, in an area where probing revealed softer earth. This test was 40 inches in width, eventually reached a length of 96 inches, and was excavated to subsoil, 34 inches deep at the south end. The deposit proved to be a very rich accumulation of secondary refuse dating to the eighteenth century. One more small test, number 10 was also excavated before work ceased in early July.

Ludlow's team returned at the end of May 1969, concentrating on the area of the cemetery. A new set of small tests was begun, designated in series with a "CL" (cemetery lot) prefix. No materials from these tests are in the collection at the Maryland Geological Survey, and the field notes do not indicate that anything other than brick and a single pipe bowl was found. These tests revealed underground, vaulted brick crypts (which were not opened), and also a wall foundation around the visible grave markers.

In the following month, tests were placed on the beach (tests A, B) and in the area of the eroding foundation (tests I(1), I(2), I(3), I(4)). A sketch of the latter group shows the relationship among them and to a sketch of the foundation, but it has not proven possible to locate them precisely in the overall site plan.

At some point during the summer, the system by which catalogue numbers were assigned to the artifacts changed. Artifacts from the surface and tests had evidently been assigned sequential numbers as they were found. This record was kept in an "artifact book", which, unfortunately, does not seem to be part of

the records collection now at the Maryland Geological Survey.

The new system was applied to excavated materials, and applied retroactively to the earlier test pits. Artifacts from each provenience were given an ER ("excavation record") lot number. Each test unit received a number in sequence, and levels or special proveniences in each square were distinguished by letters. For instance, test I(2), 0-6", was given the catalogue number ER48; 6-10", ER48A; 10-14", ER48B, etc. These numbers were marked in the field notes (usually), on the collection bags, and on those artifacts which were washed and labelled. Surface finds continued to be recorded sequentially in the artifact book.

In August, 1969, the team began a long-term, extensive excavation of the foundation. The team established a new recording system, a grid of 10-foot squares based on the system depicted by Noel Hume (1968:80,83). The Bennett's Point squares were additionally divided into five-by-five quadrants, designated a-d. The square designations are superimposed on the site plan, Figure 3.

The first square excavated was IB10b, which revealed the southwest corner of the foundation. (This square is actually IB15b on the final site plan.) The second square was designated IB12a, but seems to be IB12d on the final plan. This square located the foundation toward the center of the north wall. In the former square, the bottom of the brick wall was found at 20 inches below the surface, and the second excavation proceeded to a depth of 19 inches where it encountered sterile clay. According to the field notes, no builder's trench was discerned in either square, although one had been recorded in tests I(1) (2) (3) (4). Brick rubble made up much of the fill from approximately eight to 11 inches depth in each square. The season ended with the completion of IB12a in October, 1969.

Excavation resumed in May, 1970, with squares IB7b and IB8a, expanding to cover the hearth foundation. There is no need to continue a square-by-square narrative of the excavation; it will be sufficient to note that by the cessation of the project in 1973, the areas shown on the site plan, plus two contiguous five-by-five squares to the northwest (IIC21c and IID1b), had been completed. The latter test revealed a trash deposit similar to that in pit A (see profiles, Figure 4). Excavation ceased on June 4, 1973, to make way for construction of a new suburban residence.

Although in most cases excavation proceeded by five foot squares, several ten-by-tens were not subdivided. These units, excavated in 1972, were IB9, IB14, IB13, IB8, and IB7. Some five-by-five squares in the latter two squares had already been excavated in 1970, however: IB7b, IB8a, and IB7d. It is not clear whether these five-by-fives were backfilled and then re-screened in 1972.

A few comments are in order concerning the present interpretation of the field notes. As any archaeologist who has studied another's (or, often, his own) records knows, occasional bits of information escape the record. The final volume of Ludlow's notes has not been transcribed into more organized form, as were the notes before 1972. Thus, several problems may be due simply to misreading.

Evidently the eastern portion of Icehouse Point, including all the excavated areas covered by the grid, was a plowed field during the project. The first mention of plowzone in the excavation notes, however, occurred during work on square IB7d, in August 1970. In this square, the plowzone was measured at 9.5 inches in depth, beneath which was sterile yellow clay subsoil outside the foundation. Elsewhere the plowzone is indicated to be up to 12 inches deep. Depth measurements at the top of the intact brick foundation also vary to some extent, but are generally eight to nine inches, presumably coincident with the base of the plowzone at those points.

Over much of the western part of the foundation, excavation uncovered an intact, charred wooden floor. This is significant not only because of its implications for the manner of destruction of the house, but also because it apparently represents the bottom limit of excavation in those square. The excavations do not seem to have disturbed the floor or removed any floor boards. In IB8, the floor lay at 10 inches below surface, and the soil above it was removed in a single zone. Square IB9 was removed in two units, 0-3 inches and 3-10 inches, also comprising a plowed zone. It is assumed in this analysis that the charred floor was the base of plowzone, and that no artifacts found "on" the floor can be presumed to be in situ. In most squares, in fact, the bottom limit of the square was the base of the plowzone, as indicated by either the field notes or the bag labels (see below, analysis section). Certain features were dug to greater depths, of course.

The importance of these details is in the interpretation of non- or sub-plowzone contexts. The best, or least-likely disturbed, contexts were in the sub-floor rectangular pits on either side of H-shaped hearths, designated cisterns I-IV in the field. Cistern I, in IB7d, reached a depth of seven feet four inches below surface; cistern II, in IB7d and IB8c, seven feet two inches; cistern III, in IB14, seven feet nine inches. The depth of cistern IV, also in IB14, is less clearly noted, but apparently reached to seven feet seven inches below surface. Further discussion of specific contexts will be reserved for the analysis section, below.

Two final problems involved the comparison of the field sketches with the final site plan, Figure 3. The reinterpretation of the grid designations of the first two squares excavated, IB10b



(=15b) and IB12a (=12d), has been mentioned. There was little difficulty in these squares, since the sketches and the site plan matched quite well. However, the sketches for IB7b, IB8a, IB7d, and IB8c --recording the excavation of cisterns I and II-- do not quite match the site plan. The grid seems to have displaced a foot or two to the northeast when the field team returned to the site after uncovering the two cisterns. Artifact distributions discussed and illustrated in the following section place the materials from these squares as though they coincided with the squares as drawn on the site plan.

The last problem has to do with measurements within squares. The first mention of a balk is found in the notes on square IB7d, when the balk was removed. In other squares, certain measurements of lengths or diagonals do not add up to those of five-by-five or ten-by-ten squares, and may relate to balks. References to balks are inconsistent. In the following analysis, it is assumed that all balks were eventually removed, and that the investigators took care to assign the proper catalogue numbers to each provenience.

#### ANALYSIS

The collection housed in the Division of Archaeology, Maryland Geological Survey, is in the same condition as when it was transferred from the control of Ludlow's team. The artifacts are contained in a number of boxes, of various sizes and origins. Some materials have been washed and labelled, others remain unwashed in the bags which received them in the field. There is no order to the manner of storage. Some labelled artifacts are grouped by provenience lot, while others, some of which had evidently been part of an exhibit, were intermingled in a jumble of proveniences.

This analysis examined each box in turn and recorded its contents by catalog number or provenience as marked on the artifacts or bags. Bags of unwashed materials were sorted, and artifacts washed only when necessary for identification.

The long list of materials from the boxes was condensed by cross-matching catalogue numbers and proveniences, compiled from the field notes, the artifact labels, and the bag labels. This effort was fairly successful. Only five squares could not be matched to catalogue numbers, while no catalogue (ER) number is without a provenience. Twelve small bags of artifacts could not be correlated with either a catalogued provenience or a lot number, but only five of these seem to be associated with the main excavation. Three of the latter can be located on the site plan with some probability, but their proveniences may cross square lines. The materials from the Icehouse Point collection are too numerous to list in detail here, but an inventory will be filed with the Maryland Geological Survey.

Several proveniences are not represented in the collection. Personal communications from Tyler Bastian and several of the project participants indicate that a number of special artifacts, notably coins and silver or pewter, were retained by project members. Hints as to some of the missing items are found in the field notes, and will be mentioned where appropriate.

One valuable source of information included with the project records is a letter from Ivor Noel Hume (1971) to Mrs. John Watkins, concerning his examination of a set of artifacts from pit A, the foundation area, and the beach along Icehouse Point. Especially as Noel Hume referred to catalogued specimens which were identified in this analysis, his letter proved to be quite educational, and has been exploited shamelessly in the following discussion.

This discussion will deal first with the various provenience groups, then with special contexts within the foundation. More general comments on the entire collection will follow. Table 1 presents the artifact counts for the provenience groups. In the next paragraphs, the pipestem date follows the Binford (1961) formula, and the mean ceramic date is modified from South's (1977: see Table 1 and Wesler 1982).

#### General Surface

"General surface" materials, in this analysis, include all those labelled with non-ER numbers, i.e. those that were recorded in the artifact book. There are, however, two major problems with analyzing them as a group. The first is that, while numbers noted on artifacts ranged well above 1200, fewer than 800 specimens were found in the collection. Second, materials from pit A and other tests originally were recorded in the artifact book. Although most excavated materials later were reassigned to ER lots, none of them seems to have been relabelled. Thus, pit A and test materials are included in the "general surface" list, but without the artifact book they are impossible to separate from the surface materials.

In spite of the problems of representativeness, it is interesting to note that the pipestem date of the general surface collection is 1735.85, and the mean ceramic date (delft=1700) is 1739.37, which dates are surprisingly close. Since no pearlware was identified in the collection, it seems reasonable to remove whitewares from the ceramic total (assuming them to be later intrusions), and the resulting mean ceramic date is 1721.13. However, using a 1750 median date for delft brings the ceramic date back to 1735.08, extremely close to the pipestem date. The earlier date is further from the pipestem date, but closer to the median for the postulated minimal 1670 to 1750 span of occupation for the Sayer-Bennett plantation. Ten sherds of North Devon

gravel-tempered ware and two sherds that resemble North Devon sgraffito (Noel Hume 1969:105) suggest that such an initial date may not be unreasonable, while two creamware sherds indicate that the occupation may have lasted into the 1760's.

Perhaps the most notable artifacts from the surface collection are four "black" glass wine bottle seals bearing the initials RB. These constitute arguments in favor of identifying the occupation with Richard Bennett (cf. Noel Hume 1969:61).

#### Pit A

As noted above, pit A materials were labelled with artifact-book numbers, and though later assigned to ER numbers 16 to 33, apparently were not relabelled. Numbers for pit A materials noted in the field notes range from the 320's to 1008. Probably many of these numbers can be matched with labelled artifacts in the collection, but time constraints, and the unlikelihood that the final result could be shown to be representative of the pit A excavation, argue against the attempt.

In the absence of an authoritative list of the materials that were recovered from pit A, the best source of information is Noel Hume's (1971) letter to Mrs. Watkins. Noel Hume estimated the date of deposition at ca. 1740-1760, probably closer to the latter date. Items manufactured quite a bit earlier were also present, including some dating back to the late seventeenth century. Noel Hume identified a pair of ember tongs, a portion of a copper alloy spigot, turned lead fragments which may indicate casement windows (but which may have been merely waste lead), and various pieces of ceramics and glass which were consistent with a late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth-century occupation. Although Noel Hume did not mention creamware, one sherd is listed in the field notes from a depth of 19 inches, suggesting a deposition date in the 1760's rather than before.

Another unusual object that was recovered from pit A was a corked black glass wine bottle, still containing liquid. Ludlow had the liquid contents analyzed, and his report on the results is presented in Wesler (1982: Appendix A). Briefly, the analysis indicated that the contents were almost pure water, in spite of an observed odor of cider. Probably the original contents were diluted or leached by ground water.

Although numerous partial sketches were included in the field notes, no coherent plan or profile of pit A was ever compiled. At least one intrusive pit, with charcoal, a button, a disintegrating pewter spoon, and pipe fragments, was defined, as was a concentration of bones designated a "bone bundle" in the notes. Tentatively, pit A may be interpreted as a secondary refuse deposit, with date of deposit in the 1760's. Whether this was a deliberately excavated trash pit, a natural depression, or perhaps

a dump area north of the original bank, is not clear.

#### Squares IIC21c-IID1b

The excavation of these squares (hereafter referred to as IICD) was mentioned briefly above, and profiles were presented in Figure 4. The materials from this provenience in the MGS collection are listed in Table 1.

Square II21c was excavated in five arbitrary levels, and reached a depth of 34 inches. The paucity of artifacts identifiable as coming from the lower four levels suggests that part of the sample is missing or was overlooked. Square IID1b was excavated in five levels also, plus a separate "sand feature" in level 4. Judging by the profile sketch, this square seems to have been excavated to a depth comparable to that of the former. Aside from the plowzone, the artifact-bearing deposit apparently was fairly homogeneous.

Two sherds of whiteware are included in the artifact counts, one from each square. The sherd from IIC21c is clearly from the plowzone. The sherd from IID1 is quite small, its identification as whiteware is questionable, and it is not unmistakably from a sub-plowzone context. Since no pearlware was identified from these squares, arguing against continuity through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, whiteware will be regarded as intrusive and ignored in this analysis.

Creamware constitutes a very small percentage of the collection, but five sherds were found in level 4 of IID1b, indicating a fairly secure context within the deposit. The pipestem date for the collection is 1724.62, and the mean ceramic date is 1711.27 (delft=1700; 1744.32, delft=1750). Like pit A, the date of deposition of IICD may be estimated in the early 1760's, based primarily on the few sherds of creamware. Occupation of the area, however, may have begun as early as the late seventeenth century, as evidenced by 27 sherds of North Devon gravel-tempered ceramics and six (possible) North Devon sgraffito.

Several special artifacts from these squares deserve mention. One RB wine bottle seal, of the same design as those in the "general surface" collection, was recovered in level 2 of each square, and a third in level 4 of IID1b. Another wine bottle seal bearing a heraldic device was found in the latter level. Miscellaneous artifacts include a jew's harp, a teardrop-shaped ball of lead, two iron buckles, a silver or pewter button, a copper button, a copper coin (no legible inscription), a straight pin, and a red tubular glass bead. Large numbers of dressed stone fragments, mortar fragments, iron nails, and animal bone were also present.

In sum, this area would seem to be a refuse deposit which



accumulated in a depression, but whether a natural or artificial (e.g. borrow pit) depression is not clear.

#### Foundation

Materials from the foundation are divisible into two groups. The first group was recovered from tests I(1)(2)(3)(4), and constitutes only a small sample. The second group is the main collection from the extensive excavation.

As noted previously, tests I(1-4) cannot be located precisely on the site plan. Test I(1) was measured from the base line, but as the base line was later resurveyed, there is too much margin for error to be certain of its location. The relationships of the tests to each other are shown in Figure 5. Evidently the trenches revealed the foundation of one of the long walls of the structure.

The artifact tallies from tests I(1-4) are listed in Table 1, ER 47-49, 49X. The general character of the sample is consistent with the collections already described, the single whiteware sherd having been found in a plowzone context. White saltglazed stoneware includes one sherd of "scratch blue," while other special artifacts from these tests are two straight pins, a round-headed brass tack, and three lead scraps, one of which may be a casement fragment. A hinge is mentioned in the field notes, but was not found in the collection.

Pipestems number 33, and yield a date of 1698.8. The ceramic date calculates to 1728.55 (delft=1700; 1736.61, delft=1750) without the whiteware sherd. The very early date for the pipestems may reflect the contents of the builder's trench, mentioned in the field notes but not recorded as a separate provenience. The presence of a creamware sherd indicates a post-1760 terminal deposition, while two sherds of North Devon gravel-tempered ware suggests an occupation beginning in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

The best summary of the excavation of the foundation is the site plan, Figure 3. A total area of over 1200 square feet was excavated, equivalent to 49 five-by-five squares plus a pair of wedges in 0A19a and 1B2b.

The site plan reveals a rectangular structure outlined by a brick foundation, with a massive, H-shaped hearth in the center of the western half. The house is approximately four times as long as it is wide, circa 80 by 23 feet. The central H-chimney is common in seventeenth-century construction (Noel Hume 1968:128), with prototypes in East Anglia (Hewett 1969) and similar forms in New England (Kelly 1963:7-8; Brunskill 1978:106). Deetz (1977:96-97) discusses several New England house sites with a 4:1 length: width ratio, one of which had two hearths. One of Brunskill's (1978:107) house plans also contains two hearths.

Excavation on the Icehouse Point site, unfortunately, was terminated before the east end of the foundation could be investigated, and whether there may be another hearth is unknown.

Noel Hume (1968:128-129) suggests, as a rule of thumb, that foundation width may indicate the height of the house. The west half of the Icehouse Point structure is drawn as a brick and a half wide, while the exposed sections of the east half are two bricks wide. The former measurement, in Noel Hume's scheme, suggests a two-story frame or one story brick structure, while a two-brick foundation could support a story-and-a-half brick structure with a basement. There is no indication of a basement in the field notes, but at no point, evidently, was the excavation in the east half pursued to a depth that would locate one. With or without an eastern-half basement, the foundations indicate a structure of more than one story.

The most interesting, or at least the most identifiable, architectural features are the "cisterns," two on each side of the hearth. These are rectangular, brick-lined pits which reach to depths of over five feet below the floor. The bottom of cistern II is paved with limestone slabs. Noel Hume (1973; cf. 1968:132), in a letter to John Ludlow, suggested that these pits be classified as root cellars, although he had not seen brick-lined examples.

Several features were marked on the plan that seem to be under-the-floor supports. Between the hearth and the south foundation wall, Ludlow shows two lines of bricks. These may be supports for a heavily-used area of the floor, perhaps an entrance hallway. Two parallel lines are dotted in between the south wall and cisterns III and IV, apparently indicating supports below the floor, but no explanation appears in the field notes.

In the center of the foundation are two apparent floor supports, each approximately bisecting the floor plan. A short section of brick wall is very roughly sketched in the field notes, but no information is recorded. Just east of it is a length of timber, described thus: "cleaned up 'center beam' of house, has 12" max. width, appeared to be a half-tree laying with flat side up" (commas added). This would appear to be a floor joist, but no further data are available.

A small brick feature is depicted in the northwest corner of the foundation. This area was apparently excavated toward the end of the project. A charred board lay across the bricks on the east side of the feature. The fill inside the feature is described as sandy clay mixed with mortar. The square of bricks was laid on top of a flat limestone slab at an unrecorded depth. An opening in the brick wall, in the southwest corner just above the limestone floor, was noted, but the excavators could not determine whether it was an intentional or accidental aperture. Ludlow, in

his notes, suggested that this might be a sub-floor "strong box".

Two other groups of architectural materials are worthy of note. Plaster, included for convenience with "mortar" in the artifact tallies, was well represented. Also, approximately three dozen fragments of delftware tiles were included in the collection. Two-thirds of the pieces bore purple and just less than a third had blue decoration, but none was large enough to identify a motif with confidence. Plaster and tile fragments afford some hint of the appearance of the interior of the house.

The field notes for squares 0A19b and 0A25b mention a "shell lense" to the south of the foundation wall. Apparently no such layer was encountered in IA21a, just to the west. It is possible that there was a shell pavement along part of the east side of the house, but too little testing was done to be sure.

The artifact counts for the foundation are presented in Table 1, ER 50-51, 55-59, 62-75, 78ff, and category totals are also included. The general character of the collection is quite consistent with the provenience groups already discussed, and, in fact, the small sample from tests I(1-4) prove to be surprisingly representative. The pipestem date calculates to 1694.49, and the ceramic date to 1736.26 (delft=1700; 1743.08, delft=1750). These dates correspond quite closely to those from tests I(1-4), even to the very early date for the pipestems.

Noel Hume (1971), in his letter to Mrs. John Watkins, provided some comments from the first foundation squares. He refers to a Roman coin labelled ER51B (square IB12a), which he already discussed in two previous (but unavailable) letters. This is apparently the coin he illustrates in his Rubbish volume (Noel Hume 1974:121). According to the field notes, the coin was found just outside the foundation, at a depth of 13 inches, with brick rubble and a bit of plaster.

Noel Hume (1971) also mentions a pewter button which seemed not to have been trimmed for use after removal from the mold. One such button with a matching catalogue number (ER51A) is indeed in the collection. Noel Hume further notes a polychrome rim fragment of delftware, suggesting that it might be a soap dish lid of circa 1720-1740; a dipped white saltglaze handle fragment; a molded white saltglaze plate rim in the barley pattern; and a small piece of Nottingham brown stoneware. These ceramics are consistent with the mid-eighteenth-century date indicated by the mean ceramic formula (above).

An examination of several lines of evidence is necessary to estimate a terminal date for the occupation. First, the lack of pearlware suggests an absence of activity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and that whiteware is intrusive into the assemblage. Only seven sherds of whiteware were found in

the foundation collection, and all are from certain or probable (one sherd) plowzone contexts. The small number of creamware sherds, only 2.6% of the ceramics, further suggests a terminal date not far into the 1760's. The most extensive non-plowzone contexts are the four "cisterns" or root cellars. Cisterns I and II, ER 58 and 59 respectively, unfortunately are represented by no materials in the collection. The artifacts from cistern III, ER64B, include only three sherds of brown stoneware from which to infer a date, too small (incomplete?) a sample to be of much help.

Materials from the fourth cistern, ER64D, are more numerous. Charred floorboards extended across the top of cistern IV, sagging into it slightly. It thus appears that the context was effectively sealed before or during the burning of the house. Nine sherds of creamware (of the 15 total for the foundation) were in the collection from cistern IV. It is unlikely, then, that the house was destroyed before circa 1762 (Noel Hume 1969:125).

The mean ceramic date from cistern IV is 1750.26. (No delft is in the collection from the cistern, obviating any manipulation of the median date for delft.) No pipestem date can be computed, as no stems were found in the collection.

Nor were any sherds of black glass found, though three pieces of window and three of curved glass were noted. As pipe fragments and black glass are present in every other collection, it is possible that those recovered from cistern IV have been removed from the collection. The representativeness of this sample is thus suspect. The proportion of dressed stone is also relatively low, but the nail count is over 100, which suggests that this is not simply kitchen refuse in spite of a high bone count ("animal bone" includes fish bone and crab claws), the presence of eggshell, and implements such a fork and two spoon handles.

The excavators noted differences in the construction between this cistern and cisterns I and II. Cistern IV was missing bricks in its lining, had little mortar in its brick floor, and lacked the plastered interior of the other cisterns. The fill resembled, according to the field notes, that of "a very sandy trash pit which [had] considerable kitchen trash in it." The best interpretation would seem to be that cistern IV was deliberately filled with refuse, possibly scooped up from outside the house, shortly before the house burned or was abandoned.

There are very few other contexts from the foundation which can be identified as non-plowzone with any confidence, and the collection from none of these is extensive. For example, provenience unit ER50B, from 13-15" in IB10b, was apparently below plowzone, but only three nails (of "lots" recorded in the field notes), a pair of brick fragments, and one piece each of mortar and animal bone were found in the collection. A two-tined fork is mentioned in the field notes (but missing from the collection) at



a depth of 13 inches in the interior of the foundation corner. The charred floor lay at a depth of 15 inches in this square. Provenience units ER50C and ER50D, which might have been deeper, are not mentioned in the notes, and thus can be ascribed no more specifically than to the square.

Square IB12a apparently revealed the foundation wall at 11 inches depth. Provenience units ER51, 51A, and 51B include the fill above that depth. ER51C is recorded as including depths of 15 to 17 inches, and 51D-F reached to 29 inches, but very little material is found from these units in the collection. The gap in measurements also remains unexplained.

A similar situation is found in all the other probably sub-plowzone units, that is, very few materials. These proveniences will simply be listed here: ER62A; ER63C; ER65A (probable); ER79A, B (probable); ER82A; and ER91 (probable). The total number of artifacts, particularly of ceramics, from these units is quite small.

There is a reference to a "trash cache" in the field notes, located just outside the foundation wall in IB2a (ER72B). The very rough sketch in the notes suggests a highly localized concentration of materials, and the artifacts mentioned correspond fairly well with those tallied in the collection. Thirty-eight straight pins, of a total of 48 for the entire foundation, were recovered from this feature. Aside from a laconic, "Bottom down 16" from corner," no description of feature size, shape, or fill is available, nor is there any indication that the feature fill might have been different from the surrounding matrix. It is in sum quite difficult to interpret any behavioral significance in this "cache".

A special note should be made of unit ER63F, in IB9. This unit is listed as being in an area "west of stair case, south of chimney base, no. of south wall," and was excavated during the last frantic day of the project. No description of this unit, other than the above notation in the provenience record, can be found in the field notes. The datum that especially indicates that this was a sub-plowzone context is the relatively intact condition of two ceramic artifacts, a polychrome-enamelled white saltglaze cup and a large fragment of a creamware plate, which comprises over half the plate. Both pieces are broken, but neither is in the fragmentary condition normally associated with plow-disturbed materials. There is also a bottom corner of a case bottle from this unit.

Ludlow referred to a staircase or probable staircase several times in the notes, indicating the area south of the H-chimney. The reason for this identification is not stated. Unfortunately, at no point are the field notes detailed enough concerning the staircase, or the unit ER63F, to interpret the deposits.

Although few special proveniences are identifiable, several small categories of artifacts should prove helpful in interpreting the site. Nineteen sherds of polychrome-enamelled white saltglaze were recovered from the foundation. Seven, including the large portion of a cup (or tea bowl) and the six mendable sherds of another cup, were found in IB9, and two sherds came from IB14. Due to the generally small amounts in which enamelled white saltglaze was made (Miller and Stone 1970:72) and to the fact that most pieces were sold as parts of matched sets (Mountford 1971:59), these sherds would seem to be indicators of expensive tastes.

One wine bottle seal bearing the initials RB was recovered from square 0A19b. It is of identical design to those already described from the surface and from IICD, directly linking the three provenience units.

Finally, a pewter or whitemetal button from which the flashing had not been trimmed, as noted by Noel Hume (1971), has already been mentioned. This specimen was recovered in square IB12a (ER51A). Four other, nearly identical buttons were also found in the collection: two from cistern IV (ER64D) and one each from IB2a (ER72A) and IA22d (ER79). These buttons conform to South's (1964) type 11, defined in a second- and third-quarter eighteenth-century context. To infer from the untrimmed flashing, a resident of the site may well have been manufacturing these buttons for household use.

In sum, except for the (possibly incomplete) sample from cistern IV, the materials from the foundation excavation must be interpreted primarily as plowzone deposits. The few probably sub-plowzone, non-cistern contexts are represented by few materials and, generally, are not clearly described in the notes. General patterns in the whole collection, then, especially in comparison to patterns in the other provenience groups, are more likely to offer interpretive data than are definable contexts.

#### DISCUSSION

Perhaps the first question which should be addressed is the initial historical one, whether this site may be identified as that of the Peter Sayer-Richard Bennett plantation. Historical records mentioned above place Richard Bennett on Bennett's Point. Bennett's will states that Morgan's Neck was the land whereon he dwelt, and the 1735 resurvey of the neck unmistakably refers to the parcel now known as Bennett's Point. Elizabeth Rousby Bennett having inherited the land from the Sayers, it follows that the latter couple was also associated with the land. It is possible that the Bennetts built the house, since the Sayer dwelling indirectly described in the inventory is not stated to be on Morgan's Neck, but the fact that Herrman's map shows a plantation



on the point in 1670 argues for a Sayer occupation.

The time span represented by the artifact collection from the Icehouse Point site roughly matches the Sayer-Bennett tenure. A few late seventeenth-century pieces, including North Devon ceramics (which could also have arrived after 1700) and special artifacts identified by Noel Hume (1971), are found in the collection, while other artifacts, notably ceramics, indicate continuity into the third quarter of the eighteenth century, or until shortly after Richard Bennett's death. The floor plan of the house, while not an infallible indicator, also suggests a seventeenth-century construction.

Several signs of wealth are apparent, which would further support an association with planters such as Sayer and Bennett. The house structure is quite a substantial one, and would easily fit the two-story dwelling described in the Sayer inventory. Expensive ceramics, in particular the enamelled white saltglaze, indicate well-to-do occupants. Several coins and pewter artifacts, as indicated by the field notes, are also likely to have belonged to the higher class of planters.

The most direct tie between the artifacts and the occupants, however, is in the form of eight black glass wine bottle seals bearing the initials RB. Seals bearing the initials of the customer were common in the colonial period (Noel Hume 1969:61). RB seals were found on the surface, in the foundation, and in the trash deposit at the Icehouse Point site. The combination of seals with Richard Bennett's initials and of the above lines of evidence argues strongly for identification of this site as Bennett's, and by extension Sayer's, home.

More general observations on the assemblage may place the site, and its inhabitants' activities, in broader perspective. Distribution plots of several artifact categories over the area of the foundation are presented in Figures 6 to 10. In those squares which were excavated as ten-foot units (IB9, IB13, IB14), the total for the square was quartered and plotted by five-foot quadrants. In the two other ten-by-ten's, however, quadrants had previously been excavated: IB8a, IB7b, IB7c. These latter squares have been plotted with the "no data" symbol (?), and the total for each ten-by-ten has been divided and plotted according to the number of remaining quadrants in the unit. Materials from sealed cistern IV are not included in the distribution for IB8, but all other proveniences are included in their proper squares.

The distributions in Figures 6 to 10 show few differences in overall pattern among the artifact categories. Consistently, a clear peak in frequency is seen in IA22d. Lesser rises occur in the northwest corner of the excavation, and in the southeast in squares IA21a and OA25b. In the isolated squares further to the southeast, the more southerly square, OA14d, is consistently high.

The area over the hearth generally has a low frequency of materials. Most of these squares, of course, were essentially averaged over their 10-by-10's. An apparent rise at or near IB1d, midway up the east side of the excavation, is difficult to interpret due to the lack of data for the squares immediately to the south.

Most squares of highest frequency are those with the most area outside the foundation walls. This may reflect an out-of-doors refuse scatter, as opposed to the relatively clean living quarters inside. The apparent peak at IB1d, of course, most clearly seen in the nail distribution (Figure 19), does not fit this pattern. No other artifact category rises so prominently in this area, and unless the nails may be somehow associated with the half-log joist lying parallel to the length of the house, this distribution remains as anomaly.

South (1977:48) has defined the Brunswick pattern of refuse disposal, in which refuse deposits around eighteenth-century British-American structures are concentrated near entrances. It is possible that the consistently high concentration of materials in IA22c indicates that a doorway was nearby. Only a few comparably extramural squares were excavated, however. Squares IA21b and OA14b, both south of the foundation, contain generally high frequencies of materials, but not as high as IA22c. By contrast, IB12a, north of the foundation, shows a rise only in the ceramics.

Refuse from a doorway next to the chimney (cf. Hewett 1969:111; Kelly 1963:7-8; Brunskill 1978:106) may be reflected in the high counts of artifacts in IA22c. Unfortunately no other five-foot units near the possible doorway were excavated. With so few squares whose data might support or controvert this idea, the placement of a doorway south of the chimney must be offered only as a hypothesis.

No clear pattern has emerged in the distributions, particularly none which would indicate differential use of space within the structure. Problems of representativeness of the data may be a large reason. Materials from some provenience units and also various special artifacts are missing from the collection. Further, the area of the excavation is quite irregular, and nearly half of the contiguous squares were dug as ten-by-ten's rather than five-by-fives, adding difficulty to the recognition of patterns which may have existed. Finally, it may be unreasonable to expect patterning to be evident within so small an area in plowed deposits.

South (1977) has recently proposed a different approach to pattern recognition, based on percentage profiles of functional artifact categories. This method is intended for use primarily on whole-site assemblages, for inter-site comparison. It may,

however, prove interesting to compare proveniences within sites in search of significant differences.

Table 2 presents the profiles for the major provenience groups of the Icehouse Point site, plus cistern IV. Profiles were also compiled for squares IA22d, the peak square in the frequency distributions, and OA14d plus OA19b. The latter profiles were added to test the relationships of these probable refuse areas to the refuse deposits of IICD and cistern IV.

The profiles, however, are quite consistent, with the glaring exception of IICD. Cistern IV is slightly anomalous in the absence of tobacco pipe fragments, but the other categories are closely comparable to the rest of the foundation profiles. By contrast, the profile for IICD shows a clear reversal of the first two categories, with Kitchen group materials heavily represented and Architecture group artifacts slightly fewer than 25%. (Following South [1977:95-96], the Architecture group does not include building materials such as brick, dressed stone, or mortar; however, delft tiles were included in the counts, though not mentioned on South's list.)

By use of similar profiles, South (1977) has identified two recurring patterns. The Carolina pattern (British-American domestic) is characterized by a high percentage in the Kitchen group, while the Frontier pattern (outpost, especially military) is most notable for the high representation of the Architecture group, particularly of nails. According to predicted ranges for these two patterns (Table 2a), only IICD fits into the Carolina pattern, while the foundation profiles clearly belong to the Frontier pattern.

In recent publications, South (1978, 1979) has renamed the Frontier pattern, calling it an Architecture pattern. He has found that assemblages from within a structure contain the high Architecture group characteristic of the former "Frontier" pattern. At Icehouse Point, the deposit at IICD would seem to be an accumulation of refuse from a "typical" British colonial occupation, that is, one that fits the Carolina pattern. The high representation of the architecture group in the house area probably is reinforced by the burning of the house, the rubble not having been disturbed except by plowing. The plowzone thus has a high proportion of architectural materials, mainly nails, mixed into the assemblage, which an undisturbed midden such as IICD would not have.

The cistern IV profile remains something of an anomaly. Assuming that black glass and pipestems have been removed from the collection, the profile can be adjusted for heuristic purposes. The black glass count in the foundation collection is approximately equivalent to the ceramic count, while in IICD the black glass total is about 85% of the ceramic total. The

percentages of pipestems average about 10% among the other profiles. Taking black glass equal to ceramics, and pipestems at 10% of the total, an adjusted cistern IV profile can be suggested for comparative purpose (Table 2b).

This profile still falls within the Frontier pattern, again due largely to a high nail count. The earlier explanation does not fit this case, as the cistern/root cellar apparently was sealed by floorboards during the destruction of the house. Nails, then, should not have been mixed into the sealed deposit as they did in the plowzone. Materials from cistern IV, particularly the ceramics, were scattered among several boxes in the collection. It is likely that many of the ceramics went the way of the black glass and the pipestems, and that the collection tallied--and reflected in the profiles in Tables 2 and 2b--simply is not representative of the feature.

In South's (1977) patterning scheme, bone is not included in the percentage profiles. South does note, however, that bone ratios do occur in patterned relationships. Particularly, he suggests that a low bone/artifact ratio indicates a refuse deposits near the house, while a high ratio indicates a refuse deposit away from the structure (South 1977:47, 179ff).

In Table 2, these ratios have been expressed as the percentage of bone in the combined total of artifacts plus bone. Here the cistern IV and IICD percentages are strikingly higher than those of the other proveniences. Of course, as noted above, the cistern IV collection may be significantly underrepresented in Kitchen and Tobacco artifact groups. If we adjust the cistern IV ratio by taking the architecture group to be 25% of the artifact total (close to that of IICD), then the percentage of bone of the postulated total becomes 24.3%, quite comparable to the IICD figure. From Table 2, take  $109 = 25\%$ ; total artifacts =  $109 \times 4 = 436$ ; % bone =  $140/436 = 24.3\%$ .

The difference, then, seems to be one of sealed deposits with high bone percentages, versus plowzone deposits with low bone ratios. Whether this is a matter of preservation or of South's (1977:47) houselot-dump dichotomy is not clear, though both factors may be involved.

In shorthand fashion, both the Binford pipestem and the South mean ceramic formulas are also methods of pattern recognition, tied more to the archaeological concept of horizon than to the cultural traditions investigated by the functional group profiles. The analysis, above, was somewhat complicated by the presentation of two ceramic dates for each provenience group. In South's formula, the longevous delftware is assigned a median date of 1650 for sites which were occupied during the seventeenth century, and 1750 for eighteenth-century sites. What, then, of a site whose median occupation date falls close to the turn of the century? By



the 1650/1750 reasoning, delftware should perhaps take a middle-of-the-road value of 1700. Use of either mid-century date could bias the mean ceramic date toward one or the other end of the occupation. Another alternative might be to drop delftware altogether as being too insensitive a time indicator, but this too might bias the interpretation when the date is compared to that of another site where delftware was included in the calculation.

Table 3 presents the pipestem dates and three ceramic dates--delft at 1700, delft at 1750, and without delft--for the major provenience groups. If consistency among the dates is the most desirable characteristic, then the set of dates with delft at 1750 might be considered the "best". This set also provides a close match with the pipestem date for the general surface. But the closest match to the pipestem date for IICD is the date computed without delftware. On the grounds of reducing the "static" of an insensitive marker type, the latter set might be preferable. Yet the question of using a median date of 1700 for a site with a median occupation circa 1700 still nags. (It might be noted that all the creamware sherds seemed referable to the earlier, "deeper yellow" category, and the 1771 median date for creamware is used in these calculations.)

Salwen and Bridges (1977) have proposed that mean artifact manufacture dates must be used as interpretive tools in comparison with other dates, and other data. Vagaries in deposition, in intensity of occupation, perhaps in status and thnicity, may affect the percentages of the ceramics in a site, and thus the "dates" computed by formula.

Of first importance is to date the deposition of a context, following which the occupation span represented by the materials in the deposit may be interpreted more fully. All of the provenience groups in the Icehouse Point site contain some creamware, no pearlware, and minor--assumed intrusive--whiteware. Creamware constitutes a small percentage of the ceramics in each provenience group (Table 4), except in the probably unrepresentative cistern IV. This indicates that the occupation reflected by each assemblage continued into the 1760's, but not late enough to allow the occupants to obtain, or at least to discard, large quantities of creamware. Particularly, creamware sherds below the plowzone in IICD, and in the apparently sealed context of cistern IV, provide a fairly secure terminus post quem which is in all probability not very much earlier than the end of the occupation.

The initial date of the occupation is less clearly definable. Sherds of North Devon gravel-tempered ceramics, and sherds which resemble North Devon sgraffito (Noel Hume 1969:104) are assigned the earliest median manufacture dates of the ceramic types. Either could have been imported into the colonies as early as 1650 (Noel Hume 1969:104, 133), and the latter ware is assigned a

median date of 1710 (South 1977:211). In the general surface and IICD collections, the sgraffito ware makes up proportions quite as respectable as creamware. While no sherds of sgraffito were found in the main foundation collection, specimens are present in the tests.

On purely ceramic grounds, then, a reasonable initial occupation date might be estimated at circa 1700. Estimating an occupation span of 1700 to 1765 provides a median date of 1732.5. Several dates in Table 3, notably the set of dates computed without delftware, become quite reasonable, as do the pipestem dates for the general surface and IICD.

Historic data, however, indicate that the occupation began by 1670, accepting that the temporal character of the collection, the wealth evident in the enamelled saltglaze and the (missing) pewter and silver artifacts, and the eight RB wine bottle seals establish this site as the Peter Sayer-Richard Bennett plantation. Noel Hume (1971) also dated several artifacts from the site to the seventeenth century. Roundly estimating an occupation of 1665 (Francis Sayer having received the property in 1663) to 1765, then, provides a median date of 1715. Only the ceramic dates for the general surface and IICD, with delft at 1700, are reasonable approximations of this date. The foundation and test pipestem dates remain conspicuously early.

Perhaps a combination of factors may be included in an explanation of the dates in Table 3. Excavations around the foundation might be expected to yield materials from the builder's trench, which, although noted, was not segregated as a context in the field. Thus pipestems from the very first activity in the houselot, construction of the house, might lower the date calculated for this data set--as witnessed by the pipestem dates for the foundation and tests I(1-4). Since the builder's trench would have been effectively sealed before household activities were fairly begun, early ceramics would not be expected to have a comparable impact on the dating tools.

In fact, ceramics might tend toward an opposite bias. As table ceramics such as white saltglaze were made in greater numbers, and as wealth in the Chesapeake (and probably the Bennett Point plantation) rose in the eighteenth century, later tablewares would have been more available and thus more heavily represented in archaeological collections. Ceramic dates for the foundation area might well be slightly later than the median date of occupation, reflecting the numerical superiority of later ceramics.

A general refuse deposit such as IICD, and a general surface collection that represents a mixture of contexts, might be expected to reflect more accurately the entire occupation. The pipestem dates for these two groups of materials actually run a

bit late, compared to a 1715 median date. The ceramic dates based on delft at 1700 come fairly close to expectations, though, comparing most favorably with the occupation median in the surface and IICD collections and falling a bit later in the foundation area. It might be suggested, then, that a delftware median date of 1700 for a site whose occupation spans the turn of the eighteenth century is the most reasonable one to use. (The problems of determining this beforehand, however, may be formidable in an undocumented site!)

In sum, pattern studies of the Icehouse Point collection have been of variable utility. Recognition of spatial patterns was limited, due largely to gaps in the data, and to a sample area which was too small and irregularly shaped to yield clear patterning. Artifact class profiles indicated a striking difference in the assemblages of the refuse deposit, IICD, and the foundation area. This fits South's (1977) Carolina Artifact Pattern expectations, and was interpreted additionally as a result of house destruction, significantly raising the nail count over the foundation.

The bone ratio also was indicative of a difference between sealed and plowzone deposits, but this may be due largely to less favorable preservation in the plowzone. The artifact class profiles also raised a reasonable suspicion that the collection from cistern IV was not representative of its context. Finally, a comparison and discussion of formula dating techniques suggested that employing a mean date of 1700 for delftware resulted in the most useful set of ceramic dates for this site.

#### CONCLUSION

Several conclusions have been presented in the foregoing pages, but most were either implied or buried in the discussion. They will be most concisely repeated in a list:

1. The foundation uncovered by the main excavation reveals a general floor plan which is quite consistent with a seventeenth-century date of construction. The width of the foundations indicates a substantial structure, probably one and a half or two stories in height.

2. The artifact assemblages from the foundation, the refuse deposit at IICD, foundation tests I(1-4), the general surface collection, and refuse pit A (judging by Noel Hume's [1971] comments), are associated with a single major occupation. The date ranges of the assemblage indicates an occupation from the late seventeenth to the third quarter of the eighteenth centuries.

3. The deposit revealed in IICD is a refuse accumulation which reflects most or all of the occupation. Charred floorboards indicate that the house burned, and high nail counts in the foundation excavations are the result of the mixing of house rubble by the plow. Evidently, very little of the house was salvaged after its destruction. Cistern IV, sealed by charred

floor boards, was apparently filled shortly before the destruction of the house. Although the collection studied is probably not representative of the cistern contents, the assemblage and the sandy nature of the fill suggest deliberate transport of the fill dirt from a refuse deposit much like that of IICD. Creamware in the collection from cistern IV serves as a terminus post quem for the destruction of the house.

4. The presence of creamware implies that the occupation lasted into the 1760's, but the relatively small quantities of the ware, normally plentiful on sites of the later 1760's and 1770's, suggest a terminal date fairly early in the decade.

5. Historical evidence tying Richard Bennett to Bennett's point, and the consensus of the time span and probable wealth indicated by the artifacts plus the eight RB wine seals, allow identification of this site with the plantation manor of Peter Sayer and Richard Bennett III.

6. On both historical and artifactual data, a period of occupation for the house may be suggested as circa 1665 to 1765.

7. Few data were recovered that illustrate the special matching buttons, apparently newly removed from the mold, suggest on-site manufacture, very slim indications of the diversity and self-sufficiency of the plantation community. Undoubtedly more thorough investigation of the whole area of Icehouse Point would have revealed numerous outbuildings and thus the complexity of the Sayer-Bennett community. Unfortunately, the project was terminated before such contexts could be located and explored.

8. Artifact category profiles of the refuse deposit, IICD, imply that the Carolina Artifact Pattern proposed by South (1977) may be applicable to the colonial Chesapeake region. High nail counts in the foundation area, due to the destruction of the house, resulted in category profiles which fit South's Frontier Pattern, renamed the Architecture Pattern. Simple "recognition" of a defined pattern is, as South (1977:160) points out, only a very preliminary step in explaining the archaeological record. Use of these patterns has been instructive, however, in revealing differences among the provenience groups, and particularly in suggesting that the cistern IV collection is incomplete.

It must be re-emphasized that this analysis has been very preliminary. Much work remains to be done with the Bennett's Point collection, especially in terms of detailed artifact identification. Some minor mending of ceramics has been done, but further work, resulting in vessel reconstructions and counts, would be quite valuable. Groups of artifacts which were mentioned most summarily here, such as nails, dressed stone, mortar and plaster, may be divisible into informative types (e.g., at least three thickness categories of dressed stone probably can be recognized, and spatial studies of the groups may be informative). All comments about patterns must be weighed against the gaps in the collection, but the quantities of artifacts missing are probably not large enough to affect greatly the few general patterns which have been perceived.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express sincere appreciation to the Reverend Edward Carley, a most hospitable guide and consultant who was always generous with time, information, and introductions; to Milton Barbehan, for taking time from his work to talk with me about the Bennett's Point site; to Tyler Bastian, M. Cynthia Flood, and Joseph McNamara, Maryland Geological Survey, for information and access to collections; to Ken Carstens, for providing support facilities in the Murray State University Archaeology Laboratory; and to Charlotte Hayes Wilson and Mildred Horn, for long hours of typing.

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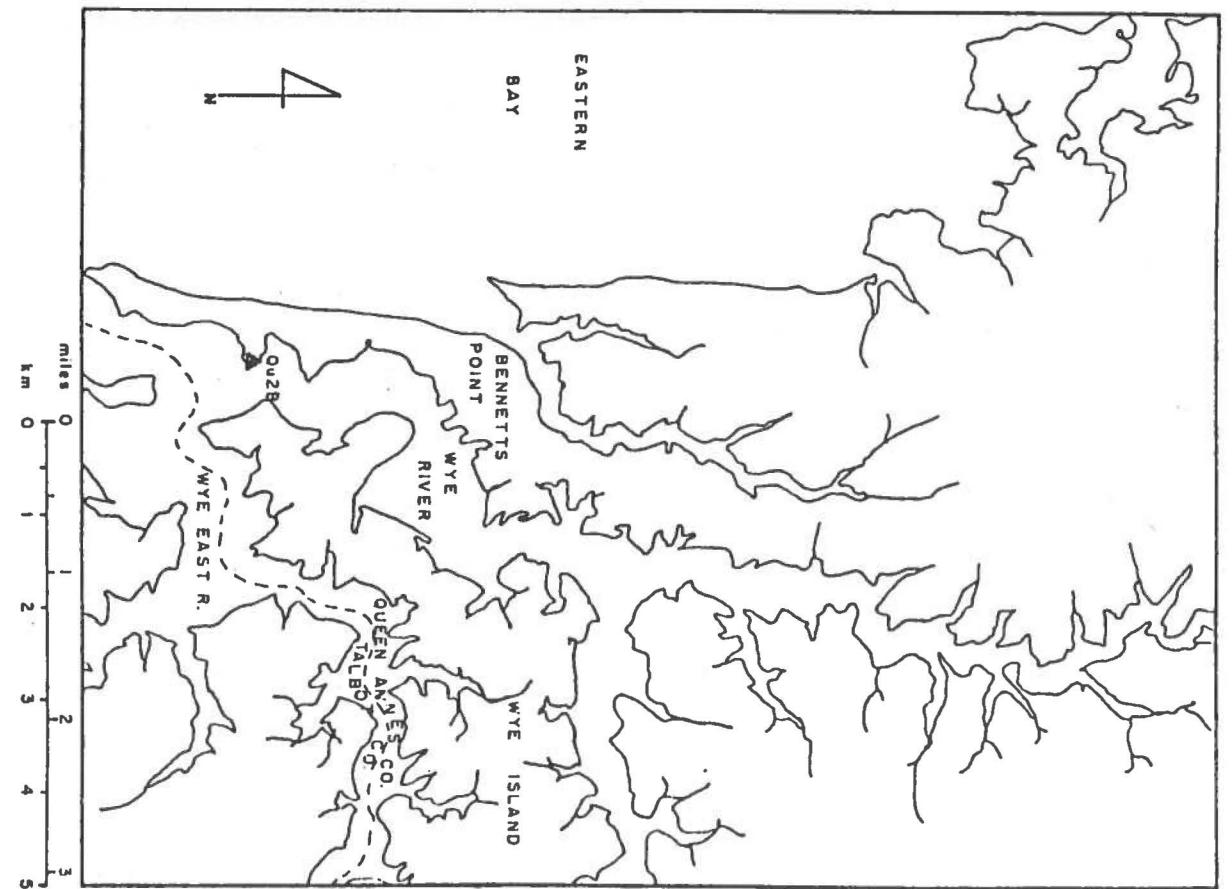


FIGURE 1. ICEHOUSE POINT SITE

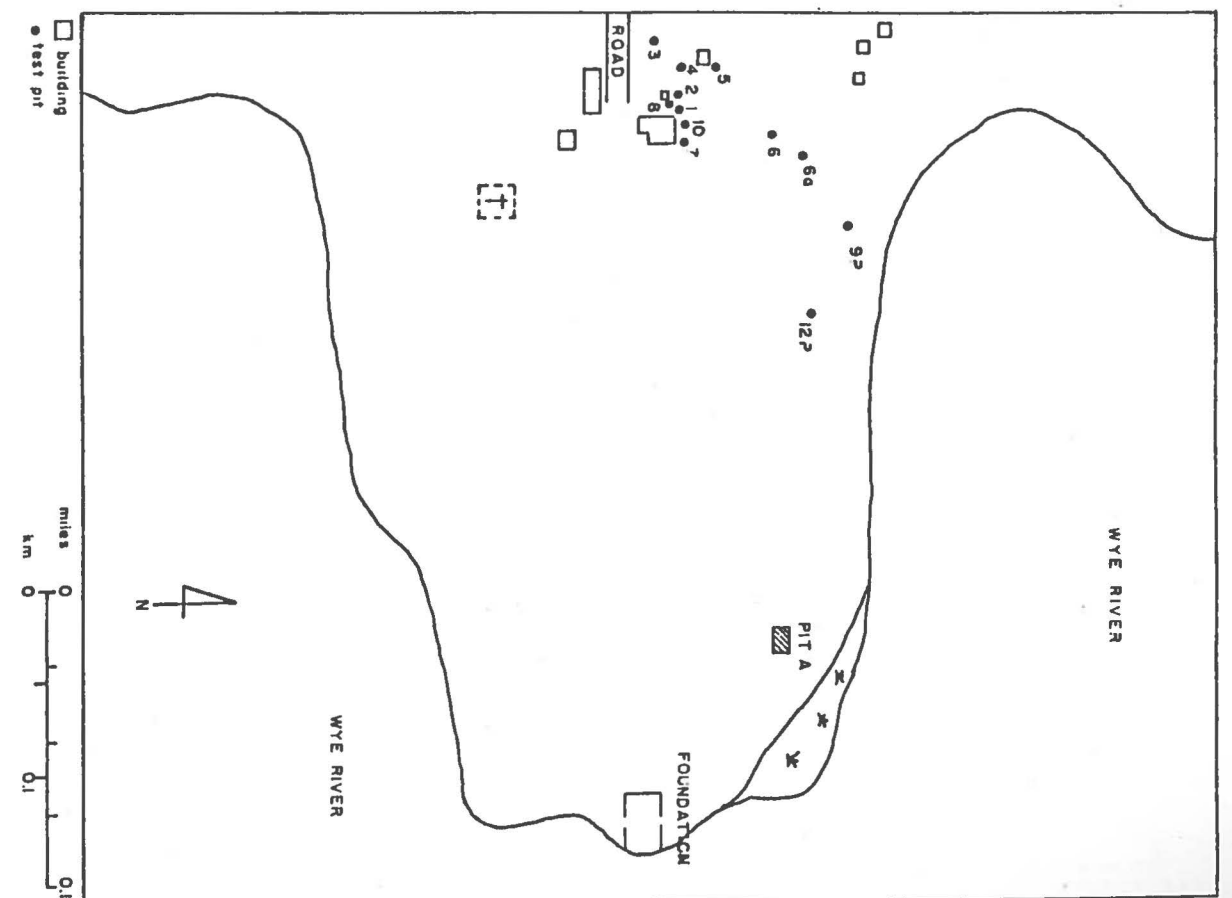
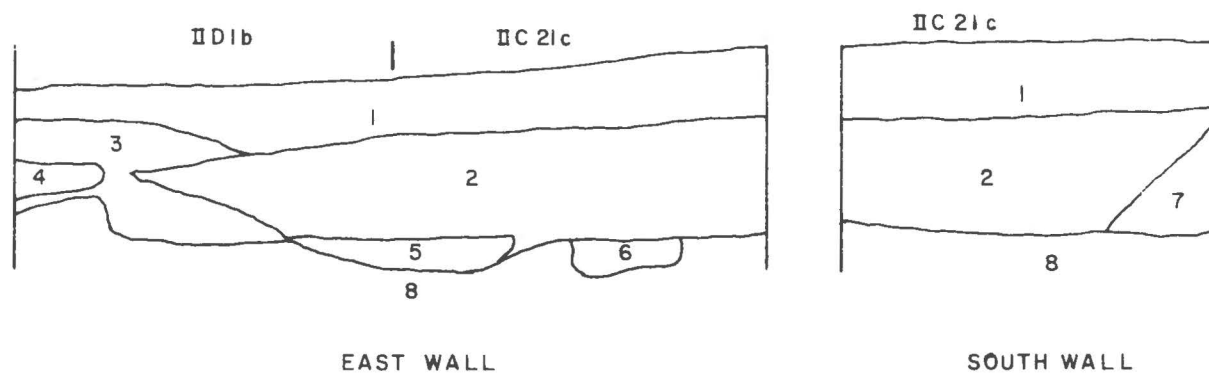


FIGURE 2. ICEHOUSE POINT SURVEY



1. PLOWZONE
2. CULTURAL DEBRIS: GREY-BROWN LOAM WITH RUBBLE, SHELL.
3. GREY-BROWN SANDY LOAM.
4. WHITE ASH & SAND.
5. COMPACT GREY-TAN SAND.
6. COMPACT TAN SAND.
7. GREY-BROWN COMPACT LOAM.
8. YELLOW-TAN CLAY SUBSOIL.

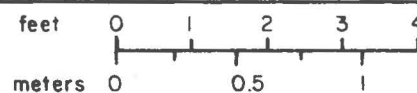
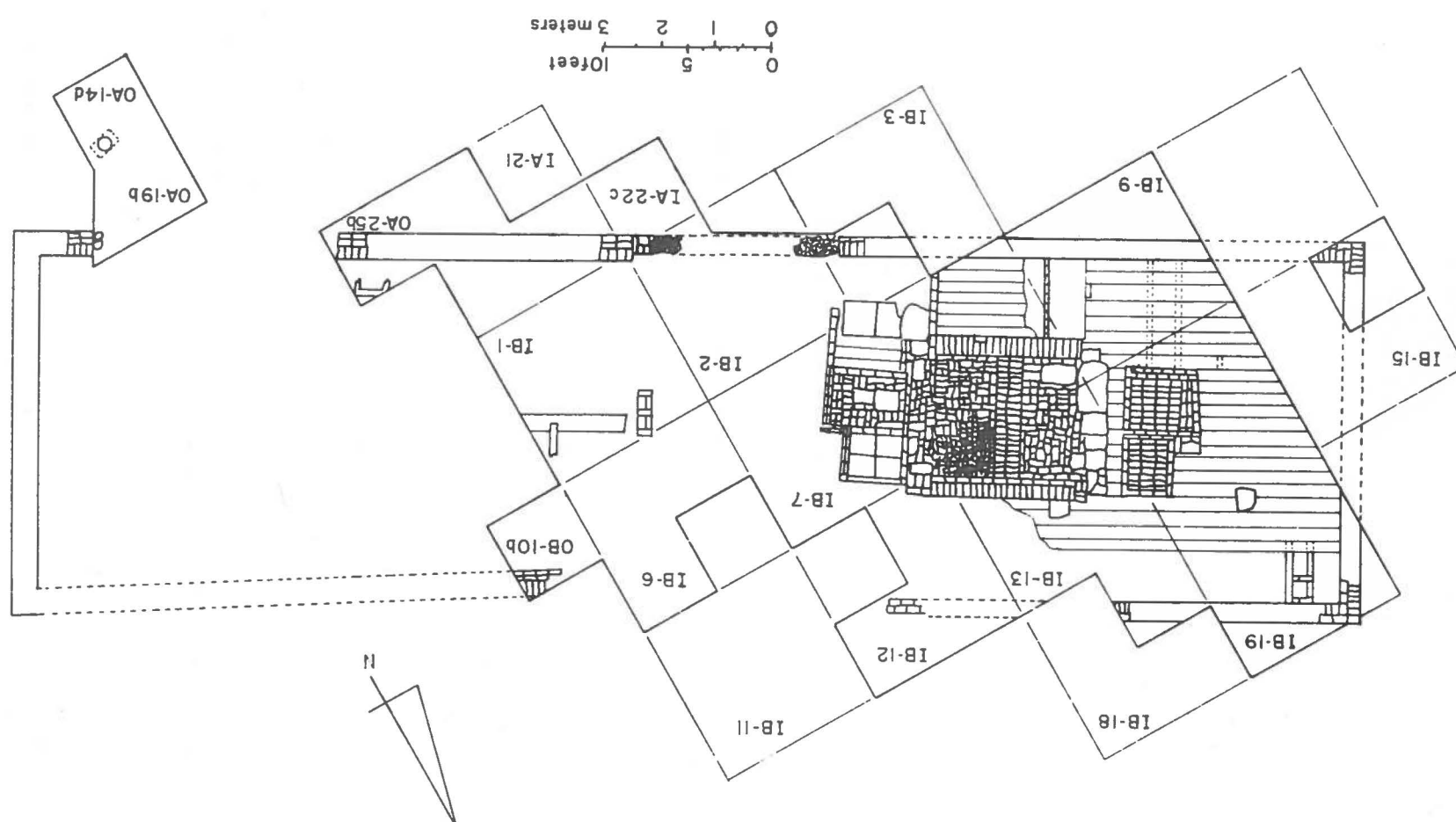


FIGURE 4. IICD PROFILES.

FIGURE 3. ICEHOUSE POINT FOUNDATION.





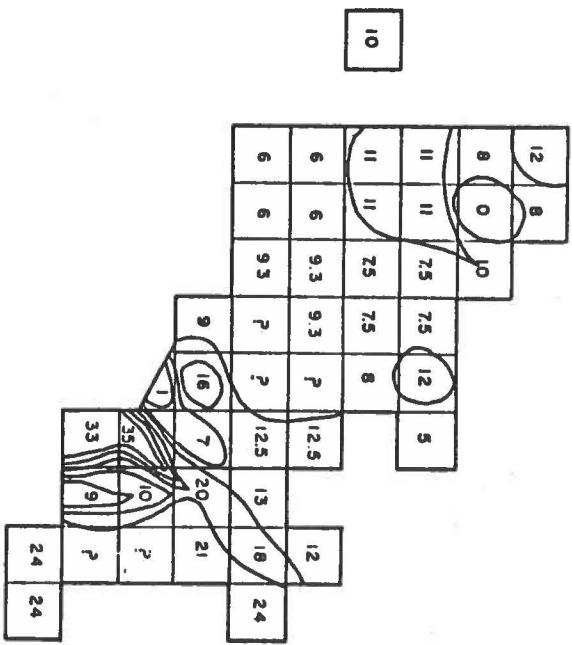


FIGURE 7. BENNETTS POINT BLACK GLASS DISTRIBUTION

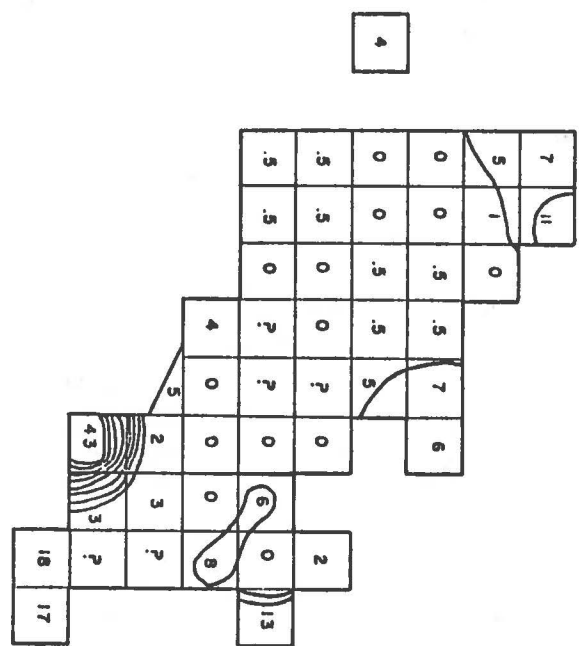


FIGURE 8. BENNETTS POINT PIPESTEM DISTRIBUTION

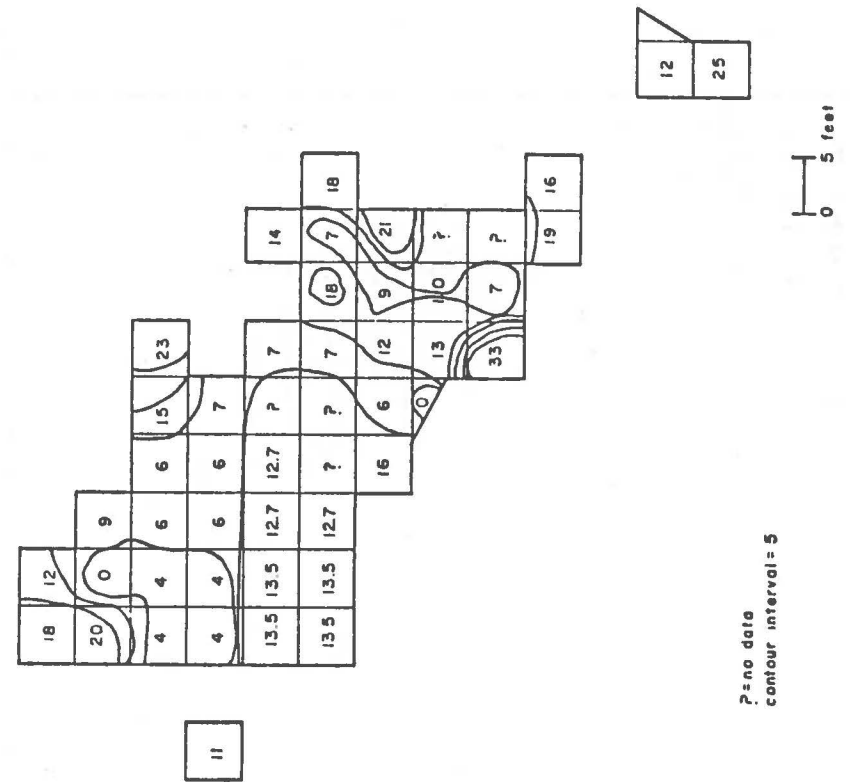


FIGURE 6. BENNETTS POINT CERAMIC DISTRIBUTION

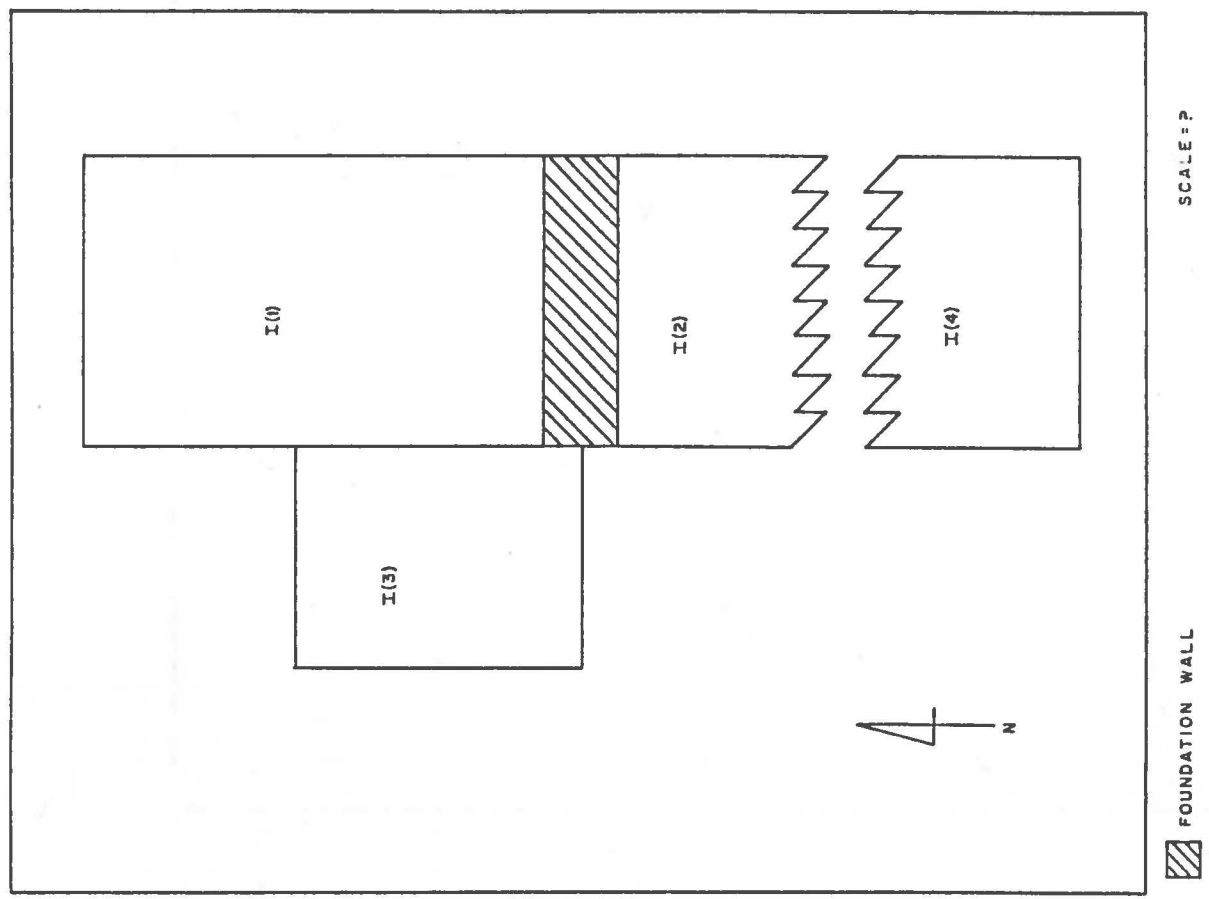


FIGURE 5. ORIENTATION OF TESTS II(1-4)

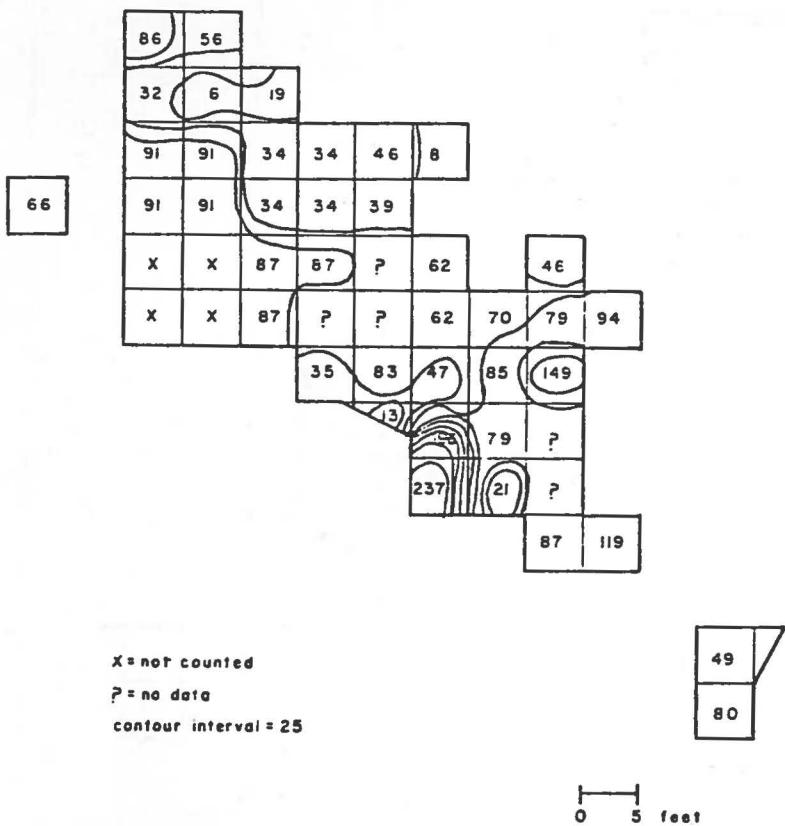


FIGURE 9. BENNETTS POINT NAIL DISTRIBUTION

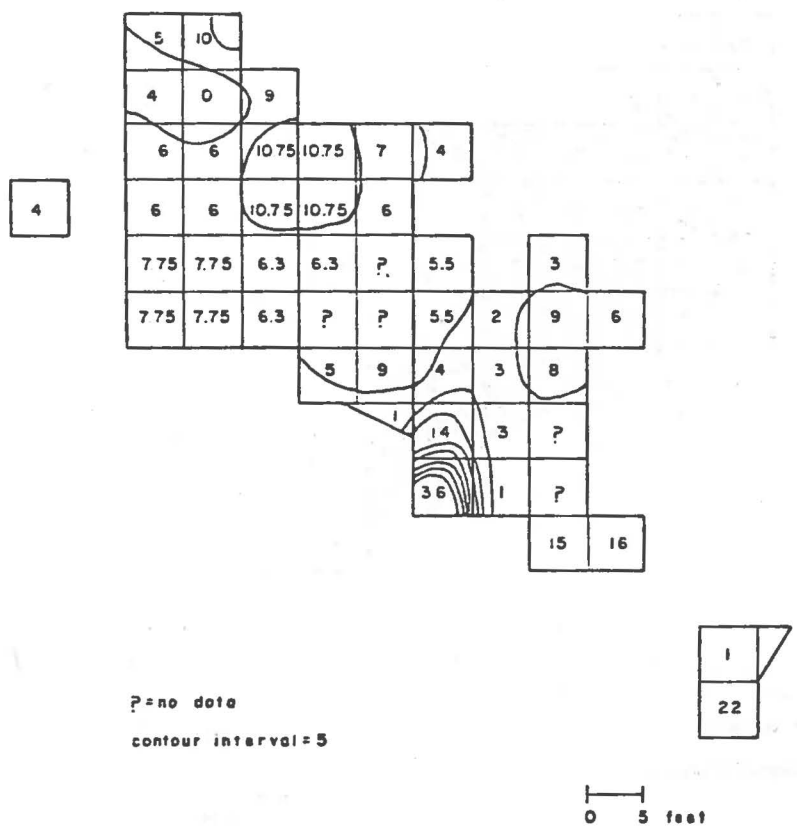


FIGURE 10. BENNETTS POINT WINDOW GLASS DISTRIBUTION

Table 2. Icehouse Point site, artifact category profiles.

group	foundation		IICD		I(1-4)		cistern IV		IA22d		OA14-19	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Kitchen	1234	24.8	1394	65.0	60	21.7	36	23.8	76	18.4	78	29.7
Architecture	3398	68.2	497	23.2	181	65.6	109	72.2	281	68.0	154	58.6
Furniture	4	0.1	0	0	1	0.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arms	10	0.2	1	0	2	0.7	0	0	2	0.5	0	0
Clothing	71	1.4	6	0.3	2	0.7	4	2.6	3	0.7	0	0
Personal	4	0.1	1	0	0	0	1	0.7	0	0	0	0
Tobacco pipe	228	4.6	238	11.1	30	10.9	0	0	50	12.1	30	11.4
Activities	36	0.7	6	0.3	0	0	1	0.7	1	0.2	1	0.4
TOTALS	4985	100.1	2143	99.9	276	100.0	151	100.0	413	99.9	263	100.0
Bone	556	10.0	707	24.8	17	5.8	140	48.1	27	6.1	28	9.6

Table 3. Icehouse Point site, computed dates.

	pipestems	ceramics delft @ 1750	ceramics delft @ 1700	ceramics no delft
Gen. surface	1735.8	1735.08	1721.27	1729.30
IICD	1724.62	1744.32	1711.27	1731.94
I(1-4)	1698.8	1736.61	1728.55	1734.04
Foundation	1694.5	1743.08	1736.26	1741.99
Cistern IV	-----	1750.26	same	same

Table 4. Icehouse Point site, percent of total ceramics for certain types.

	creamware	N. Devon gravel tempered	sggraffitto
Gen. surface	1.68%	8.40%	1.68%
IICD	0.95	3.67	0.82
I(1-4)	2.22	4.44	6.67
Foundation	2.66	2.84	0.0
Cistern IV	30.00	0.0	0.0

	Table 2a. Pattern profiles.		Table 2b. Adjusted cistern IV.		Table 2c. Total profile.*	
group	Carolina	Frontier	#	%	#	%
Kitchen	47.5-78.0	10.2-45.0	66	32.8	2688	36.3
Architecture	12.9-35.1	29.7-74.3	109	54.2	4076	55.1
Furniture	0 - 0.7	0 - 0.5	0	0	5	0.1
Arms	0 - 1.5	0 -15.6	0	0	13	0.2
Clothing	0 - 8.5	0 - 6.9	4	2.0	79	1.0
Personal	0 - 0.6	0 - 0.7	1	0.5	5	0.1
Tobacco	0 -20.8	0 -27.1	20	10.1	496	6.7
Activities	0.1- 3.7	0 -11.8	1	0.5	42	0.6
	from South (1977:119, 145)		201	100.0	7404	100.1

\*Foundation plus IICD plus I(1-4).