

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF THE LOUW-BOGARDUS SITE, KINGSTON, NEW YORK

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INTRODUCTION

In February 1969, Fred Johnston, chairman of the Kingston Historic Landmarks Commission, called attention to the architectural significance of the old stone house in Frog Alley, located apparently near the corner of the 17th century Kingston stockade. Careful research with maps and aerial photographs by Dr. Charles Galyon of Kingston confirmed the fact that the topography still followed this stockade line, and that portions of the bluff containing the site of the stockade bastion might have remained relatively undisturbed near the old stone house.

On the basis of these findings, the staff of the New York State Historic Trust, now the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, provided the Kingston Historic Landmarks Commission with three days of archaeological investigation and testing in May, 1969, in an attempt to date the earliest occupation of the old house as well as to define if possible any evidence of the 17th century stockade. It was also intended that the work would produce a controlled sample of artifacts for use in comparative site studies. The work included the excavation of four short test trenches, one inside the house and three outside the house. Dr. Charles Galyon had previously dug another small trench at the southeast corner of the house, revealing part of a brick cistern adjacent to the wall, and he had cleared the brush from areas around the house in preparation for more extensive testing.

This house, subject to frequent speculation and historical discussion, is illustrated and described in *Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776* by Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, published in 1929. The historical research presented in this report is based upon the record of title established by Frank D. Lowe of Albany in 1922 and described by Reynolds in 1929, revealing that the dwelling belonged originally to Pieter Cornelissen Louw. Additional research information was furnished by the Kingston Historic Landmarks Commission.

The writer is indebted to Fred Johnston of the Kingston Historic Landmarks Commission and to Dr. and Mrs. Charles Galyon and family for their continued assistance and kind hospitality. The archaeological work and architectural analysis of the site was conducted with other members of the Historic Trust staff, Paul Battaglini and John G. Waite. For the preliminary identification of faunal evidence from the site, the writer is indebted to Dr. Edgar M. Reilly, Jr., of the New York State Museum and Science Service for his kind and patient assistance.

This report was prepared in March, 1970, and is presented here with additional historical documentation made available since that time but otherwise with only slight changes in the original text. Subsequent public recognition of the significance of the Louw-Bogardus site and its successful preservation during the 1970's was largely due to the efforts of Edwin Ford, as president of the Friends of Historic Kingston. The Friends of Historic Kingston ensured that the site was included in the Stockade Area Historic District nominated to and listed on the National Register of Historic Places. They purchased the site for preservation from the Kingston Urban Renewal Agency and successfully encouraged the realignment of Converse Street (renamed back to Frog Alley) farther away from the site. Finally, they arranged for and financed, with the Ulster Garden Club, the stabilization and preservation of the walls as a ruin, as well as the landscaping of the site. The site is still owned, maintained, and preserved by the Friends of Historic Kingston, assisted by the Ulster Garden Club.

HISTORICAL SETTING

Fertile, low-lying farm land characterizes much of the Hudson Valley at least half of its distance from Albany to New York City. Near Kingston, however, on the west side of the river, the northeast terminus of the Shawangunk Mountain ridge has a dramatic effect on the river valley, which becomes deep and more precipitous before entering the Highlands.

Just south of the Shawangunk Mountain ridge Rondout Creek empties into the Hudson; it is separated by this ridge from Esopus Creek, which flows along the north side before joining the Hudson at Saugerties. Situated upon

this ridge, Kingston stands about two miles from the river on a high flat terrace overlooking the meandering Esopus creek as it flows between lush, well-watered meadows. This location, which Peter Stuyvesant chose in 1658 for a new village soon to be called Wiltwyck, enjoyed significant strategic advantages in trade and agriculture. Protected to the east and north by steep bluffs and to the west by a ravine, the area was enclosed by a log stockade completed on June 20, 1658. The streets within this stockaded area are still an intact part of modern Kingston, and North Front Street and Clinton Avenue still follow part of the original stockade line. Present Green Street follows the western stockade wall, along a ravine and stream which flowed toward the Esopus Creek (Fig. 1). Converse Street, which passes close to the ruins of the old Louw-Bogardus house and may partly follow the stockade wall, once led to a fording place in the Esopus Creek and was called "Frog Alley."

The ruins of this stone house stand on the promontory bluff which marked the northwest bastion of the Kingston stockade (Fig. 2). This hill, overlooking the ravine to the west and the flats along the Esopus to the north, was part of the land of Pieter Cornelissen Louw who, as partner with Pieter Jacobsen, owned a mill nearby and is believed to have lived at this site. Pieter Cornelissen Louw and Pieter Jacobsen together came from Holstein to New Netherland in February 1659 in the ship *Faith*. Pieter Cornelissen Louw was described as a "Labourer" (O'Callaghan 1850:53).

The small nearby stream and ravine furnished a valuable source of water power for a mill site, and in October 1661 Pieter Jacobsen requested the Court of Wiltwyck to fix his charges for grinding corn (Oppenheim 1912:4). It seems likely that he established his "mill-house" in this vicinity about that time (Oppenheim 1912:37).

Both Pieter Jacobsen and Pieter Cornelissen Louw became subjects of a series of lawsuits in Wiltwyck, beginning with Pieter Jacobsen against whom Grietjen Hendricks Westercamp filed a paternity charge in October 1662 (Oppenheim 1912:36-37). In January and February 1663, Pieter Cornelissen Louw was defendant with Thomas Chambers and Elsje Jans in a libel suit by Jan Broersen (Oppenheim 1912:51, 53-54, 57), and in November 1663 Pieter Cornelissen Louw testified in support of Paulus Paulussen who was accused of thievery (Oppenheim 1912:104).

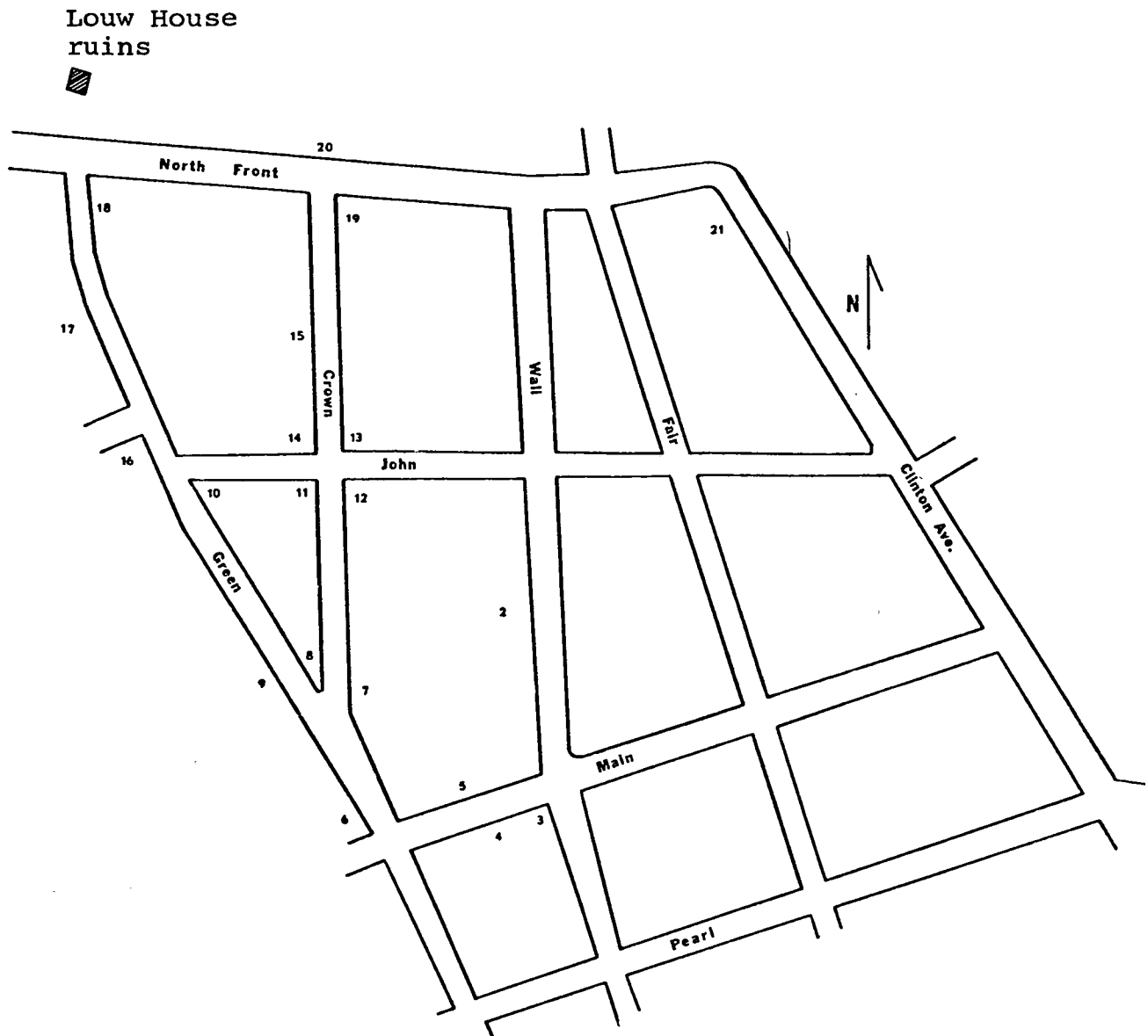
The court records furnish other significant facts relating to Pieter Cornelissen Louw's business as a miller. In June 1663 he was sued by Barent Gerritsen for nondelivery of 34½ schepels of wheat (Oppenheim 1912:70), and in December Roelof Hendricks sued Pieter Cornelissen Louw and his partner, Pieter Jacobsen, for 45 schepels of wheat and 17 guilders (Oppenheim 1912:107). In March 1664 the attorney for Abraham Stevensen seized five schepels of wheat from Pieter Cornelissen Louw (Oppenheim 1912:132), and both Pieter Cornelissen Louw and Pieter Jacobsen were soon forced to mortgage their mill because of a debt of 61 schepels of wheat with four years' interest at 10 per cent due to Nicolaes Meyer, a merchant at New Amsterdam (Oppenheim 1912:139).

As a miller, Pieter Cornelissen Louw obviously suffered financial difficulties, while frequently involved in antagonisms relating to property offenses and ownership of wealth. A court order of November 1664 indicates the close proximity of the mill and mill dam to the palisades and an apparent conflict in land use. The dumping and burning of rubbish along the ravine close to the palisades created a serious fire hazard, and the court instructed "householders living near the Mill gate" to carry their rubbish across the mill dam to be dumped (Oppenheim 1912:168-169).

Pieter Cornelissen Louw may have been one of those householders, for in January 1665, after Pieter Jacobsen, his partner, had died, he requested that his mill house be appraised so that he would be given credit by his creditors for any repairs he made afterward (Christoph, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda 1976:201, 206). He also received permission to sell at auction all the effects belonging to him and his deceased partner, and although he continued to remain in debt, he was requested, in October 1666, to board a soldier one month in every three (Christoph, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda 1976:303-304). The soldier was evidently English, for in January 1668, Pieter Cornelissen was involved in a dispute where he spoke disrespectfully of the English soldiers (Christoph, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda 1976:385).

Pieter Cornelissen Louw, or Molenaer (Miller), nevertheless continued to operate his mill as well as develop his property. In November 1665 he succeeded in paying in full his debt to Nicolaes Meyer (Christoph, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda 1976:582). In 1668 he married Elisabeth Blanshan at Kingston (Hoes 1891:503), and in January 1670 the continued operation of his mill is suggested by his complaint that many people were stopping up "his drain or water course" by dumping dung into it (Christoph, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda 1976:438).

Increasing prosperity and status for Pieter Cornelissen by April 1671 is indicated with his purchase of a tract of "arable land situated under this village of Kingston, on this side of the kill" and, in January 1672, with his purchase of an additional parcel. He immediately became involved in lawsuits over the fencing of his land, and that November he sold a horse mill to Andries Pietersen. Pieter Cornelissen had served as a horse examiner



- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. Old Dutch Church | 11. Academy |
| 2. Court House | 12. Matthew Persen House |
| 3. Dr. C. Elmendorf House | 13. Frantz Roggen House |
| 4. Tobias Swart House | 14. Matthew Jansen House |
| 5. Dr. James Elmendorf House | 15. Abraham Low House |
| 6. Jacob Tremper House | 16. Egbert DuMond House |
| 7. Cornelius Tappen House | 17. Dr. Jacobus Elmendorf House |
| 8. Henry Sleight House | 18. Anthony Hoffman House |
| 9. Lucas Elmendorf House | 19. Colonel Jacobus Bruyn House |
| 10. Gerrett Van Keuren House | 20. Anthony Freer House |
| 21. Colonel W. TenBroeck House (Senate House & Museum) | |

Figure 1. Street plan and locations of historic buildings in the city of Kingston. Map prepared by the Kingston Area Chamber of Commerce, 1969.

Approximate location
of Low House ruin

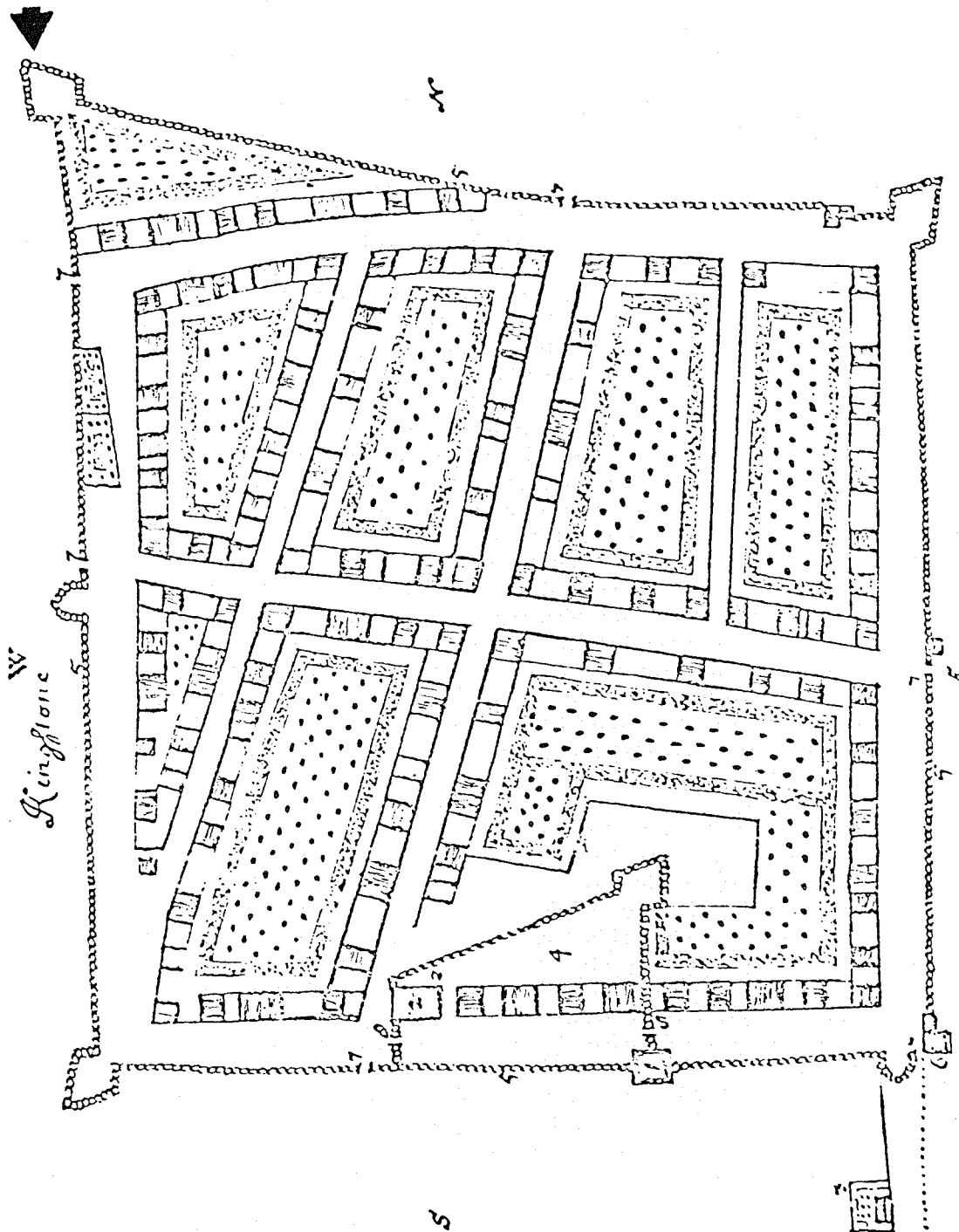


Figure 2. Map of Kingston drawn by Reverend John Miller in 1695. Original in The British Museum.

during 1671, and until May 1675 he served as a fence examiner (Christoph, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda 1976:456, 477, 498, 534, 700, 727, 728).

Reference to Pieter Cornelissen's stone house evidently occurs in January 1676 in his contract with a builder for construction of a shed behind his house. It was to be "built of stone, viz. cliffstone, 8 feet high, back of the house, 20 feet wide, 25 feet long, with loft and floor and doors and a transom window, everything complete, roof, laths, rafters and shingles" (Fried 1970).

Pieter Cornelissen and Elisabeth (Blanshan) Louw had four children, baptised in Kingston between 1681 and 1688 and, in September 1687, Pieter Cornelissen swore allegiance to the King of England with other inhabitants of Ulster County (Hoes 1891:15, 19, 25, 31; Scott and Stryker-Rodda 1975:88). In his will dated 1690 and proved on March 4, 1707/08, Pieter Cornelisen divided his estate equally between his widow and their children. Consequently, in 1710 four of the children, including Magdalena, bought from their mother "that certain house, millhouse, mill, mill-dam, barn, etc., and land" which formerly belonged to their father south of Esopus Creek (Kingston Historic Landmarks Commission 1969:1-2). Magdalena Louw had married Benjamin Smedes, and they had moved from Kingston to Shawangunk some time before 1706, when their son Benjamin, Jr., was born (Hoes 1891:76, 547, 557; New-York Historical Society 1896:237). Their eldest son, Petrus Smedes, was born in Kingston, and in February 1725 he married Catrina du Bois, formerly the wife of Petrus Mathiessen Louw (Hoes 1891:157, 543, 547). At this time he was living in Kingston, evidently in the house inherited by his parents in Frog Alley.

When Benjamin Smedes of Shawangunk wrote his will in June 1744, he explained that "my son Peter has had the benefit of my grist mill at Kingston for several years without paying a sufficient rent, . . . having assisted him in various ways." Benjamin Smedes directed that of his three sons, the one who gave most for them could have his "lands and grist mill in Kingston." His will was proved on September 15, 1749, and Petrus Smedes apparently became the owner of his father's Kingston property (New-York Historical Society 1896:237-238). In 1738 he was corporal of a company of foot in the Kingston militia commanded by Captain Tjrk Van Keuren (Hastings 1897:601). In 1755 a census shows that he owned four slaves: three males and one female (O'Callaghan 1850:845).

The increase of wealth through land holding represents a significant characteristic of this period. Land, as a primary form of wealth, was also closely related to the merchandise carrying trade and facilitated rapid upward mobility. Benjamin Smedes had owned extensive land along Shawangunk Creek, adjoining the property of Jacobus Bruyn (New-York Historical Society 1896:237-238). Petrus Smedes's sister Rachel had married in 1730 into the Bogardus family which had, through Captain Anthony Rutgers, an interest in the Dutchess County Nine Partners (Hoes 1891:559; New-York Historical Society 1895:418-419). Petrus Smedes's daughter Catrina in 1755 married Charles Hardenbergh, a "ship captain," and his daughter Sarah married Dirck Wynkoop, a merchant, in 1760 (Hoes 1891:609, 618).

When Petrus Smedes died in 1783, he provided for his slaves handsomely; he gave absolute freedom to his "good faithful and honest" Harry the elder, together with support in food and clothing for life. To his slaves, Thom, Hono, and Harry the younger he gave the privilege of choosing any of his sons as their new masters. Petrus described himself as a "miller, of the Green Kill in Kingston," and he directed that his son Petrus "shall have the land, house, barn, mill-stones, bolts and bolting cloath, etc., with the use of the water of the mill-dam; he is to keep the mill in order for the use of my wife during life." To Petrus he also gave his blacksmith tools and half of his wearing apparel, and to his daughter Jackamyntje he gave his "large cupboard and large looking glass (New-York Historical Society 1904:147-148).

At this time, the property is said to have left the Smedes family, and it may have been conveyed to Nicholas Bogardus, who had married Rachel Smedes (Hoes 1891:559). The house may have passed to their oldest son, Nicholas Bogardus (Hoes 1891:201), but it is said to have been owned by their youngest son, Benjamin Bogardus, born in 1747 (Hoes 1891:291). In any case, the Bogardus family apparently enlarged the house, and a list of Kingston citizens in 1770 shows that Nicholas Bogardus worked as a mason (Anon. 1943:60). Both Nicholas and Benjamin were wealthy slave owners in 1790, Nicholas having five slaves and Benjamin owning four slaves (Anon. 1908:172).

After 1816, several tenants occupied the house, including Henry Darling, a stone cutter, who may have rebuilt parts of the walls. Mr. Clarence Clark owned the property in 1929 and later sold it to Mr. Harold Shaw. The house was gutted by fire in the 1960's and still stands as a vacant charred ruin, perhaps appearing much the same as it might have looked following the burning of Kingston in 1777. The eastern half of the house appears to be the earlier section, as revealed by a seam in the south wall, and this small one-and-a-half story unit has often

been reputed to be the 17th century home of Pieter Cornelissen Louw (Kingston Historic Landmark Commission 1969).

PROCEDURES AND OBJECTIVES

A simple grid system was first established for the area around the house. This was based on arbitrary 6 ft. grid units measured from a single datum point established at the southeast corner of the house; all lines were thus parallel and at right angles to the walls of the house. Each grid square was designated by the coordinates of the stake at the corner farthest from the datum point, so that the grid could be extended indefinitely in any direction. Coordinates were given in distances northeast, southeast, southwest, or northwest from datum (Figs. 5 and 6).

Previous excavations by Dr. Galyon in square 6N6E had revealed part of the brick cistern containing 19th century fill. Consequently, other trenches were excavated in squares 12N18E and 18N18E, where it was believed later disturbance of any 17th century levels associated with the stockade, if they existed, was less likely. A trench in square 6S42W was dug near the southwest corner of the house, and a final trench was dug beneath the floor within the western section of the house at 12N24W.

No trench was larger than 3 ft. by 6 ft. in area, and vertical control was maintained by scraping each natural layer individually and collecting the artifacts in marked bags. All features were measured and drawn on the grid plan, and the exposed trench side walls made it possible to draw the stratigraphy. The purpose of the work was to record levels in the site and to determine the presence of possible 17th or 18th century occupation associated either with the house or with the stockade area.

Each artifact was washed and sorted by type within the context of square and level. The types thus sorted have been placed within clear plastic bags and are stored in boxes marked clearly with square number and stratigraphic association.

DISCOVERIES AND CONCLUSIONS

Trench 12N18E

This trench measured approximately 2 ft. by 4½ ft. within the east half of square 12N18E. A layer of black topsoil extended below the surface, varying in depth from 6 to 9 in., and contained fragments of 19th century plain white earthenware and mid- 19th century blue shell edged plate. A piece of pipe stem with 5/64 in. bore and a fragment of clear thick flint glass with frosted patination, however, were possible 18th century objects within this layer.

Below the black topsoil a layer of brown sand varied in thickness from 6 to 12 in. This layer included ceramic materials dating from the late 18th and early 19th century periods, such as fragments of hand decorated blue and white pearlware, printed blue and white earthenware, plain white earthenware, a single piece of unglazed red earthenware pot rim, and a pipe stem with 3/64 in. bore. A small piece of hard flint glass with fire polished rim may be noteworthy, and two hand wrought iron nails represent building material from the level. These nails measure 2¾ in. and 4 in. in length, but the latter had been clinched over to fasten a 3 in. thickness of wood.

This trench yielded no definite evidence of occupation earlier than ca. 1780. The brown sand layer rested on culturally sterile tan sand mixed with red clay. This was excavated at one point to a depth of almost 5 ft. below surface without any significant change or indication of additional historical evidence. The most important characteristic of the stratigraphy in this trench, however, may be the reversed slope of the subsoil surface upon which the brown sand rests, since this is the opposite of the present slope of the ground surface.

Trench 18N18E

This trench was dug as a pit measuring 2 ft. by 1¾ ft. in the southwest corner of square 18N18E. Several in. of coal ash covered the original surface and included an assortment of plain white earthenware fragments, round wire nails and square cut nails, and a toy glass marble. The nails were of various sizes, including a round 5 in. spike, 8d round nails, and a 10d cut square nail. One round nail had been bent over a 1½ in. thickness of wood. The ashes were clearly dumped here on the surface, sealing off the black topsoil, sometime after 1900.

The black topsoil, a deposit of about 9 in., contained 4½ in. round spikes, 8d round nails, and a 2 in. bolt and washer, but the deposit basically represented 19th century occupation. One of the round spikes had been bent

over a 3 in. thickness of wood. Glassware with etched Victorian floral design and white earthenware with printed patterns seem representative, together with several fragments of inexpensive 19th century European porcelain. A sawed-off beef rib bone is indicative of diet, and a thin plated suspender clasp and a simple 2-hole bone button are characteristic of 19th century clothing.

Late 18th century material once again appeared in the brown sand deposit and included plain lead-glazed creamware as well as pearlware with hand decorated blue floral design. A fragment of blue shell edge ware was most likely an early 19th century example. A single piece of unglazed red earthenware body sherd again appeared in this deposit, together with a piece of dark green hand blown glass wine bottle and a single sheep or goat tooth. Evidence of building material includes window glass, a fragment of soft, porous brick, and several hand wrought nails. One of these has a machine cut shank with a hand wrought head and may date from the early years of the 19th century.

This trench yielded no definite evidence of occupation before the last quarter of the 18th century but nevertheless revealed a feature of potential interest. A deep intrusion had been cut vertically from the brown sand layer through the sterile subsoil to an unknown depth. This intrusion contains the same late 18th century brown sand fill and appears therefore to be an 18th century feature of unknown extent.

Trench 6S42W

This trench covered the south half of square 6S42W and was therefore just 3 ft. from the wall of the house. The photograph published by Helen Wilkinson Reynolds in 1929 (Fig. 4) shows that a curb line extended south from the southwest corner of the house, parallel to Converse Street. The grassy yard shown in the picture, however, gives no indication that the area adjacent to the curb was in use as a thoroughfare. A photograph taken about 1896 (Fig. 3) shows that a fence had been erected from the curb line to the edge of Converse Street as a

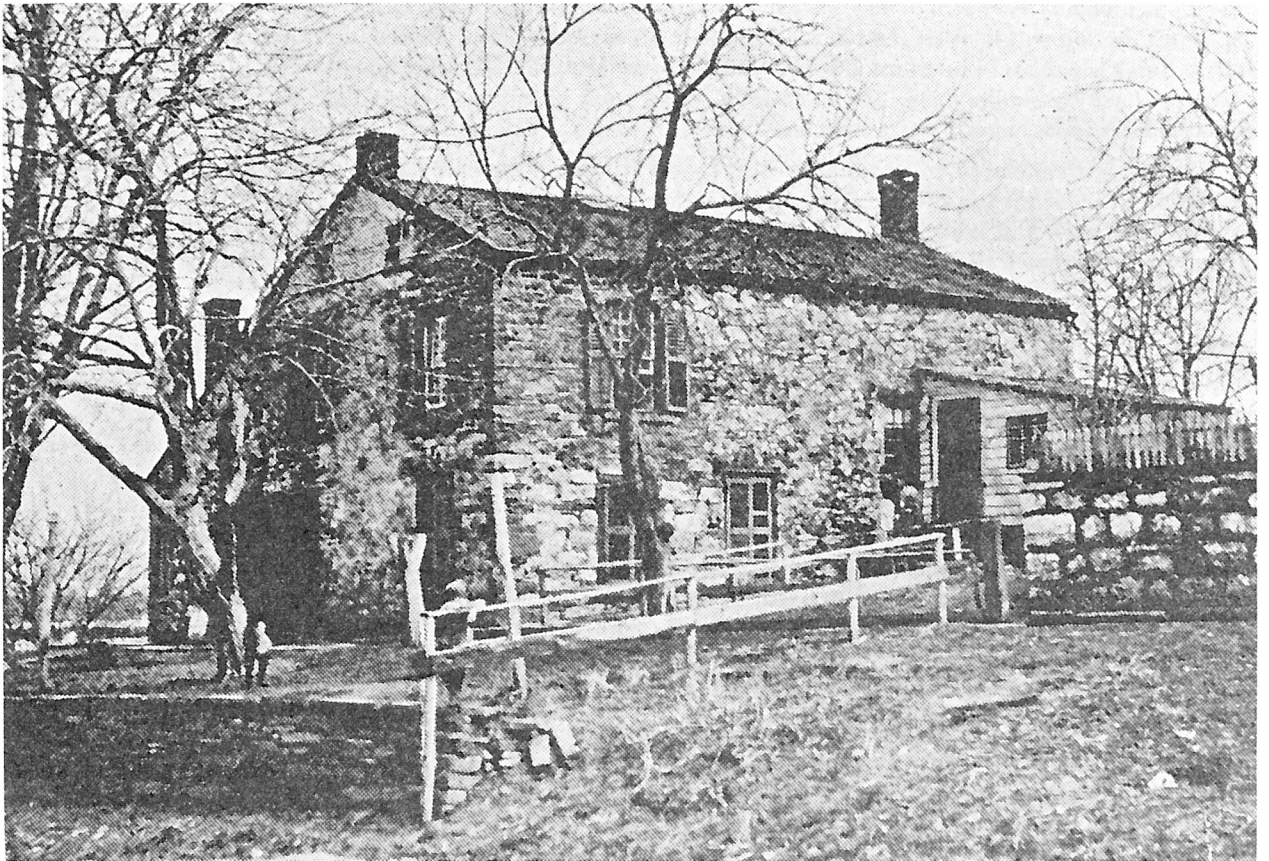


Figure 3. Photograph of the "Frog Alley Residence" published in 1896 (De Lissner 1968:17). Courtesy of Hope Farm Bookshop, Cornwallville, N.Y.

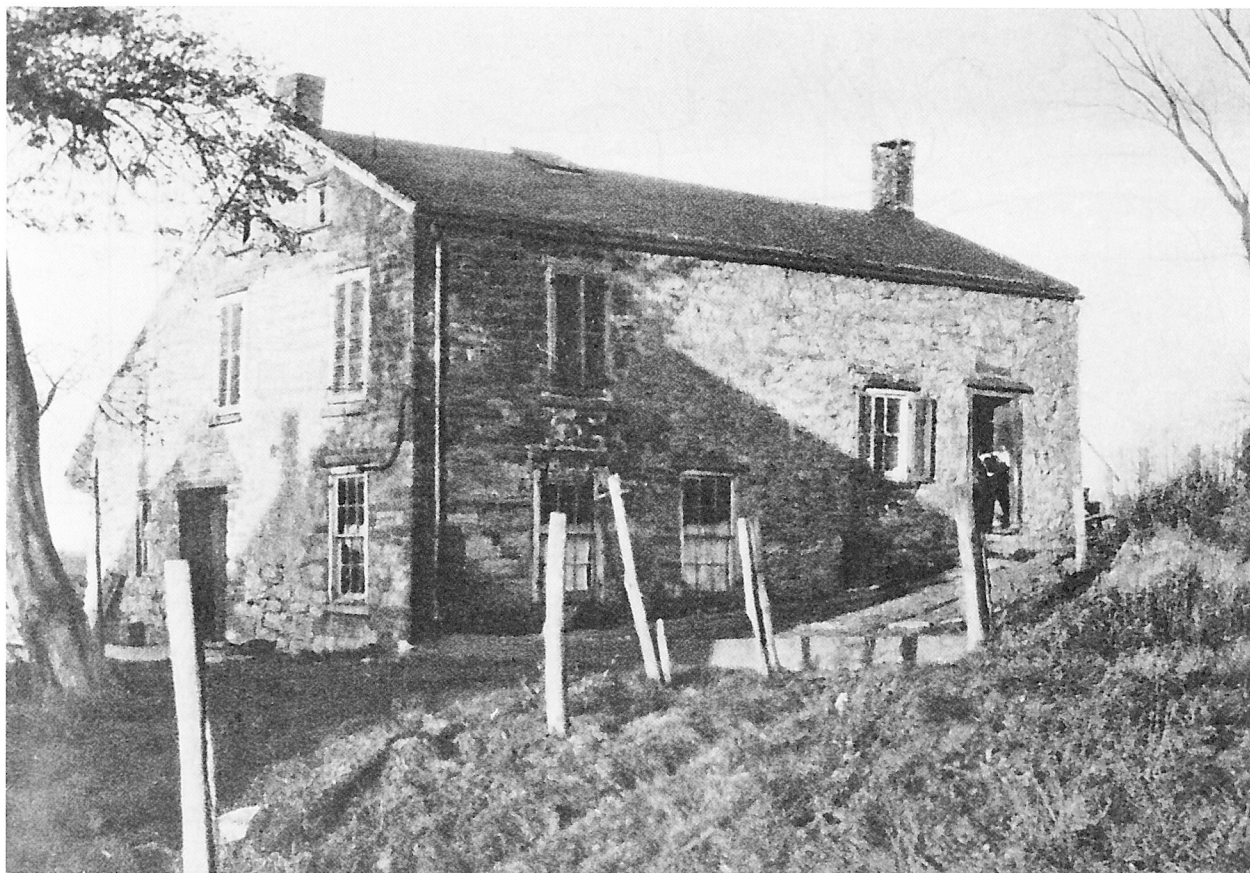


Figure 4. Photograph of the house of Pieter Cornelissen Louw published in 1929 (Reynolds 1929:263).

barrier to prevent people from crossing the yard close to the house, and a low stone retaining wall separated Converse Street from the yard around the house. This retaining wall has disappeared, and the bank has been excavated away much closer to the house, to make room for Converse Street.

Previous to excavating trench 6S42W, remnants of the old curb line, consisting of vertically set slabs of stone, were clearly visible. About 9 in. of black topsoil and ash had filled in around the upper and lower sides of this curb line and contained round nails, white earthenware, gray salt glazed stoneware and other objects representative of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The soil also contained a brass ferrule tip from a wooden pencil and a brass "hand snap" button. Sometimes advertised as "bachelor buttons," it was claimed that "By the use of these buttons the traveling man, the farmer, the laborer, the mechanic, the growing boy and his father, of any profession, can instantly replace his missing buttons" (Anon. 1969:940). Evidence of food or diet from this topsoil consisted of a vertebra either from a sheep or pig. Buried within the black topsoil, at the west end of the trench, large paving stones were discovered running in a direction parallel with the old curb and with the street. These stones were not moved and excavation continued in the remainder of the trench.

The slab of stone marking the old curb rested its lower edge directly on a deposit of dark brown loam below the black topsoil. This dark brown loam contained a concentration of material dating from the late 18th century to the mid-19th century. Objects of interest included a broken small brass clothing buckle and a toy clay marble $\frac{5}{8}$ in. in diameter. Ceramics included both hand decorated and printed earthenwares, as well as plain white earthenware of the 19th century. Printed wares of the 19th century were decorated in blue, black and brown patterns, while hand decorated pearlware included green and blue shell edge as well as blue and polychrome floral designs of the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Fig. 7). Porcelain sherds included blue decorated Chinese export as well as plain white hard-paste porcelain. From this layer, the bottom fragments of a creamware chamber pot represent an interesting specimen (Fig. 8). While the crevice inside the wide footing contains glaze which appears greenish yellow, a small speck of blue in the body glaze may represent an attempt to whiten the color by

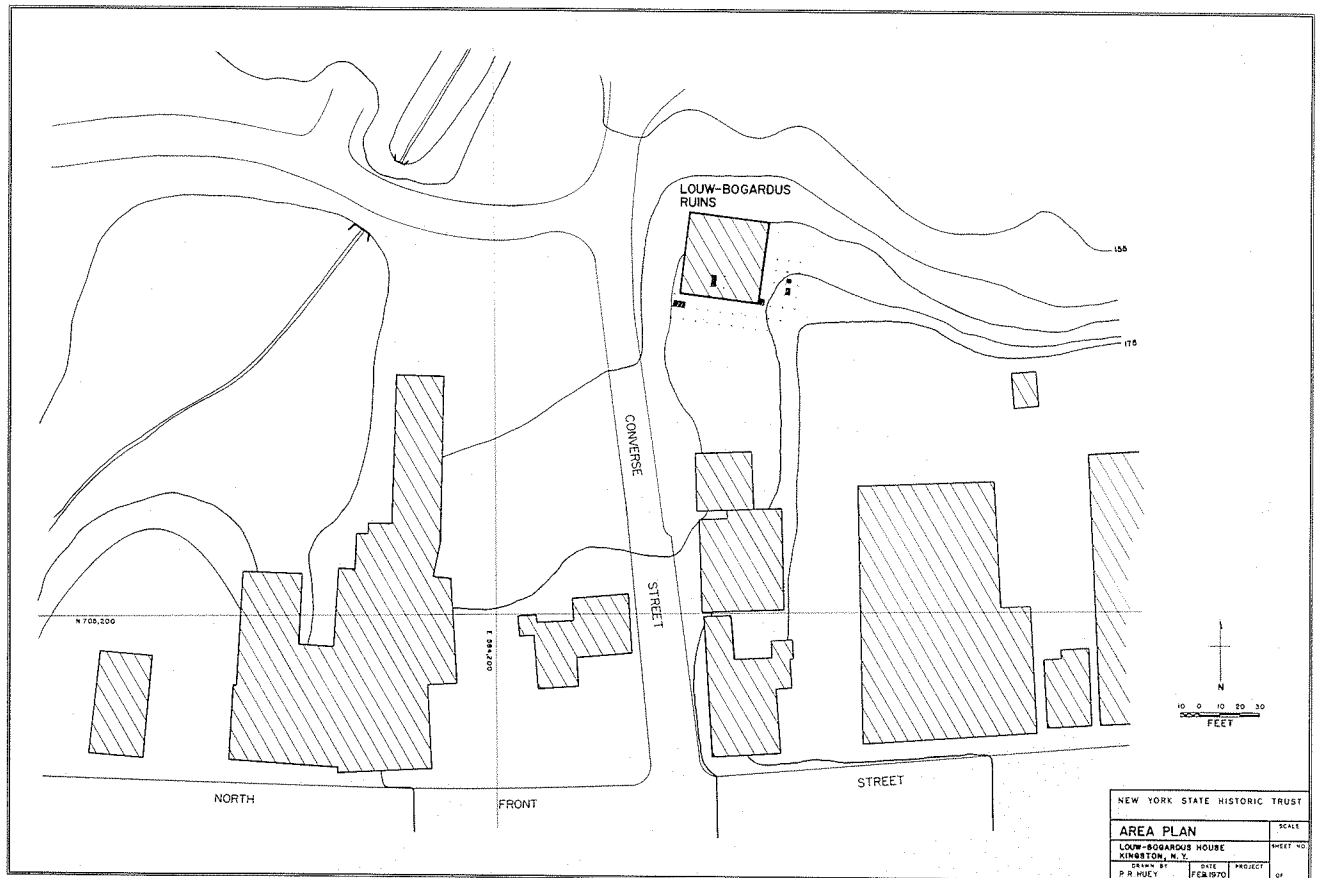


Figure 5. Plan of the Converse Street area north of North Front Street, Kingston, with locations of test units near the Louw-Bogardus ruin, May 1969.

adding cobalt. The original diameter of the chamber pot was probably about 10 in. Fragments of clear lead glazed red earthenware and a sherd of black glazed red earthenware appeared in the level, together with a few fragments of a brown salt glazed as well as a gray salt glazed stoneware pot. Several beef bones in the same layer represent evidence of diet.

Glassware in this level comprised a noteworthy amount of broken pale green hand blown window glass, together with a melted globule of the same color glass fused to wood ash on one side. Other building material included several broken hand wrought iron nails.

Clay tobacco pipes were also more numerous in this square than elsewhere. One stem hole measured 7/64 in., although most of the stem holes measured 5/64 in. Among the 5/64 in. stems at least two pipes with fluted or ribbed bowls were represented, typical of the period of circa 1785 to 1825. Both of these pipes had been heavily smoked.

This deposit of dark brown loam evidently includes debris dating from the Revolutionary War and later, extending into the 19th century. The material thus corresponds in period to the brown sand stratum in trenches 12N18E and 18N18E, and this deposit also partly rests upon the sterile tan sand and packed red clay. In the east end of this trench, however, a separate deposit of light brown sand and loam was found resting upon the sterile subsoil, below the dark brown loam. This deposit extended westward toward Converse Street no farther than the later stone curb line, apparently indicating a colonial division line in this same location.

Glassware from this low mound of light brown sand and loam includes several fragments of green tinted window glass as well as thick fragments of flint glass. An outstanding piece was a heavy, hand blown flint glass base possibly broken from a candlestick. This heavily rounded piece originally measured about 2½ in. in diameter and was ½ in. thick. Ceramic wares from this deposit are represented by single fragments of Chinese porcelain, creamware, clear lead glazed red earthenware, and yellow ware decorated with brown combed slip. The yellow ware could date from within the first half of the 18th century, while the creamware would have appeared some

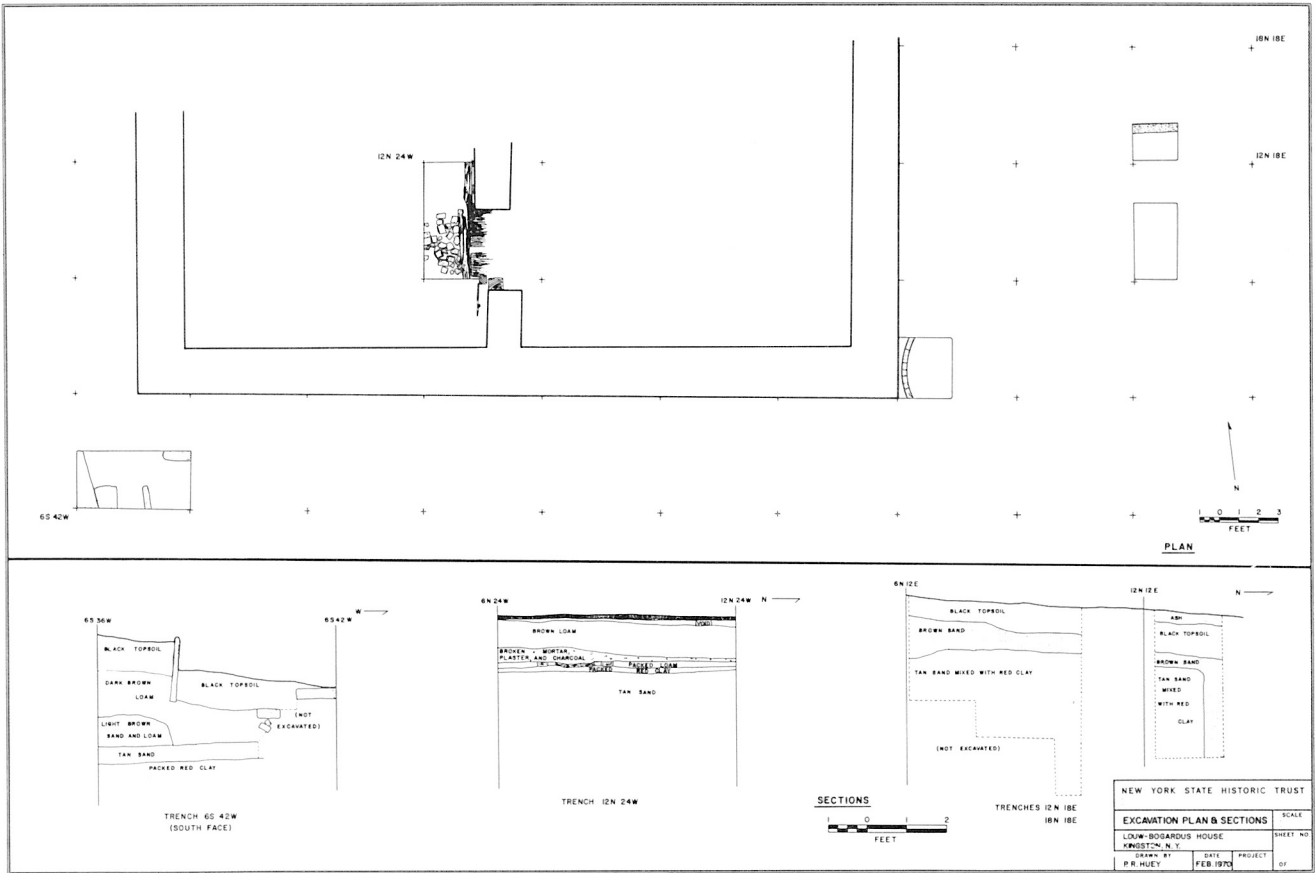


Figure 6. Plan of excavations and soil profiles of test units, Louw-Bogardus ruin, May 1969.

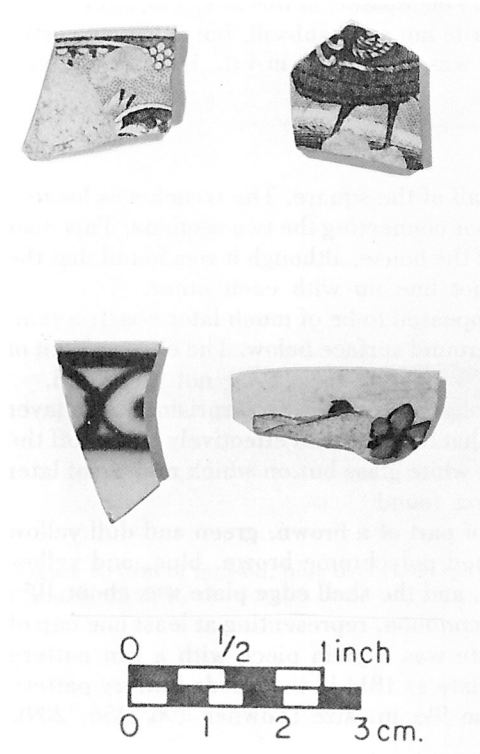


Figure 7. Ceramic sherds from dark brown loam layer, Trench 6S42W. Top: white earthenware with brown transfer printed patterns; bottom left: blue hand decorated pearlware rim; bottom right: green, yellow, and brown hand decorated pearlware rim.

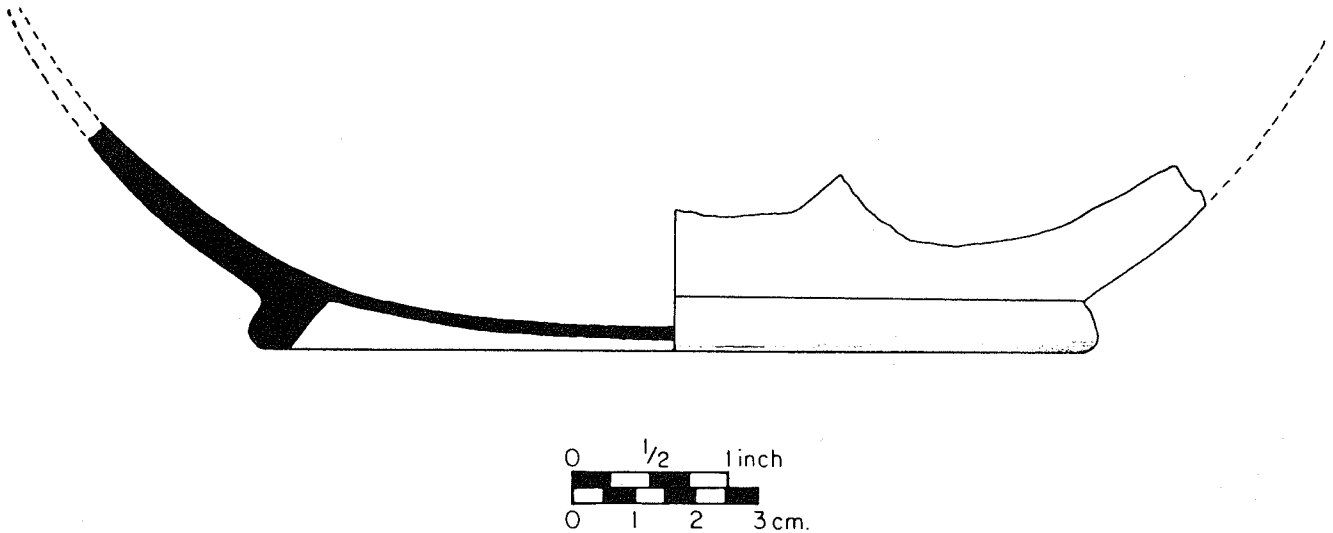


Figure 8. Basal section of creamware chamber pot from dark brown loam layer, Trench 6S42W.

time after 1760. Possibly the most interesting ceramic discovery, however, was a rim section of decorated blue and gray Rhenish Westerwald saltglazed stoneware plate (Fig. 9). The original diameter of this plate was about $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. and the incised rim ornament is brightly decorated with cobalt blue. Rhenish Westerwald saltglazed stoneware was widely exported to America in the 17th and early 18th centuries. The decorated pattern of this plate rim closely resembles the incised pattern of a Rhenish Westerwald tavern mug bearing the cipher of Queen Anne, found in Williamsburg, Virginia, dating between 1702 and 1714 (Noël Hume 1963:156, 289). Westerwald stoneware plates of this pattern, however, are believed to date generally from the second half of the 18th century (Reineking-von Bock 1976:365–366). Associated dietary evidence consisted of several clam shells (species *Venus*) and oyster shells (*Ostrea esculenta*).

Trench 6S42W provided the first solid evidence of pre-Revolutionary occupation at this site. The light brown sand and loam containing colonial material rested directly upon the sterile tan sand subsoil, but it is noteworthy that the tan sand surface sloped toward the east very slightly. This slope was nearly 2 in. in 4 ft., in sharp contrast to the reversed slope of the present surface.

Trench 12N24W

The trench in square 12N24W measured 6 ft. by 2 ft. in the west half of the square. The trench was located inside the west section of the ground floor of the house, in front of the door connecting the two sections. This door was an opening through a heavy stone wall running through the center of the house, although it was found that the walls on each side of the door had been built separately and did not line up with each other.

The floor and interior wall finish of the west section of the house appeared to be of much later construction, and the trench was easily cut through the thin rotten floor boards to the ground surface below. The eastern limit of the trench was determined by the presence of earlier beams along the wall which were not disturbed.

The first stratum of soil encountered was a deposit of brown loam about 9 in. in depth. Surprisingly, the layer contained very little that could be attributed to later periods, indicating that the floor had effectively sealed off the area from any disturbance after the middle of the 19th century. A single white glass button which may be of later date could have rolled through a crack, but this was the only button found.

The late 18th century to middle 19th century ceramics consisted of part of a brown, green and dull yellow banded ware bowl, part of a green shell edge plate, and hand decorated polychrome brown, blue, and yellow pearlware fragments. The bowl was originally about $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, and the shell edge plate was about $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter (Fig. 10). Fragments of creamware, however, were more common, representing at least one cup of 3 in. diameter and one plate of $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter. The creamware plate was a plain piece with a rim pattern characteristic of the Revolutionary War period, but which appeared as late as 1814 in the Leeds Pottery pattern book as the "Bath" pattern, in which table plates were made in the $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. size (Towner 1963:156, 289).

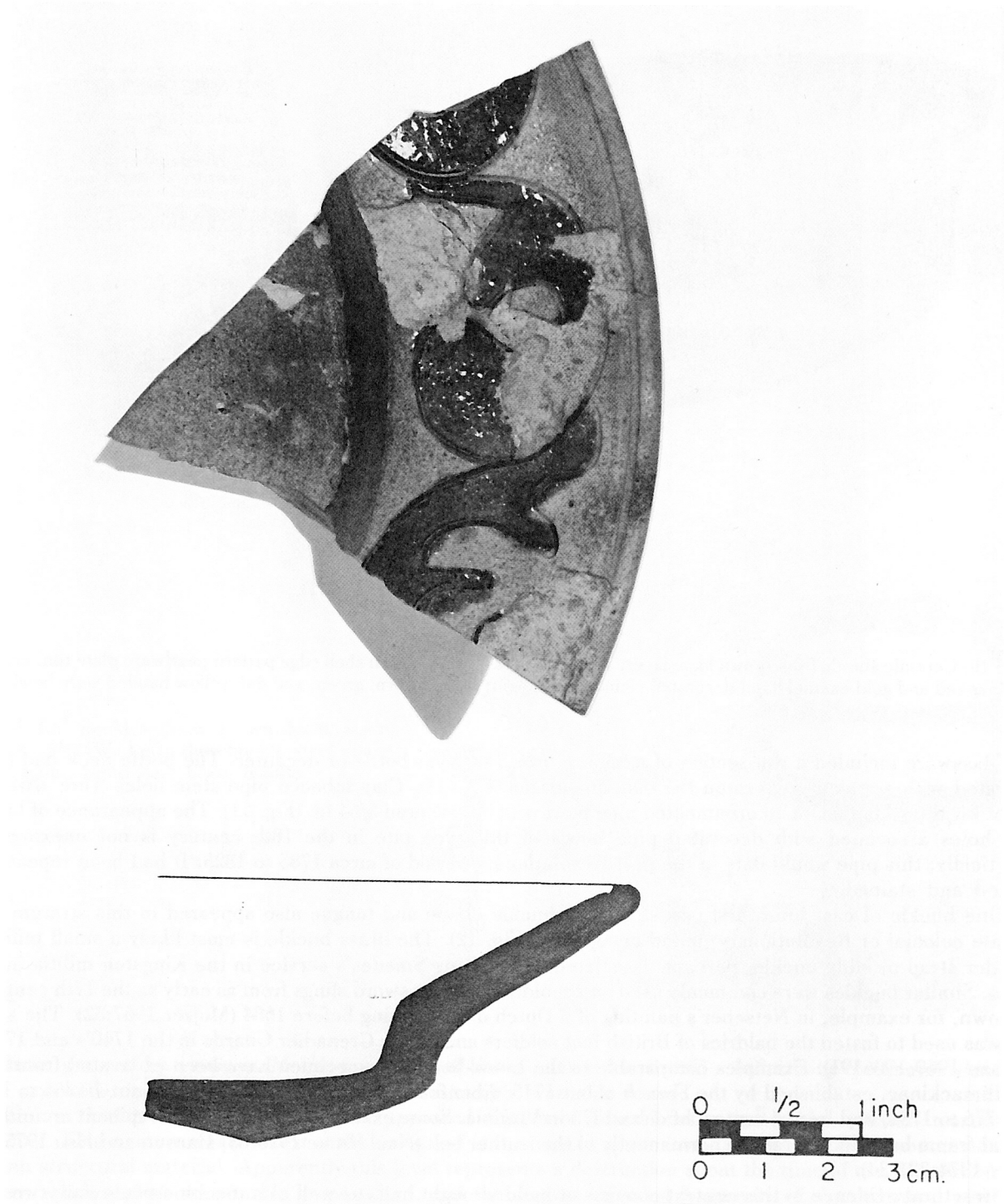


Figure 9. Rim of incised, blue decorated gray Rhenish Westerwald saltglazed stoneware plate from light brown sand and loam, Trench 6S42W.

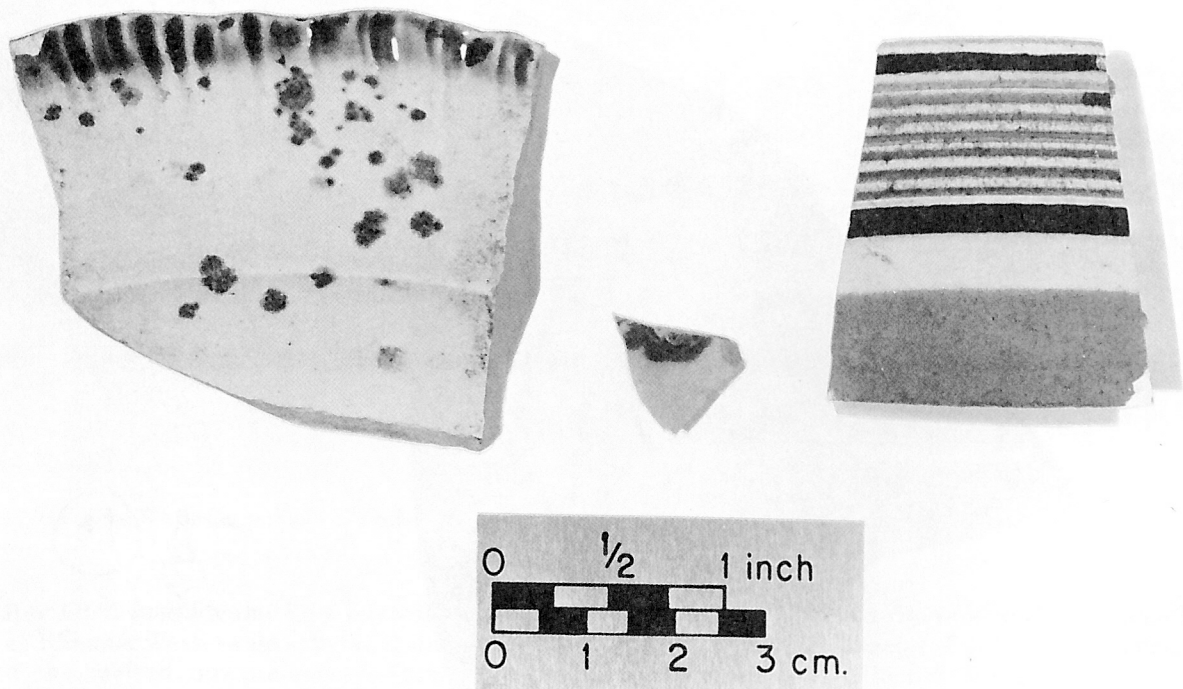


Figure 10. Ceramic sherds from brown loam layer, Trench 12N42W. Left: green shell edge pattern pearlware plate rim; center: overglaze red and gold enamel hand decorated Chinese porcelain; right: brown, green, and dull yellow banded ware bowl rim.

Glassware included a rim section of a hand blown flint glass bottle or decanter. The bottle neck had been decorated with spiraled grooves on the outside surface (Fig. 11). Clay tobacco pipe stem holes were $\frac{4}{64}$ in., except for the stem hole of an ornamented pipe bowl which measured $\frac{5}{64}$ in. (Fig. 11). The appearance of larger stem holes associated with decorated pipe bowls of this type late in the 18th century is not unexpected. Stylistically, this pipe would date in the post-Revolutionary period of circa 1785 to 1825. It had been repeatedly smoked and stained.

One buckle of cast brass and one steel shoe buckle chape and tongue also appeared in this stratum and indicate colonial or Revolutionary period occupation (Fig. 12). The brass buckle is most likely a small military shoulder strap or sling buckle, perhaps associated with Petrus Smedes's service in the Kingston militia in the 1730's. Similar buckles were commonly used on shoulder straps or sword slings from as early as the 17th century, as shown, for example, in Netscher's painting of a Dutch officer dating before 1684 (Mojzer 1967:32). The same type was used to fasten the baldrics of British foot soldiers and Horse Grenadier Guards in the 1740's and 1750's (Cobban 1969:190-191). Examples comparable to the Louw-Bogardus specimen have been excavated from Fort Michilimackinac, established by the French about 1715, from features in Fort Stanwix dating circa 1764 to 1781 and 1776 to 1781, and from a context of circa 1775 in Virginia. Some examples have a brass strap bent around the central frame bar which attached permanently to the leather belt (Noël Hume 1970:85; Hanson and Hsu 1975:93; Stone 1974:32, 34).

Structural evidence in this context consists of hand wrought nails as well as a machine made nail; two iron keys from the same layer might have been for locks to the adjoining doorway (Fig. 13). Window glass fragments were mostly green tinted, although two pieces were pale blue green tinted and might be early 19th century cylinder glass, since they resemble such glass dating ca. 1800 to 1815 from the glass house site near Albany. Other structural evidence included brick fragments and fragments of mortar, plaster, and daub containing straw, possibly indicating a period of repair or construction.

Bones in the layer consisted of pig teeth and bones, fish bones, chicken bones, beef bones, and sheep bones. Pig bones included a short metatarsal as well as a cap bone from the distal end of a young femur; some of them

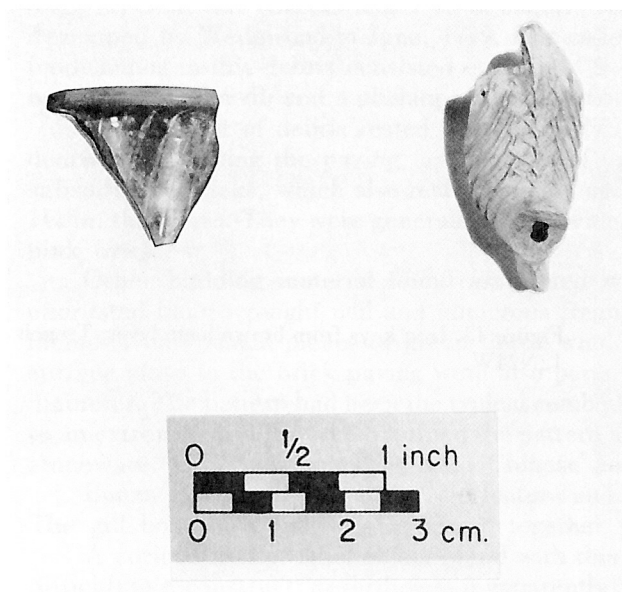
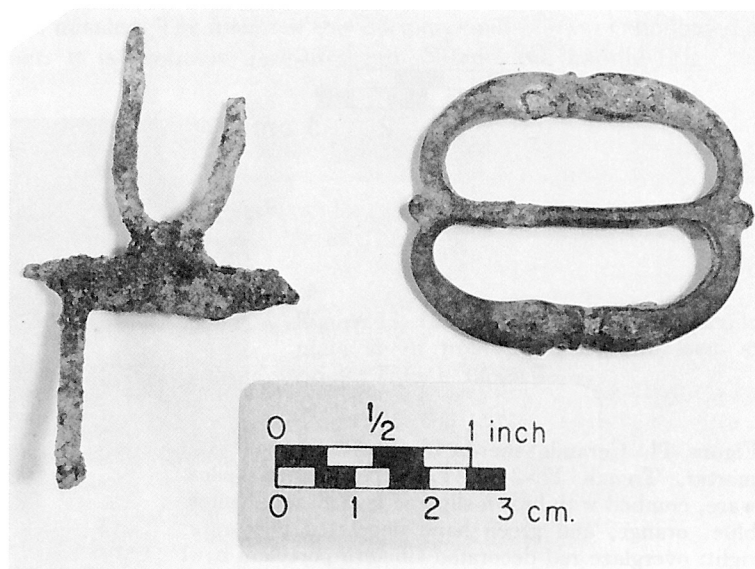


Figure 11. Left: neck and lip of spiral ornamented flint glass bottle; right: mold decorated bowl of clay tobacco pipe; from brown loam layer, Trench 12N24W.

Figure 12. Buckles from brown loam layer, Trench 12N24W. Left: shoe buckle steel chape and tongue; right: cast brass buckle.



had been gnawed by a mouse. Mouse-gnawed beef bones included a rib and a collar bone (coracoid) which had been cracked for marrow. One young sheep mandible was also found.

Below the brown loam deposit there appeared a layer of mixed broken red bricks, plaster, mortar, and charcoal. This stratum was thickest at the south end of the trench, where it was about 6 in., and it contained much broken structural material. Apparently this level represents a destruction about the time of the Revolution. The broken window glass was darkly green tinted, and the deposit included fragments of charred wood and many pieces of clay and lime mixture which had been applied to a daub mixed with straw on one side while the other side had been finished with whitewash. Broken bricks consisted of at least one piece of $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. thickness, but otherwise the bricks measured only $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thickness. Widths of these small bricks varied from $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $3\frac{3}{4}$ in., while lengths are unknown since only broken half bricks were recovered. They are carelessly formed; one was only soft-fired to salmon pink and seems especially crude. These bricks apparently represent a small size dating from the 17th century in the Hudson Valley, and are among the smallest sizes yet recorded.

Of interest among this debris were another fragment of clear, brittle flint glass and clay pipe stems measuring $5/64$ in. bore. A fragment of plain white saltglazed stoneware flared rim came from a cup which originally



Figure 13. Iron keys from brown loam layer, Trench 12N24W.

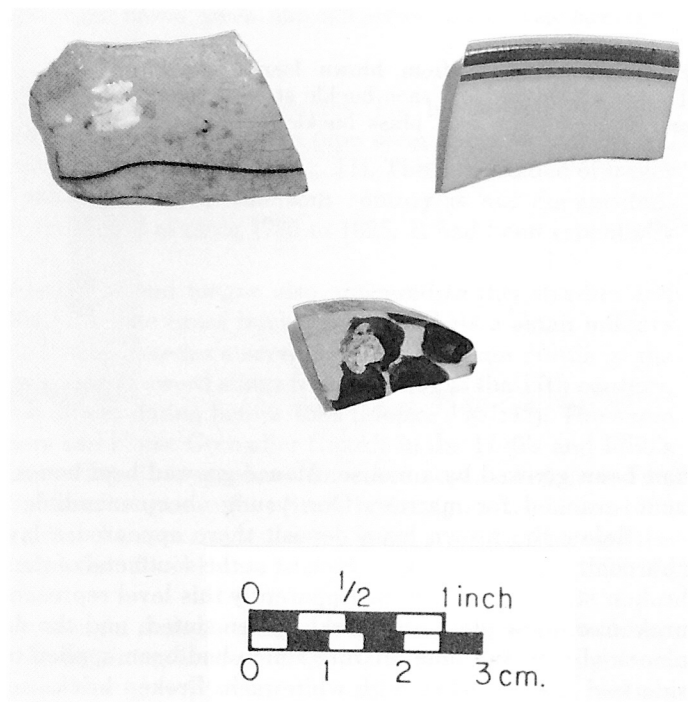


Figure 14. Ceramic sherds from mixed plaster and mortar, Trench 12N24W. Left: buff-bodied yellow ware, combed with brown slip and lead glazed; center: blue, orange, and green hand decorated pearlware; right: overglaze red decorated Chinese porcelain bowl rim.

measured about 3 in. in diameter and which could have been manufactured any time between 1720 and the Revolution. Other ceramics consisted of yellow ware combed with brown slip, made in the early to middle 18th century, creamware, and hard-paste porcelain with overglaze red enamel rim decoration (Fig. 14). The porcelain was from a bowl which originally measured about 6 in. in diameter. A small piece of hand decorated pearlware

(Fig. 14) from this context might be of slightly later date but nevertheless represents the type of earthenware developed by Wedgwood in June, 1779, first called "pearl white" (Finer and Savage 1965:231). As evidence of food, bones in this debris consisted entirely of beef bones, with the exception of two chicken bones. The beef bones included a rib and a phalangeal bone. One fresh water mussel shell, probably *Anodonta*, also appeared.

This deposit of debris rested upon an early surface paved with broken red bricks directly in front of the doorway. Adjoining the paving, a thin layer of packed brown loam extended over the red clay and tan sand subsoil. The bricks, which also rested directly upon this level subsoil surface, were of small size and measured $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thickness. They were generally $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, and included hard fired red brick as well as soft fired salmon pink brick.

Other building material found associated with the paving and adjoining surface consists of a heavily encrusted hand wrought nail and numerous fragments of whitewashed or plastered clay and lime daub. Glass included only single pieces of green tinted window glass and dark glass wine bottle. Embedded in the loam surface close to the brick paving were also parts of a yellow ware wide-mouthed bowl originally about 5 in. in diameter. The pattern had been the typical combed brown with brown dots, but the fragments had been subjected to an extremely hot fire which burned the pattern almost beyond recognition and had turned the earthenware into stoneware. Other ceramics included Chinese porcelain with floral pattern in blue (Fig. 15).

Bones associated with the paved feature and adjoining surface were represented by pigeon and pig bones. The gill bone of a fish also appeared together with more fresh water mussel shells, *Anodonta*.

A curious iron or steel object found with this level remains unidentified. It is very heavily corroded and is difficult to reconstruct; nevertheless it apparently consisted of a flattened blade extending from a short round and sharply pointed shank. At the pointed end of this shank, however, is attached part of a curious cone shaped piece of horn or hard wood material, the rest of which is missing. The inside of this horn or wood portion is hollowed or recessed to fit the blunt end of another object. It is probably part of a knife blade and handle (Fig. 16).



Figure 15. Chinese blue decorated porcelain plate sherd from packed brown loam and brick, Trench 12N24W.

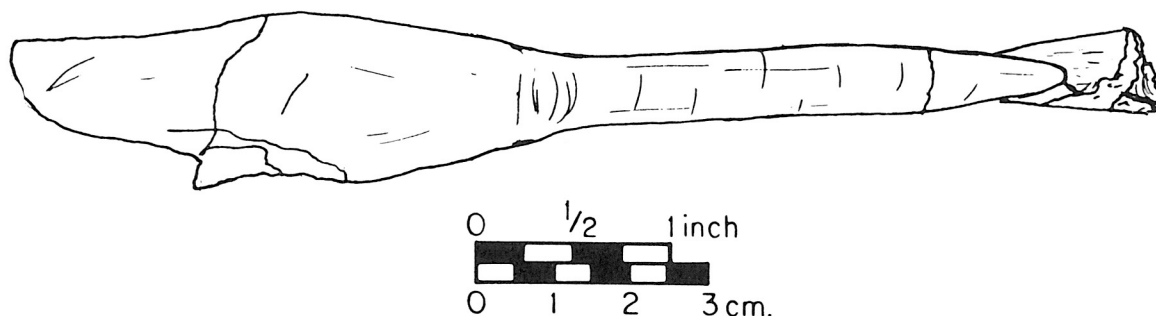


Figure 16. Unidentified iron or steel blade and handle, probably a knife, from packed brown loam and brick, Trench 12N24W.

This early surface and brick paving had been laid directly on a thin compacted layer of red clay. This clay was sterile except for a piece of pipe bowl which had been forced into it. This red clay, together with the tan sand subsoil below it, formed an absolutely level plane surface, and although no definite 17th century occupation was found here, the level subsoil surface contrasts the inward sloping surface encountered in the other trenches.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of these very limited tests, the site can be interpreted in different ways. It seems definite that a change in occupation had occurred late in the 18th century, possibly at the time of the British burning in 1777 or perhaps in 1783 when Petrus Smedes died; ca. 1780 is a reasonable date, after which the house was either rebuilt or enlarged. The interior brick paving area may represent a doorway which once opened to the outside during part of the 18th century. The absence of creamware on this surface is perhaps significant, since creamware did not appear until the 1760's. Furthermore, the red bricks in the paving are extremely small and may date from the 17th century. The small bricks, together with the occurrence of a pipe stem with 7/64 in. bore, would appear to provide evidence consistent with an occupation of the site in the 17th century. The Westerwald stoneware in plate or shallow dish form is quite unusual and not known to have occurred at other American sites to date.

Through most of the site the post 1780 level rests directly upon the subsoil surface. The subsoil surface consistently sloped southward and westward in the two trenches outside the house, which reverses the present contour of the bluff where the stockade is supposed to have been. Possibly, the site was extensively altered after the 1777 burning, and the previous surface levels may have been graded away. Such grading or digging would have been an ambitious project in view of the present topography, and its purpose is a mystery which only careful excavations over a much wider area may solve.

Governor Peter Stuyvesant arrived at present Kingston in May 1658 with 50 or 60 soldiers. On June 3, he began to construct the palisade, and "to dig out the moat." "At the proper time," he wrote, "when necessity requires it, it can be surrounded by water on three sides. . . ." On June 4 the inhabitants "were set to digging the moat, and continued as weather and rain permitted," while the soldiers built the palisades. Since the mill dam was located on the kill near the Louw-Bogardus house, the mill pond may have been designed to provide or divert water at a level sufficient to flood a moat dug around the bluff outside the palisade. The combination could have, as Stuyvesant noted, surrounded the settlement on three sides with water. Stuyvesant noted that finishing the palisade wall on the north side was harder work, "because this side could not be made as straight as the other . . ." (Fernow 1878:540, 545-546). The subsoil contours as revealed in the test trenches dug around the Louw-Bogardus house could, therefore, be interpreted as some evidence of such a moat dug close to the bluff but outside the south wall of the house. Only very careful excavation in the area, using controlled arbitrary datum levels, will make testing this hypothesis possible.

The material excavated at the Louw-Bogardus house nevertheless provides a valuable collection which can be used as a basis for comparison with other sites, both urban and rural. A noteworthy characteristic of the collection is the almost ubiquitous occurrence of flint glass fragments, with a high proportion occurring in 18th century context. This hard, brittle glass, with its wonderful sparkling brilliance, represented a major technological achievement by the English glass industry late in the 17th century as it attempted to break the near-monopoly of Venice (Davis 1968:46-47). English production of this glass during the 18th century, and its apparent importance to occupants of the Louw-Bogardus house, seems to represent the prosperity and relatively sophisticated taste of Petrus Smedes.

Although the sample size is small, the distribution of ceramics in use at the site during the lifetime of Petrus Smedes also suggests an especially high proportion of fine porcelain, much of it hand decorated with overglaze colors (Fig. 17). This, together with the even higher preference for the attractive English brown combed yellow ware, probably for everyday use, contrasts sharply with the paucity of coarse red earthenware and salt glazed gray or white stonewares. The complete absence of delft ware on the site seems curious but again may indicate the highly urbane preferences of Petrus Smedes during the 18th century. Moreover, the decline of porcelain late in the 18th century and its replacement by pearlware is the dominant characteristic of ceramics in the site after 1780 (Fig. 18). Interestingly, creamware evidently never assumed major importance, as it does in some rural sites.

Evidence provided by bones from the site may also be a useful basis for comparison with other sites, although the statistical reliability of this particular analysis is admittedly limited due to the small sample. Petrus Smedes apparently preferred beef above all other meat in his diet, and the absence of sheep or goat bones during the occupancy of Petrus Smedes may be significant (Fig. 19). By contrast, the late 18th and early 19th century levels

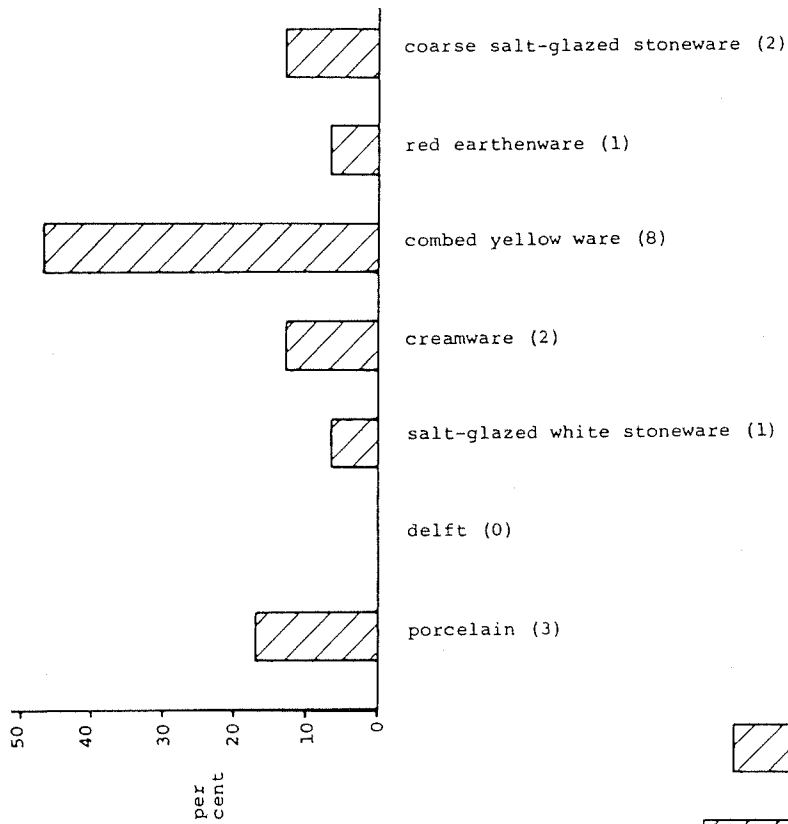
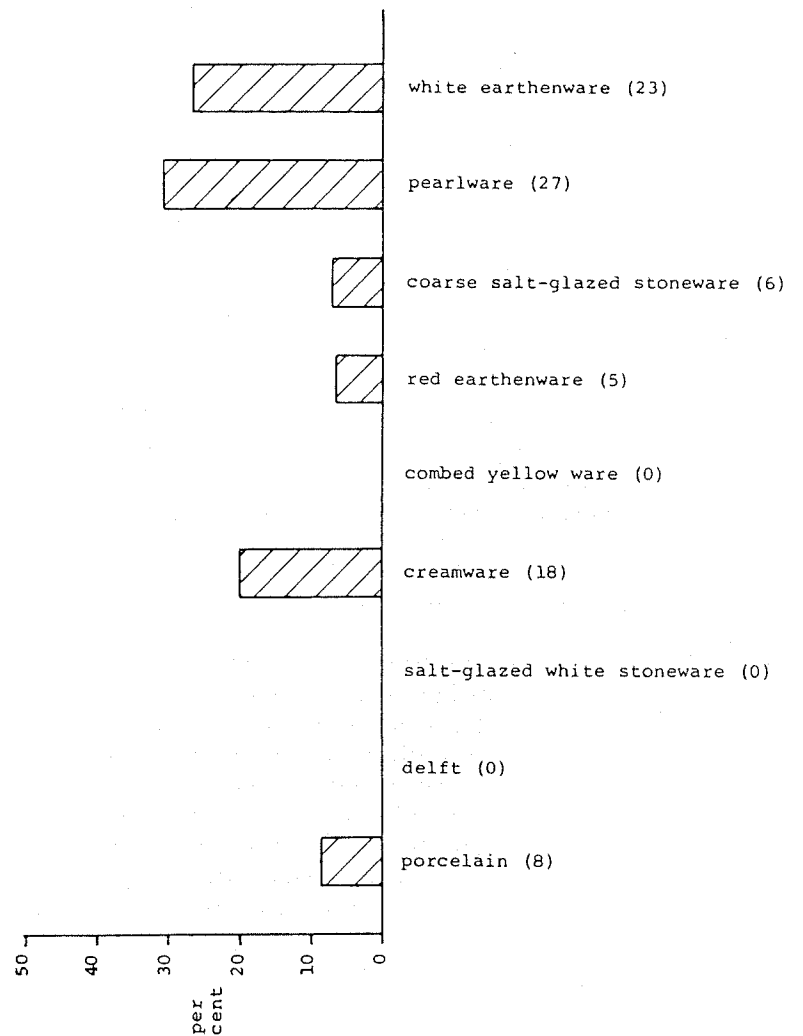


Figure 17. Distribution of ceramic sherds from contexts of circa 1780.

Figure 18. Distribution of ceramic sherds from contexts of circa 1780 to 1840.



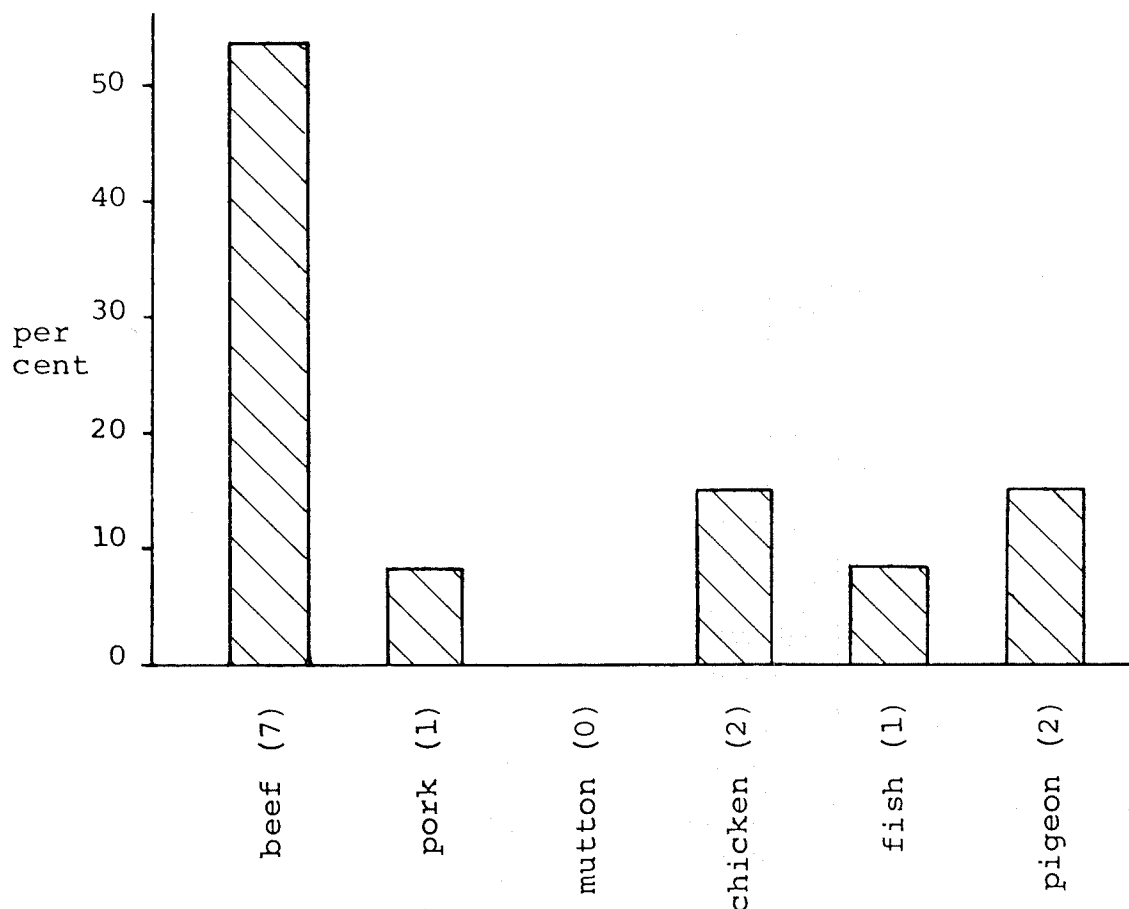


Figure 19. Distribution of bones from contexts of before circa 1780.

seemed to contain numerous sheep or goat bones, and this consumption of mutton is interesting in relation to the relative decrease in beef consumption (Fig. 20). Unfortunately, in many cases the bones of sheep, goat, or pig could not be definitely distinguished and were thus not counted. Also, it is not known how many different animals the total number of bones actually represented.

The early levels contained a high concentration of shells of cherry-stone clams, oysters, and fresh water mussels in relation to the later levels. Nevertheless, the relative scarcity of bones and shells in late 19th century levels probably indicates the advances in sanitation and garbage disposal in this urban environment after the 1830's.

Many other interesting observations could be made from this work, but it is dangerous to generalize from data provided from such limited areas. It is essential that any major future excavation project be carefully designed in a manner so as to reveal as much as possible any broader patterns of distribution in relation to stratigraphy and features, without unnecessarily extensive and destructive excavation. Perhaps the material from this small excavation, when considered in future comparative studies with other sites, has already begun to reveal significant behavior patterns related to status and social mobility, especially when one considers the documented contrasts in economic status between Petrus Smedes and that of Pieter Cornelisen Louw during his early years in Kingston. The artifact collection, together with the house, has nevertheless provided an important form of evidence representing Petrus Smedes and his relationship to daily life in 18th century Kingston.

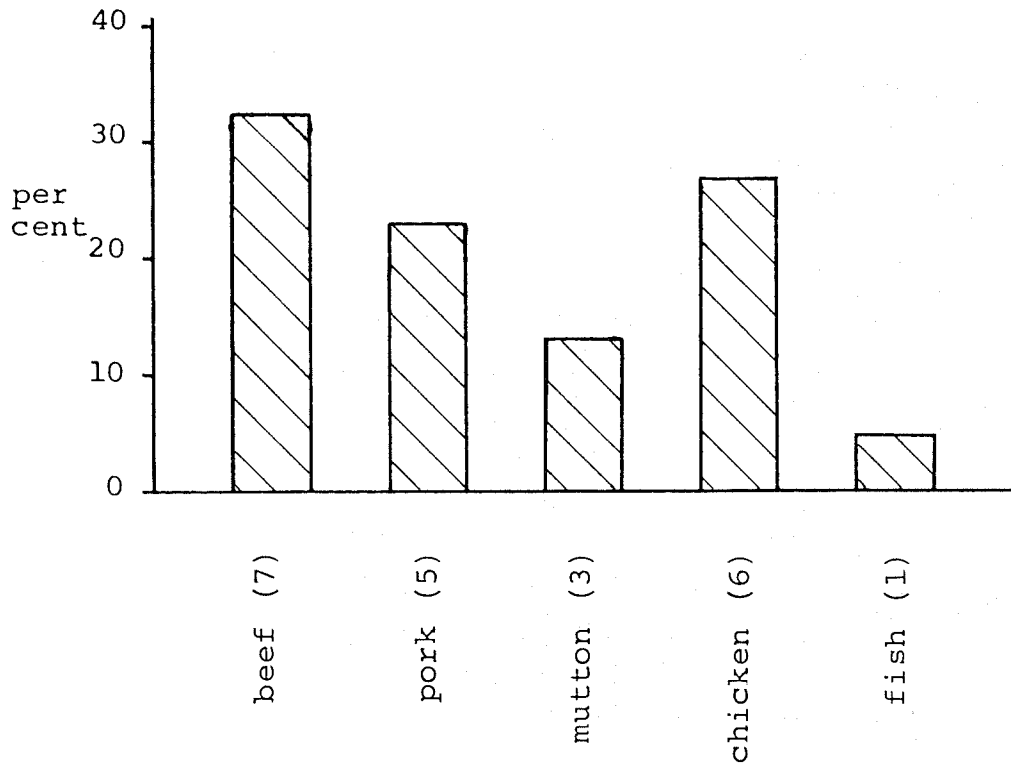


Figure 20. Distribution of bones from contexts of circa 1780 to 1840.

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