

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:

***DYNAMIC REFLECTIONS OF
CAPITALISM AND CLASS IDENTITY AT
THE PENNS NECK COMMUNITY: AN
ANALYSIS OF THE PERSISTENCE OF
DUTCH-AMERICAN TRADITIONS ON
FAMILY-OPERATED FARMS AT PENNS
NECK, MERCER COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.***

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Recent archaeological investigations conducted at Penns Neck, a community originally established by the descendants of Dutch immigrants in northern Mercer County, New Jersey, revealed evidence of prosperous late-colonial and post-revolutionary family networks extending from the mid eighteenth to the twentieth century. The presence of domestic residences and family-owned farming operations at Penns Neck, including those at the Schenk-Jewell farmhouse and the Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan house, provide the opportunity to examine the development of late eighteenth and nineteenth century rural communities, particularly with Dutch-heritage backgrounds, and to help explore the nuanced link between traditions utilized by farming households and larger institutional and socio-economic systems that operated within

these farming communities. The research question addressed by this thesis is: what were the traditional elements of cultural identity embraced by Dutch communities, especially at Penns Neck, and how were traditions changed and adapted to the pursuit of capitalistic enterprises and ideologies. Using a Marxist approach coupled with ideas from world systems theory, analysis of consumption patterns, landscape design, and class relations can peer into the economic and social realities transpiring at these sites exposing ties to larger governing, and invisible, networks of power expressed within the community. Patterns of consumption, wealth distribution, and labor relations at Penns Neck show an intermeshing of traditional values and ideas that both resist and sway to general socio-economic pressures and circumstances emerging across the region. Spatial and temporal analysis of artifacts, architectural forms, and landscape development show clear attempts by the capitalist farmers to naturalize/solidify their place within the social-economic order, in which symbols supporting capitalistic ideologies were ingrained in the landscape. This contrasts with earlier community members that used social institutions outside the farm to raise social and political capital, rather than solely economic capital, in the community to climb and hold positions of the social hierarchy. Despite the profound changes occurring on the landscape during the occupation of the site by the Schenck and Jewell families, some traditions remain, including the use of value systems and institutions, material culture by type, and symbols that reflect the family's Dutch ethnic heritage. At large, the study follows Wurst and Mrozowski (2016) that capitalism is not a fixed entity, but a dynamic and multi-faceted totality that both shapes and conforms to the society that embraces it, even at the community level; the cultural expression of agrarian families on the Penns Neck landscape help depict and provide an example of the dynamic nature of capitalism from the eighteenth to the

twentieth century and the nuanced experience that emerging capitalistic institutions and pursuits had on the day-to-day lives of the community members.

The archaeological data collected for the analysis was largely acquired during the Phase II site evaluation of the Schenk-Jewell Farm Site (28ME408), Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House Site (28ME410), and Lower Harrison Street Domestic Site (28ME413) by the Ottery Group during the summer and winter of 2021, which yielded an artifact assemblage dating as early as the mid-eighteenth century extending across multiple family generations up to the twentieth century. The archaeological investigation revealed evidence of the original location of the main houses and multiple structural features associated with the former outbuildings in the adjacent work yards. Historical documentation, including state land records, census and tax records, deeds and wills, maps and aerials, and historic photos, were analyzed, to contextualize the archaeological data and the family histories in a way that addresses the themes of this thesis. Archaeological sites, located in both Old World and New World contexts, that were identified during the literature review were compared in an attempt to identify Dutch-American cultural patterns present across the sites. While the analysis was successful in tracing certain elements of Dutch cultural continuity, that is in the occurrence of ceramic types and architectural forms, of the early families settling at Penns Neck, these traditions were challenged and refitted to accommodate the needs of emerging farming operations, which attempted to capitalize on the connection of Penns Neck into a wider regional economy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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PENNS NECK, MERCY COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.***

by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the 1980s, a surge of academic interest focused on the New Amsterdam region has emerged to expand upon the narrative of Dutch occupation on the North American landscape (See Huey 2015). This interest has recognized the need to highlight the nuanced experience of Dutch immigrants and their descendants in the United States, in contrast with other dominant historical narratives that occupy the mainstream conceptions of American development. The presence of Dutch-American archaeological sites has been widely documented (e.g. Scharfenberger and Veit (2001), Huey (2005, 2015), Lukezic and McCarthy (2021)); however, the subtleties of the way Dutch-American groups acculturated into the New World *after* English control is still being explored. Furthermore, most of the archaeological data recovered from Dutch-American sites date prior to the eighteenth century. This raises questions regarding the persistence of traditional Dutch cultural influence and the forms it takes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when descendants of Dutch immigrants were migrating out of core areas of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch settlement to more extensive and rural regions in and around New Jersey. In addition, how would the accommodation of Dutch traditions fare in the face of incipient socio-economic systems of power in the nineteenth century, particularly American capitalism, that would fundamentally affect the value systems and socio-economic realities of community members caught in its wake. Following this avenue of exploration, the research question for this thesis is two-fold: to what extent were traditional elements of Dutch cultural heritage embraced at communities settled by Dutch descendants in New Jersey, specifically at Penns Neck, and how did these families at Penns Neck approach and react to the socio-economic pressures of American capitalism?

Over a century removed, how does the great grandson of a first generation of immigrants maintain the traditions of the old family way; and further, what institutional structures were at play, whether social, economic, or political, that both helped maintain old traditions and spurred the creation of new ones? These questions gleam insights of the dynamic processes occurring on European-settled American landscapes and the reflections they have of the identity of its inhabitants as well as the larger socio-economic systems emerging in America over time. The archaeological investigations conducted at Penns Neck, originally a rural eighteenth-century Dutch colonial community adjacent to Princeton, serves as a case study to analyze the intermeshing of Dutch and American identities, values, and socio-economic structures a century after the Treaty of Westminster and its application to highlight nuanced societal experiences lived by these rural community members.

The archaeological investigation of the northern portion of Penns Neck, conducted by the Ottery Group between the summer of 2020 and the spring of 2022, yielded data from several sites associated with the descendants of Dutch settlers dating as early as the mid-eighteenth century. As a result of the original survey, four archeological sites associated with Dutch descendants migrating from New Amsterdam, then later Monmouth, New Jersey, were recorded, including: 28ME407, Penns Neck Cemetery; 28ME408, Schenck-Jewell Farm; 28ME410, Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House; and 28ME413, Harrison Street Scatter Site (Palus and Torp 2021). Although the former farmhouses and associated outbuildings at the sites have been demolished, the archaeological record, which includes the artifact assemblage, intact architectural features, and overall landscape design of the farm complex, yields important data that provides insight into the lifeways and class relations present on Dutch-American farms in the eighteenth century. In light of the regional and historical contexts, the archaeology at Penns

Neck can serve to answer questions pertaining to Dutch-American presence and identity on New Jersey agricultural landscapes; the shape of larger socio-economic and political networks occurring in the regional community; and the nuances present between the use of traditional and/or novel practices as they apply to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American ideals and ideologies, particularly when engaged in capitalistic pursuits.

In approach, a Marxist perspective aimed at the inter-relationships comprising the family farm economy, including the class relations that were exploited on and off the farm, will be used to assess the way Dutch-American residents at Penns Neck participated in their local communities as larger regional and national changes were afoot. This framework will be supported by the stance that individuals do not live in isolation but, rather, are deeply influenced and shaped by the social institutions around them. This fits well with the definition of class as an internal relation, or the conceptual dialectic where “the web of social relations makes up the whole, and the appearance of these relations are taken to be its parts” (Wurst 1999), allowing a comprehensive and contextual approach to the socio-economic realities experienced on the ground by the residents at Penns Neck.

By using a dialectic approach to agency and structure, and a relational approach to class, the archaeological data acquired at Penns Neck can be used to tell a history that embraces both the individual experiences occurring on the site and the societal relations fixed to the accepted institutions, which either supported or hindered the success of farming operations. In so doing, the archaeological investigations at Penns Neck can provide insight into the way family farms approached American capitalism and the shapes capitalism took on Dutch-American family farms in the region. As a result, conclusion may be drawn about the power relations supported by the family farm economy and how these relations influence social status and class relations. For

example, the changing of hands of the old Schenck farm to Thomas Jewell in the early nineteenth century marks a time of profound change to the socio-economic and ideological landscape occurring within the region overall as the new owner pursued more capitalistic ventures to continue the success of the farm. As a physical representation of the socio-economic and ideological values in motion on the new landscape, the Victorianization of the former house, interpreted as an expression of self-made wealth and high status, and the systematic layout of the farm complex, which incorporated housing for tenant workers at the edge of and facing toward the farm's industrial work yard, can be seen as instrumental elements used to naturalize the existence of class separation, social roles, and perceived status of its members. Spatial analysis of domestic ceramics tableware and architectural features, coupled with census data of the workforce occupying the farm overtime, are evidence of changes necessitated by capitalistic ventures to maximize surplus value of the exploited workforce in order to make economic profit, while competing with other capitalists in the same market.

Further, by framing consumption patterns in a Marxist light, conclusions may be drawn about the use and utility of institutional traditions among the family and the community. Despite the larger socio-economic changes occurring in the region, many traditional institutions established by the earlier family occupants persisted. Largely due to the tight-knit inter-family relationships present at historic Dutch American communities, the initial investment in the communities' social institutions, that is, primarily, the Baptist Church, the school systems, and political offices, some of which lasting over 200 years before many of the original family members moved out of the area. Although the new ideological values supporting capitalistic pursuits appear to contrast early settlers, investments were made by both families to climb the social hierarchy. The investment of social and political capital of early community founders

helped to transcend the social status of family members without prominent outward expressions of wealth. This lies in contrast with the Jewell family's investment in economic capital to further fuel commercial pursuits and solidify social standing of his family as part of an elite farming class.

In the following chapter, the theoretical background underpinning the research design of the thesis, which is largely focused on the consideration of socio-economic factors as they apply to rural farmstead sites, is presented. Concepts such as class and capitalism, intimately tied to Marxist theory, and their utility at assessing socio-economic factors at archaeological sites, are discussed. In chapter three, a historical background providing context to the archaeological data used in the assessment of this thesis is introduced. This chapter presents the local history of Penns Neck and its development overtime, while also providing a broad synopsis of Dutch-inspired cultural influence occurring in both New World and Old World contexts. Chapter four discusses the context of sourced data and the methodology implemented to answer the research questions of this thesis. In chapter five, a synopsis of the data acquired via primary sources and the archaeological investigation at 28ME408 and other relevant sites are provided. Chapter six presents a spatial and temporal comparison of the archaeological assemblage across the site; the results being applied in light of the topics discussed in the theoretical and historical background chapters to answer questions pertaining to socio-economic dynamics occurring on agricultural landscapes and the persistence of Dutch-inspired traditions at these sites. Chapter seven offers a synopsis of the analysis and general conclusions gained by the investigation of thesis.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background

Introduction: How and Why Do We Study Farmstead Sites?

Up until recent history, agrarian farming operations, as a way of life, have predominated the American landscape. The prolific yet increasingly vanishing presence of family-owned and -operated farmstead sites in rural settings, such as those occurring at Penns Neck, New Jersey, has made these cultural resources invaluable to archeologists who wish to investigate the mechanisms associated with rural farming life during its height in American history, primarily extending from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. Some archaeologists have looked to farmstead sites as way to peer into the day-to-day operations and lifeways of the people who resided there as well as the social, economic, and political networks at play that come to influence daily living decisions. Others have studied farmstead sites and operations as way to approach themes of class, race, gender, and identity and the diversity of experience of individuals as well as groups of people within farming communities. How these farmsteads compare and contrast within different regions and within communities of differing cultural/ethnic backgrounds provides a nuanced account of the American experience on farmsteads at any given time. How these farmsteads changed over time provide a dynamic account of the contingent face of that American experience as the mechanism to create a successful farming operation change with the given socio-economic environment. Taken further, farmstead sites have been used as a telescope to study large scale cultural and economic processes, such as in the regional development of capitalism and class structures, and their impact on societal development at the local, regional, and national level.

The collective insight yielded from the study of farmstead archaeology has evolved from a multitude of theoretical approaches, whether applied to large-scale plantations built on the

backs of the enslaved or smaller family-operated farms. Popular themes of study regarding farmstead sites noted in the current context of archaeological literature include landscape design, status and wealth, lifeways, diet, ethnicity, consumerism, labor relations, and economics (See Groover 2008). Generally, in approach, it is accepted that embracing both the micro and macro scale approach is best to contextualize the various historical and archaeological data sets generated at rural farmstead sites to help capture the complex web of social relations and institutions involved. The diversity of themes at farmstead sites creates an overlap with multiple branches of archaeological theory. One prominent point of intersection with the study of farmstead sites is the application of ideas stemming from Marxist archaeology and World Systems Theory, which is discussed in detail below.

Following this introduction, the section will address the use of various research designs at farmstead sites in the Americas, ultimately focusing on the utility of considering socio-economic factors as they apply to farmstead sites in rural settings. Socioeconomic factors provide the platform to tie individual action within the development of larger processes occurring within these communities, such as the individual farming operations and their ties to the development of capitalistic enterprises in these regions and the role of traditional cultural practices within the New World. Concepts of class, capitalism, and status are directly tied to a discussion of Marxist archaeology, which plays a vital role in the honing of the economic realities experienced at family-owned farmstead sites. Coupled with concepts borrowed from world systems theory, local economic networks and the material culture exchanges within them will be discussed to contextualize the degree to which larger economic structures and trade networks affect local communities.

Farmstead Archaeology

Since its early origins, the practice of farming has had a great influence on societal development at the local, regional, and national scale and to the environment in which they were established. As research emerges from farmstead sites of the past, agricultural endeavors, as it expanded into the Americas, exposes a rich collection of agricultural technique, operations, and lifestyles as nuanced as the various ethnic communities that would come elbow to elbow with each other in the New World. The larger impact of agricultural pursuits is twofold; the encouragement of permanent settlements in the North America and the sustaining of the emerging economy (Groover 2008; 2).

Despite the obvious and abundant presence of farming operations within America's history, family-operated farms have been in gradual decline during the twentieth century, especially after the close of World War II (See Groover 2008). Moreover, rural farmstead sites are increasingly disappearing in the wake of urban development and the subdivision and selling of farming lots to suit younger generations making a living outside of the agrarian industry. For these reasons, it is more important than ever for historic archaeologists to document and analyze these resources as the stories of farming life wane with the passing generations.

Archaeological investigations at farm sites in America has yielded great insight into rural farmstead contexts since its amassing appeal in the 1960 and 1970s. While some have looked to farmstead sites as way to peer into the unique aspect of individual farm and family dynamics, including the day-to-day life and operations occurring on the farm, the architectural and landscape layouts employed, and foodways exploited; others have addressed large scale cultural and economic processes deeply intertwined with American societal development after European contact. As national preservation laws regarding cultural resources in the United States was

developing in the late twentieth century, historic archaeologists have been challenged to systemize the management and interpretation American farmstead sites. In approach, research designs addressing the matter have been diverse, but primary trends of research have been identified. A qualitative assessment of themes explored in farmstead archaeology was undertaken by Peggy Beedle who identified primary topics to include landscape design, status, lifeways, diet, ethnicity, consumerism, chronology, and economics (See Groover 2008).

Exploration into socio-economic elements occurring at rural agrarian communities, in particular, have proven to be a fruitful endeavor in the field of historical archaeology. Socioeconomic factors regarding wealth, status, and power relations existing and propelling American farming operations strike at the realities of farming life. By assessing these themes, archaeologists have been able to investigate the living conditions and social networks of people from different groups, whether via tenure, race, or ethnicity. These prevailing themes tie closely to concepts of class and ideology and can be tied to larger socio-economic networks and power relations that individual economic actions are bound to. In addition, by focusing on the economic realities and the “real struggles” experienced at archaeological sites, the pitfalls of introducing identity politics, that is, the hyper-focus of individual agency divorced from the totality of networks comprising the social whole, to the subject, which obscures the connection of the individual from these networks, can be better avoided in its analysis (McGuire and Wurst 2002: 92).

These factors can be applied nicely to more recent research designs targeted at farmstead sites including reconstructing the agricultural production history and economic trends associated with regions, communities, and households and also investigating archaeologically how the

primary agricultural activities associated with specific sites or farmsteads influenced daily living conditions (Groover 2008).

Application of Marxist Archaeology and Class Analysis at Farmstead Sites

Preceding the formal study of farmstead archaeology, Marxist archaeology has help set the stage for investigating socio-economic systems at archaeological sites, including rural farming communities. Marxist themes regarding modes of production, class relations, and ideology provide pivotal entry point into understanding both the past and modern world as well as the complex social relations that exist within it. The application of class analysis alone, which can hardly be removed from Marxist ideas, has been particularly beneficial to the field of archaeology. The concept of class, defined as the social groups occupying different productive relations and entailing differential control over labor and surplus (Wurst 2008: 1606), compliments Marxist endeavors. Class structures and the relations that comprise them are inherent factors in the shaping the modern capitalist state (Harvey 2006, Ollman 2014, Wurst 2016), and are intrinsically intertwined with issues involving ideology, identity, class struggle, and class consciousness (Handsman and Leone 1989; Leone 2010). Class has been shown to be intersectional, complementing theoretical domains such as race, gender, and ethnicity to create a more nuanced account of past life experiences (Mullins 1999 and Cook et al. 1996). Furthermore, conversations involving labor, resistance, and power relations between dominating socio-economic systems and their constituents are inherently linked to ideas of class and benefit from its discussion (Shackel and Roller 2012; Shackel 2009). Shy of a discussion of Marxian influence on critical theory and use of these concepts as a way to tackle issues of inequality and social conflict occurring today; this study grounds its analysis in the economic realities happening on farmstead sites over the eighteenth and nineteenth century to contextualize the

development of personal identities happening to American social groups and families and the dynamic socio-economic forces at play underpinning its movement.

Rooted in the social theories of Karl Marx and Max Weber, class analysis draws upon a deep well of theoretical thought that provokes questions regarding the physical and super-structural patterns that guide society and the place of individuals, or certain groups of individuals, within those patterns. Marx, for one, saw class as an aspect of the modes of production produced by a ruling class to guide the relations between social structures. In this sense, class is theorized as an economic relationship which produces oppositional classes composed of those that produce surplus and those that exploit the producer for it (Paynter 1999: 186). This played into Marx's larger appreciation for the use of structural dialectics for theoretical study. This was envisioned through the application of historical materialism, which embraces dialectic relations between socio-economic structures that are evident in the material culture of a given society. The institutionalization of class economic structures is innately connected to class conflict, class struggle, and social change. To quote Marx's famous adage: "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle" (Marx 1964: 200). The catalyst of social change, accordingly, was an awareness of the nature and extent of the processes of exploitation. It follows then that human nature is guided by one's consciousness and consciousness is thus formulated from economic order which is shaped by the creation of the material culture associated with societal modes of production (Berger 1989: 64).

Weber, on the other hand, used class in the sense of a descriptive grouping in order to explore his interest with "capturing the complexities of modern society" (Paynter 1999: 186) and past cultures, which he criticized as Marx's failure to account for. This was particularly evident in Weber's iconic work, the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1905), which is an

early attempt at explaining class formation of capitalism partly in terms of socio-economic relations. Although Weber, like Marx, considered the economic dimension of class difference as a crucial component for capturing this complexity, Weber also considered other “extra-economic” factors (Paynter 1999: 186). To Weber, income and status, nested within the concept of class, were determined by the assets an individual may bring to commercial markets. Weber’s approach thus accounts for roles of identity and status within socio-economic relations. The entanglement of status, income, and identity is an issue still being addressed by archaeologist at the turn of the twentieth century. Cook, Yamin, and McCarthy for example, focused on the division of status within class structure and its manifestations and reinforcement through capitalist consumerism (see Cook et al. 1996).

The application of Marxist theory in the United States was met with some resistance as the discipline dissociated itself with Marx’s theoretical stances and embraced functionalist and processual explanation of the archeological record (Trigger 1989: 391). Despite the taboo of Marxist ideas in the United States through the early- and mid-twentieth century, Marxism and class analysis persisted to find ways to penetrate the field. Gordon Childe, an early proponent of Marxism in anthropological studies, highlighted aspects of “labor, appropriation of surplus production, exploitation, and class struggle” to track changes in relations of production (Wurst 2008: 1606). Childe created a theory of historic development that saw these changes of relations as the ultimate catalyst of revolution and culture change. Later, Rene Millon and Eric Wolf, drawing from the works of Childe, explored the development of productive forces and the dialectic of class and state formation to explain cultural change in prehistoric Mesoamerica (Trigger 1989: 391). Other anthropologist may have been less aware, if not plead ignorance in entirety, but it is hard to ignore Marxist influence even within some neo-evolutionist theories

which lean toward the notions of economic determinism to explain culture change. The application of catastrophe theory popularized in the 1970s and 1980s is an exception to American anthropology's disassociation with class analysis, as it stems from Marxists ideas. Joseph Tainter's generalizing study in 1988, for example, "attributed the collapse of such society to the unchecked growth of increasingly expensive bureaucratic structure" (Trigger 1989: 393). These studies highlight socio-economic systems, the relations between them, and its role in influencing the fate of a civilization. Perhaps this was the wakeup call needed to prompt closer analysis into class and its contributions to understanding the epiphenomena associated with given societal structures.

The stymie of Marxist ideas was primarily contained within American Anthropology; thus, others around the world had a head start in exposing the benefit of Marxist application to archaeology overall. Although Marx's work has plenty of ambiguity contributing to the diversity of approach used by the company of self-proclaimed Marxists (Wurst 2008: 1605), there are some consistencies of thought that permeate through the various strains of Marxist Archaeology overall. For one is the notion that economic relations shape dominant institutions found in society, which, subsequently, shape the consciousness of the individual within society (Berger 1992: 63). Historical materialism, a "dialectical approach that treats society as a totality of interconnected social relations defined by contradiction and conflict," (Wurst 2008: 1606) is used to draw connections from the material to the ideational world. Further, the use of material culture produced by the established mode production directly shapes socio-economic relations. In this way, the Marxist focuses on connecting material and conceptual oppositions, contrasts with neo-evolutionist who explain culture change through 'ideas of linear causality.' Overall, it hard to divorce the notion of class on its own from Marxism hinting to why the use of Marxism

in general has piloted significant discussions into concepts relating to class such as state formation, ideology, social inequality, power relations, etc. But perhaps, one of Marxism biggest influence is the questions it implies toward the role of archaeology within the modern capitalist world.

Current Investigations into Class, Capitalism, and Socio-Economic Power Relations

As the failures of the processual school of thought became more evident, new paradigms began to take shape and older models were revitalized. Partially a response to address the question that processualism avoided, post-processualism looked to explain the myriad of human expression beyond the narrow qualitative confines that processualists imposed via the strict application of a positivist framework. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, archaeologists in their application of Critical Theory began to address the role of archaeology within capitalism, and how ideologies of capitalism penetrate and shape the discipline and perpetuate its agenda as the dominant social structure (Matthews 2012: 208). As it is innately tied to capitalism and the social relations within it, the notion of class, now more consistently defined as “social groups that occupy different productive relations and entails differential control over labor and surplus production” (Wurst 2008: 1606), was adopted to help understand the socio-economic structures in the United States, including the development of capitalism; its associated ideologies; the various aspects of class process, structure, and development; and its connection to race, gender, and other social and political power relations.

The way in which archaeologists have talked about capitalism has profoundly changed over time. Originally perceived primarily as abstract entities that are externally related, the way capitalism was discussed, that is by its parts rather than as a collective whole, only supported the ideologies of industrial capitalism that hid connections between the contradictions present in a

given capitalist system, that is “to help reinforce the acceptance of inequality and abstraction as products of nature that are beyond the control of human endeavor” (Wurst and Mrozowski 2016: 81). The works of Wurst and Mrozowski, following discussion from Ollman (2014), challenge historical archaeologists to view capitalism as an “internally related dynamic totality” that changes its form depending on the regional location and through time (Wurst and Mrozowski 2016: 81). Viewing capitalism as a “web of social relations that are always in motion” (2016: 82), nuanced accounts of the forms capitalism in different contexts can be perceived. To Wurst and Mrozowski, capitalism doesn’t solely rely on the exploitation of labor and the environment to make profits through the buying and selling of goods, but hinge on the “continuous struggle” between capitalists and workers over production, that is, the pursuit of profit via extracting surplus value from its workers, and between “hostile brothers,” a term used by McNally (2011) referring to other competing capitalists in the region (2016 :83).

Similarly, Alison Bell (2005)presents nuanced view of the regional development of capitalism in colonial Chesapeake, where capitalistic strategies that prioritized private profit over social obligation were balanced with contrasting strategies that encouraged groupness of “free whites” or white ethnogenesis. Counter to capitalistic socioeconomic strategies that “sublimate social obligation to individual autonomy and the pursuit of private profit (cf. Mar 1990: 254),” groups of European immigrants and their descendants used specific social and economic exchange patterns to promote a social solidarity amongst whites, in part by casting non-whites as others and at lower status.

The notion of ideology is one of Marxism’s most influential contributions to post-processual archaeology. According to Marx, there is an inherent interest of the bourgeoisie to prevent the proletariat from developing class consciousness and an awareness of itself as an

exploited class (Berger 1989: 63). That reason being to uphold a status quo that underpins the dominant structure and class hierarchy. Ideology, or false consciousness, is produced creating illusions that downplay class difference in order for the upper class to retain control of the means of production of both goods and ideas (Berger 1989: 63). Bruce Trigger and Randall McGuire, for example, examined how colonialism and the modern capitalist state overall was supported and propagated by the ideologies embedded in mainstream images of Native Americans (Wurst 2010). In Marxist archaeology, ideology has material correspondence and can be traced and studied in the archaeological record. In turn, several archaeologists have attempted to discern these ideological strategies, such as individualism, alienation, advertising, privatization, consumerism, and maximization of profit, which are usually present in a capitalistic system.

Through a structural Marxist framework, archaeologist like Leone, Shackel and Potter (1987) for example took advantage of the abstraction and subsequent “naturalization of categories such as class and capitalism from forms of social being” (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). In his research in Annapolis, Mark Leone argues that the forms and symbols built into plantation landscapes, architecture, and material culture are evidence of contradictions and social inequalities of the capitalist system (Leone 1984, 1995). According to Leone, ideology is comprised of the beliefs that people take for granted that “mystify the true nature of social relations to uphold dominant power relations” (Leone 2010). By embedding symbols on the landscape that reflected the dominant ideology, capitalists could naturalized the social relations that the ideologies imply.

Although the diversity of its approach has caused some confusion (Paynter 1999), a few avenues have been firmly established but still offer room to explore and grow from. Wurst (1999), for example, argues for the use of a theory of internal relations to study class, which

entrenches the view of ‘class’ as ‘relations,’ rather than as a category or objective entity.

Through internal relations class can be seen as a “relational, analytical concept that operates at more than one scale or level of abstraction” (Wurst 1999: 8). If class operates at more than one scale or level of abstraction, it follows that we must study it in that way. “Class is not an entity that changes or reacts to history, but a set of relations that are historically constituted, fluid and constantly changing” (Wurst 1999).

Paynter (1999) provides a synopsis of archaeological work addressing some directions used by historical archaeologist in examinations of class analysis near the end of the twentieth century. The author points to three major approaches: class process, class structure, and class formation. Discussion of class process is to “theorize the way surplus is extracted” and how that might affect historical change (Paynter 1999). Investigations into class process begin with the “positing of basic class oppositions to determine modes of production” (Paynter 1999: 186), that is to say, “a specific, historically occurring set of social relations through which labor is deployed to wrest energy from nature by means of tools, skills, organization, and knowledge” (Wolf 1982:75, quoted in Paynter 1999:186). In fewer words, this is the way in which one class exploits the other. Delle (1999) uses class process to explain why Jamaican planter class abandoned their plantations in the nineteenth century. In his paper, he links this transformation with the conflict evident in the class relationship that dominant structure sets, including the African descendant populations’ emancipation and their withholding of labor from the planter class that built the plantation landscape in the first place. Delle also makes a case for studying class at the “local level by analyzing landscapes” (Paynter 1999, :188); which is reminiscent of Leone’s analysis that symbols of power and social structure are embedded in plantation landscapes and the dominant material culture.

Investigations in class structure ‘seek to understand how a given class process’, or mode of production, ‘result in the array of different class positions... and more generally, seek to understand the interplay and resulting structural characteristics of the amalgamation of a set of oppositional class processes’ (Paynter 1999 :186). These investigations into class structure usually blend into discussions relating to gender, race, and ethnicity. Although, it is agreed that race and gender processes should be considered during the interpretation of class, the knitting the two concepts together has presented theoretical issues, especially when gender and race, in theory, were erroneously treated as inclusive properties of class. Despite this pitfall, many have been successful in using class to understanding gender and race relations and vice versa. One good case study of this overlap is Mullins work with archaeological assemblages of middle-class black families in Annapolis, Maryland. In his study he uses a Feminist approach to examine nuanced intersectionality of race and class where African American families were confronted with racial ideologies that “restricted privileges and opportunities” to the middle-class consumer culture (Mullin 1999 :34). Despite these notions supported by racial ideology that Blacks were “unsuited to those citizen privileges in consumption and labor space,” Mullins found that Black consumer activities help facilitate class movement of African American families which was articulated as “an anti-racist class struggle in consumer space” (Mullin 1999 :22).

As noted in Mullins work, consumerism can take on prominent role in understanding class structures, and the relations and dynamic movement within it. Cook, Yamin, and McCarthy dive deeper in the notion of consumerism presenting shopping as “the meaningful action at the very heart of consumption” and the point of intersection where identity, intention, and symbol transform into the ultimate decision to purchase an item (Cook et al. 1999 :50). The consumer action implies power relations and appropriation of that power when an object changes

ownership. Cook et al. (1999) stress the importance of avoiding blanket abstraction of consumerism as a natural entity, which is a failing feature of processual approaches in historical archeology. By viewing consumerism as a social act, a more nuanced dimensions of context and individual agency can be extrapolated, such as, the political motivations of consumption, which become visible through shopping (Cook et al. 1999 :60). This idea of “treating consumers as conscious actors working toward social ends” can help shed light on the development of changing social roles and positions (Cook et al. :57). Diana Wall (1991) applies this idea in analysis of middle-class women in nineteenth-century New York.

Historic archaeologists have become wary of attributing notions of wealth and status to site of limited contexts. During her study of lower-class farmstead sites in upstate New York, Wurst casts skepticism on consumer choice models that assume the presence of free will and the unlimited choice in the market as a means to express identity. In her work at the Keith Site, she argues that the high diversity of ceramic vessels with lack of matching sets does not simply represent a lower class standing, but rather exposes struggles within the present class relations that restricted the consumption choices in the acquisition of material culture. This marks a critical advantage of the use class as an approach to rural sites, as it focuses on the day-to-day economic realities of communities rather than appointing political identity, which further abstracts historic realities (McGuire and Wurst 2002).

The American middle-class has been a popular point of entry by historical archaeologist in addressing larger discussion of the nature and issues of socio-economic structures existing in capitalist states. Coontz (1988), for example, presents a history of middle class in America; others explored class formations/origins and the ways in which a class ‘recreates’ itself (Paynter 1999: 190). As the implication of class analysis evolved to include political dimensions, referring

to struggle for class, gender, and racial equality innately present in the current and past capitalistic governments, historical archaeologist shifted their focus to the working class by examining social relations involved with labor, power, inequality, and the play of dominant and resistance forces. Shackel is a prominent champion of the American working class. Viewed through the framework set by industrial archaeology, Shackel (2009) used aspects of labor to explore the deeper levels of exploitation and resistance in highly industrialized settings. His topics encompass historic tragedies of labor movements that were ultimately suppressed, or even erased via the massacre of its work force, by the dominant state. Roller (2018), Shackel and Roller (2012), and Shackel (2018) approach the Lattimer Massacre in the coalfields of Northeast Pennsylvania in terms of race, American exceptionalism and Empire and labor struggle, which are presented as “deeply turbulent themes underlying the Gilded Age” (Shackel and Roller 2012 :761).

Sites from both rural landscapes and urban contexts have been used to help explore the dynamic view of capitalism. In their analysis of the production of coal as a commodity on the American landscape, Wurst and Mrozowski (2016) show how socio-economic structures changed over time as companies were faced choices to help maximize profits, primarily at the expense of its workforce. Conflicts between classes, that is labor and management, was reaching its height after the Civil War when labor relations and new technologies were introduced to the current capitalist socio-economic networks. Violence become a common component of the processes by which coal companies suppressed, if not destroyed, its labor power. Bells analysis of colonial Chesapeake displays a sequence of piece-meal capitalism, with components of the ideology that were either excepted or rejected by competing classes, in order to foster white

ethnogenesis or groupness among white landowners, casting other groups to lower class positions while solidifying their own place among the social hierarchy.

The endless pursuit of late-stage capitalists to maximize profits continues to bear very real impacts to its workers and the environment. As ideologies are constructed to hide the grim side of capitalistic pursuits, the archaeological investigations that use the notions of class and capitalism as a dynamic totality, the mysticism that supports the capitalist socio-economic structures can be lifted, exposing the actual realities experienced by the people living with the consequences, both intended and unintended.

Chapter 3: Historical Background

Introduction and Big Picture: “Dutch” Occupation of New Netherlands

As part of the first wave of Europeans to colonize North America in the seventeenth century, the Dutch have had a prolific influence on the early development of colonial America amongst the Middle Colonies. Today, more than twenty million Americans have traced their family lineages to Dutch-speaking countries, which stem from three primary waves of Dutch-speakers coming into North America (Douglas, undated). The first wave of immigration from the Netherlands, which included other members of the neighboring Low Countries, followed the exploration of the English explorer, Henry Hudson, in the early seventeenth century, who help create a foothold for Dutch entrepreneurs into the Americas. This new land was acquired from various Native American groups and depicted on early maps as New Netherlands, a large swathe of land occupying portions of what is now New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut, and Delaware; with denser Dutch settlement occurring along the Noort and Zuyd Rivers (present day Hudson and Delaware Rivers) between 1614-1674.

Early Dutch settlement in the 1620s were established to expand the trade network of the Dutch West India Company, primarily to support the export of furs traded by the Native American groups who originally inhabited the area. Multiple Dutch trading posts, the earliest being Fort Nassau and Fort Orange, were established to protect this new investment in land and trade. New Amsterdam, the capital of New Netherlands, was officially established on Manhattan Island 1614, and served as the primary lynch pin that connected the trading endeavors in America to larger trade networks established by the Dutch Trading Company; the Dutch Trading Company dominated the international trade and commerce scene at the time.

By the mid seventeenth century, Dutch settlers were found in large concentrations primarily along the Hudson Valley, southwestern Long Island, and central New Jersey (Wacker 1978: 948). Prominent Dutch settlements within New Jersey at the time include Bergen, established in 1660, and extended into counties of Essex and northern Sussex. By the late seventeenth and continuing into the eighteenth century, Dutch families from Long Island began their settlement of northern Monmouth County. By the 1730s, descendants of Dutch immigrants began to occupy much of the Raritan Valley; the Raritan River offering similar commercial advantages that were exploited by Dutch communities in the Hudson Valley (John Milner Associates 2007). Parts of Somerset, eastern Hunterdon, and southern Middlesex Counties, in particular, experienced a high influx of migrating families with Dutch ethnic backgrounds. (Wacker 1978; 948).

The existence and prosperity of New Netherlands occurred during what is known as the Dutch “Golden Age” of the seventeenth century, in which Dutch “economic superiority and control of trade” was the envy of the competing nations, i.e., England and France (Huey 2005B: 1). English economic reliance on the Dutch to supply high-quality goods lead to entrenched hostility between the two nations. Dutch claim to New Netherlands was lost in 1664 to the English, with a brief restoration of Dutch rule in New York in 1673 and 1674. Although empirical control of the region shifted in favor of the English, Dutch culture would undoubtedly persist into the eighteenth century.

New Netherland is well known as a Dutch colonial enterprise, but not all the immigrants were Dutch in origin, but Protestants who had fled Catholic regimes elsewhere. Some immigrants and refugees, for example, were indoctrinated second-hand under prominent influence that Dutch culture had in the region. In this way, many historic narratives refer to

Dutch as those people who were brought over by the Dutch West India Company and by individual Dutch entrepreneurs beginning in the very early seventeenth century. Many were Flemings, very closely related to the Dutch culturally, while others were French-speakers from what is now southern Belgium and northern France. Others came from farther regions such as Germany, Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary (Wacker 1978: 949). Though the ethnic origins of “Dutch” as a group may be diverse, the Dutch language, government style, and religious institution, i.e. the Dutch Reformed Church, was generally accepted by these regionalized communities. Dutch tradition and institutional practice would come to contrast English influence and the Anglicization of the region, which swept through New York and New Jersey in later history.

Dutch Cultural Influence in New Netherland: Archaeology, Architecture, Landscape, and Socio-Economic and Political Factors

The influence of “Dutch” culture on the New Jersey colonial landscape has been argued to be regionalized and culturally distinct from other immigrating nations, e.g. England and France influence (Wacker 1978); however, this notion is challenged by archaeological evidence associated with more recent Dutch-American sites established by migrating Dutch descendants during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Even after the transfer of New Amsterdam to the English in the seventeenth century and the weakening of the Dutch trade and manufacturing industry in the eighteenth century (Huey 2005A), Dutch traditions and aspects of their ethnic heritage and material culture maintained present on the changing landscape, later contributing to an intermeshing of Dutch and English inspired goods at American Dutch farmstead sites.

By the nineteenth century, pockets within New York were still comprised of Dutch-speaking communities, which reflects the deeply ingrained cultural traditions originally brought

forth by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. Further, the presence of the Dutch Reformed Church today, speaks to the community's deep connection to Dutch identity. For example, the Flatbush Dutch Reformed Church, established in 1654 in what is today Brooklyn New York, still stands today, despite various episodes of disrepair and renovation (Santoro 2016). This particular church is located in the original community where early Dutch families migrating from Holland first settled, including early members of the Schencks, Kouwenhoven (later Covenhoven, then Conover), Voorhees, and Wyckoff families, some of which are buried in the same cemetery, and who were heavily influential in the development of the Dutch communities outside of New York in and around Penns Neck, New Jersey, discussed further in depth below. The following sub-chapter explores previous investigations into the history and archaeology of Dutch cultural influence that has help trace the material and conceptual networks of architectural and landscape design, socio-economic structures and institutions, and material and consumer culture that embrace Dutch cultural traditions, before providing a local history of Penns Neck.

Old World Archaeology: Material Culture and Traditions

Old World Dutch archaeology provides useful insight into the material culture present at New World assemblages. To help contextualize the material footprint left by Dutch occupants in North America during colonization, some archaeologists have looked to urban and rural sites in the Netherlands to trace continuity and change in consumer patterns originally accepted at the homeland. Taken further, comparison of colonial Dutch assemblages with eighteenth and nineteenth century sites, can show the extent in which Dutch-inspired traditions took hold in communities settled by the descendants of these migrating Dutch families.

Case studies involving the systematic investigation of cesspits, or privy-pits, from Dutch colonies near Amsterdam, for example, can provide a review of prevailing ceramics used in

Dutch households during the early modern period. Although these cultural deposits can be contextually complex, including a variety of household and even multiple generations of occupants, they have potential to highlight general trends of household ceramic use that may be considered “Dutch” material culture. In their study, European and other global trends were assessed to help understand the degree to which it may have influenced the meaning and value behind the material types found at these sites. Particularly these assemblages have been helpful for the ongoing Diaspora and Identity research project, directed by James Symonds (2019).

According to the archaeological investigations and research conducted by Marijn Stolk on Amsterdam cesspits, by the early seventeenth century, “ordinary households were able to acquire a variety of imported goods, resulting in eclectic collections of objects” (Stolk 2021: 17). This was most likely due to the Dutch superiority and control of international trade networks which originated among commercial ports along the Baltic Sea, soon expanding outside of European waters and leading to the establishment of the United East India Company (VOC) in 1602 and the West India Company in 1621. Extensive trade networks made what was once rare and costly, become attainable and affordable. By the end of the seventeenth century, new ceramic forms used for the consumption of common commodities such as tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco became common place in households. Furthermore, prominent trade and immigration into the Netherland by other cultural groups fleeing religious prosecution, help create an eclectic grouping of domestic items (Stolk 2021: 18).

Among the most common ceramic types found in household refuse deposits on sites in the Netherlands are locally made redwares, followed by Dutch majolica and faience and Asian porcelain. Also of noteworthy frequency were slipwares and whitewares of Dutch or German origin (Stolk 2021: 19-20). Dutch redware decorated with yellowish slip motifs produced in the

North Holland area in the Nederrijn area of the Netherlands, were a more specific and expensive option than other rustic redwares that were primarily used for utilitarian purposes.

New World Archaeology

Archaeological investigation of seventeen and eighteen century Dutch sites in New Netherlands, show an early basis of continuity in the material culture used by Dutch speakers after their immigration across the Atlantic; however, this continuity appears at a lesser degree on Anglo-Dutch sites in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries. Cultural continuity, or the act of “settling households to transplant Old World material traditions and strive to maintain culturally distinct practices in the New World” (Groover 2008: 5), was a common practice during the early stages of immigration or transplantation from Old World to new World contexts, and extensively documented via the colonial archaeological record among varying groups of people; however, the degree to which culture’s maintained these traditions and the way traditions and their symbolic expression changes over time provide intriguing research questions for historic archaeologists to investigate. At early Dutch sites, cultural continuity, regarding the material culture utilized in New Netherlands, was understandably at its height during the early occupation of region coinciding with the Dutch “Golden Age.” After the Dutch relinquished colonial control of New Amsterdam to the British, economic and commercial control gradually shifted in favor of the English, England serving as the new industrial giant and supplier of goods to the world. Although Dutch cultural influence clearly remained present in New York and New Jersey, by the late eighteenth and nineteenth century much has appeared to be diluted with the mainstream consumer choices offered by the British

Dutch Forts established along the major water ways of New Netherland have been a prominent subject of archaeological investigations, largely due to their vanishing presence

caused by floods and urban development, and offer insight into the type of material early Dutch occupants had in their possessions. For example, excavations at the Van Doesburgh house at Fort Orange included “Dutch majolica, faience, Westerwald stoneware, red earthenware utility vessels, glass bottles, roemer glasses, facon de venise glass beakers, Delft tiles, and building materials;” artifacts like these have also been frequently encountered at sites in Amsterdam (Huey 2017: 301). Artifacts recovered in front of the Custom House building at Fort Amsterdam, established 1626, produced Dutch or English faience fragments, glazed red earthenware, green wine glass, and seventeenth century Dutch clay pipes marked with HG and EB makers mark; EB representing Edward Bird of Amsterdam, whose pipes are “nearly always present” in seventeenth-century Dutch artifact assemblages (Huey 2017: 305). Similarly, investigations at Fort Casimir, established 1651, produced seventeenth century Dutch tableware, including Dutch Majolica and Dutch faience (Delf), hollowares, including Westerwald stoneware fragments, Dutch red earthenware, and Rhenish stoneware; the base of glass roemer, and Dutch yellow bricks (Huey 2017:317-318).

Perhaps the most prevalent form of Dutch ethnic heritage that persists on the North American landscape is Dutch-inspired architectural forms. Architecturally, Dutch and Flemish construction techniques are evident in the New Netherlands, though few are still standing today. Dutch colonial homes, for example, a one and half story, and relatively narrow house with a projecting gambrel roofs, has been recorded by Historic American Building Survey in Old Bergen County but less commonly in the Raritan valley; gambrel roofs being a trademark of Dutch construction techniques.

“Dutch Barns,” a relatively square structure with a gable roof and entrances via the gable ends, are another traditional building type found at Dutch settlements in New Jersey and have

been noted in central and northern Holland (Wacker 1978: 954). Controversy to the spatial recordation of Dutch colonial homes, Dutch Barns were more commonly recorded south of Old Bergen County and more so along and south of the Raritan River; the area of Old Bergen switching to barns constructed in the English style early on (Wacker 1978: 953). Peter Kalm, the Finnish naturalist, remarks of the peculiar construction of large barns between Trenton and New York characteristic of German and Dutch farms, with the Dutch being more numerous (Princeton Neighbor 1939).

The use of labor in Dutch communities varies across the American landscape. In part, Dutch families would be large, having their children help with the daily routines of the farming lifestyle. Outside of the family, Dutch in the Americas were not opposed to the use of slave labor and indentured servitude. The involvement of the VOC in the slave trade and other capitalistic ventures clearly demarks the cultural use of enslaved Africans as the mean of the workforce. This lies in contrast with English Quaker communities, who did not own slaves, but nonetheless profited from the institution.

As evidenced by the persistence of Dutch material culture, architectural forms, and institutions at early Dutch site in New Netherlands, the Dutch influence on the New Jersey landscape has been argued to be distinctive from other cultural traditions. Despite more than a hundred years after English conquest of New York, Dutch cultural forms continued to persist, especially in early contact urban centers in New York and New Jersey (Huey 2005: 1); however, evidence of Dutch material culture was subsiding to the English which began to dominate the consumer markets. According to Huey's (2005) research of Dutch colonial sites:

“The roles of the producer and consumer between the Netherlands and England gradually began to be reversed. Dutch industry began to weaken in the eighteenth century as Dutch

capitalists increasingly focused on more auspicious investments in England rather than at home. Although the Netherland continued to maintain a vast colonial empire, Dutch economic activities became less visible and more financial... (Wilson 1966: 17-18, 72-73)" (Huey 2005: 1).

Although not denying the claim outright, other archaeologists, like Scharfenberger and Veit (2001-2002) argue that by the eighteenth century the distinct makeup of "Dutch" material cultural and traditional symbolism was near absent from archaeological assemblages at Dutch American sites in New Jersey. In his analysis of domestic ceramic assemblages from the Johannes Luyster House, material culture from trash pits show consumer patterns that were more homogenous with dominant material trends, primarily of English influence, outside of Dutch traditions. Even though the Luysters had access to local redwares produced by Dutch descendant and family friend, Daniel Hendrickson, in the late eighteenth century, the family still heavily relied on the purchasing of English wares, which were likely an emerging as the new high status symbol in the region. The fact that the occupants of the house, descendants of the same Dutch property owners, identified heavily with their Dutch origins, even as members of the Holland Society of America, made this discovery even more surprising to the authors. The exceptions of Dutch domestic products were few, but included the original house itself, constructed in a Dutch-inspired vernacular; large free-standing Kas, or cabinet; and a Dutch-form redware colander, or vergiet. (Scharfenberger and Veit 2001-2002).

Despite the small number of excavations at seventeen- and eighteenth-century Dutch sites in the New Netherland region, the few that do exist portray a similar picture of consumer culture among historic Dutch communities. Excavations of a privy at the Van Lidth de Jeude house, residence of a very wealthy, high-status Dutch family, show a rapid transition of ceramic types

from two temporal contexts confined within the privy. Earlier soil contexts of the privy, dating to 1701-1740, was dominated by the presence of tin-glazed earthenware of Delfware or faience; while later contexts, dating to 1760-1780, was characterized by an increased presence of English teawares, such as white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware. The regional demand for English wares in New York and New Jersey was echoed by a new demand occurring in the Netherlands at the time for valuable English and French exports (Huey 2005; Cotterell 1972: 209); English earthenwares and creamwares dominated quantities of ceramics found at privies in Nijmegen, Gelderland (Huey 2005; Thijssen 1985:117).

Archaeological excavations conducted at News Brunswick, an early Dutch town established by the turn of the seventeenth century, revealed evidence of Dutch-inspired architecture, but little in regard to the domestic material recovered from the infill of cellar features, which were heavily skewed in favor of English wares (Yamin et al. 2007). Similarly, archaeology of Dutch sites in Kingston, a region noted for the old Dutch families hold of the area as late as the mid nineteenth century, had minimal possession of their original Dutch heritage. Interestingly, like at the eighteenth-century sites noted above, traditional architectural forms persisted in the area, referring to the last of Dutch barns in the area that were rebuilt in the vernacular style after being originally burned by the British (Diamond 2004).

Local History: Penns Neck and the Schenck and Covenhoven Families

By the eighteenth century, descendants of Dutch and German immigrants migrating from New York and northeastern New Jersey were settling in the southern regions of the Raritan Valley establishing a series of tight-knit, localized communities that extended between New Brunswick and Trenton. Penns Neck, one of many these small Dutch communities, was established by the second generation of the Schenck and Covenhoven, later anglicized to

Conover, families, who purchased the 6500-acre tract from the heirs of William Penn in 1737. The development of Penns Neck was relatively slow up until its population surge in the early nineteenth century following the construction of the new turnpike in 1804.

Despite the industrialization of the region which was greatly impacted by the construction of the Delaware/Raritan Canal and Amboy Railroad track, the Penns Neck community primarily remained a subdivision of family-owned farmsteads that were worked and maintained, in part, by the Schenck and Covenhoven families, among other Dutch families, and their work force during the eighteenth century. Positioned at the confluence of Millstone creek and Stoney Brook, tributaries to the Delaware River to the southeast, the geographical location of Penns Neck offered the ideal property for its early settlement, including access to fertile soils for agriculture and transportation networks to larger cities such as Trenton. Its location adjacent to Princeton along the Kings Highway, further, would allow easy access to trade networks and communities for the selling of surplus stock.

The Covenhoven and Schenck families, interrelated through marriage, emigrated from the same Holland town of Amersfoort in Utrecht, Netherlands to the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam in June 1650, 14 years before English gained territorial control of New Amsterdam. Roelof Martensen Schenck and Neeltje Gerritse Van Couwenhoven (Covenhoven) had 14 children at their residence in Flatlands, New York after their marriage in 1660; Roelof Martense, with his son, Jan Schenck, daughter Anetje Schenck, and cousin Jacov van Cowewenhoven were recorded having settled on the lower end of Long Island, New York (Fredrick 1938, presentation). After Neeltje Gerritse death in 1672, shortly after the birth of her son and later co-founder of Penns Neck, Garret Roelofse Schenck, Roelof Martensen Schenck married into the

Wyckoff family, another prominent Dutch family that inhabited the area near Princeton by the eighteenth century and had an additional eight children before his death around 1704.

By 1696, members of the second generation, including Garret Roelofse Schenck, John Couwenhoven and Cornelius Couwenhoven (Covenhoven), had moved to Monmouth County, New Jersey, acquiring land near Holmdel, where they resided for a time (Fredrick 1938, presentation). Before their departure westward, Garret Roelofse married Neeltje Coertse Van Voorhees in 1693. The purchase of the large tract comprising Penns Neck appears to have been made to settle the third generation of Schencks and Covenhovens in America. The original 6500-acre tract was subdivided several times in 1737 and 1738 and deeded to the sons of Roelofse Schenck, John Couwenhoven and Cornelius Couwenhoven (Covenhoven). The Schenck and Covenhoven heirs proceeded to subdivide the land almost strictly among kingship networks throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century. Later, English settlers would marry into and buy property from the early Dutch-descended families of Penns Neck.

Early Settlement of Penns Neck (1737-1804)

Leading up to the first half of the eighteenth century, central New Jersey was largely rural supporting migrating Dutch families undertaking agrarian lifestyles in the area between Trenton and New York. The agrarian landscape that emerged at Penns Neck in the mid to late eighteenth century was comprised of an interconnected pattern of farmstead properties owned by the Schenks and the Kovenhoven families, and their descendants. Other prominent families of Dutch heritage settling in the in and around Penns Neck included the Voorhees and Wyckoff family. Outside of general land acquisitions by the emerging Dutch families, little is known about the state of the community at Penns Neck in the eighteenth century. Before the construction of the first Baptist church 1809, local resident would have conducted meetings in private homes

(Princeton Neighbor 1939). Penn's Neck is credited as the first community in West Windsor Township to have a school. The school has been suggested to be built before 1760 by the concerted efforts of all the able-bodied men in the community (IDID).

The private property maintained by settling families was primarily agricultural including swaths of grain fields and flourishing orchards. In 1748, Peter Kalm, a Finnish naturalist remarked on one of his travels in the area about the quantity and appeal of the peach, apple, and cherry tree orchards established on "near almost every farmhouse" in the Penns Neck area (Princeton Neighbor 1939: 61). Agricultural activities would continue to be a mainstay of the area, consisting predominantly of family-owned farming operations up until the 1920s.

Peter Kalm also remarks on the impressive "Dutch Barn" constructions noted above. While visiting Penns Neck, he remarked:

"The whole building was very great, so as to almost equal a small church; the roof was pretty high, covered with wooden shingles declining on both sides, but not steep; the walls which support were not much higher than a full grown man, but on the other hand, the breadth of the building was more than considerable;... on one side were the stalls for the horses, and the other for the cows; and the small cattle had likewise their particular stables or styes; on both ends of the buildings were great gates so that one could come in with a cart and horses through one of them and go out of the other; here were therefore under one roof, the threshing floor, the barn, the hayloft, and the coach house."

(Princeton Neighbor 1939: 61)

Kalm's description of threshing areas implies the agricultural production of grain and hay at the Penns Neck farms; the grain was most likely processed at the local grist mill established by Jacob Scudder in 1749 on the Millstone River directly north of the Schenck-Covenhoven

property and the hay serving as feed for their own livestock. With large families living under the same roof, in addition, to the boarding of cows and horses and the existing orchards, the agrarian landscape at Penns Neck would be robust with activity. According to historic census data, it is not clear if the Schencks or Covenhovens used the labor of enslaved people during the eighteenth-century occupation at Penns Neck. However, census records by 1830, which shows selected households owned by both the Schenck and Conover family members housing a collective of eight slaves and 11 “freed colored persons” on their property, provides evidence for the presence of slavery at Penn’s Neck during the early nineteenth century, at least.

Along with Penns Neck early development in the eighteenth century, other communities, noted for their connections to this early Dutch immigration to area, include New Brunswick, Dutch Neck, and Cedar Grove. Princeton began to emerge as a larger urban center around 1750 due to its location along the King’s Highway, now Nassau Street.

The development of New Jersey’s early turnpike network encouraged denser settlement during the early nineteenth century without fundamentally altering the dispersed, agricultural settlement pattern of the area. Utilizing the previously existing road that cuts through the Penns Neck, the construction of the Princeton Turnpike linking Trenton and New Brunswick had a large impact on the small community of Penns Neck, connecting and partly engaging the small community into the larger industrial socio-economic systems developing in the region overall.

Industrialization of Penns Neck (1804-the 1930s)

By the early 1800s, the area comprising the Penns Neck community had turned into a small village. Population and industry would increase in the coming years partly due to its location along the Trenton-New Brunswick Turnpike, Route 1, chartered in 1804. The increased flow of revenue made possible by the new turnpike, created opportunity for new business

ventures within the community and the neighboring region. Following the construction of the Princeton Turnpike, William Covenhoven constructed the Red Lion Inn at its intersection with Washington Road. The Princeton Baptist Church was erected across the street from the inn five years later to serve as the formal house of worship, and as a public meeting place.

Throughout the nineteenth century, members of the growing Schenck and Covenhoven families became deeply integrated within the political and social institutions developing at Penns Neck and the region. The Schenck and Covenhoven kinship network by this time, alone, penetrated many regional locations including at Princeton and Huntington. In government, a member of the Schenck family was elected nine times as a “chosen freeholder,” or elected official governing over Windsor Township. Further, the Schencks were recorded as township clerks, assessors, and collectors, members of township committees, constables, and superintendents of schools. In 1820, John A. Schenck was operating a coach-making and repair business and was afterwards conducted by Rowland & Schenck for many years. In 1857, Garret Schenck, grandson of Garret Schenck senior, with Liscomb Titus conducted business for a foundry/machinery business after its original failure in 1857. The Schenck family also has tentative ties to Princeton University, in which George W. Schenck successively taught at the new academy in 1822. Doctor John Stillwell Schanck, late professor of chemistry and hygiene at Princeton, also stems from the lineage of Penns Neck founder, Garret Schenck.

Similarly, members of the Covenhoven family served local institutions and were recorded as township clerks, members of township committees, and constables. Along with Nelson Silvers, a historic property owner of the Covenhoven house at Penns Neck, the Covenhovens were prominent figures in the local school system; the Covenhovens allotting a portion of their property for the construction of the community’s school, and serving as teachers and

superintendents. Outside of the local sphere of the immediate community, Francis Steven Conover, a descendant of Wolfert Garretson van Covenhoven, was a member of the first graduating class from Annapolis in Maryland (Princeton Neighbor 1939: 63). By the 1830s US census, the Covenhovens fully anglicized their name to Conover; and the family was engaged in many occupations within the Township.

Furthermore, the Schenks and Covenhoven families had a major influence in the establishment of the religious institutions that would develop at Penns Neck as well as into neighboring communities of Dutch Neck and Princeton. Much of the life of the community centered around the church; social networks established through these religious institutions were fundamental to social cohesion needed to support the development of the communities in which they were established. William Covenhoven is recorded as the primary builder of the Penn's Neck Baptist Church constructed in 1812. Many of the founder families are buried in the cemetery, while others are buried at the Penns Neck Cemetery. William C. Schenck, son of Joseph Schenck who was noted as a pious farmer in the vicinity of Princeton and who was educated in Princeton, was installed as pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Princeton.

Despite the institutional presence of the deep religious systems at Penns Neck, changes, whether industrial or secular, were happening to the community's development and participating social behaviors. According to newspaper articles of the time, horseracing, along with the assumption of gambling, was present at Penns Neck (Princeton Neighbor 1939). In the 1840s, another inn and tavern that opened across the street from the Red Lion, further encouraged the consumption of alcohol.

An influx of English settlers came as new trade networks opened to the region. The close distance to Princeton also made new settlement appealing. Prominent families that moved into

the Penns Neck community including the Jewell, Jeminsen, and Cox families. The changing hands and subdivision of property to newcomers partly coincides with the construction of the Camden and Amboy Branch Rail Line servicing New Brunswick between 1839 into the 1860s and the Delaware and Raritan Canal (D&R Canal) which was in peak use by 1866 and provided access to raw material previously not available. The canal was in part designed to support the interregional trade in anthracite coal from Pennsylvania mines, providing more efficient shipping between Philadelphia and New York.

The Jewell family, who eventually purchases the Schenck farm at 28ME408, can be traced to William Jewell (1724-1781) of Cranbury in Middlesex County. William Jewell married Rebecca Dye Dey in 1758. The Dye family had previously married into the Conover family (Woodward and Hageman 1888). Between the birth of sons Elisha (1757) and William Dey (1765), the Jewells relocated from Cranbury to West Windsor Township. William Dey Jewell was the scion of the Jewell family in Penns Neck. His children Elisha (1800-1873) and Thomas (1810-1891) were prominent landowners and local government officials. Elisha served on the township council from 1838-1846 and again in 1857. By 1840, Thomas Jewell had settled on the track associated with the original purchase of Garret Schenck.

Antebellum and the Twentieth Century (1860-the 1930s)

By the turn of the century, the farming operations conducted at the old Schenck farm established the Jewell family as an elite-class farming family, with operations continuing up to the late 1930s to early 1940s when property was sold to the Lake Carnegie Association. Although, still partially engaged in farming as an occupation, many members of the Schenck and Conover lineage made headway into other occupations as well as political offices. Despite this change, the boarding of younger family members were noted in many houses holds acquired by

farmers who bought land originally owned by the Schencks. An early example, according to the 1860s census, shows a Margaret Conover boarding with the Jeminsen family in the house constructed just west of the original Schenck farmstead. This practice is noted at many of the family farms at Penns Neck including boarding across prominent families including the Jewells, Voorhees, Wykoffs, and Deys, who have original ties to the Schencks and Covenhovens via extended family ties that were established both before and after their families' immigration to the New Netherlands region.

In 1900s, land tracks at Penns Neck were gradually being sold outside predominant family lines. Princeton Nursery, a historically significant tree nursery and horticultural business in the region, acquired land bounding the farms. Lake Carnegie, an artificial lake or reservoir, was constructed in 1906 by damming the confluence of the Millstone River and Stony Brook to create a course for crew racing at Princeton University (Palus and Torp 2021). It was the first such reservoir created in the United States specifically to for competitive rowing; some of land track comprising the western extent of the Penns Neck was acquired for the lake's construction. In the early twentieth century, Princeton University began to buy and acquire the land that was once owned by the Schencks, Covenhoven, and Jewells. Around the same time, in 1917, an attempt was made to change the name of the town, however the name was not changed with local support from the senior family still within the community, demonstrating a strong tie from the people to the town's history (Princeton Neighbor 1939: 59).

Over the course of history, the old Schenck farm would go through a series of profound changes during Jewell's occupation of the house; turning the farm into a commercially oriented farming operation that took advantage of the developing socio-economic systems at play in the region. Alterations made by Thomas Jewell not only included the enlargement and remodeling of

the Garret Schenck farmhouse to reflect the more-fashionable Victorian style but reformatting the farm layout and farming operations to promote and accommodate the industrialization of the farming activities. Properties owned by Thomas Jewell and his family are described as three of the finest farms in the township (Woodward and Hageman 1888).

Chapter 4: Methodology and Data

Introduction: Assessing Capitalism in Motion at Farmstead Sites

To answer the research question posed by this study, as it relates to the dynamic study of capitalism at Penns Neck and the persistence of traditions held by the descendants of Anglo-Dutch settlers, a composite of both archaeological and historic data will be referred to for a holistic analysis of the subject. Archaeological data, including the spatial distribution of artifacts and features classified by functional and temporal association recovered during the recent investigations at Penns Neck, serve as the primary data source for the research design. A variety of historical sources will be incorporated into the study to contextualize the archaeological findings, especially in light of capitalistic ideologies and strategies implemented at the farm that may affect the surplus power its workforce and ultimately affecting the economic success of the farm. Specific sets of historical documentation include: data associated with the farming landscape layout, i.e. historic aerials; the presence of work force and occupational developments, i.e. census data; and the distribution of wealth between community members, i.e. wills and deeds. Although few secondary historic sources exist for the area outside of Princeton proper, historic narratives, primarily developed by the West Windsor Historical Society, of the township were utilized in part to compare current rhetoric embracing Penns Neck and the archaeological evidence found on the ground.

Archaeological Data Recovered at Penns Neck

Archaeological data used for the analysis in this study was recovered during the Phase I and Phase II archaeological investigation at Penns Neck by the Ottery Group in 2021 and 2022.

The testing strategy for survey was developed by the Ottery Group; and the results of the survey was published in a series of reports (Palus and Torp 2021, Andrews et al. 2022). The Phase I survey conducted in 2020 consisted of the excavation of over 2,249 shovel test pits (STPs) over approximately 207 acres of the Penns Neck Community north of New Brunswick Turnpike, resulting in the identification of six historic archaeological sites. A total of four of these sites exhibited evidence of Dutch and English settlement as early as eighteenth century and are the focus of the thesis study; including 28ME407, Penns Neck Cemetery; 28ME408, Schenk/Jewell Farm Site; 28ME410, Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House Site; and 28ME413, Harrison Street House Site. A Phase II archaeological evaluation was conducted to determine the NRHP eligibility of the identified sites. Test Units were placed in accordance with available data and resources gathered by the staff at the Ottery Group and tailored to meet specific project goals including: (1) to determine the horizontal and vertical extent of the sites; (2) to establish the chronology; (3) to determine function; and (4) to determine the remaining integrity of the cultural resource.

Artifact identification categories used in this study are primarily functional, adhering to Stanley South's Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology (South 1977) and are the same used by the Ottery Group. Artifacts recovered during the Phase I and Phase II survey were initially sorted into general categories based on material type and inventoried based on relevant diagnostic attributes. The use of functional group artifact categories within this report is intended for purely organizational and baseline site descriptive artifact analysis only. Interpretations derived from these categories and presented within this report are intended to be read within the present context of archaeological investigations at Penns Neck, and, as such, may not necessarily be applicable to broad archaeological sites elsewhere.

The interpretation of archaeological contexts, whether for stratigraphic or artifact analysis, was guided by several analytical methods. Analytical methods for determining stratigraphic contexts follows the principle of superposition in culturally-formed, stratigraphic formations and uses the presence of diagnostic artifacts for the determination of *Terminus Post Quem* (TPQ) and *Terminus Ante Quem* (TAQ) of a given stratigraphic soil contexts. When appropriate, Mean Ceramic Dates (MCD) will be calculated for domestic ceramic assemblages to better understand temporal associations of stratigraphic contexts in regards function of the site and to compare intra-site assemblages.

Dating techniques used during the study general focus on diagnostic ceramics, glass, and architectural material. Ceramics are useful in tracing manufacturing techniques and popular decorative styles that changed over time. This allows for a production of timeline for historic ceramic wares. Glass vessels, furniture hardware, and nails also exhibit manufacturing techniques that help trace the use of the landscape throughout time.

Spatial analysis of artifact distribution at the site, particularly at the Schenck-Jewell Farm Site, will focus on the spatial proportions of artifact functional groups to determine function(s) of the various structures, present in early historic photographs of the areas. Concentration of artifact by category and type will be compared with known footprints of the house and outbuildings, expressed by the presence of structural features and buildings depicted on aerial photography, to define expectations of artifact clustering at the main residence and within the work yard of the farm complex overall. The results of spatial data will be compared with census data in order to shed insight to the whereabouts of the workforce and their impact on the landscape. Distributions of artifacts by type will be used to make general assumptions about class identity and status of the inhabitants occupying various portions of the site. Due to the varying sample sizes of artifacts

recovered from the specific locations of the site that were analyzed for this study, the proportion of artifacts according to the established artifact groupings were calculated and compared.

Artifacts were recovered from various stratigraphic context throughout the site, including a layer of fill associated with the demolition the site in the late twentieth century and intact surfaces found beneath the fill layer with TPQ dates extending to the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries. Artifacts recovered from the fill were used in the spatial analysis of the domestic and workyard loci of the site; however, only artifacts from intact stratigraphic contexts were used for analysis of function between the various outbuildings, with artifacts from fill used to only minimally to supplement the data.

Archival Research and Historical Documentation

Primary documentation supporting this research was sourced from the Office of the Mercer County Clerk and at the New Jersey State Archive in Trenton. The Phase I and Phase II survey conducted by the Ottery Group (Palus and Torp 2021, Andrews et al. 2022) also contains a synthesis of specific historical documentation used to create the localized accounts of the histories for the given study area. Online sources including the Library of Congress, New Jersey Register of Historic Property, New Jersey Historic Structures Survey Forms, and Princeton University Library were relied upon for supplemental data, as was previous research conducted during other cultural resource surveys in the area, ie archaeological surveys.

A quantitative analysis of historic census records helps depict the demographic and social networks present on farmstead properties over time. Although census data fields vary over time, quantitative data sets that compare number of people, whether members of the head family, boarders, laborers, or slaves, will be compared where applicable. Surnames of people recorded living on the site during the time of the census will be compared to map social networks of inter-

connected families existing in the Penns Neck community. Census data that record occupational titles of all people listed at a given residence, as well as their origin of nationality, will be assessed to provide context to persons living on the site not holding the head family's surname. These factors will be highlighted and compared to determine socio-economic relations occurring on the farm.

Chapter 5: Results

Archaeological Findings at the Schenck-Jewell Farmstead Site (28ME408)

The archaeological investigation at the Schenck/Jewell Farmstead Site revealed evidence of a bustling farm complex with structural features and artifacts that trace the life of the farm, extending from the mid-eighteenth to twentieth century. The demolition of the structures at the site by the 1980s, including the removal of subsurface architectural features associated with the main residence including evidence of footers or foundations, builder's trenches, and any cellars, took a large toll on the integrity of the remaining archeological deposits. Despite the erasure of most of the above ground cultural elements, the most notable exception being the square stone well noted during a previous architectural inventory, archaeological evidence associated with its previous inhabitants and associated operations, including subsurface structural features associated with a series of outbuildings within the work yard, was identified. As a result of the Phase II evaluation conducted at site 28ME408, a total of 3,610 artifacts were recovered and 18 features, including 15 structural features, were identified.

Diagnostic artifacts recovered from the site provide evidence of occupation extending to the early settlement of the site. Domestic material including tableware of tin-glazed earthenware, pearlware, and creamware have manufacture dates extending into the eighteenth century, coinciding with the time when Garret Schenck and his descendants were taking residence at the site. In contrast, the occurrence of whitewares, yellowware, and white granite ceramic wares, having manufacture dates extending into the nineteenth century, coincide with the Jewell's occupation of the site. Further, the replacement of nineteenth century material with twentieth century material, such as the replacement of cut nail for wire nails; slate roofing for asphalt

roofing tile; and electrical lighting elements for lamp chimney, pushes the presence of farming operations into the twentieth century.

The features identified at the Jewell/Schenck Farm Site were primarily structural, with the exception of one dog burial located east of the well; all remaining features were attributed to bioturbation. Structural features extending into subsoil present below the fill deposits associated with the demolition of the site's structures, provides evidence of a series of outbuildings presumed to be associated with the work yard for the farm and location of farming and industrial operations. Further, structural features display evidence of multiple building techniques, including earth-fast wooden construction incorporating the use of structural posts and sills. and masonry construction incorporating the use of deep stone foundations and stone piers. The use of deep stone foundations for buildings associated with farming activities is unusual and possibly reflects barn building traditions brought over by the early inhabitant families: the Schencks. Although, it was reported during previous architectural inventory in Penns Neck that the main house built by Garret Schenck sometime during the mid-eighteenth century, also had elements of stone, the footprint of the house along with associated foundational features explored during the Phase II evaluation were completely removed during the house's demolition.

Despite lack of above ground architectural features present at Site 28ME408, historical documentation including historic maps, aerial imagery, and architectural inventories provide evidence of the farm's character, (i.e. farm layout and architectural design, location, and temporal persistence on the landscape). The earliest recordation of the house on the Otley and Keily Map of Mercer County (1849) shows its location offset from the main road under the ownership by T. (Thomas) Jewell; multiple structures are depicted as small squares, two of which are shaded in black and assumed to represent the main residential area with the remaining

three to the north and east unshaded and assumed to correlate with the farm's outbuildings. The house is depicted in the same general location throughout the eighteenth century; the orientation of the driveway between historic maps between 1875 and 1903 being the only change depicted, which shows its orientation shift in approach from the east of the farm to an approach from south extending in a direct line from the turnpike at a point closer to the heart of the Penn's Neck community. Historic aerials from the early twentieth century show the primary residence and over ten outbuildings to the north and east of the house. Contrasting aerials between 1947 and 1953 show a series of demolitions occurring to some of the outbuildings in the work yard, leaving only the large barn to the north, a series of outbuildings, including the square stone barn, to the east, and a small structure near the center of the work yard. The demolition of various outbuildings during the mid-nineteenth century coincide with the transfer of ownership of the property outside of the Jewell family; farming operations appearing to cease at this time with the central workspace of farm converted for the use as a storage space for various vehicles and machinery. By 1987, historic aerials show only a small number of the structures present on the farm complex than from earlier aerial photographs. An architectural survey conducted in 1988 (Hands) notes only three buildings on the property of note, including the main residence, the stone barn, and possible smokehouse to the immediate west of the house.

To facilitate the discussion of the farm complex layout corresponding with individual structures, the 1947 map is used as a template for referencing the buildings targeted during the Phase II archaeological investigation of the site, and the structural features associated with those buildings that were identified as a result of test unit excavations (Figure 1). Table 1 supplements Figure 1, providing a list of the specific structures under scrutiny with associated archaeological features and temporal associations. Temporal association of features were determined by

diagnostic artifacts recovered from feature contexts; features not containing artifacts were dated by construction techniques associated with the general occupational history of the site, primarily between the Schenck family (eighteenth century occupation) and the Jewell family (nineteenth and twentieth century presence).

Table 1: List of Structures evidenced by 1947 Aerial Photograph and Archaeological Features

Building #	Locus	Interpretation/Function	Structural Features	Temporal Association
1	Domestic	Schenck/Jewell House (Primary Residence)	\	18th century
2	Workyard	Wood Outbuilding (Tenant House)	Shallow Post hole and molds, truncated sills	19th century
3	Workyard	Wood Outbuilding (West)	Truncated Sill	19th century
4/5	Workyard	Wood Outbuilding Series (North central)	Deep Post hole and mold	19th century
6	Workyard	Large Wooden Outbuilding (North)	Shallow Masonry Foundation	19th century
7	Workyard	Stone Barn (North)	Deep Masonry Foundation under BLDG#6	18th century
8	Workyard	Stone Barn (West)	Deep Masonry Foundation	18th century

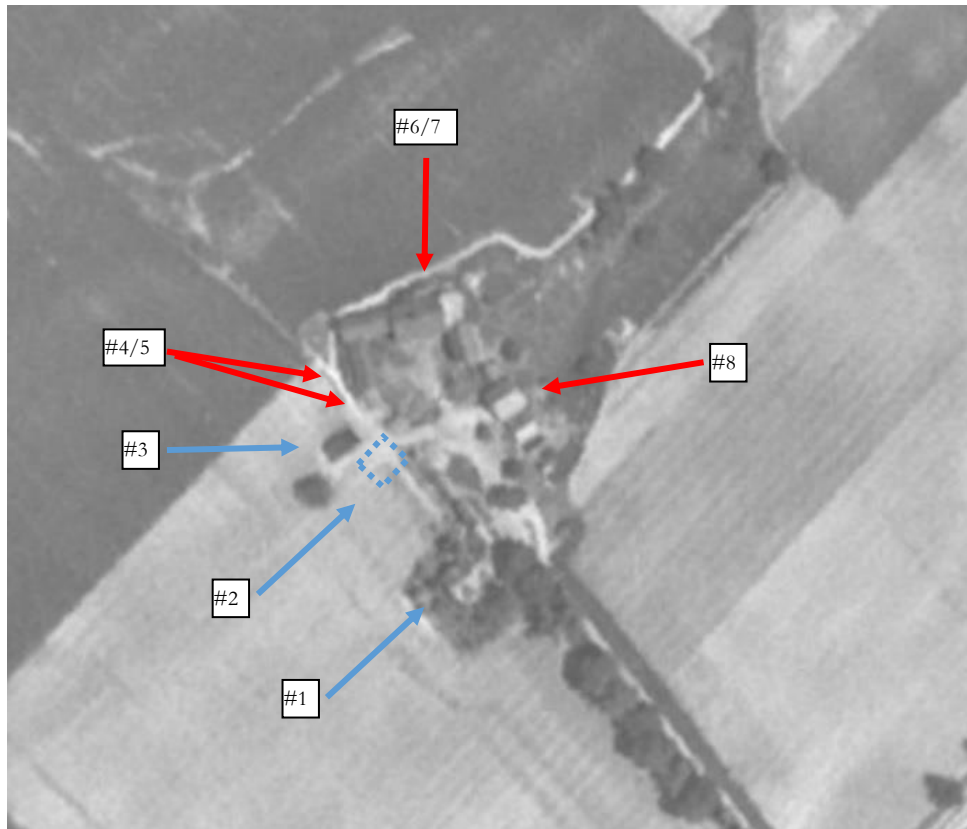


Figure 1: 1947 Historic Aerial of 28ME408 Depicting Individual Structures Included in the Analysis. Courtesy of the Ottery Group.

The Main residence at the Jewell/Schenck farm was inventoried by Kinsey & Hand in 1988, and the farmhouse (Figure 2 and 3) and an adjacent stone barn were photographed (Hand 1988). Hand considered the farmhouse to be an eighteenth-century structure that was heavily modified during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The main house was described as a three-bay, 2-1/2 story side hall plan house with a wing or ell having a slightly lower roof line and a central entrance, which was presumed to be the older portion of the house. The entire house was stucco, presumably over stone, with portions of the second story and gables being clapboarded. Although Victorian interior detailing was visible during the inventory, interior modifications were noted to accommodate later family's occupation of the house after the Jewell Family. The significant expansion of the farmhouse by Thomas Jewell and the refashioning of

what was likely a Dutch-influenced vernacular dwelling into a larger Victorian farmhouse reflects a prosperous farm operation (Hand 1988, Palus and Torp 2021).

Archaeological investigations targeted at the main domestic residence at Site 28ME408 revealed no architectural features associated with the former Jewell/Schenck farmhouse. The test area sampled, shown in Figure 2 below, revealed deep horizons of compact fill in the area associated with the presumed location of the original cellar and a series of deep depressions located directly north of the former house's footprint that was infilled with the original fabric of the house during demolition. Architectural debris recovered from the fill included wooden posts and planks, bricks, and large cut rocks that likely served as foundation stones for the building.

Despite the massive disturbance noted within the footprint of the former Schenck-Jewell House, two intact A horizons, interpreted as a former yard surface, were uncovered in two test units, Test Unit 2 and Test Unit 6, to the immediate northwest and southwest of the house's location (Figure 1, above). Diagnostic artifacts recovered the buried A horizons provide temporal association ranging from the early nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. At Test Unit 2, the presence of light blue, olive, and colorless glass fragments, either a product of mouth-blown or machine-made manufacturing provide a *terminus pos quem* date (TPQ) of 1880-1915 for the upper portions of the A horizon. Deeper within the soil column, the recovery of a single mouth-blown bottle fragment suggests a TPQ of 1880 for the lower portions of the buried A horizon; however, considering the likelihood of foreign intrusions within the lower strata caused during the demolition in the area and evident in the test unit's profiles, a TPQ of 1810, corresponding to the presence of three cut nail fragments, was assigned to the lowest cultural horizons. At Test Unit 6, the presence of cut nails and a ceramic sewer pipe fragment, and the absence of bottle glass and wire nails, suggest a temporal association of the strata to the mid-eighteenth century.

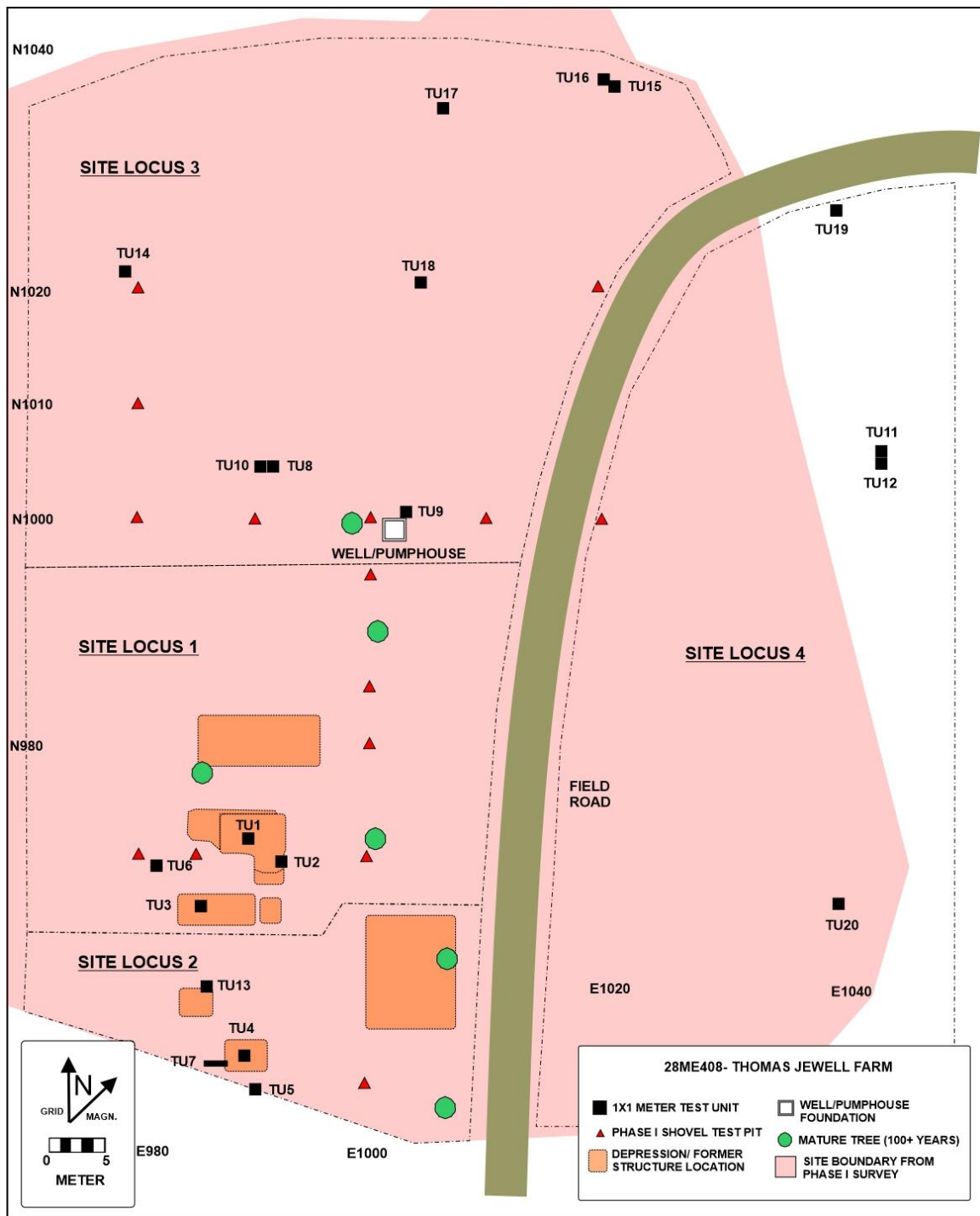


Figure 2 Location of Archaeological Test Units Conducted During the Phase II Investigation of 28ME408. Courtesy of the Ottery Group.



Figure 3: The Schenck/Jewell Farmhouse at 28ME408, Photographed by the WPA Federal Writer's Project in 1939, Facing North Towards the Front of the House (Federal Writer's Project 1939, Courtesy of the Historical Society of West Windsor).



Figure 4: Undated Photograph of the Schenck/Jewell Farmhouse showing the front façade, facing southwest. Note the eastern wing of the house (right of picture) presumed to be the original farmhouse constructed by the Schenck family (Courtesy of the Historical Society of West Windsor).

Other diagnostics with earlier manufacture dates recovered from the buried A horizon include undecorated creamware and undecorated pearlware and are likely evidence of the earlier occupants of the site preceding the Jewell Family (Andrews et. al 2022).

According to aerial photography, at least eleven outbuildings were present in the farm by 1940-1947, some of which correspond with the location of structural features revealed during the 2021 archaeological investigation (See Figure 1 above). Elements of the surviving outbuildings situated in the work yard were mentioned during the 1988 architectural inventory, including a tall smokehouse just west of the main house, a stone barn to the east (Figure 5 and 6), and a large wooden structure to the north (Hand 1988). Referring the robust stone barn that was standing at the time of the inventory, Hand mentions...

“To the east is a deteriorating stone barn with two double-doored entrances on the clapboarded gable end leading to concrete-floored sections at grade level. Inside are hand-hewn deteriorating beams. Open hay doors and missing windows are above. The other ends are rubble stone, with rather large rectangular stones at the corners and base. At the southern corner of the east gable end is an entrance to a lower level, approximately 8 feet wide, extending the length of the barn, presumably for cold storage.” (Hand 1988: 2).

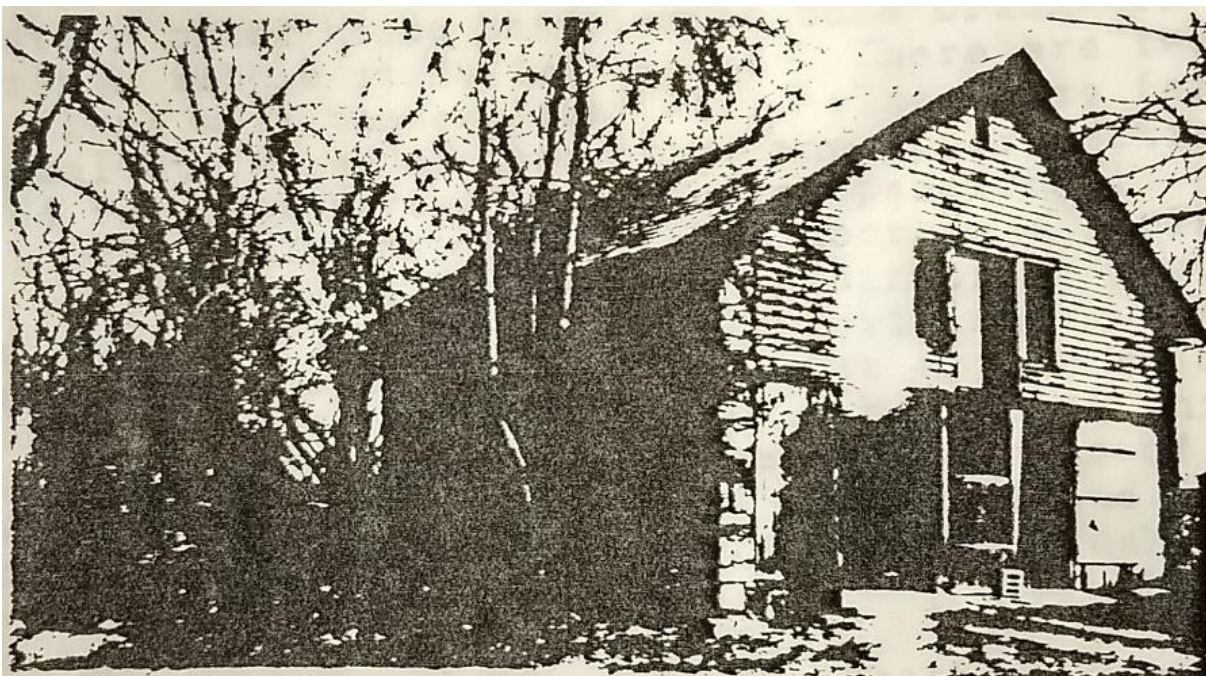


Figure 5: Scanned Photograph from 1988 Inventory Showing the Western Façade of the Extend Stone Barn, View Facing East. Courtesy of the New Jersey Historic Preservation Office.

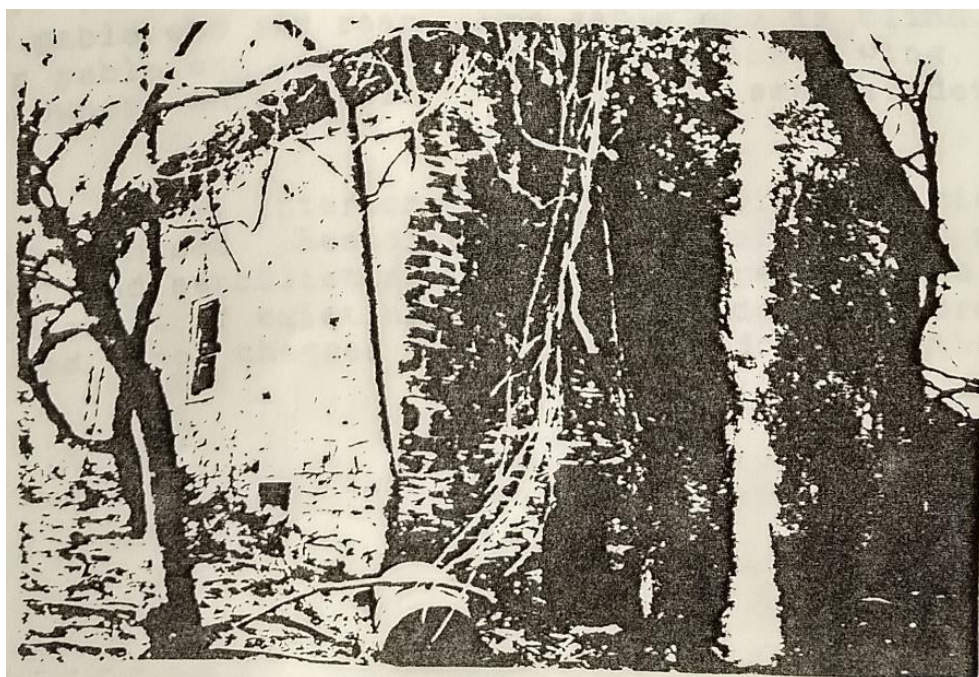


Figure 6: Scanned Photograph from 1988 Inventory Showing Extent Stone Barn with Entrance into Subterranean Level, Facing West. Courtesy of the New Jersey Historic Preservation Office.

Over the course of the Phase II investigation 15 structural features were identified, including three above ground features, and 12 subsurface features consisting of three stone

masonry foundations and nine features representing earth-fast building constructions. Overall, the structural features identified during the archaeological survey were identified in the work yard of the farm complex, with nine of twelve excavated test units in the former work yard revealing evidence of the structural features. Features observed above surface grade included a stone well, an electrical utility pole, and a series of fence post representing a paddock near the northwest edge of the work yard. The stone well, located at the heart of the farm complex between the main residence and the work yard, is built in an unusual square-shape design (Figure 7). Excavations placed adjacent to the well's foundation exposed a series construction/repair stages that traces the wells use and persistence over the history of the landscape. The mortar articulation between the fitted stone extending above the historic ground surface was a similar pinkish brown sandy mortar observed in other eighteenth century stone constructions identified on the site. Stone masonry comprising the foundation of the well was found underlying two courses of brick beneath a single course of concrete cinder blocks.

Figure 7: South Profile of Test Unit 9 Showing a Series of Construction Phase Associated with the Square Well Located at Site 28ME408. Photography by the Author.

Archaeological evidence of a stone barn foundation recorded in the 1988 inventory was found extending across two consecutive test units located in the northeastern portion of the farm complex, corresponding with the location of the square-shaped outbuilding on historic aerials. The stone foundation, identified as Feature 10, was underlying a half a meter of fill dating to the demolition of the site (Figure 8). The feature is comprised of large pieces cut granite articulated with a pinkish brown sandy mortar extending at least 0.68 meters in height. The entirety of the stone foundation was not excavated; the extensive depth and massive size of the stones included in the foundation may be evidence of subterranean levels incorporated in building, possibly associated with cold storage as mentioned in the 1988 architectural inventory. A thin builder's trench was excavated alongside foundation; however, no artifacts were recovered.

Excavations of the soils immediately north of stone foundation revealed a Buried A horizon containing historic material with manufacture dates extending from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, including wire nails, early machine-made glass bottle fragments and a Thumlock tire nozzle pump part with embossed patent year 1912 (Figure 9). The presence of a complete milk bottle embossed with the logo "Conover's Dairy"/"Hightstown" provide a TPQ date of c.1930s, the year the dairy farm became operational.



Figure 8: Planview of Test Units 11 and 12 Showing Stone Foundation, Feature 10, Associated with Stone Barn Recorded in the 1988 Inventory. Photography by the Author.



Figure 9: Southeast Profile of Test Unit 11 and 12 Showing Buried A Horizon Directly East of Feature 10, Stone Barn Foundation. Photography by the Author.

In addition to Feature 10, a series of masonry foundations representing two separate building phases were uncovered in the northern portion of the work yard (Figure 10). Excavations of two consecutive 1 x 1 meter units, Test Units 15 and 16, revealed a single course of a masonry foundation, Feature 13, overlying another masonry foundation, Feature 14, extending a total of 0.43 meters into subsoil. Feature 13 represents the final course of a shallow

stone foundation oriented to the north and south and includes a very large boulder accompanied by lesser rock fragments articulated with a yellowish brown limestone based mortar (Figure 11). No builders trench was found accompanying the foundation, which was limited in its exploration, and may have been a result of the compression of the stone into subsoil by heavy machinery during the demolition of the building. Due to the orientation and location of the feature, it is presumed that the foundation is associated with the large outbuilding present in the northern work yard in historic aerials (See Figure 1 above). Feature 14, in contrast, comprises a deep foundation of a least four courses of fitted/trimmed stone articulated with a pinkish brown sandy mortar and oriented east to west (Figure 12). A thin builder's trench associated with the foundation was excavated; however, no artifacts were recovered. Despite the paucity of artifacts associated with Feature 14, the mortar observed between the stone was similar to that found associated with Feature 10 and the well suggesting an eighteenth-century construction phase; this mortar contrasts with the yellowish brown mortar observed in Feature 14, most likely associated with a nineteenth century construction.

The stratigraphy surrounding the two masonry features were highly compromised with little to no stratigraphic integrity present above the subsoil; the original surface grade appears to be truncated by demolition activity occurring in the area.

Structural features, including two truncated sills and a series of post hole and molds, provides evidence of wooden construction in the work yard in the area to the west of the well; the structure represented by the features is not present in historic aerial photography, with its approximate footprint depicted as Building#2 (See Figure 1 above). During the excavation of two consecutive test units located approximately five meters east of the well, three post holes, two post molds, and one linear builders' trench were identified. All features were identified

extending into the subsoil at the base of an apparent plowzone, indicating a dynamic land-use history where this specific location had contained earth-fast structures, then was plowed for agriculture, and then became part of a work yard and compound of outbuildings during the twentieth century.



Figure 10: Planview of Test Units 15 and 16 Showing the Intersection of Two Stone Foundations that Represent Two Phases of Building Construction. Photography by the Author.



Figure 11: Test Unit 15 and 16 Showing Feature 14 with nineteenth century mortar. Photography by the Author.



Figure 12: Test Unit 16 Showing Feature 13 Underlying Feature 14 (left of picture). Photography by the Author.

Spatially, two post holes with two associated post molds found north of the truncated sill (Figure 13 and 14). The first post mold and hole, identified as Feature 3 and 9, was directly in line with the sill, identified as Feature 4. Artifacts recovered from the post mold include small instance of coal and brick, in addition to a wire nail that provides a TPQ date of 1890's to the feature; suggesting the removal/demolition of the structural post sometime in the twentieth century. No artifacts were recovered from the associated post hole. The second post mold and hole, identified as Feature 6 and 7, was located directly west of Feature 3 and 9, and was measured as both smaller in diameter and shallower in depth. Artifacts recovered from Feature 6, post mold, including a bottle base shard with a maker's mark associated with the Reed Glass Company of Rochester, New York, provides a TPQ date of c.1927, suggesting the post was removed sometime during the second quarter of the twentieth century. The position of Feature 6 and 7 suggests the features either represents a replacement to the post represented by Feature 3 and 9 or an interior addition extending to west of the sill. The presence of a dog burial, identified to the east of the structural features may indicate that the area to the east was used as exterior space, while the area to west overlapping with the interior space of the building. In addition to

the post holes mentioned, a post hole, identified as Feature 17, was revealed in profile to the west of Features 3, 4, 6, 7, and 9. Feature 17 extends approximately 0.28 meters below the plowzone. Although the no artifacts were recovered from the feature, the similar depth of the feature compared to the post holes of Feature 7 and Feature 9, represent similar construction techniques likely associated with the same building.

The linear builder's trench, Feature 4, oriented north to south and approximately 0.26 meters wide was excavated to a total depth less than 0.05 meters, recovering a small collection of coal and brick. Feature 4 terminates at a post hole and mold configuration occupying the northern portion of the excavation area. Upon review of the northern profile of the excavation unit, Feature 4 appears to continue north of the post mold/post hole identified as Feature 3 and 9, suggesting the feature's use as an interrupted sill.

Similar to the Feature 4, a linear feature was identified extending to the east-west in the test unit 14 (Figure 15). Test unit 14 was excavated to target an outbuilding observed in the western edge of farm complex in historic aerials; the same structure is not present in aerial photography after 1947 with the area converted in plowed fields, suggesting that the house was demolished between 1947 and 1953, the date of next available aerial photograph. No diagnostic artifacts were recovered from the feature.

In the area corresponding with the intersection of buildings in the center region of the work yard observed on historic aerials, a large square post hole with an associated circular post mold was uncovered (Figure 16). The feature was revealed below what appears to be a truncated A-horizon containing demolition debris underlying a layer of fill associated with the late twentieth century demolition event. The post hole and mold, identified as Features 15 and 16, was bisected at the top of subsoil, exposing the two features in profile extending approximately

0.7 meters in depth. The depth of the features is substantially greater than post holes excavated in Test Unit 8-10 and represent a substantial structural post of a large outbuilding affixed to the farm complex. No artifacts were recovered from either the post mold or post hole, thus no temporal association could be assigned.



Figure 13: Planview of Test Units 8 and 10 Showing a Series of Structural Features, Including Three Post Holes, Two Post Molds, One Linear Sill, and One Dog Burial. Photography by the Author.



Figure 14: A Close-Up of Two Post Hole Features at the Northern Terminus of Feature 4, Truncated Sill. Photography by the Author.



Figure 15: Test Unit 14 Showing Truncated Sill, Feature 11. Photography by the Author.



Figure 16: Test Unit 18 Showing Large Post Hole and Bisected Post Mold. Photography by the Author.

Overall, the features identified during the Phase II survey of 28ME408 indicate intensive construction occurring in the work yard, with multiple building types being utilized over time. The deep stone foundations, represented by Building 7 and 8 and the well, are presumed to be associated with the Schenck family's occupation of the site in the eighteenth and late nineteenth century of the farm; stone Dutch Barns having been noted in historical accounts referring to the

Schenck property. The presence of hand-hewn beams in the stone barn, Building#8, recorded during the inventory of the Schenck-Jewell farmhouse in 1988, coincides with earlier construction methods, predating the use of circular saws for the cutting timbers, which were in use by the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Although no diagnostic artifacts were recovered from the post holes identified in the western and central portion of the work yard, the demolition of the stone barn, represented by Feature 13, and its replacement with a wooden structure on stone piers, Feature 14, likely sourced from the former building, suggests an overall change in architecture styles which favored wooden structures, primarily earth-fast, then masonry, during the later history of the site.

Artifacts recovered from features and nearby intact stratigraphy suggest the use of space that shows overlap in both domestic and industrial function. To better understand the activities conducted in the work yard and the people who operated within this space, census records were examined to assess the presence and occupation of those recorded living on the property at the time.

Labor Relation Over Time

There is general lack of records from the eighteenth century for the Penns Neck agrarian community; however general statistics gathered from the West Windsor Historical Society help show the demography of occupants present in the Windsor Township before the turn of the century. According to the 1772 census, a total of 1,918 residents were recorded in the Windsor Township; 95 percent (1,823) of the total residents were recorded as white and 5 percent (n=95) as black. The majority of both demographics were represented by children ages 15 and below, suggesting the establishment of growing family networks in the region. By the 1790 census, a total of 2,838 residents were recorded in the township; 91.7 percent (2,602) were recorded as

white, while 1.6 percent (n=46) were recorded as “other free people” and 6.7 percent (n=190) as “slaves.” Comparing the proportions of white and black/nonwhite residence from 1772 to 1790, black/nonwhite residence increased in proportion from 5 percent in 1772 to 8.3 percent in 1790.

Census records during the first half of nineteenth century are inherently more descriptive than the eighteenth-century records; census records by the 1830s include the recordation of the number of “freed white persons,” including heads of families, “freed colored persons,” and slaves, in addition to the number of persons in each family employed by given occupational category. According to the 1830s census, six members of the Schenck were listed as heads of families, and four were recorded for the Conovers. Jonathan A. Schenck, Jonathan C. Schenck, George Conover, and William Conover were recorded having slaves on their property; four heads of Schenck family and three heads of the Conover had “freed colored persons” living on their property at the time of the census. At the same time, Elisha Jewell, father of Thomas Jewell, was recorded having one slave and four “free colored persons” living on their old family property. By the 1840s census, no slaves were recorded on any of the properties owned by the either the Schencks, Conovers, or Jewell; however, “free colored persons” continued to reside on some of the properties, including three at the John C. Schenck farm, one on the Vorhees Conover farm, and four residing on the William D. Jewell farm. One Elias Conover was recorded as male black head of house living with a female and employed in the agriculture.

By the 1850s, census records began to record all individuals residing at a given domestic property by individual names, rather than merely the head of household, followed by age, gender, race, occupation, and place of origin. According to the 1850s census, the Conovers owned five homes in the county, with heads of house employed as either farmers or laborers. Jonathan R. Conover with a real estate value of \$2,000, Peason Conover with \$6,200, and Ralph

Conover with \$10,000. Interestingly, only one member of the Schenck, Richard at age 22, was living in the county as a farm laborer for Hatfield Family. The number of slaves or “freed colored persons” are reported on the 1850s census, however the record does provide some insight into the workforce used on the farms. For example, two males named Hugh Donal and James Bergen were recorded as “laborers” originating from Ireland living on Ralph Conover’s property. Of further note, all children between ages 6 and 16 at the Peason and Ralph property were attending school. In contrast, the old Jewell farm owned by William D. with a real estate value of \$11,000 was recorded having two black males, Abram Benson and George Golson, living on the property as laborers in addition to Clara, Richard, and Cydia of the Dower family and George Dillen. Thomas Jewell, the new owner of the old Schenck farm, recorded as farmer valued at \$11,500 was recorded living with two white laborers, including James Campbell from Ireland and Charles Story from New Jersey. Charlotte Story, a black female, was also recorded living on the property. The use of laborers from Ireland, some without the ability to read or write, was used at Schenk, Conover, and Jewell farms. At the Elisha Jewell farm, two male laborers from Ireland and on 60-year black female without the ability to read or write was recorded living on their property; Elisha Jewell having a real estate value of \$2,000.

By the 1860s, two homes in the county were owned by the Schencks, including Nathaniel with \$4,500 real estate value and \$600 personal value and Joseph B., who worked as a farmer and farm laborer, respectively. Three homes were recorded owned by the Conovers, with William recorded as day laborer with \$600 real estate and \$125; Jonathan Conover as a farm laborer with personal value of \$75; and Samuel F. as a farmer with \$3,500 and \$6,000. In contrast, Thomas Jewell was valued at \$16,000 in real estate and \$3,000 in personal value and

had two black farm laborers, William Holmes and Frinck Anthony from New Jersey; one white servant, Margaret Davison, and one black 14-year-old Jonathan Salker living at his property.

In 1870, Thomas Jewell was recorded as farmer with a real estate value of \$18,750 and personal estate value of \$3,408 and living with his wife Hannah M., daughter Sarah M. of no occupation, and Thomas Jewell who was attending school. Although no Laborers were recorded at the Thomas Jewell residence, one Margaret Conover, who did not have the ability to write at age 16, was recorded living on site with the occupation recorded as “domestic.” In 1880, Thomas Jewell was recorded as farmer living with his daughter, Sarah, nephew, Thomas Jr, who was at this point working as a farmer, and William H. Jemison, who 4 years old at the time of the survey. One farm laborer, Frank Briggs at age 16, and one servant, Lydia Lewis at age 22, were recorded. In 1885, Thomas Jewell was living with his daughter and nephew, as well as a Lucinda Good. By the 1900 census, Thomas Jewell had passed away, with his nephew, Thomas recorded as the head of house under the occupation of a farmer and living with his wife, sister, and two daughters. Interestingly, Thomas was recorded as renting the farm rather than owning the house. In addition, two black farm laborers originally from Pennsylvania were recorded living on the property as boarders under the occupation of farm laborer.

A synopsis of the census data is presented in two tables below, including: a list of all residents at the recorded living on the Thomas Jewell property with surnames outside of the Jewell Family, indicating the presence of farm laborers and servants possibly living outside of the main residence (Table 2); and a list of the head of house residing at the Schenck-Jewell house with recorded real estate and personal estate values (Table 3).

Table 2: Census Data at the Thomas Jewell House Showing Names of Residents Outside of Jewell Family.

Census Date	Last Name	First Name	Age	Sex	Race	Occupation	Place of Birth	Other Notes
1850	Campbel	James	21	Male		Laborer	Ireland	Cannot Read
1850	Story	Charles	20	Males		Laborer	New Jersey	
1850	Story	Charlotte	14	Female	Black		New Jersey	
1860	Holmes	William	40	Male	Black	Farm Laborer	New Jersey	
1860	Anthony	Frinck	30	Male	Black	Laborer	New Jersey	
1860	Davison	Margaret	18	Female		Servant	New Jersey	
1860	Salker	Jonathan	14	Male	Black		New Jersey	
1870	Conover	Margaret	16	Female		Domestic	New Jersey	Cannot Write
1880	Jemison	William H.	4	Male				Single
1880	Briggs	Frank	16	Male		Farm Laborer	New Jersey	Single
1880	Lewis	Lydia	22	Female		Servant	New Jersey	Single
1885	Good	Lucinda	5 to 20	Female	Colored			
1900	Baynard	Horace	?	Male	Black	Farm Laborer	Pennsylvania	Married
1900	Williams	Oscar	?	Male	Black	Farm Laborer	Pennsylvania	Single

Table 3: Census Data at the Thomas Jewell House Showing Property Value

Year	Name	Age	Occupation	Value of Real Estate Owned	Value of Personal Real Estate
1850	Thomas Jewell	40	Farmer	\$11,500	
1860	Thomas Jewell	50	Farmer	\$16,000	\$3,000
1870	Thomas Jewell	60	Farmer	\$18,750	\$3,408
1880	Thomas Jewell	69	Farmer		
1900	Thomas Jewell (Jr.) *	42	Farmer		

*Census Record of notes Thomas Jewell (Jr.) Renting the Farm.

Archaeological Finding at the Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan Site (28ME410)

The Ottery Group conducted an archaeological investigation of Site 28ME410 to assess the integrity, vertical limits, and extent of remaining structural features associated with the Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan house. The investigation primarily consisted of archaeological monitoring of deep trench excavation via the use of heavy equipment; limited additional hand excavations were performed to supplement data collected from the trenching and to help interpret trench profiles for historical cultural features. A total of five (5) mechanically excavated trenches and one hand-excavated test unit was excavated at the site.

The site is the former location of the NR-eligible Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House, a two-story Dutch colonial farmhouse initially constructed in the 1750s and seeing additions during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries (Figure 17). Construction of the house is attributed to William Covenhoven who owned the land during the mid-eighteenth century. The Covenhovens are a Dutch Penns Neck settler family that came to the region during the 1730s; Penns Neck Cemetery also has associations with the Covenhoven family. The Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House was recorded during architectural survey for an environmental impact assessment of the Route 1-Penns Neck Interchange Project in Penns Neck during the 1990s (McVarish 1996, McVarish and Meyer 2002, McVarish and Siegel 2004).

Although the house was demolished between 2010 and 2012, an archaeological component associated with the historic occupation of the house was identified during Phase I testing and also considered to be potentially NR-eligible, the site bearing potential to contain buried features and deposits associated with the extended historic occupation of the house. The artifact assemblage from the Phase I testing consists of 96 historic artifacts with an ambiguous

date range from the mid-nineteenth to twenty-first centuries, indicating presence of compacted fill soils and intact historic topsoil deposits in the area to the rear of the former house.

Mechanical trenches were excavated with a 2-foot-wide, toothed-bucket at locations coinciding with Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan house and associated outbuildings observed in historical terrestrial and aerial photography. Of the five total trench excavations, two trenches located targeted at outbuildings located outside of the immediate foot print of the main residence contained structural features in profiles of the excavation trenches with one exhibiting intact stratigraphy interpreted as a buried A horizon.

A single test unit, Test Unit 1, was opened directly south of Trench 5 to characterize a cluster of stones exhibited in the south profile of Trench 5 (Figure 18), and to assess the integrity and interpretation of the buried A horizon or topsoil, capped with a fill horizon after demolition of the house.



Figure 17: Photograph of the Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House from Historic Resource Inventory for U.S. 1/Penns Neck Area Road Improvement, ca. 1995, Facing South. Courtesy of the Ottery Group.



Figure 18: East Profile of Trench#5 Showing Remnants of a Stone Foundation at 28ME410. Photography by the Author.

The results of the Phase II investigation at site 28ME410 yielded an archaeological assemblage associated with a domestic house site dating from the early to mid-eighteenth to its demolition by 2012. The assemblage is primarily composed of structural and domestic artifacts containing diagnostic artifacts with manufacture dates as early as c.1715; the assemblage may correspond with the earliest ownership of the house by the Covenhoven family in the eighteenth century and the Silvers and Logan families in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Five features were identified including three features related to the demolition of the outbuildings, one associated with the demolition of the main house, and one feature comprised by a posthole and mold, representing an outdoor, earthfast structure, such as a fence paling; the posthole could also be associate with Feature 1 occurring nearby, however Feature 2 retains greater integrity than Feature 1.

With the exception of Test Unit 1, all artifacts sampled from the site were recovered from the spoil piles associated with the mechanical trench excavations. Taken together, the deep fill deposits identified in Trenches 1, 2, 3, and 4 are associated with the demolition of the

Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House dating to the 2012. A sampling strategy was implemented collected only artifacts associated with the earlier occupation of the house.

In contrast, Test Unit 1, which was hand-excavated stratigraphically, revealed intact stratigraphic context beneath the fill horizon dating to the late nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered out of Stratum II from Test Unit 1, suggest evidence of a burn event that precedes the demolition of the C-S-L house. The presence of wire nails suggests a temporal context dating to the 1890s when the popularity of wire nail was widely replacing the use of machine-cut nails. The lack of plastic artifacts helps confirm this conclusion. Although unclear, Stratum II may be associated with the razing of an outbuilding associated with the C-S-L house.

Artifacts recovered from Stratum III from Test Unit 1 represent the earliest intact stratigraphic context discovered on the site during the Phase II investigation. The presence of mouth-blown bottle fragments and wire nails provide a TPQ date between 1880 and 1890. Diagnostic tableware sherds including an undecorated pearlware sherd c. 1775-1830 and decorated whitewares provide evidence of late eighteenth and nineteenth century occupation. The presence of a redware tea pot fragment and pearlware is evidence of preparing, serving, and consuming tea on site. The increase of faunal remains in contrary of Stratum II provides further evidence of domestic occupation and eating habits.

Despite the recovery of artifacts from fill deposits corresponding with the event of the house's demolition, some interpretations can be made from the artifacts recovered across the site. Primarily the artifacts correlate with the domestic occupation of the Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House spanning ca. 1734-2012. The presence of eighteenth-century diagnostic material provides evidence of original occupation of the site dating to the Covenhoven family's ownership of the land since ca. 1734 to the early-mid nineteenth-century before the property was sold to Isaac

Silvers prior to 1849, according to historical maps. Structural artifacts such as wrought iron nails were in common use until the mainstream manufacturing of machine cut nails near the end of the eighteenth century. Domestic artifacts such as decorated ceramic tableware were identified that are contemporary with the early occupation of the house, and include slip decorated redware from ca. 1730-1900, hand painted porcelain from ca. 1660-1810, and hand painted pearlware from ca. 1795-1830. Other, more temporally ambiguous domestic ceramics include undecorated sherds of creamware from ca. 1762-1820, pearlware dating to ca. 1775-1830, redware that is not clearly diagnostic (ca. 1600-2000), and buff-bodied tin-glazed earthenware manufactured from ca. 1600-1802.

Archaeological Findings at the Lower Harrison Street Scatter Site (28ME413)

The Ottery Group conducted an archaeological investigation at 28ME413 to assess the function, integrity, temporal association, and vertical extent of the site. A total of seven (7) test units and two STPs was excavated. The site was initially discovered during a Phase I investigation of the area directly west of the right-of-way for Lower Harrison Street, in a location approximately 25 meters north of its intersection with Eden Way, where seven positive shovel test pits recorded a concentration of domestic material culture (Palus and Torp 2021). According to historical deed research and aerial photography, the location of the site corresponds with at least two separate domestic residences: the first dating from the mid-eighteenth to its demolition in the mid-twentieth century, and the second dating from the mid-twentieth century to its demolition between 2002 and 2006, based on aerial photography. The artifact assemblage from the Phase I testing consisted of 135 artifacts with a date range from the mid-eighteenth century to the early twenty-first century.

Test Units 1 and 2 were placed to investigate a concentration of artifacts located during the Phase I survey. Test Unit 3 and 4 were placed to expose and characterize a larger portion of a buried, historic well which was identified in Test Unit 2 (Figure 19 and 20). Test Units 5 and 6 were hand-excavated trench units exploring the area immediately east of STP 2 for evidence of intact historic stratigraphy and deep features associated with the historic house site. Test Unit 7 was placed to further expose and characterize Feature 6, a deep utility feature originally encountered in STP 2 and partially delineated in Test Unit 6.

A total of 1,050 artifacts (w=9,480g) was recovered during the Phase II investigation. The assemblage primarily consists of historic artifacts dating from the early to mid-eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, with the exception of one precontact Native American projectile point dating the middle Archaic Era and small collection of modern artifacts. The historic artifacts consist of domestic, structural, activity-related, and personal artifacts supporting the functional interpretation of the site as a historic residence dating as early as the early eighteenth century. The presence of tin-enameled earthenware, slipwares, and wrought-iron nails are examples of evidence of the earliest residents of the site.

The stratigraphy of the site varies between the area containing Test Units 1, 2, 3 and 4, and the area where Test Units 5, 6, and 7 are situated; however, they generally consist of a series of fill horizons capping a buried A horizon extending over subsoil. As a result of the excavation, a total of six features was identified including a stone-lined historic well and associated builder's trench, a post hole and mold, a domestic utility trench, and a gravel soil anomaly of unknown function.



Figure 19: Excavation of Feature 3 at 28ME413, Facing East. Photography by the Author.



Figure 20: Planview of Feature 3 Exposed in Test Unit 2 and Test Unit 3. Photography by the Author.

The historic artifact assemblage likely corresponds with the historic ownership of the house by the Covenhoven, Jamison, Silvers, McGuire, and, to a smaller degree, the Cox families during the nineteenth century. Stratum III and IV across both portion of the site tested during the Phase II survey exhibited contexts containing artifacts with an overall TPQ dating prior to the nineteenth century. In particular, the presence of decorated pearlware recovered from Stratum III/IV in Test Unit 1 provide a TPQ date of c.1774 to the buried horizon. Twenty-first century

material, primarily composing of plastics, recovered from portions of the topsoil fill horizon designated Stratum II are likely associated with the modern house dating c.1956 and 2006, based on historical aerial photography, that occupied the same approximate area as the historic house. Six features were identified during the excavations including a possible eighteenth century well and associated builder's trench and infill; a eighteenth to nineteenth century post hole and associated post mold; a possible nineteenth century utility trench; and a gravel soil anomaly possibly associated with the well's construction or use.

Diagnostic artifacts recovered from the lower cultural horizons across the site suggest intact historic occupation of the site dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Stratum III and IV, exposed in Test Units 1 and 4, represent the earliest stratigraphic sequence in area around the historic well, while Stratum III, exposed in Test Units 5, 6, and 7 represent the earliest horizons associated with yard surface directly east of the former house's footprint. The presence of a pearlware sherd exhibiting blue hand-painted decoration within Test Unit 1 provide a TPQ of c.1774 to these horizons. Contrary, the presence of mouth-blown bottle fragments recovered from within Test Units 5, 6 and 7 provide a TPQ of c. 1880 to the buried A horizon near the former house.

Artifacts within the temporal category extending from 1734 to 1940s correlates with the period of domestic occupation of the Covenhoven house nearby. The presence of early to mid-eighteenth century diagnostic material provides evidence of colonial occupation of the site family's ownership before selling the property and house. The presence of wrought iron nails, which were not commonly replaced by machine-cut nails until the beginning of the nineteenth century, is evidence of a structure that is associated with the plethora diagnostic domestic artifact identified in the assemblage. Lacking structural material, the domestic assemblage may have

been considered a domestic dump site; however, proportions of domestic and structural artifacts suggest occupation of Site 28ME413 for a residence.

Domestic artifacts such as late eighteenth/early nineteenth century ceramic tableware with early manufacture dates that extend to the 17th century were recovered from the site possibly associated with the earliest occupants of the property. These artifacts include tin-glazed buff-bodied earthenware c.1600-1802, hand-painted blue porcelain c.1660-1810, and slip decorated redware c.1715-1900. It is not unlikely that the items were either acquired or brought with the Covenhoven family during occupation of the area and likely date to the original eighteenth-century occupation of the house. The presence of refined earthenwares dating between 1760s and 1830s include sherds of tableware and teaware made of creamware c.1762-1820 and pearlware c.1775-1830. Decorations exhibited on pearlware sherds refine dates of manufacture and use including pearlware with hand-painted blue c.1815-1830, hand-painted polychrome of warm colors c.1795-1815, hand-painted polychrome warm and blue c.1815-1830, rococo edgware in bright green c.1775-1810, blue transfer-print c.1795-1830, and factory-made slipwares in annular, cable, and mocha.

Artifacts dating to the nineteenth century that likely correlate with the occupation of the house by the Jamison and McGuire families include tablewares, hollowwares, and type of structural fasteners used on site. The presence of cut and wire nails suggests the continuation of construction on the property into the twentieth century. Ceramic tablewares provide diagnostic evidence of nineteenth century occupation including whiteware with hand-painted polychrome chrome colors c.1830-1870 and transfer-print c.1820-2000 and molded pieces of white granite.

Chapter 6: Analysis

Taken together with historical documentation, the archaeological data recovered from the Schenck-Jewell Farm Site (28ME408), the Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House Site (28ME410), and the Lower Harrison Street Domestic Site (28ME413), can provide insight into the type and degree of changes occurring in the Penns Neck community both spatially and over time. Changes occurring on the Schenck-Jewell farm, whether to the farming layout, architectural design, patterns of material consumption, and labor choice, highlight the economic pursuits of the capitalist farmers at Penns Neck and follow deeper changes to the economic situations underpinning these family-operated farms that connect with larger socio-economic relations that support, and in part rationalize, their place within the society. Variations in the workforce, which for a time was living within the farm complex, are reported in census documents and reflected in the archaeological record as the farm changed ownership between families residing on the property. It is argued that many of changes made to the farm occurred, intentionally or not, to support ideologies of capitalist pursuits occurring on the farm, which uses symbols on the landscape to rationalize and solidify the socio-economic power relations needed to run a profitable farm in the nineteenth century. Ideologies distilled on the landscape include aspects of class separation, surveillance of workforce, privatization of space, and the employment of an unskilled and rotating labor force.

Despite the fundamental changes occurring on the Schenck-Jewell farm over time; patterns of “Dutch” cultural heritage, brought by the descendants of Dutch immigrants who founded the community, are present in the archaeological record. Dutch cultural continuity is observed in the eighteenth-century building forms, including the original residence and the stone “Dutch barns,” which were constructed in a Dutch-inspired vernacular observed in both New

Netherlands through the seventeenth and eighteenth century as well as abroad, in the Netherlands. These building types are sparsely recorded in the New York and New Jersey, indicating that it was an uncommon building tradition, and reflect the influence of Dutch ethnic heritage in the use of building style. Despite the majority of the eighteenth-century ceramic wares being of English influence, the presence of certain domestic wares, including the abundance redwares, decorated and undecorated, and the occurrence of tin-enameled earthenware, suggest cultural ties to the Schenck's Dutch heritage. Furthermore, institutions that follow general Dutch influence in the region overall, including the use of the Reformed Baptist Church, were utilized at Penns Neck that would encourage the sanctity of social obligation to the family, strong family values, and a 'protestant work ethic' that kept working hands from going idle. Early consumption patterns suggest that the owners relied on locally available materials. The lack of hand wrought hardware, including hand-wrought nails, suggest that the original families relied on building and farming techniques that would require less resources that were not readily available or sought out. The use of domestic redware, stoneware, and whiteware were also traced to local sources that didn't necessary rely on extensive trade networks.

In contrast, material consumption observed on the site after ownership was transferred to Thomas Jewell in the second quarter of the nineteenth century would, in part, shift to include larger commercial network, the capitalist venture of the farm itself relying on materials made available by larger economic trade networks, largely through the development of the railways and canals, and the exportation of the farm's surplus. Traditions that did not hinder economic pursuits of the capitalist farmer were maintained on the farm during the Jewell occupation. The persistence of architecture forms, such as the original house, the stone barn, and square stone well, pays homage to the Dutch cultural heritage that made its mark on the landscape prior to

Jewell's occupation. While the Jewell family were originally English in their heritage, the marriage into Dutch descendants as well as the act of boarding extended family members demonstrates a deep commitment to family ties, community solidarity, and the previously established institutions that ultimately helped run a successful farm.

The dynamic account of capitalism occurring at the Schenck-Jewell farm shows that while the Jewell family projected outward expressions of their wealth and high class, largely in the Victorianization of the house, their wealth was less spent on novel domestic material purchases. For example, the proportions of tableware forms, which show a preference for pearlwares rather than decorated whitewares around the domestic site, may suggest an act of resistance to the dominant consumer culture emerging at the time. Although decorative items are of note that would have been costly, the assemblage is relatively modest, suggesting that most of the wealth was invested in the farming operations and the banking of profit for the use of future generations.

Temporal and Spatial Analysis of Archaeological Assemblages

For the purpose of this analysis two scopes of comparison were tested at the Schenck-Jewell Farm Site, which are later compared to assemblages discovered at the other sites at Penns Neck, including the Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan Site and the Lower Harrison Street Domestic Site. The first breaks the site down by presumed general functions; separating the area encompassing the main residence supporting the domestic functions of the Schenck and Jewell family from the area encompassing work yard supporting the industrial operations of the farm. Comparison of functional groups between the two primary loci show similarities as well as discrepancies in the interpretation of functions associated with the various buildings and the daily activities undertaken across the landscape.

The second scope of analysis breaks the work yard into specific parts to help determine specific function between the various outbuildings located in the work yard. Scrutiny was placed on the distribution of domestic material to highlight the domestic functions occurring in the work yard, with a focus on building types associated with the housing of the labor force employed by the property owner. Due to the general lack of intact stratigraphic contexts, temporal associations will remain broad; however, artifact assemblages taken from the overlying fill may provide clues to the temporal association of the former buildings as well as their role within the farm complex at large. Further, architectural features will be compared considering the spatial analysis to make larger assumptions of the dominant ideological influences at play on the farm.

A review of the structural material recovered across the site helps clarify defining architectural characteristics associated with specific buildings and the industrial functions occurring at those locations. Table 4 shows the distribution of structural items that were excavated in the main residential area, attributed as Area (A), and the proximal work yard, attributed as Area (B). This data can serve as general backdrop to compare with specific site functions attributed to individual buildings within the work yard.

According to the findings, the main residential area, Area (A), contained a larger proportion of materials than hardware compared to the work yard; the work yard containing a larger proportion of hardware than materials. Greater quantities of materials, such as brick, concrete, and window glass, indicate a substantial material investment in the main residency, which included high number of masonry elements as well as interior fixtures; these quantities also represent multiple phases of repair over time and a general tendency to provide upkeep for the building. The presence of brick, though not in high quantities, suggest the use of the chimney and/or piers for porch construction. During the archaeological investigations, large foundational

stones were not recorded in the artifact inventory but were extensively encountered during the excavation of the fill surrounding the former house. The use of stone implies the location of a cellar beneath the main house, if not a substantial foundation for the Dutch-inspired house above.

Higher portions of brick found at the residence would indicate structural elements composed of brick. The lack of brick in the work yard would insinuate most structures were made of wood except for the early stone barns located on the site. Although exact quantitative accounts of architectural stone used for large masonry construction were not recorded in the artifact inventory; spatially, substantial structural stones were only observed in the fill overlying the location of the stone barns, Building 6 and Building 7.

In review of structural/architectural-related artifacts across the two loci (Table 4), artifacts typically tied to domestic structures were found in greater concentrations around the main residential site, including 98 fragments of plaster, 62 pieces of paint chipping, 15 tile fragments made of linoleum and white clay, and 12 sewer pipe fragments. In contrast, the work yard recovered 32 plaster fragments, 3 paint chips, 1 tile fragment, and no evidence of sewer pipes. The presence of plaster, paint, and tile indicate the need for aesthetic control of refined interior spaces tied to the fabric of the building and may further suggest the interior use of outbuildings in the work yard as a secondary residence. The lack of sewer pipes in the work yard may represent a disregard for certain utilities in the work yard or the absence of the need for its use.

There is general discrepancy in the type of hardware found in the work yard compared to the main residence; this likely indicating the multi-functional nature of the various outbuildings across the work yard over time. The occurrence of iron brackets, eye bolt, handle, knobs, nuts, pipes, rods, screws, and washers show a more industrious utility of the work yard area.

Table 4: Architectural Artifact Recovered from Select Contexts from 28ME408.

Artifacts	(A) Count	(A) Weight	(A) %	(B) Count	(B) Weight	(B) %
hardware	171	794.8	12.8	286	3833	32.9
bracket	2	29	0.1	9	426	1.0
cap	3	5.7	0.2			0.0
cut nail	80	405.6	6.0	68	558	7.8
elbow outlet						
socket				1	629	0.1
electrical, indefinite				1	4	0.1
eye bolt				1	4	0.1
fastener	1	2.8	0.1			0.0
handle				1	27	0.1
indefinite				2	37	0.2
knob				1	30	0.1
nail bracket				1	11	0.1
nut bolt				3	119	0.3
pellets				4	0	0.5
pipe				4	62	0.5
plate/bracket				1	97	0.1
plate/can	41	167.3	3.1	90	579	10.4
ring connector	1	0	0.1			0.0
rod				8	669	0.9
screw nail				1	2	0.1
washer				1	0	0.1
window came	1	5.7	0.1			0.0
wire	1	13	0.1	1	0	0.1
wire nail	41	165.7	3.1	88	579	10.1
materials	1166	12619.01	87.2	583	9241	67.1
brick	460	6770.61	34.4	113	4520	13.0
cement block	18	914	1.3	10	182	1.2
concrete	9	879.4	0.7	26	1238	3.0
hinge	1	164.4	0.1			0.0
indefinite	126	1327	9.4	13	142	1.5
mortar	37	145	2.8	62	1356	7.1
paint	62	11.5	4.6	3	0	0.3
plaster	98	204.9	7.3	32	29	3.7
roofing	190	1481.4	14.2	237	1648	27.3
sewer pipe	12	457.6	0.9			0.0
tile	15	104.2	1.1	1	19	0.1
window	138	159	10.3	86	107	9.9
Grand Total	1337	13413.81	100.0	869	13074	100.0

Two electrical components indicate that electricity was incorporated into the work yard, propelling farming operations into the mid twentieth century; the extent utility pole showing evidence of electricity expanding into the domestic realm and work yard of the site. In comparison, less industrial related hardware was recovered from the residence. Of note, however, was the recovery of a single window came in proximity of the main residence; the presence of lead window comes is evidence of eighteenth-century construction. The absence of wrought iron nails, which are typically associated with pre-nineteenth century building constructions, is unusual. Lacking wrought iron nails, both near the main residence and work yard may suggest a heavily reliance on stone construction styles that would have required a lower need for iron fasteners for the building's construction, and thus less reliance on outside trade networks. The stone comprising the foundations and wall of the early buildings are reportedly sourced from a local quarry present at the edge of original property boundaries (Princeton Neighbor 1939).

Some architectural features show a progression of material types over time. For example, cut nails were typically replaced by wire nails by the turn of the nineteenth century. Similarly asphalt roofing, becoming available after 1903, would have replaced previous roofing material primarily comprised of slate. The proportion of cut nail to wire nails at each area suggests building renovations occurring in the later years of the farm; however, the discrepancy between the two loci show which area underwent structural investments during the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Whereas two-thirds of the nail assemblage recovered from the Area A consisted of cut nails, two-thirds of the nail assemblage recovered from Area B consisted of wire nails. The abundant use of wire nails in Area B suggests the continuation of farming operations and architectural investments at the end of the nineteenth century into the

twentieth century. In comparison, the main residence, although likely undergoing minor alterations such as porch repair and alterations, was not heavily altered in the twentieth century and maintained its general character.

A review of the domestic material recovered from Area A shows a sample of the type of material collected by the heads of family over time (Table 5). Contrasted with domestic types recovered from the work yard, domestic activities can be traced that either extended from the main residence into the work yard or as evidence of other people, perhaps tenants or members of the farming workforce, living on the property. Although quantities of domestic material are generally more numerous at the main residence, similarities in artifact types have been identified. Domestic items that are present in both main residence and the work yard include various tablewares made of pearlware, porcelain, and whiteware, teawares, holloware made of redware and stoneware, furnishing, lamp glass, and various miscellaneous glass types including decorative items made of milk glass.

The presence tablewares, though occurring at lesser proportions within the work yard, suggest that food preparation and storage was occurring in both loci. Specifically, tablewares made of pearlware, porcelain, and whiteware, and teawares were recovered. Hollowares, made of redware and stoneware, and food-related items such as soda bottles and miscellaneous glass suggesting food preparation/food storage.

The distribution of chimney glass associated with lighting, suggest the extension of work yard activities into the night, increasing time allotted in the workday for operations. The use of lamp glass may correlate to a capitalistic strategy designed to extend the workday within the farm complex, and thus to get more surplus value of its workers.

Table 5: Domestic Artifacts Recovered from Site 28ME408.

Artifacts	(A) Count	(A) Weight	(A) %	(B) Count	(B) Weight	(B) %
electrical				1	2	
glass insulator				1	2	
food				1		
aluminum pull tab				1		
food						
prep/consumption			24	19	35	5
indefinite porcelain	1	2	1			
spoon, metal	1	24	1			
straw, plastic				1	0	0
tableware	41	100	22	17	35	5
creamware	2	3	1			
pearlware	22	40	12	3	7	1
porcelain	2	6	1	3	12	1
tin-glazed						
earthenware				1	0	0
white granite	1	11	1			
whiteware	14	40	7	9	12	2
yellowware				1	4	0
teaware	1	2	1	1	0	0
pearlware	1	2	1			
porcelain				1	0	0
food prep/food						
storage	59	379	31	26	160	7
decorative						
container,						
lead glass	1	3	1			
holloware	59	379	31	25	160	7
redware	54	324	28	10	43	3
stoneware	5	55	3	15	117	4
twist tie				1	0	0
furnishing	16	44	8	5	42	1
flowerpot	14	25	7	1	0	0
garment, cotton	1	19	1	1	5	0
rug, wool	1	0	1	3	37	1
heat/lighting	21	6	11	34	28	9
lamp glass	21	6	11	34	28	9
misc. containers	49	146	26	274	2096	76
bottle glass	3	8	2	50	240	14
container glass	42	102	22	126	432	35
decorative item,						
milk glass	2	14	1	3	6	1

Artifacts	(A) Count	(A) Weight	(A) %	(B) Count	(B) Weight	(B) %
milk glass				2	6	1
vessel glass				1	0	0
jar lid liner, milk glass	1	20	1			
jar cap, steel				1	9	0
mason jar	1	2	1	52	113	14
milk bottle				39	1224	11
soda bottle				3	72	1
Grand Total	190	706	100	362	2378	100

The spatial and temporal analysis of artifact distribution within the work yard specifically was assessed to the break down and show various functions occurring in the locus. The work yard assemblage was divided among five separate loci correlating with the location of pre-existing outbuildings present on historic aerials and evidenced during the archaeological investigation. Table 6 represents a comparison of material organized by Behavior Groups, Artifact Types, and Material recovered from test units at the building locations. Not only does the distribution of artifact by behavior group show evidence of domestic occupation occurring within specific areas included in the work yard, distribution by artifact type and material can show specific consumer consumption patterns that directly tie the daily activities of the people residing there to the socio-economic forces at play at the farm, including reflections of class positioning and status.

According to the findings, the occurrence of domestic material in general appear in concentrations across the work yard, with Building 2 and 8 representing the highest concentrations of domestic artifacts. The occurrence of dog burial adjacent to Building Two alone suggest intimate domestic practice, hinting that the adjacent building as a possible residence. Closer analysis of Artifact Categories within Domestic Groupings show variability in the type of domestic artifacts used across the site. While the western and central portion of the

work yard recovered higher proportion of tableware, there is general lack of tableware recovered from the northern and eastern portion of the work area.

The presence of whiteware and porcelain tableware sherds within intact stratigraphy provides more substantial evidence of people using the work yard for domestic activities, primarily the consumption and preparation of food. According to the census data, seven different people were living on Jewell family property as farm laborers from the year 1850 to 1900, some of whom had family members, either children or wife, with them at the time of Census. Lacking specific decoration on the whiteware recovered from the work yard, a general TPQ date of 1840 is attributed to presence of food/preparation and food/consumption activities accruing in the work yard; this date coincides with the general timeline in which the Jewell Family gains ownership of the property. In contrast, and with the exception of one tin-enameled earthenware fragment, nearly none of the ceramics predating the use of whiteware was noted within intact stratigraphic contexts in the work yard, suggesting that food preparation/food consumption was occurring less if at all in the work area during the Schenck occupation of the site, at least at the locations explored during the archaeological analysis. The occurrence of a single 18th century tableware sherd, that is the tin-enameled earthenware fragment recovered from the buried A horizon adjacent to the Building #8 (East Stone Barn), is less convincing of eighteenth century living spaces occurring the work yard, but rather evidence of the eighteenth century occupation of the site overall; the reason why the artifact was recovered in this specific location is undetermined.

Building #8, Western Stone Barn, contained the greatest number and proportion of miscellaneous glassware recovered at the site. Although these are domestic-related items, the location near the stone barn may support the use of the structure for cold storage up to the

twentieth century, as suggested by the 1988 inventory (Hand 1988). The recovery of an intact early nineteenth century milk glass bottle with the adjacent Buried A horizon suggests the buildings use for this function. The unique building construction of the stone barn thus represents a utility, i.e. cold storage, that was preserved for generational use for nearly 200 years, suggesting why the building withstood fundamental changes occurring on the work yard.

The occurrence of food related items, hollowares for food preparation/food storage, housing furnishings, and lamp glass sherds at intact stratigraphy associated with Building #2, and not at other outbuildings locations, builds upon a domestic assemblage that suggests the use of the structure as a possible tenant house. While other building location contain portions of what appears to be a domestic assemblage, no other area outside of Building#2 contains an eclectic assemblage of domestic material that suggest material conditions conducive for living, especially for a tenant possibly living with their families on site.

The area west and north of Building#8 near the location of Building#4/5, also show a light distribution of domestic artifacts that suggest the expanse of domestic operations extending from the tenant house and further into the northwestern portion of work yard. For example, a porcelain teacup fragment, decorative container glass of milk glass, and linoleum tile fragments were recovered. In addition, faunal remains consisting of clam shells were noted in this area but were no present elsewhere in the archaeological assemblage. In comparison a small concentration of oyster shells was recovered in the Buried A horizon near the main residence, Building #1.

Table 6:Artifacts organized by Behavioral Categories and Material comparing Designated Building Loci

ARTIFACTS	BLDG#1 (Main Residence)			BLDG#2(Tenant House)			BLDG#3 (West Outbuilding)			BLDG#4/5 (Central Complex)			BLDG#8 (East Stone Barn)		
Group-Category-Type	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)
Activities				1	0.4	2				1	1.1	303	1	0.7	48
firearms				1	0.4	2									
ammo (.22), nickel-plated				1	0.4	2									
transportation										1	1.1	303	1	0.7	48
railroad spike										1	1.1	303			
tire pump, aluminum													1	0.7	48
Domestic	99	28.3	390.4	43	17.6	180	6	5.4	21	13	14.3	60	55	36.4	689
food				1	0.4	0									
container pull tab, aluminum				1	0.4	0									
food prep/consumption	16	4.6	55.6	5	2.0	6	2	1.8	10	3	3.3	6	1	0.7	0
spoon, stainless steel	1	0.3	24												
straw, plastic				1	0.4	0									
tableware	15	4.3	31.6	4	1.6	6	2	1.8	10	2	2.2	6	1	0.7	0
creamware	1	0.3	0												
pearlware	10	2.9	19.9												
porcelain	1	0.3	5.7	1	0.4	6	1	0.9	3	1	1.1	3			
whiteware	3	0.9	6	3	1.2	0	1	0.9	7	1	1.1	3			
tin-glazed earthenware													1	0.7	0
teaware										1	1.1	0			
porcelain										1	1.1	0			
food prep/food storage	37	10.6	269.9	15	6.1	53									
holloware	37	10.6	269.9	14	5.7	53									
redware	36	10.3	261.4	8	3.3	21									
stoneware	1	0.3	8.5	6	2.5	32									
twist tie, galvanized steel				1	0.4	0									
furnishing	6	1.7	8.5	2	0.8	20									
flowerpot, terra cotta	6	1.7	8.5	1	0.4	0									
rug, wool				1	0.4	20									
heat/lighting	15	4.3	6	1	0.4	0									
lamp glass	15	4.3	6	1	0.4	0									
misc. containers	24	6.9	47.7	19	7.8	101	4	3.6	11	10	11.0	54	54	35.8	689
bottle glass				6	2.5	83	2	1.8	8	1	1.1	2	6	4.0	41
container glass	23	6.6	33.2	13	5.3	18	2	1.8	3	6	6.6	42	10	6.6	46
decorative item, leaded glass	1	0.3	3												
decorative item, milk glass	1	0.3	14.2							1	1.1	6			
mason jar										2	2.2	4			
milk bottle													38	25.2	602

ARTIFACTS	BLDG#1 (Main Residence)			BLDG#2(Tenant House)			BLDG#3 (West Outbuilding)			BLDG#4/5 (Central Complex)			BLDG#8 (East Stone Barn)		
Group-Category-Type	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)
Faunal	5	1.4	2.8	20	8.2	134	2	1.8	4	15	16.5	31	1	0.7	18
food	5	1.4	2.8				2	1.8	4	15	16.5	31	1	0.7	18
bone															
rib													1	0.7	18
leg							2	1.8	4						
eggshell										6	6.6	4			
clam shell										9	9.9	27			
oyster shell	5	1.4	2.8												
pet-burial remains				20	8.2	134									
skull				13	5.3	130									
tooth				7	2.9	4									
Other	59	16.9	192.2	100	41.0	285	56	50.0	157	17	18.7	66			
fuel	59	16.9	192.2	99	40.6	283	39	34.8	123	17	18.7	66			
coal	59	16.9	192.2	99	40.6	283	39	34.8	123	17	18.7	66			
waste				1	0.4	2	17	15.2	34						
clinker				1	0.4	2	15	13.4	29						
slag					0.0		2	1.8	5						
Personal				4	1.6	8									
pet-related				3	1.2	5									
leather collar with brass/copper studs				3	1.2	5									
health				1	0.4	3									
cohesive bandage tape, rubber latex				1	0.4	3									
Structural	182	52.0	640.8	65	26.6	420	42	37.5	103	42	46.2	434	91	60.3	340
hardware	51	14.6	215.6	26	10.7	186	9	8.0	24	11	12.1	268	47	31.1	209
bracket, iron										3	3.3	117	5	3.3	24
cap, iron	3	0.9	5.7												
cut nail	21	6.0	99.3	14	5.7	111				2	2.2	108	10	6.6	73
eye bolt, iron										1	1.1	4			
indefinite, iron				2	0.8	37									
pellets, iron													4	2.6	0
plate/can, iron	26	7.4	110.6	3	1.2	0	7	6.3	15	1	1.1	11	27	17.9	104
ring connector, steel	1	0.3	0												
washer, copper										1	1.1	0			
wire, iron				1	0.4	0									
wire nail				6	2.5	38	2	1.8	9	3	3.3	28	1	0.7	8
materials	131	37.4	425.2	39	16.0	234	33	29.5	79	31	34.1	166	44	29.1	131
brick	72	20.6	269.1	6	2.5	21	7	6.3	55	14	15.4	114	2	1.3	0
cement block										8	8.8	23			
indefinite, wood	3	0.9	0												
mortar		0.0		1	0.4	170							10	6.6	75

ARTIFACTS	BLDG#1 (Main Residence)			BLDG#2 (Tenant House)			BLDG#3 (West Outbuilding)			BLDG#4/5 (Central Complex)			BLDG#8 (East Stone Barn)		
Group-Category-Type	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)	#	%	Wt. (g)
paint	4	1.1	2	3	1.2	0									
plaster	7	2.0	13.7	7	2.9	0	3	2.7	3				11	7.3	16
roofing	26	7.4	67.6	6	2.5	26	2	1.8	4	4	4.4	20	20	13.2	21
slate	26	7.4	67.6	6	2.5	26	2	1.8	4	4	4.4	20	19	12.6	21
tar shingle													1	0.7	0
sewer pipe, ceramic	1	0.3	70												
tile, linoleum	1	0.3	0							5	5.5	9	1	0.7	19
window glass	17	4.9	2.8	16	6.6	17	21	18.8	17	3	3.3	0			
undefined use	5	1.4	8.8	11	4.5	0	6	5.4	0	3	3.3	0	3	2.0	0
indefinite	5	1.4	8.8	6	2.5	0				3	3.3	0			
cap, plastic	1	0.3	0												
clasp, plastic	1	0.3	6												
sheet, plastic				1	0.4	0									
syrofoam	1	0.3	6	1	0.4	0	3	2.7	0						
wood	2	0.6	2.8	4	1.6	0							1	0.7	0
misc. plastic				5	2.0	0	3	2.7	0						
sheet, plastic				5	2.0	0	3	2.7	0						
storage					0.0		3	2.7	0						
Grand Total	350	100	1235	244	100	1029	112	100	285	91	100	894	151	100	1095

Concentration of fuel-related items in form coal at the main residence and the northwester portion of the work yard presumed to partly function as a secondary residence for tenants suggest the use of furnaces for heating and lighting needed for domestic occupation. In comparison, industrial waste, such as clinker and slag is noted in small concentration that overlap primarily with BLDG#3 suggesting more industrial operations in this area; in comparison, no waste was recorded in the intact stratigraphy around the main residence suggesting a hard separation between the industrial center of the farm and the domestic structure.

Agricultural Landscape and Socio-Economic Dynamics

Over the course of its history, the shape, design, and utility of the Schenck-Jewell farmstead would change over time to accommodate the new ideas and values embraced by the families that resided on the site. Coinciding with the larger economic networks embracing the region, via use of the local railway and canal, the farm complex accommodates new space and functions for emerging industrial and capitalistic ventures. While some changes required the demolition of old buildings and the construction of new ones to suit emerging needs to run a successful farm, other buildings were maintained, repurposed, and refashioned to reflect the needs of the new family and their self-appointed position in society.

Architectural elements attributed to the earlier occupation of the farm by the Schenck family include the original wing of the main house, constructed in a Dutch-vernacular style; two stone barns to the west and north of the house, the former barn having been recorded in the 1988 inventory; and the square well at the heart of the farm complex. Although, exact dates could not be determined from diagnostic artifacts recovered from the builder's trench of any of the masonry features, the use of stone barns has been observed at other Dutch associated sites, including at Old World farm sites in the Netherlands, and most likely associated with the earliest occupation of the site. The mortar articulation between the two barns and the well is consistent, comprised of a similar pinkish-brown sandy mortar, representing a similar construction phase that used similar construction techniques. In comparison, the stone foundation, Feature 13, found overlying Feature 14 to the north, was rather loosely articulated with a sand and lime-based mortar, not present in the earlier forms of construction. This type of mortar is more consistent with the mortar articulation of the brick courses observed above the stone foundation of the well, which represents a nineteenth to twentieth century addition.

The historic destruction of the northern stone barn associated with the Feature 14 represents a fundamental change occurring on the farm during the occupation of the Jewell family. Lacking the necessary utility for the growing farming operations on the farm, which would likely been used for threshing of grain, the building was raised and replaced with a substantial but less permanent wooden structure. The size of the new wooden barn, nearly two to three times as big as the former stone building, presumed to be the same style as the stone barn recorded in the 1988 inventory, suggests the increase scale of production occurring on the farm. The stone foundation was likely recycled from the foundation of the former stone structure, using available resources to the lower initial construction costs. Symbolically, the raising of the barn shows a changing of hands of the property, as Thomas Jewell built elements of the new farm literally on the backs of the foundations laid by the original Schenck family.

It has been suggested that the use of wooden structures at industrial sites, as appose to structures requiring masonry elements, is conducive to capitalistic enterprises and ideologies. During the Jewells occupation of the site, many wooden structures would have been erected, including the large wooden barn which replaced a stone one with various outbuildings, assumed to be wooden, flaking its wings. In Bells discussion of architecture forms in the colonial Chesapeake, impermanent architecture would require less capital investment and less time and labor to construct (Bell 1990). Saved time and labor not spent on building construction was better allocated to clearing fields and growing crops, which was also a labor-intensive activity. Due to the uncertainty of running a successful farming operation during the early colonization, owners of these wooden structures would have been more concerned with the immediate pay back of the building's construction and less worried about its survival 20 years in the future. The low initial building cost, the saving of labor and time, and the uncertainty of pursuing farming as

an occupation, made the use of wooden impermanent structures an optimal strategy on capitalist farming sites trying to maximize profit over a short period of time.

The use of impermanent architecture, particularly earth-fast structures not on masonry foundations, was a choice that encouraged social engagement. Earth-fast structures would fall into periods of disrepair at more frequent occurrences, which would require the owner to rely on the continual efforts of a community to fix while at the same time solidify social bonds in process. The development of long-term social networks would foster the development of social relations outside of the family farm, bring forth a communal solidarity that would ultimately help the farming operations, especially when larger commercial networks were not utilized. Bell presents the use of earth-fast structures in this way as a dynamic take on the shapes that capitalism can take based on social needs of its participants (Bell 1990).

In contrast, stone structures, often seen at large, successful plantation sites, reflect capitalistic ideologies that showcase the wealth and the ability of the family to be self-reliant and financially independent, a persistent symbol on the landscape that reflect the solidity of socio-economic power relations occurring on the farm for all to see (Leone 1984). The use of stone structures at the Schenck-Jewell Farm site is attributed to the Schenck family, which according to Bell (1990), would already be symbolic representation of their success and a want to remain fixed to the land. Could this be the reason why the Schenck and Covenhoven Family sought to build social capital in other ways, while relying on the permanence of the stone structures and the use of family and slave labor that didn't require much community involvement? According to historic document, the Schenck and Covenhoven families were deeply ingrained in the community, contributing to the early development of social institution that emerged, whether in

religion, school, or public office. Thus, social capital was acquired with their commitment to the community rather than the community's commitment to them.

An inverse relationship is suggested to occur at the site during the Jewell family, which was keen to express their elite status reflected in the massive remodeling of the farm and main residence on the site. The success of the farm also relying on the workforce that lived on the site with Jewell family.

In addition, other building types were being constructed across the landscape. Concentrations of domestic artifacts in the western portion of the work yard suggest that a portion of the space was used for domestic operations, including the housing of tenant laborers living on site. The presence of whiteware with manufacture dates post-dating Schenck occupation of the site show that the housing space was incorporated into the work yard during Jewell occupation. The tenant building, insinuated to be the location of Building #2, was constructed in a similar style noted at a farmstead structure excavated at the other sites at Penns Neck, particularly at the Pullen House site on property once owned by the Schenck and Jewell family located to the northeast of the Schenck-Jewell farm complex (See Andrews et al. 2022). The use of truncated sills, likely a part of an interrupted wooden sill with internal wooden posts, at both sites suggest similar forms of functions as a residence. This wooden construction technique which incorporates wooden sills and smaller structural posts is contrasted with architectural features found within the work yard which includes the use of stone foundation, sourced from the razed stone outbuildings, and large and deep wooden post construction; the later representing sites of industrial operations rather than domestic.

The orientation of the tenant house reflects the multifunctional value of the structure and the assumed social obligation of the individuals living in the house. According to the historical

photograph of the main residence, the presumed tenant house present in the background, does not have its entrances oriented with the main residence, but toward the work yard and operations of the farm (Figure 21). Historic photographs clearly depict entrenched and heavily worn passageways leading directly from footprint of Building#2 to other outbuildings in the work yard (See Figure 1 above). The specific placement of Building#2, in addition to its orientation, is also telling considering it is in direct line of site from the main residence. Assuming the need of surveillance to ensure productivity in the workforce, the farm complex mirrors modes of control embedded in the landscape observed in other archaeological sites across the eastern shore.

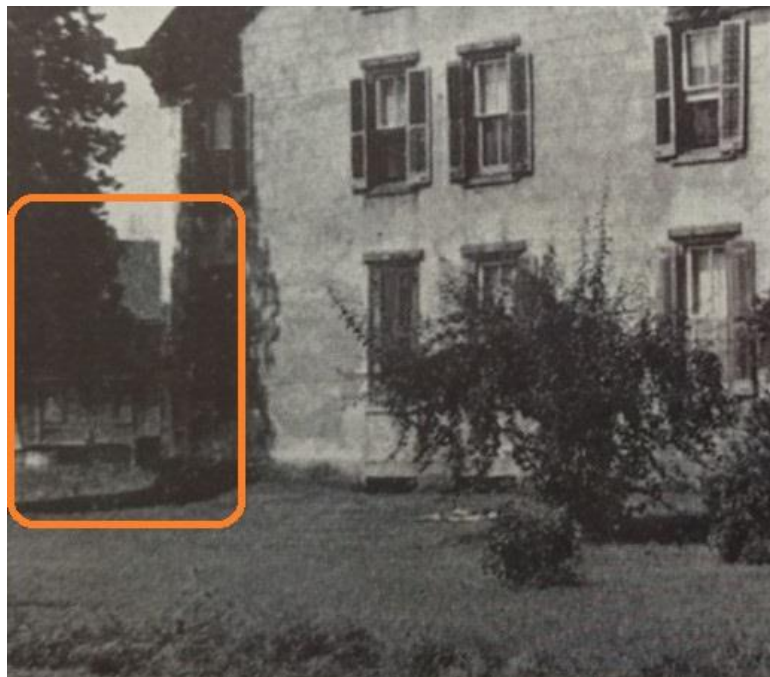


Figure 21: Historic Photo of Schenck-Jewell House with Possible Tenant Outbuilding Depicted in the Background.

The inclusion of the tenant house in the work yard is a profound reflection of the dominant ideologies at play that were ultimately utilized for capitalistic pursuit. The inclusion of the tenant in the work yard, but within surveillance of the main resident, solidifies the social role, and class relation, of the tenant on the landscape compared to property owners. The

Victorianization of the main house, also reflects this ideology, which created a material separation between classes noted in the conspicuous consumption of architectural renovations and styles. The presence of symbols that reflect dominant ideologies of the time has been well recorded in archaeological sites. Similar to the Jewell Site, Leone's study of plantation sites on the Eastern Shore of Maryland shows intentionality in the placement landscape features, architecture, and social activity spheres, that both mystify the actual power relationships existing on the site and naturalize those relationships on the landscape (1984, 1995). Similarly, the placement of housing designed for the workforce within farming operations in the Colonial Chesapeake was an attempt to separate white groupness into a class separate from other identities that served as laborers or slaves.

The demolition of the structure, in a similar way as the barn, shows the abandonment of its utility after the mid nineteenth century when farming operations cease on the landscape.

Although some structures were changed during transition of the farm over time, other remained. The Western barn for example, recorded in the 1988 architectural inventory, has persisted on the landscape for nearly 200 years. The presence of a tin-enameled earthenware adjacent to the structure, and accounts of the stone barns by seventeenth century travelers, suggest its origins of construction as early as the mid eighteenth century.

Given that an argument can be built that suggests the presence of tenants living at the edge of the work yard during Jewell occupation, the discrepancy in types of domestic material and assumed function implies evidence of the assumed social status and wealth of its residence. For example, the use of differing faunal material food, ceramic types, and packaged foods between the main residence and the tenant house may account for the perceived status of its inhabitants. For example, the presence of oyster shells near the primary residence shows a

preference in shellfish types that would have required larger trade networks to acquire. In contrast, the clam shells observed in the work yard may indicate locally obtained foodstuff that would have required less effort to receive and at less of a cost. Furthermore, higher proportions of packaged foods occurring in the workyard in contrast with the main residence demonstrates a common and cheaper source of food that would have been used to accommodate the workforce.

An assessment of the nineteenth century domestic ceramics and glassware occurring around the main residence and the work yard, suggest a general acquisition of local wares by the Jewell Family and its workforce rather than relying on extensive trade outside the region. The presence of a booming pottery industry in Trenton would have provided local access to cheap and local ceramic forms, including whitewares, yellowwares, and white granite. The presence of undecorated local whitewares at the site suggest general trend that wealth and status was less spent on domestic items; but rather spent on the outward expressions connected to architectural forms, primarily suggested by the expansion and Victorianization of the main house and the expansion and reformatting of the farming buildings, work force, and operations.

The quantities of pearlware, representing an eighteenth-century ceramic type, recovered from the site, especially around the main building, significantly outnumber later nineteenth century ceramic forms. Interestingly, this may indicate a preference of earlier pearlware ceramics extending into the nineteenth century when other ceramic forms, such as whiteware and ironstone, became readily available. The proportion of whitewares to pearlware observed in the work yard overall is greater than the proportions present around the main residence. This may suggest that purchasing of new wares was utilized for members of the workforce, more so than at the main residence, which relied on traditional forms.

The prevalence of pearlware was also observed from intact stratigraphic context discovered at the Lower Harrison Street Domestic site. Pearlware sherds of varying decorative designs were recovered next to well, likely dating to the eighteenth century. Quantities of whiteware forms recovered from the yard surface directly north of the location of the former domestic structure at this site contrasts with the temporal progression of ceramic forms exhibited at the Jewell farm. This suggests that the families emerging in the space were more acceptant of the purchase of novel ceramic types made available at the time.

Although of English influence, the preference of pearlware show a remapping of traditional ceramic forms used by the original Dutch community, at a time when exported Dutch commodities, such as Delfwares and tin-glazed earthenwares, were no longer available for purchase by the communities, that in part, expanding into nineteenth century contexts. Interestingly, the use of these older forms of ceramic, rather than novel forms emerging in local centers at the time, may indicate an active attempt to resist the general trend of mainstream consumer culture, maintaining true to traditions originally held by the community of Dutch descendants.

Tracking Cultural Continuity and Persistence of Traditions

Despite the various changes occurring on the Schenck-Jewell farm, some traditions remained fixed. The degree at which past traditions persist in the families of Dutch families has come under debate, with increasing evidence that Dutch families in the nineteenth century show little in defining character as to what is particularly “Dutch” tradition occurring at Old World and New World context during the colonization period. In an analysis of trade networks occurring overtime, this is largely in part by the diminishing influence of Dutch international commercial enterprises, which gave way the English commercial networks connected to their industrial superiority. This is evident primarily in the reflection of consumption patterns evident across

time, where traditional Dutch-inspired ceramic forms were being replaced with English-inspired traditions, including creamware and pearlwares. With traditional ceramic forms no longer available, it is not surprising that Dutch families would rely on the materials that were available overtime, with the use of decorated pearlwares generally replacing the use of tin-glazed and redware types (Figure 22).

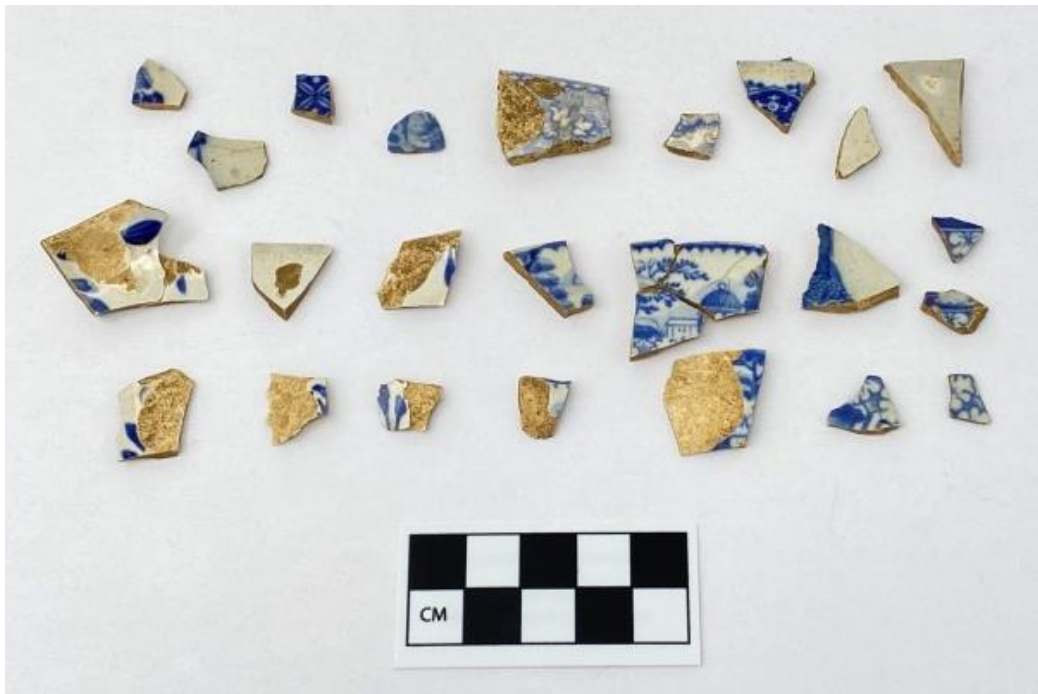


Figure 22: Decorated Pearlware and Whiteware Tableware sherd Recovered from 28ME413. Courtesy of the Ottery Group.

Although, this theory can be generally projected on the Schenck-Jewell farm, some outliers remain. For one, the use architectural forms, such as the stone Dutch Barn, represents a commitment to traditional practice. According to the architectural inventory conducted in 1988, the original house was constructed in a Dutch-inspired vernacular (Hand 1988). Similar architectural styles have been observed in New Amsterdam at Dutch associated sites in New Netherland (Wacker 1978). Similarly, the stone “Dutch Barn” evident on the landscape and recorded in the 1988 inventory is a traditional building technique with similar structures

observed in the northern and central portions of Holland (Wacker 1978: 954). Persistent use of architectural features on the landscape after Schenck occupancy suggest a commitment to the foundations laid out by the original inhabitants, although altogether going through substantial changes. However, this may be more economical than of value to tradition, considering it would be more costly to rebuild than to modify, which may indicate capitalistic reasons to keeping buildings around. Traditions were thus kept if they didn't conflict with new ideologies embraced by the residing families.

Patterns of consumption evident at other sites associated with descendants of Dutch immigrants present some grounds of cultural continuity as evident in the archaeological record at the Schenck-Jewell Farm Site. The preference of Chinese export porcelain and hand-painted pearlware for tea has been documented at early Dutch fort sites and residential spaces leading into eighteenth century.

The few pieces of tin-glazed earthenware recovered from 28ME408 suggest that they may have held on to old fashioned, Dutch style dishes as an expression of their Dutch identity. This is similar to the Van Dyke Site located in the New Brunswick which exposed a small collection of tin-glazed earthenware, which was known to be a prized possession according to the diary of Rachel Van Dyke (John Milner Associates 2007).

The preference of redwares in Dutch assemblages has also been noted in various seventeenth and eighteenth Dutch sites. Redwares containing slip-decoration on the exterior of the vessel, in particular, suggest use of redware ceramics for food storage or food preparation but also for food consumption. Old traditions would use redware as communal vessels for the consumption of food and communal plating. Accounts of redware in the archaeological record, including slip-decorated redwares, reflect a similar use of tradition at both the Schenck-Jewell

Farm Site and the Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan Site, but less so at the Lower Harrison Street Domestic Site (Figure 23 and Figure 24).



Figure 23: Slip-Decorated Redware Sherds recovered during Phase II archaeological survey at Penns Neck. Courtesy of the Ottery Group.



Figure 24: Redware Forms Recovered from Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan House Site. Courtesy of the Ottery Group.

Although, participation in larger markets is noted by the use presence of creamware or decorated pearlwares, it is likely that most goods were acquired by local markets, including local redwares and whitewares. The acquisition of local materials appears to be an economical choice rather than a show of status. However, among a group of people attempting to maintain cultural traditions, the use of traditional forms may have been used in concert with tradition custom that promoted social cohesion among the Penns Neck community overall.

Perhaps the biggest tie to tradition across various families and generation was the commitment to family and the church. The interconnected nature of Dutch and English descendants is demonstrated in census records which show the harboring and boarding of extended families that were develop in both the Old World and New World. Archaeologically, the recovery of a complete milk glass bottle with embossed makers mark titled “Conovers” at the Schenck-Jewell Site within early twentieth century stratigraphic context suggests an economic and social commitment to the original family networks at Penns Neck, who at this point were spread throughout the region (Figure 24).



Figure 25: Conover Dairy Bottle Recovered from the Schenck-Jewell Farm Site. Courtesy of the Ottery Group.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Previous archaeological investigation conducted the Schenck-Jewell Farmstead Site, Covenhoven-Silvers Logan House Site, and Lower Harrison Street Domestic Site revealed evidence of an extensive family networks of the descendants of Dutch immigrants dating from founding of the Penns Neck Community in the mid-eighteenth century to the dismantlement of the sites occurring in the twentieth century. The assemblage recovered at the Schenck-Jewell Farmstead Site, specifically, is evidence of a prosperous family-owned farming operation that supported the rising of its main residents into a class of elite farmers. The former residence is associated with Garret Schenck, founder of Penns Neck, and his immediate descendants, before the property was transferred to Thomas Jewell, capitalist farmer, by 1830s. Analysis of the spatial patterning of artifacts by type and temporal association depict a landscape that went through a number of changes over the course of its occupying inhabitants. I argue that these changes, which are observable in the archaeological record, reflect a complex arrangement of values and social obligations, new and old, that evolved with the community over time. Evidence provided suggest that while some of these values shifted with emerging ideologies of the time, i.e. the embracing of capitalistic socio-economic structures, others traditions persisted. Both new and old traditions were thus embedded in landscape, reflecting the choices made these families to act with and part against the larger socio-economic networks at play within the community and the industrialization of the region overall.

The social order and value system that emerged amongst the community during Penns Neck early development by members of the Schenck and Covenhoven family was largely tied to religious institutions that supported community/family solidarity and gave grounds to moral codes to be embraced during social and family life. Social obligations toward one's community

is reflected in the communal construction of the town institutional centers, the transfer of wealth between families, and the boarding of extended family within the same house. William Conover's construction of the Penns Neck Baptist Church and the Red Lion Inn, for example, and the financial and occupational commitments of the Conovers and Schencks to the church and school systems, show this outward investment, socially and financially, in community life. Many of the Schencks and Covenhoven took their place in town offices. The commitment of families at early Penns Neck to the establishment of the Church has significant implications to the everyday life. The church as Penns Neck still stands today in its original location; the institution was deeply indoctrinated into the region.

In contrast the Jewell family had less to do with local affairs. This marks an significant contrast when held in light of capitalist pursuits, where ideologies of social cohesions are replaced with separatism, primarily to support a profit. The Jewell family marked a new breed farmer, a capitalist one. In this way he pursued the maximization of profit while also diminishing, to a degree, the family's role toward the community. Rather than acclaiming status through social obligation, Jewell found material means to justify his place on the landscape. This includes the Victorianization of the Jewell house in mid to late 1800s after acquiring more wealth from his farming operations. He also removed a portion of the old Schenck farm, including a stone barn, in order to accommodate changes to compete and prosper within competitive markets. This process of reimagining the traditional symbols of the landscape represents a change of the larger socioeconomic systems of the time and the family's response to it.

Interestingly, the use of older ceramic forms with manufacture dates extending to the early nineteenth century were found in greater proportion than later nineteenth and twentieth

century wares. This observation marks a specific choice of the inhabitants to resist participation in novel forms of the emerging consumer culture, relying on older forms of pearlware that were traditionally used.

Despite its capitalistic pursuits, which embraced a new value system, the Jewell family also kept traditions alive, including the fostering of extended family members, commitment to traditional occupations and space, and continual use, though in part, of older architectural forms. The combination of Victorianization of the house and persistence of Dutch Barn shows his mark in the history while also holding on to/honoring tradition. Old traditions that did not hinder the growth of capitalistic pursuits were maintained with an appeal to utilitarian functions that could last over multiple generations.

The archaeological data at the Schenck-Jewell farm reveals the shapes that capitalism takes in rural communities across time. Following Wurst's theoretical investigations into the study of capitalism as a dynamic totality, we can use fundamental principles of class formation to approach the realities transpiring at time, and on the farms. The family-farms in operation at Penns Neck had to take measures to compete with other entities, family industries or larger commercial markets, to remain successful. This relied on socio-economic network that facilitates the extraction of surplus value from workers, that is, for turning a profit. On the farm, this is reflected by the continual circulation of a workforce and the characteristics of how these workers for exploited.

In the constant struggle to compete with the competition, the family farms at Penns Neck undertook a variety of strategies to secure their place in the market. For one, they remodeled the farm complex to support the growing industrial processes carried forth on the farm. The presence

of coal and electrical components within the workspace show a change in technologies embraced on the farm, which ultimately help propel the prosperity of the farm into the twentieth century.

The layout and architectural features on the landscape at the Jewell farm changed over time. A series of outbuilding constructions were, by necessity, remodeled and reformatted over time to meet the needs of the farm as larger economic pressures emerged, likely from the increased commercial pressure brought forth from the railway and canal, which made efforts to industrialize more attainable in various settings. The architectural features exposed during the archaeological assessment of the property include some that had robust stone walls or foundations, while others were primarily earth-fast timber structures. The use of varying architectural styles has significance, both in the way it was utilized over time and the symbol it has on the landscape.

According to the Peter Kalm, impressive Dutch barns were noted on the Penns Neck landscape as early as 1740s. Advertisements show the Dutch barns on the market, with concentrations between the Raritan and Delaware River (Wacker). This supports the notion that the Dutch Barns were some of the earliest architectural forms, possibly matching the time period in which the. Mortar articulation of the stone foundation beneath the original ground surface consisted of sand and limestone. The same mortar articulation was noted between the stones of the primary well located at the intersection of the domestic and work sphere.

Generally, the patterns of consumption noted at the Schenck-Jewell house and the Covenhoven-Silvers-Logan house suggest that these families limited their participation in larger extensive networks, but rather relying on more local networks. This is noted in the prevalence of local wares such as decorated redwares which likely used beyond utilitarian functions, serving as tablewares; the use of redware in this way is traditional mark of Dutch-cultural heritage, as

observed in both New World and Old World context. Although, other material cultural, traditionally tied to Dutch-heritage was noted, i.e. the occurrence of tin-enameled earthenware, the scarcity of these products in the market after the fall-out of the Dutch Trading Company in eighteenth century, it would be impractical to obtain such traditional pieces. Rather, decorated pearlwares with similar decoration patters to older forms, were embraced and accepted as a new traditional ware of choice. The use of whiteware, while embraced at the Lower Harrison Street House Site, was more utilized for the industrial settings of the farm, likely more used by the workforce than the members of the main household.

The landscape that emerged on the Penns Neck farmstead landscape is composed of constructed symbolism that helps decipher ideological shifts occurring on the farm and the region. Following Leone, class relations were symbolically distilled in the layout pattern of the farm. At 28ME408, the residing locations and living conditions of tenants or enslaved workforce within the work yard locus of the farm complex, obviously separated from the main residence, was used to solidify class separation necessary for capitalistic pursuits. The orientation of the tenant homes toward the work yard was a constant reminder of the occupant's social obligations.

Taken together, whether in the persistence of old traditions or the pursuit of novel practices that were used for capitalistic enterprises, the residents of the family-farms at Penns Neck offers a nuanced example of the dynamic shape capitalism can take within a community. While some traditions were cast aside in way of ensuring the continued prosperity of the farm, embedding ideologies within the landscape, other traditions were maintained to ensure deep connections to the Penns Neck community that ultimately supported its growth for over 300 years.

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