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# Rethinking the Mengkom-Mixing Bowl: Salvage Archaeology at the Johannes Luyster House, A Dutch-American Farm

## **Cover Page Footnote**

Several individuals provided invaluable assistance in the preparation of this article. Sherene Baugher encouraged our participation in this volume and read earlier versions of the manuscript. Her insights and critiques of these drafts were extremely beneficial in completing the article. Meta Janowitz and two anonymous reviewers provided helpful comments which helped us steer clear of possible pitfalls and assisted us in refining the paper. Monmouth University's Department of History and Anthropology supported the project through its 1998 field school in archaeology. Mary Metzger's meticulous analysis of the faunal collection fleshed out our understanding of what the Luysters were raising and eating in the early 19th century. the Archaeological Society of New Jersey provided a generous research grant to assist with the aforementioned faunal analysis. Joseph hammond graciously shared his knowledge of New Jersey's Dutch settlers and particularly the Luyster family. Mary Lou Strong of the Middleton Landmarks Commission gave continual support. Lee ellen Griffith, Director of the Monmouth County historical Commission allowed free access to the Luyster family heirlooms in their collections. carol Megill summed up the results of her research on the family Bibles at the Monmouth County Historical Association for us. Maryann Kiernan from the Monmouth County Archives assisted with the excavation and processing of the artifacts. Robert Tucher is to be thanked for his stunning artifact photographs. Zachary Davis for assistance with the graphics. Dan Sivilich helped with mapping the site. Alice Gerard helped interpret the dendrochronology samples. Robert Northerner, Scott Wieczorek, and Michael Gall regularly volunteered their time to help excavate the site. Michael Gall, Barabara Nitzberg and Jill Principi assisted with cleaning and processing the artifacts. Our spouses, Geraldine Scharfenberger and Teresa Veit, showed considerable patience as we spent Saturdays and off-hours excavating at the Luyster house and analyzing the collection. Of course, any errors of fact or omission remain our own.

## Rethinking the Mengkom-Mixing Bowl: Salvage Archaeology at the Johannes Luyster House, A Dutch-American Farm

Gerard P. Scharfenberger and Richard F. Veit

*Salvage excavations at the Johannes Luyster Farm (28Mo261) revealed extensive archaeological deposits reflecting three centuries of life on a Dutch-American farm. These deposits, when taken in conjunction with the architecture of the house and surviving primary documents, provide a glimpse of the changing lifestyles of the Jersey Dutch during the 19th century. Although the Luysters maintained some aspects of their ethnic heritage, they also participated in many aspects of the larger society. Case studies of individual sites such as this one are a first step towards understanding the interrelationships between national trends and their local manifestations. Furthermore, they highlight the importance of studying 19th-century, rural, agrarian sites.*

*Les fouilles de sauvetage menées à la ferme de Johannes Luyster (28Mo261) ont révélé des dépôts importants reflétant trois siècles d'occupation sur une ferme habitée par des Américains d'origine néerlandaise. Ces dépôts, lorsque étudiés en parallèle avec l'architecture de la maison et les documents originaux toujours en existence, nous permettent de jeter un coup d'œil sur les changements dans les modes de vies des habitants du New Jersey d'origine néerlandaise au XIXe siècle. Quoique les Luysters aient conservé certaines caractéristiques de leur patrimoine ethnique, ils ont aussi participé à plusieurs aspects de la société en général. Des études de cas menées sur des sites individuels tel que celui-ci sont un premier pas vers la compréhension des rapports mutuels entre les tendances nationales et leurs manifestations locales. De plus, elles soulignent l'importance d'étudier des sites agraires ruraux du XIXe siècle.*

### Introduction

On a recent visit to the Holmes Hendrickson House, a historic house museum in Holmdel, New Jersey, the authors heard a costumed docent deliver an interesting presentation on the Dutch settlers of Monmouth County. She noted that the English and Dutch settlers of the region maintained distinct cultural traditions well into the 19th century. The docent's presentation, delivered to a receptive audience, was substantiated by the clearly distinctive architecture of this 18th-century Anglo-Dutch structure, and several "Dutch" artifacts conspicuously displayed there, including a large free-standing Kas or cabinet.

Less than two miles away, in the neighborhood of Middletown historically known as Holland (FIG. 1), excavations at the Johannes Luyster house, another Dutch farmstead established in the 18th century, were revealing a rather different picture of life among the Jersey Dutch during the early 19th century. The Luysters, though living in a house that is generally considered a model of Anglo-Dutch architecture (Hunton and McCabe 1980-1984: 72; Bailey 1968: 405, 406; HABS-NJ-688; Mandeville 1927: 33), and which was once furnished with several spectacular pieces of

Dutch folk art, including an elaborately painted Kas (FIG. 2) and a charming hanging cabinet, left behind an archaeological assemblage very much like those of their English and Scottish neighbors. Their tables were set with matched sets of fashionable plates imported from Staffordshire, England. They regularly drank tea and buried their dead under sandstone gravemarkers cut in northern New Jersey by artisans participating in the New England gravestone carving tradition. If not for the house itself, some surviving furnishings in the collections of the Monmouth County Historical Association, and a single Dutch-form colander recovered from an early 19th-century context, there would be no archaeologically-derived reason to believe that individuals who lived there were of Dutch descent. This is even more curious given the fact that the Luysters, who owned the property from 1717 until 1946 are known to have been proud of their Dutch heritage and even participated in groups like the Holland Society of America (Personal communication, Joseph Hammond 1999).

Here we examine the contradictions between the rhetoric and reality of Dutch life in 19th-century New Jersey. Were Monmouth

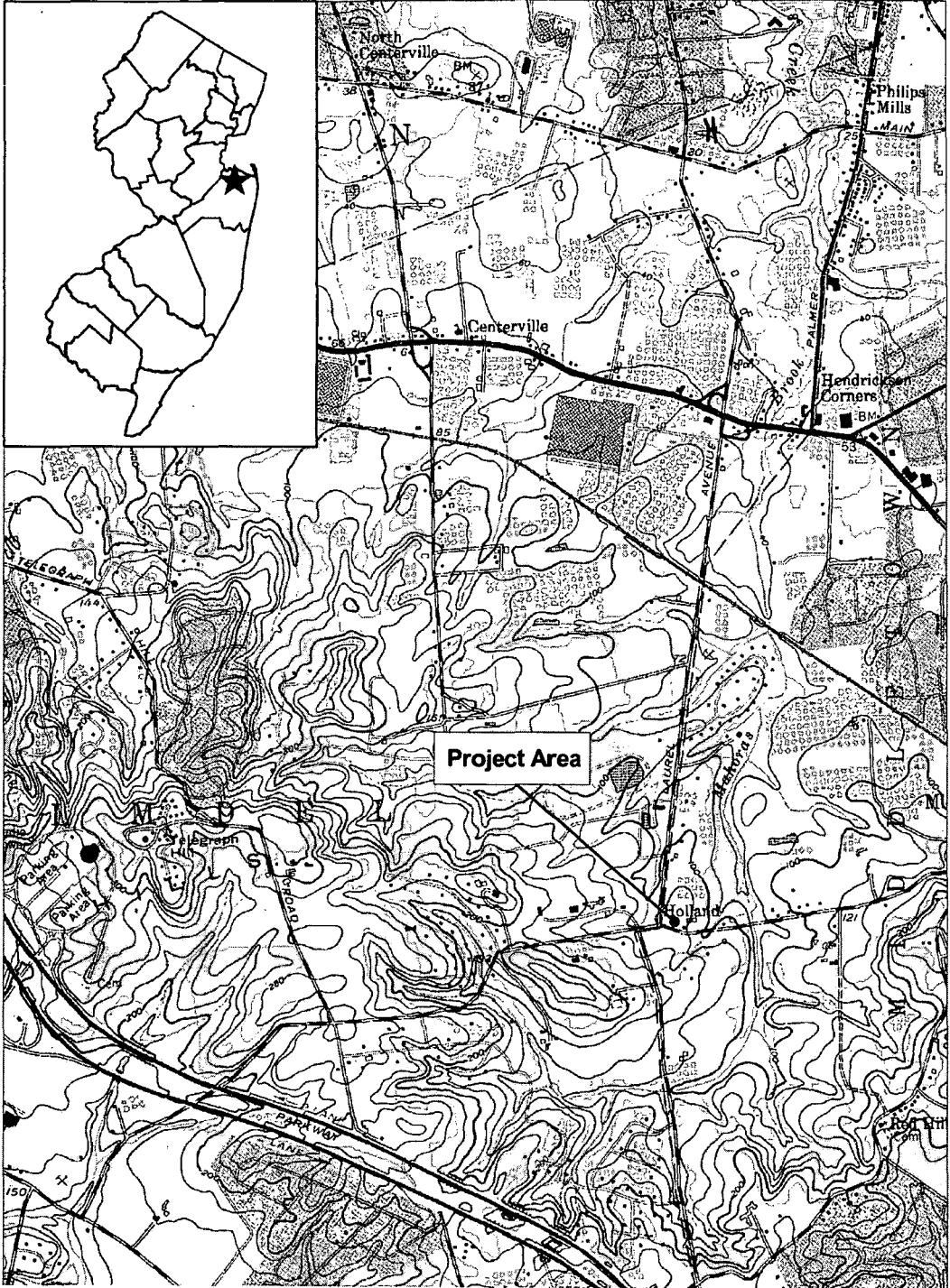


Figure 1. The arrow indicates the location of the Johannes Luyster house (28Mo261) in Middletown, Monmouth County, New Jersey.

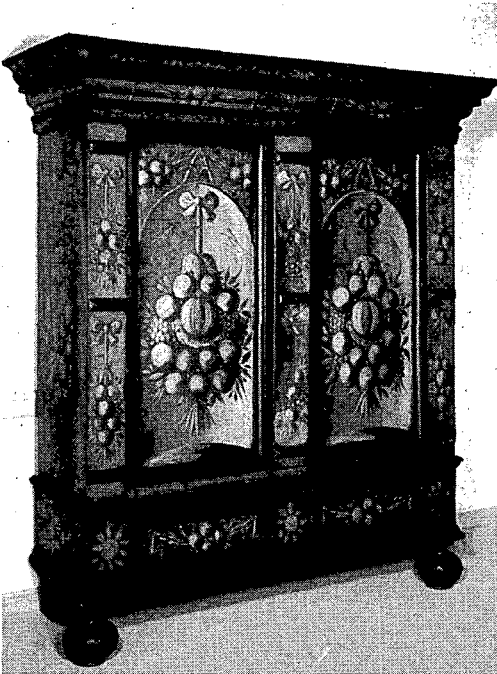


Figure 2. A handsomely painted 18th-century *Kas* or cabinet associated with the Johannes Luyster house, now curated by the Monmouth County Historical Association. Reproduced courtesy of the Monmouth County Historical Association.

County's Dutch settlers a distinct cultural group or did they adopt so many customs of their neighbors as to be largely indistinguishable from the general population? Historian Jack Larkin contends that after the Revolution ethnic groups became less important as individuals began to consider themselves Americans (Larkin 1988). Similarly, historian David Stephen Cohen has suggested that after the English conquest of New Netherland in 1664, Dutch culture was irrevocably changed by the influence of the dominant group, and the Dutch began a slow, steady acculturation to English traditions that continued into the late 19th century (Cohen 1992: 73, 74, 179). Are these theories borne out by the material record at the Luyster house? In answering these questions, we have chosen to focus on two aspects of the site: the changing architecture of the house itself and a rich 19th-century deposit, probably associated with an out-kitchen. Although analysis of the Luyster house assemblage is ongoing and our conclu-

sions are tentative, they are a step towards better understand the changing lives of the Jersey Dutch during the 19th century.

### Project Background

The Luyster House project is an ongoing archaeological and historical study of the Johannes Luyster house, formerly located at 199 Holland Road, Middletown, New Jersey. This house is one of a handful of early 18th-century Dutch houses remaining in northern Monmouth County. Our study began in September 1997, in advance of the imminent removal of the structure, as part of the expansion of AT&T's Middletown, New Jersey facility. The site is on private property, and the construction and expansion of the AT&T complex was undertaken with private funds, thereby precluding any legally mandated cultural resource survey.

With the support of the Middletown Landmarks Commission, the authors organized a volunteer effort to document the archaeological deposits suspected to be present on the site. Although we initially expected only a short window of opportunity during which the property could be studied, the house remained in its original location until December of 1998, allowing nearly two years of intermittent excavation, including Monmouth University's 1998 field school. We identified and sampled artifact rich deposits reflecting the nearly three-century long Luyster occupation of the property, and recovered prehistoric artifacts dating from the Mid-Archaic through Late Woodland periods.

In August, 1997, an agreement was reached between the property's owner and its purchaser, AT&T to preserve the house's architecture. The house was raised from its foundation, several recent additions were demolished, and the core of the historic structure was moved roughly 1/4 mile where it was restored and sold to a new private owner.

### History and Architecture of the Luyster Farm

The date of initial European settlement on the Luyster tract is unknown, but is likely the very late 17th or early 18th century. Until the house's recent renovation, the building itself

was marked with a bronze plaque assigning it a date of 1680. This seems too early, as painstaking historical research by Joseph W. Hammond has determined that Johannes Luyster and his brother-in-law Jan Brower did not acquire the property, until January 1, 1717 (Hammond 1998: 1). Their purchase totaled 149 acres. Luyster and Brower, who were originally from Long Island, farmed the land together for 18 years before dividing the property. Curiously, Johannes Luyster appears in the records of the Old Brick Reformed Church in January of 1715, 2 years before purchasing the Middletown property (Church Record Book 1715). Johannes Luyster was born in 1691 and died in 1756 (Bailey 1968:405), and there is no record of any other Luysters settling in the area prior to him.

The core of the 1 1/2 story Dutch colonial or Anglo-Dutch farmhouse is clearly depicted on a privately-held survey drawn in 1730, the earliest known map of the property (Hammond 1998). Dendrochronology of

wood samples taken from floor joists removed from the house during its move returned a date of 1724 (Personal communication Alice Gerard, September 1999). The structure stood on a very shallow dry-laid fieldstone foundation one to two courses deep. The main block of the house has no cellar, though a deep cold-room under an 1862 addition may have been associated with the earlier portion of the building.

The house's earliest section has shingled sides, a steeply-pitched gable roof, and two interior end chimneys on the main block (FIG. 3). The pitch of the front and rear slopes of the gable roof differ, a feature found on Dutch houses in Long Island, but uncommon among the Dutch houses of northern New Jersey (HABS-NJ-668: 4; see also Meeske 1998: 197).

The framing of the house is impressive, and local folklore has it that the builders used beams salvaged from a boat that sank on the Navesink River in the 17th century.

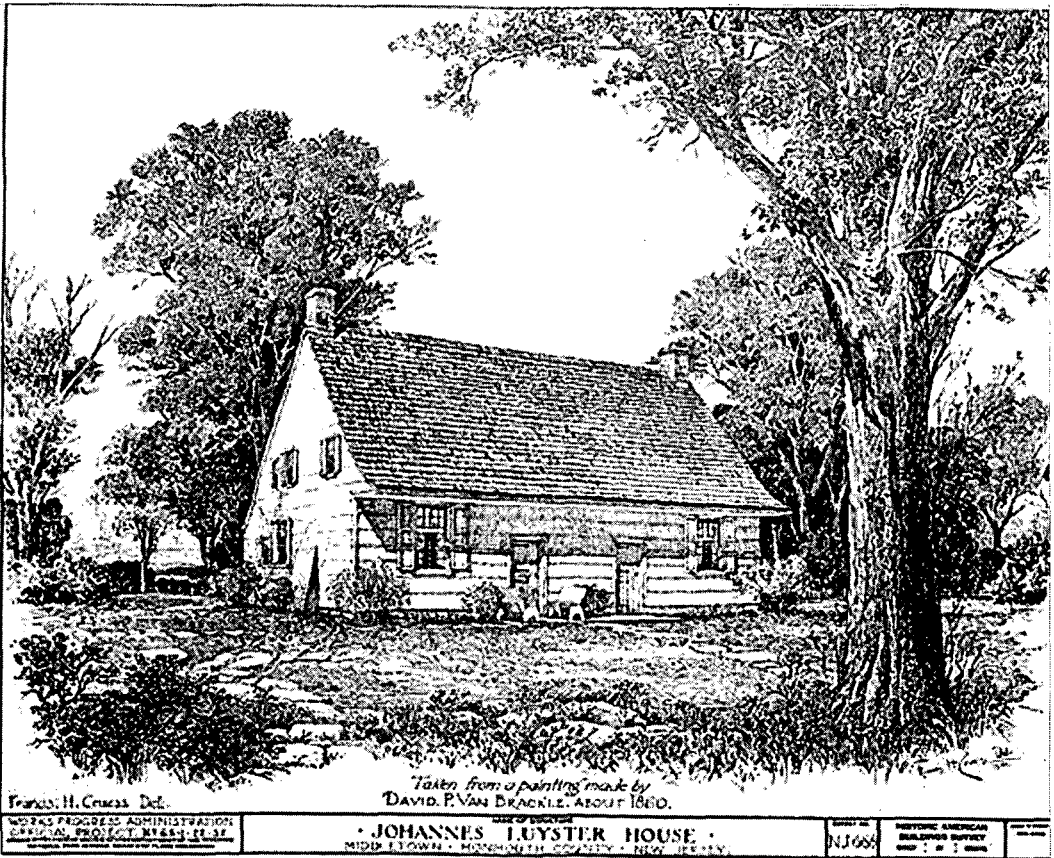


Figure 3. HABS drawing showing the unmodified Luyster house.



Figure 4. David P. Van Brackle painting showing the Luyster house, circa 1840. Reproduced courtesy of the Monmouth County Historical Association.

Unfortunately, dendrochronology could not be done on these beams to validate the early date, as they were fully exposed and structurally and aesthetically essential to the building. The interior of the oldest section of the house displays Dutch-style H-bent framing (see Fitchen 1968; Prudon 1986; and Zink 1987 for excellent discussions of Dutch framing) and retains some early features. The windows on the east side of the house are 12/12 sash and apparently date from the 18th century. Another small 18th-century window was revealed on the north wall of the house when the 20th-century addition that had obscured it was removed.

Originally, the south-facing structure consisted of two side-by-side ground floor rooms, each with its own divided or "Dutch" entry door. These functional doors allow the upper half to be kept "opened for sunlight and fresh air, while the bottom remains shut to keep small children and a miscellany of farm animals inside or out. The lower half also provided a social barrier for tradesmen and others to talk without having to let them into the house" (Meeske 1998: 264).

The house's original two-room/two-door configuration is clearly seen in an 1840s painting by David Van Brackle (FIG. 4). This pattern is more common in northern New Jersey. In Montville, for instance, many early

Dutch houses "were built with asymmetrical entry placement, most of them with even numbers of doors and windows, for example two doors and two windows on a façade. In common with folk houses built by nearly all European immigrants to America, the Montville Dutch houses had no formal entryways and no internal passages" (Janowitz and Foster 1996: 101; also see Ryan 1997). This also was the case at the Luyster house.

In 1862, during the ownership of Peter Luyster, the great grandson of the builder, the house was extensively modified (HABS-NJ-668: 3-4). A two-story, English-framed addition was made to the rear of the house (FIG. 5). Other changes made about the same time included the replacement of the dual front doors with a single central doorway flanked by paired windows on either side, thereby transforming the two room main block into something approximating a center-hall plan. Dormer windows were also added to the roof. Somewhat earlier, around 1840, the fireplaces' mantelpieces were replaced (HABS-NJ-668: 1). A jambless fireplace in the eastern section of the main house may also have been enclosed about the same time.

Although it remains an excellent example of vernacular New World Dutch architecture, the Luyster House was an organic entity subject to repeated modifications. As mentioned, the most extensive of these changes occurred



Figure 5. HABS photograph of the Luyster house showing the Exterior, East Elevation. Photograph by R. Merritt Lacey, September 16, 1940 (HABS NJ-668). Trench 1 is located in approximately the same site as the small garden plot seen in the front center of this photograph.

between 1840 and 1865. Although these remodelings left the basic form of the house intact, the result was a building shorn of many of its distinctive Dutch features. This architectural remodeling is paralleled by other transformations in the Luyster's lives as shown by both the artifacts found around the house and the documents these Dutch farmers left behind.

### The Archaeological Evidence

Excavation at the Luyster house focused on recovering a representative sample of historical artifacts from the property and documenting the locations of features reflecting the various periods in the site's occupation before the site was destroyed. The field teams excavated a total of 110 shovel tests, 24 4×4 ft excavations units, 1 5×5 ft excavation unit, and 3 trenches. To date, an estimated 20,000 artifacts have been recovered from the site representing most material groups, including a substantial amount of prehistoric material. Although some general comments are in order, our dis-

cussion here focuses primarily on Trench 1, a rich early 19th-century feature.

As might be expected, excavations at a site with an unbroken chain of occupation spanning more than 270 years revealed dozens of features chronicling the earliest days of settlement, 19th-century additions and alterations, and the recent addition of late 20th-century amenities. Approximately 20 features have been identified, including post molds, buried walkways, wells, fence posts, stone foundations, and a trash-filled pit, possibly the remain of an outkitchen (FIG. 6).

Among the noteworthy features were a series of post molds, designated Feature 1, located immediately east of the present front door step and adjacent to the building's foundation. One post mold measured 7 in (18 cm) in diameter and the other two measuring approximately 4 in (10 cm) in diameter. Feature 1 was encountered at a depth of 24 in (61 cm). Given the proximity to the present foundation, it is conceivable that these post molds were part of an earlier support system



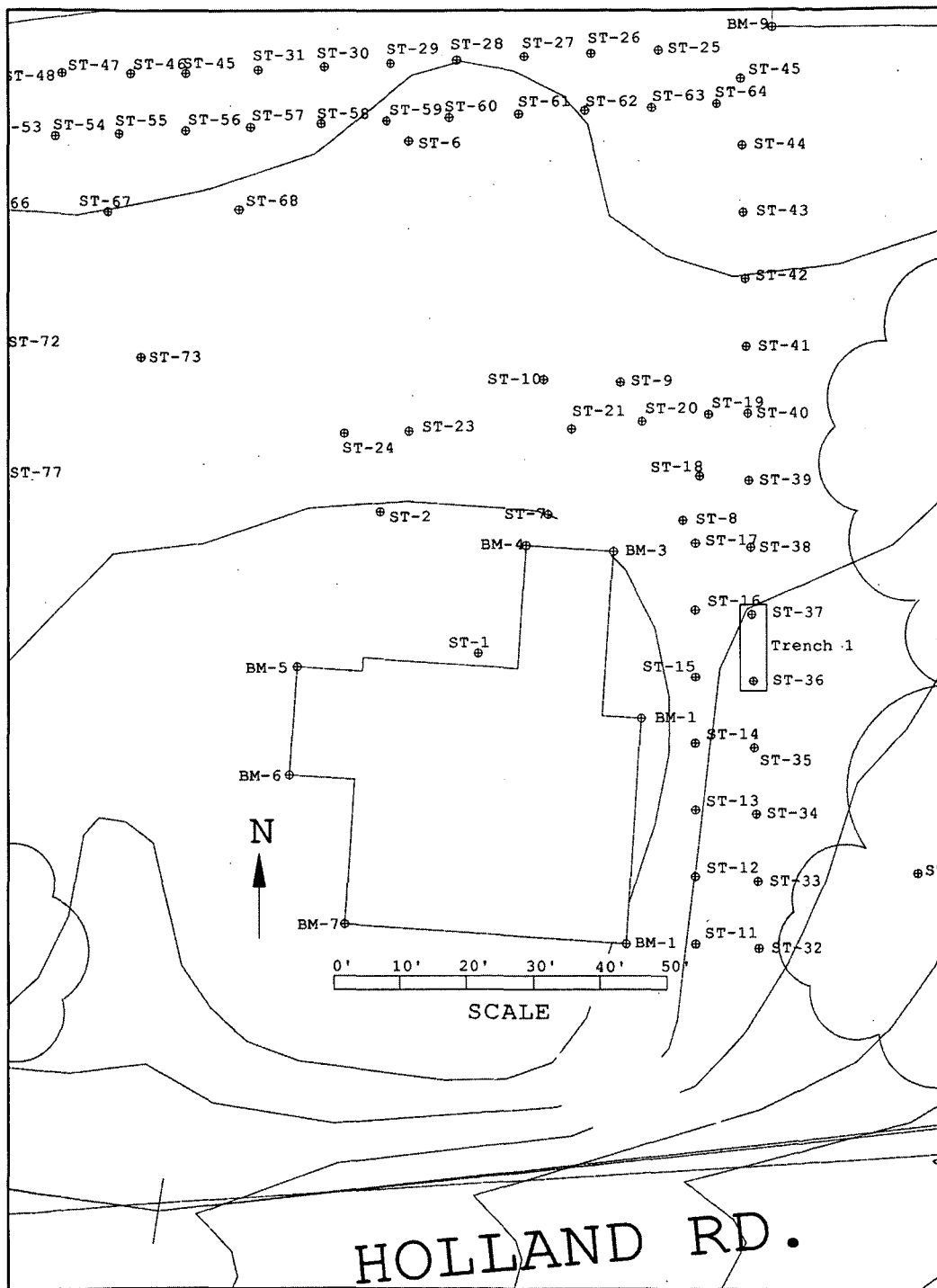


Figure 6. Map showing the Luyster house and associated features.

for the house, or possibly the remnants of a "pioneer" house, erected before the permanent structure.

Another interesting feature is a buried brick walkway extending north from the vicinity of the present kitchen toward the smallest surviving outbuilding, a 20th-century bunkhouse. This feature was encountered at a depth of 11 in (28 cm) below the surface. Interestingly, a deposit that contained several small sherds of prehistoric pottery underlay it. Other features noted in the field include the dry-laid limonite foundation of a Dutch barn to the northwest of the house, and what was likely an early-20th century privy southwest of the house.

By far the most revealing feature was a large trash-filled pit, which is the feature discussed in this article. This feature was possibly the remains of a filled summer kitchen or root cellar, located just east of the house. This feature was first identified in a shovel test transect, running north to south, parallel to the east wall of the house. An extremely dense deposit of ceramics and faunal remains was encountered in Shovel Test 36, the fifth on this transect. Subsequent shovel tests revealed that the feature extended at least 10 ft (3 m) north-south.

At this point, a trench measuring 13 ft × 4 ft, was laid out to try and determine the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the feature. While this trench exposed part of the feature, time constraints precluded opening units and exposing the complete feature. Our excavations revealed three distinct strata. As the deposit was packed with artifacts, we divided strata exceeding 6 in. in depth into arbitrary 6 in. levels.

The trench was subdivided into three units (north, center, and south), and a total of six levels were excavated in each of the three units. All of the units ended in sterile subsoil. Immediately overlying the subsoil we found large, displaced dry-laid fragments of sandstone. They may represent demolition debris from some sort of superstructure or material tossed into the open hole to help fill it. Clearly defined boundaries of a pit which cross-cut otherwise intact stratigraphy suggest that this pit was purposely dug, and probably served as the foundation of an outbuilding, likely a

kitchen. There is no documentary evidence that relates to the feature. It does not appear on a privately-held plat map drawn of the property in the early 18th century, nor does it appear in late 19th-century photographs of the property. In the first third of the 19th century the structure was demolished. It appears that much of the foundation was robbed out, though some stones were left in situ.

### The Assemblage

The excavators recovered 8,151 artifacts from the trench. Although our study of the overall collection is ongoing, the analysis of the faunal remains, funded by a generous grant from the Archaeological Society of New Jersey, has been completed and some preliminary conclusions can be drawn.

Archaeologists recovered a variety of artifacts in the upper and lower levels of the trench. A 1788 Connecticut penny was recovered from the lowest level of the feature and may have been lost when the structure was in active use. Most of the artifacts the excavators found date to the late 18th or early 19th century. The lower levels included earlier wares such as tortoise-shell decorated earthenware in addition to various decorated pearlware sherds, while the uppermost level contained a 1932 US penny. A mean ceramic date of 1825 was calculated for the assemblage; a terminus post quem of 1835 is provided by some later vessels, however, including four nearly-intact hand-painted whiteware plates. Three are marked "JACKSON WARRANTED STAFFORDSHIRE." This mark has been traced to English potters Job and John Jackson, who used this mark between 1831 and 1835 (Kovel and Kovel 1986). The fourth plate is marked "JOSEPH STUBBS LONGPORT," a mark in use between 1822 and 1835 (Cushion 1980: 125). Later 19th-century artifacts are conspicuous by their absence.

### Ceramics

Most of the nearly 2,500 ceramic fragments recovered from the trench are refined earthenwares: creamware, pearlware, and whiteware, used as serving vessels (TAB 1). They represent at least 60 vessels. With rare exceptions they are minimally decorated vessels that were fashionable but not particularly expensive (see

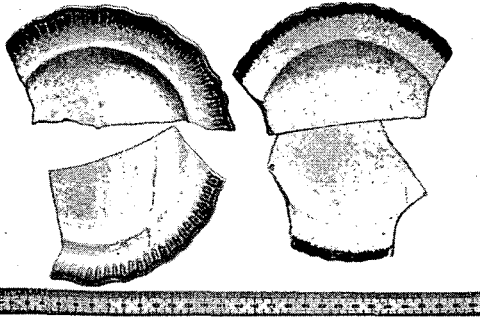


Figure 7. Shell-edged pearlware plates excavated from Trench 1.

Miller 1980, 1991). Royal or Queen’s pattern plates, simple blue and green shell-edge plates (FIG. 7), and house and tree pattern cups, bowls, and saucers are all common (FIG. 8). Polychrome hand-painted whiteware bowls and cups are also well represented (TAB. 1). Transfer-printed wares are almost completely absent. The refined earthenwares seem to be

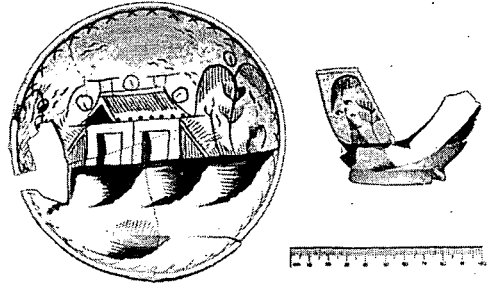


Figure 8. Reconstructed “House and Tree” pattern pearlware dish and teacup from Trench 1.

the remains of a limited number of matched sets, or at least attempts at making matched sets. For instance, there are seven blue shell-edge pearlware plates in the assemblage, with five different edge patterns represented. Similarly, there are five, green, shell-edge pearlware plates with three different edge patterns present. Although pieces may have been

Table 1. Ceramic vessels represented in Trench 1. The minimum number of vessel calculations are based, whenever possible, on reconstructed vessels, augmented by base and rim fragments.

<i>Ware Type</i>	<i>Vessel Form</i>	<i>Decoration</i>	<i>MNV</i>
Buff Bodied Earthenware	Indeterminate		1
Rockingham	Pitcher		1
Tortoiseshell	Plate		1
Redware	Teapot		3
Redware	Pitcher		1
Redware	Colander		1
Redware	Bowl		2
Redware	Plate	Slip trailed	4
Redware	Pan		3
Creamware	Plate	Royal pattern	3
Creamware	Bowl	Beaded rim	1
Pearlware	Bowls	House & tree	4
Pearlware	Bowl	Floral hand painted	1
Pearlware	Cups	House & tree	4
Pearlware	Cup	Blue transfer print	1
Pearlware	Plate		1
Pearlware	Plate	Blue shell edge	7
Pearlware	Plate	Green shell edge	5
Pearlware	Teapot		1
Whiteware	Bowl		1
Whiteware	Cup	Floral hand painted	2
Whiteware	Plate	Floral hand painted	4
Yellowware	Plate		1
Ironstone	Plate	Embossed	1
Stoneware	Jug		3
Stoneware	Crock		1
Stoneware	Bowl	White salt-glazed, scratch blue	1
Porcelain	Teacup		1
<i>Total Vessels</i>			60

purchased individually, or perhaps a couple at a time, the end result would have been a table where all of the pieces looked relatively similar. Teapots are common, with at least four in the assemblage, including one in pearlware, and three in redware. All of the latter sport a lustrous black manganese glaze.

Redware and stoneware food preparation and storage vessels make up just under 1/3 of the Trench 1 collection. A particularly noteworthy vessel is an uncommon Dutch-form redware colander, perhaps the first found in New Jersey (FIGS. 9 and 10). The colander, which is heavily worn and had seen years of use before it was discarded is nearly complete. While it is of Dutch form, its rather crude structure indicates possible local manufacture (Meta Janowitz, personal communication, 2001). Vessels such as this one, called *vergiel* in Dutch, appear in 17th-century genre paintings where they are depicted in kitchen scenes drying fish, mussels, meat, and vegetables (Boymans Museum 1991: 119; Janowitz, Morgan, and Rothschild 1985: 42).

Other redware vessels were fragmentary. They include plates, pitchers, storage jars, and

several finely-potted porringers. The porringers have rim diameters of 5 in (12.7 cm). Children in the household may have used these small vessels.

Stoneware vessels are not common in the assemblage and only a handful of vessels are represented (TAB. 1). They include a fragment from an unidentified Rhenish vessel and pieces of several storage jars.

It is worth noting that the Luyster's need not have relied so heavily on imported ceramics. Their neighbor and close family friend, Daniel Hendrickson, scion of another Dutch émigré family, was a redware potter during the late 18th century. He produced a variety of vessels including porringers, jugs, platters, mugs, basins, bowls, and cups (Branin 1988: 39-41). Moreover, in nearby Cheesequake, the Morgans, Van Wickles, and other local families were actively producing a variety of stoneware products. Despite the availability of these local wares, the Luyster assemblage shows a clear preference for English tablewares. Similarly, Sherene Baugher and Robert Venables writing about somewhat earlier 18th-century ceramic assem-



Figure 9. A Dutch-form redware colander or *vergiel*. Reconstructed from 18 fragments.



Figure 10. Underside of colander. Note the existing two feet and wear mark at location of missing third foot.

blages from New York State noted that thanks to a well-established transportation network, "Individuals in the hinterlands could share the same taste and market access for fashionable ceramics as their city counterparts" (Baugher and Venables 1987: 50). That appears to have been the case here as well.

### Faunal Remains

Although ceramics provide our best means of dating the deposit, faunal remains at 4,677 fragments, make up 57% of the Trench 1 collection (FIG. 11). The faunal assemblage is composed primarily of pig (*Sus scrofa*), cow (*Bos taurus*), and sheep/goat bone (*Ovis aries*/*Capra hircus*). Other domestic species represented include chickens (*Gallus gallus*) and domestic ducks (*Anas sp.*). The collection also includes a few bones from pheasants (*Phasianus colchinus*) and a small number of vertebrae from small fish.

Cattle (553 specimens) and pig (468 specimens) bones dominate the collection. This proportion is evidence of the livestock preference of the Luyster House residents. Smaller amounts of fish, fowl and shellfish augmented the staples of beef and pork (TAB. 2) (Metzger 2001). Out of the 4,677 bones and bone fragments represented, 1,209 (about 25%) could be identified to species and skeletal part. The high percentage of identifiable bones is indicative of a deposit that is relatively undisturbed and enclosed, similar to those typically recovered from privies or wells (Greenfield 1989: 93).

The cattle bones include parts representing entire animals, both food cuts and non-food bones. Bones with little meat utility, such as carpals, tarsals, phalanges and metapodials are present suggesting primary butchering at the Luyster House site. In addition to these, bones

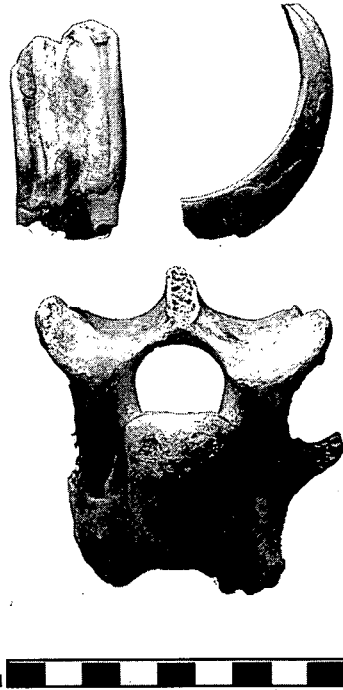


Figure 11. Examples of faunal material recovered from Trench 1.

with high meat-utility such as vertebrae are present representing butchered cuts similar to short-loin, chuck and rib (Metzger 2001: 3; see also Schulz and Gust 1983, Szuter 1991). The faunal analysis also indicates a similar pattern in the pig and sheep/goat fragments. The significant amount of mandible fragments and upper and lower teeth is similar to that encountered at other 19th-century sites of the Middle Atlantic region (Price 1995), whereby pig heads were utilized for head cheese and jowl meat. During the butchering and cooking processes, teeth were detached and discarded

Table 2. Faunal material recovered from Trench 1, excluding shell.

Taxon	Common Name	NISP	%	MNI
<i>Bos taurus</i>	Cattle	553	45.7%	8
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Pig	468	38.7%	7
<i>Ovis aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i>	Sheep/Goat	119	9.8%	5
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	Chicken	44	3.6%	Not calc.
Pisces	Fish	22	1.8%	Not calc.
<i>Phasianus colchinus</i>	Pheasant	1	<1.0%	1
<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	Turkey	1	<1.0%	1
<i>Anas sp.</i>	Domestic Duck	1	<1.0%	1
Total		1209	100.0%	

into the midden (Metzger 2001: 3). While somewhat fewer sheep/goat bones of low meat utility were recorded in the assemblage they are still present.

This information is particularly interesting as it shows that the Luysters were butchering and consuming livestock on site. The butchery was done with an axe, cleaver, or knife. Interestingly, a slightly earlier tavern assemblage from the Blue Ball Tavern/Allen House in nearby Shrewsbury, New Jersey was limited to select cuts of meat apparently supplied by a butcher (Megan Springate 2001, personal communication). The Luyster house faunal assemblage also highlights the fact that during the early 19th century this family consumed only a limited range of species, presumably animals that they themselves had raised.

The large percentage of pig remains relative to sheep/goat may be indicative of the maintenance of Dutch dietary. Greenfield's study of faunal deposits from 17th, 18th, and 19th-century New York suggests the ratio of pig to sheep/goat to be indicator of ethnicity, with Dutch households preferring pork, and English households favoring mutton (Pam Crabtree 2001, personal communication, Greenfield 1989: 101-103).

The first statewide agricultural record for New Jersey, the 1850 Agricultural Census of New Jersey, provides a list of the livestock and crops grown by Peter Luyster, who inherited the farm upon the death of his father John P. Luyster in 1848. Although this census is roughly a decade later than the Trench 1 deposit, we assume that similar produce and livestock were raised during the 1830s and 1840s as those recorded in the 1850 census. According to these records, Peter Luyster had 6 "milch" cows, 6 swine, and one "other" cattle. No sheep or goats were listed. Interestingly, other Dutch neighbors of the Luysters including the Schenks and Hendricksons also raised cows and swine, but listed no sheep or goats. Geographers Peter Wacker and Paul Clemens note that "farmers in New England-settled sections of New Jersey showed more interest in sheep" (Wacker and Clemens 1995: 191).

The slaughter schedules for cattle, pig, and sheep/goat can be estimated from the faunal

assemblage from Trench 1. It appears that cattle were generally slaughtered between 3 and 4 years of age, with no indication of very young or very old specimens. This suggests that the Luysters may not have engaged in commercial milk production as a part of their agricultural output. Pigs were generally slaughtered at 12 to 18 months, with evidence of a few piglets and a few older specimens. The sheep/goat remains seem to indicate slaughter at about age 18 to 30 months (Metzger 2001).

The paucity of chicken bones in the assemblage may be evidence of the importance of egg farming to the Luyster household economy during the 19th century. Also, the absence of wild game such as deer may be an indication of the socioeconomic status of the Luysters, as the poor and wealthy classes relied more heavily on wild game, albeit for different reasons, while the middle class was more reliant on domestic animals (Greenfield 1989: 97).

Despite the site's location on the Outer Coastal Plain, clam (*Mercenaria*) and oyster (*Crassostrea americana*) shell are not particularly common, with only 140 specimens recovered. Somewhat more puzzling is the presence of 30 knobbed whelk (*Busycon carica*) or conch (Strombidae) shells. These shells could be used to make wampum beads, a form of currency used in trading with Native Americans during the colonial period (Becker 1980). Later, during the 19th century, "wampum beads, hair pipes, and moons, were transported thousands of miles for trade to the Indians of the western plains" (Williams and Flinn 1990: 5-6). Dutch settlers in Bergen County made wampum as a sort of cottage industry until the late 19th century (Williams and Flinn 1990: 5-6; Haggerty 1980). The broken shells from the Luyster farm may indicate that Monmouth County's Dutch settlers also were actively making wampum into the 19th century. Alternatively, the conch may have been eaten.

Other foodways related artifacts included bone handled knives and a two-tined fork. The excavators also recovered two fragments of a case bottle and the base of an early 19th-century wine bottle. Interestingly, the probate inventory of Johannes Luyster, taken in 1766,

lists 12 case bottles. Glass vessels made up only a tiny portion of the overall assemblage.

### Small Finds

Most of the artifacts recovered from the feature relate to food preparation and consumption. As such, they provide an interesting glimpse of diet and the culinary skills of the Jersey Dutch in the early 19th century. We also recovered smaller quantities of artifacts relating to other aspects of life on the property from the feature. These are arranged, for ease of comparison using functional categories (TAB. 3).

Some 614 artifacts related to architecture were found. The majority are nails. Although most are so corroded as to be unidentifiable, both hand-wrought and machine cut nails are present. The nails may indicate that a frame structure once stood over the pit. The excavators also found fragments of a large strap hinge, presumably from a door. Although brick fragments are not particularly common, those found are broad and thin,

Artifacts related to arms and armament, clothing, tobacco use, and furniture were all uncommon (TAB. 3). A unique find was a tinderbox, shown here after conservation (FIG. 12). Tinderboxes consist of a drum-shaped box that contained a flint, or strike-a-lite, and tinder, which was often charred linen or dry grass to catch the sparks when the flint was struck against a piece of iron (Hayward 1962:82). The cover, which acted as a damper to extinguish the tinder, had a small handle, or sometimes a socket for a candle (Neumann 1984: 72). Tinderboxes were a staple in all facets of colonial life; commercial, domestic and military. With the invention of the match in 1826, tinderboxes eventually fell out of use, with matches coming into general use by mid-century (Panati 1987: 108-109). The possibility that this tinderbox was discarded during the first half of the 19th century, works well given the ceramics it was found with. Other exceptional finds include gunflints, both English and French, a fragmentary drawer pull, several buttons, and a clock's frame.

Although clay pipes are ubiquitous on many historic sites, and several hundred clay pipe fragments have been recovered from the

Table 3. Functional categorization of Trench 1 assemblage.

Category	N	%
Architecture	614	7.5
Arms	4	<1
Ceramics	2485	30.4
Clothing	2	<1
Faunal	4677	57.4
Furniture	1	<1
Glass	170	<1
Personal	16	<1
Shell	71	<1
Tobacco	46	<1
Other	65	<1
Total	8151	100%

Luyster House site, only 46 were recovered from the trench. None are marked and most have very narrow bore diameters, generally 4/64th of an inch. As such a small sample was recovered, and the bowl fragments found are generally of ribbed forms common in the 19th century, we did not calculate bore diameter dates.

### Interpretations

Understanding this archaeological assemblage from the Luyster house is considerably more challenging than describing it. While clearly deposited in the first third of the 19th century, it is in many ways enigmatic. The

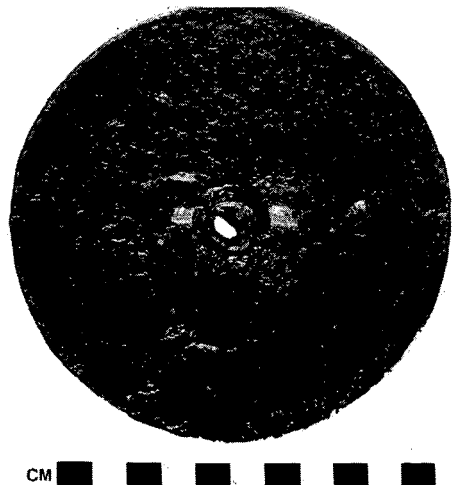


Figure 12. An early 19th-century tinder box made of tinned iron.

nature of the feature that held the deposit is unclear. While we believe that the feature is the filled cellar of an outkitchen, the brick one might expect from a hearth is largely missing. If the feature represents an offal pit, it is not clear why the Luysters would have gone to the trouble to dig a straight walled rectangular pit, and provide at least part of it with a foundation represented by the scatter of dry-laid limonite encountered at the base of the trench. With the benefit of hindsight, it also appears poor judgment to have located the pit within ten feet of an active well located adjacent to the house.

The artifact assemblage is also puzzling. Many of the ceramics including bowls, plates, tea cups, and porringers appear to have been deposited whole, with breakage occurring through dumping and pressure from overlying deposits and surface activity (TAB. 1). Moreover, several distinct patterns were overwhelmingly represented in a variety of vessel forms—an indication that multiple examples of identical vessels were discarded in a single episode.

There are several possible explanations for this curious behavior. It may simply reflect an episode of housecleaning related to the transference of the property from one group of Luysters to another. Alternatively, it could relate to an episode of illness that affected the family. In an effort to rid themselves of the contagion the Luysters may have discarded seemingly contaminated items. Yet another scenario could be stylistic, rooted in the “emergence of a national culture.” Although any one of these scenarios is tenable, it is particularly curious that similar deposits, dating to roughly the same period, have been recovered on other early 19th-century sites. Here we examine each of these alternatives in detail.

#### **Scenario A, Housecleaning**

It is possible that the feature is full of undesirable or out-of-date items that were discarded when the property was transferred from one owner to another. An examination of census records from 1810 to 1840 indicate that there was no change in ownership during those years. John P. Luyster inherited the farm in 1810 upon the death of his father, Pieter. He is listed as head of the household up to the

time of his death in 1848, when the property is transferred to his son Peter. Aside from John’s wife and children, it appears that several female adults lived in the house during his occupation, possibly two sisters: Sarah Snyder, a widow, and Lucretia, who never married (Beekman 1974: 108). In her will, written in 1838, and probated in 1839, Lucretia left all of the “...household and kitchen furniture together with all [my] moveable property...” to her brother John P. Luyster (Will Book D: 195-196). Perhaps John and his children found the austere creamware and pearlware plates old fashioned and discarded them to replace them with newer transfer printed wares. Archaeologists working at other sites have found evidence for what might be termed the new owners phenomenon. Ivor Noël Hume, for instance, has attributed a rich deposit in the Williamsburg, Virginia, well of John Custis IV, to housecleaning by Martha Dandridge Custis, later to gain fame as Martha Washington (Noël Hume 1996:18-31).

#### **Scenario B, Contagion**

Another valid explanation is a mass purging of all possible contaminated items during a time of severe epidemic. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the concept of disease, its cause and cure was still little understood. Devastating maladies such as smallpox, yellow fever, influenza, and scarlet fever among others, beset early Americans with such unannounced frequency that desperate measures were often taken to counter an impending epidemic. Believing that many diseases were caused by such physical manifestations as miasmatic vapors or sleeping in damp beds, early Americans often resorted to extreme modes of prevention aimed at phantom causal mechanisms. Carrying a tarred rope, wearing garlic in one’s shoes, and shooting guns into the air to disperse the deadly miasmatic vapors were just some of the methods that grew out of fear and ignorance during times of epidemic (Coffin 1976: 18, 37). Therefore, the possibility that much of the ceramic and faunal deposit from Trench 1 was the result of a similar ill-advised attempt at removing contaminated objects from the hub of daily activity, cannot be discounted. This would have been a costly remedy.



### Scenario C, Emergence of a National Culture

For want of a better phrase, the third scenario is titled "emergence of a national culture." The phrase is taken from James Deetz's book *Flowerdew Hundred* (1993: 133). Excavations at the Virginia plantation known as Flowerdew Hundred revealed diverse features dating from the 17th century to the present. One of these was an icehouse, associated with the Selden family ownership of the property during the 19th century. This icehouse was precipitously filled between 1825 and 1830. Deetz (1993: 123) describes its fill as:

...a solid mass of refuse: bricks, plates, bottles, and drinking glasses, masses of animal bone, tools, smoking pipes, eating utensils, and a host of other objects, looking for all the world as though someone had tipped a house on its side and allowed its contents to pour into the gaping hole in the ground."

In both date and contents the Selden's icehouse directly parallels those from the Luyster's outkitchen. Another similar example comes from the Narbonne site in Salem, Massachusetts (see Moran, Zimmer, and Yentsch 1982). Dozens of sites that are both temporally and spatially similar have been documented along the eastern seaboard (Deetz 1993: 124).

Remarkably, the deposits from these sites are similar in form and time of deposition to those at the Luyster House sites, perhaps reflecting a larger change in American society (Deetz 1993:124). Moreover, Deetz has noted that all of the items encountered in these deposits appear to pre-date the time of deposition by about ten years and that additional discarded materials indicate possible simultaneous refurbishing of their houses (Deetz 1993: 127). Even more stunning is the fact that all of these deposits date to the 1830s. A "time when the first generation of native-born Americans had reached maturity, and thus archaeology seems to signal that critical point where the culture is no longer simply an extension of England, but rather American" (Deetz 1993: 133).

It is within this broadest cultural context that the assemblage from the Luyster house is most parsimoniously explained. There is,

however, a twist at this site, that is not in evidence at the other North American sites Deetz examined, that is the ethnic heritage of the Luyster's. Not only was a new post-Revolutionary generation of Luysters coming to the fore, but they were doing so at a time when attitudes towards ethnicity were changing (Larkin 1988). These national, indeed perhaps international trends, were felt even in the small New Jersey hamlet called Holland. The market conditions and consumer behavior that helped shape the American consciousness during the 19th century were an extension of the phenomena that originated during the second half of the 18th century, namely: a wider choice of goods available to consumers; a "standardization" of consumer performance; and, most relevant to our study, a widespread "Anglicization" of the American market (Breen 1994: 452).

The salvage excavations at the Johannes Luyster house provided an interesting, albeit somewhat surprising picture of life at an early, 19th-century Dutch-American farm. Although we recovered artifacts dating from the 18th through 20th centuries, the richest deposit uncovered is a deep pit feature, probably the foundation of an outkitchen. It is a mass deposit similar to those noted by James Deetz at numerous contemporary sites along the eastern seaboard. As such, it may reflect the changing tastes and rise of national consciousness during the post-Revolutionary generation.

The presence of a substantial number of English-manufactured ceramic wares, including vessels for serving and drinking tea from the Trench 1 deposit, further suggests an earlier, probably 18th century, departure from adherence to traditional Dutch lifeways in favor of assimilation/acculturation into the dominant English and eventually national culture. Although living on a farm in rural Monmouth County, the Luysters, like their contemporaries around the world, found themselves awash in a sea of imported English ceramics by the late 18th century. Nevertheless, the presence of a heavily worn Dutch-style colander in an 1830s deposit shows that not all things Dutch were discarded until considerably later.

The trend evident in the early 19th century archaeological record from the site appears to be paralleled by surviving historic documenta-

tion. Several Dutch Bibles from the Middletown area survived into the 20th century and are an excellent source of family history, as members would record milestones (i.e., births, deaths, weddings) inside the blank leaves. The first entry in the Luyster Bible is dated August 12, 1688 and the final entry is dated December 12, 1875. Each entry written between 1688 and 1806 is written in Dutch. In entries during the latter part of the 18th century into the first decade of the 19th century, English words were sporadically mixed with Dutch (December instead of Desember), and the Anglicization of first names became prevalent (Peter instead of Pieter, John instead of Johannes). Beginning with the date Oct. 7, 1835, every entry is in English. This suggests a gradual transition from Dutch to English over the course of several generations. A recent study of Dutch bibles housed in the collections of the Monmouth County Historical Association, shows that many families that had studiously kept their records in Dutch discarded this language in favor of English in the 1830s (Carol Fisher Megill, personal communication, 2000).

Although the Luysters were a family proud of their Dutch heritage, their possessions, recovered archaeologically and surviving in museum collections, show a transformation of their lives over the course of the 19th century. The Luyster's ethnicity was not monolithic and unchanging. Although they continued to display Old World family heirlooms in their house until they sold it in the 1940s, they were setting their tables with the finest English tablewares by the 1820s. While they kept their family Bible records in Dutch until 1835, they were using gravestones carved in English as early as 1766. This is in contrast to the Dutch in Somerset County, and particularly Bergen County, who sometimes had their gravestones carved in Dutch. The Luyster house, even today after repeated alterations and a quarter-mile move, is seen as an excellent example of Anglo-Dutch architecture. Nonetheless, like many other Dutch houses in New Jersey, it was considerably Anglicized in the mid-19th century (see Janowitz and Foster 1996). Undoubtedly, as analysis of the artifact collection from the Luyster house continues further insights into this process of accommodation and change will become apparent. For now it is clear that while the Luysters continued to relish their Dutch heritage, their possessions speak to full participation in the larger society.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that this process of change was a two way street. As the Luysters, Hendricksons, Schencks, and other Dutch settlers in Monmouth County were adopting the trappings of the dominant culture, their English and Scottish neighbors readily adopted some aspects of Dutch architecture, particularly H-bent framing for their houses and barns. The final result was a distinctive regional culture, neither Dutch nor English, but retaining aspects of both in differing degrees.

The excavations at the Luyster House site produced a wealth of data chronicling the life-ways of a Dutch-American farmstead over three centuries (FIG. 13). The majority of the material recovered dated to the 19th century occupation of the site. The information gleaned from these artifacts and their associated features, juxtaposed alongside the documentary record, provides valuable insight into the behavioral and cultural modifications that beset a group whose roots extended back over 100 years, but whose social malleability was visible and profound, even after several generations. The Luyster House site also illustrates the importance and archaeological potential of 19th-century farmstead sites. While macro-level studies of groups have identified patterns of behavior on a regional or national scale, investigations of discrete 19th-century sites offer the potential to study groups on an individual basis where the dynamics and inherent variation of human agency can be observed as it manifests itself in the archaeological record. Encapsulated in the daily lives of a nuclear family unit bound to a locality over several generations, farmsteads offer an idiosyncratic glimpse into the totality of the human condition during the 19th century, when the home and the workplace were still one and the same. As Mary Beaudry aptly states in this volume, "Farmstead archaeology is the archaeology of the historic household," suggesting that each household, as a unit of study, is a microcosm of the societal and cultural changes that occur on a larger scale. The numerous social, religious and technological movements of the 19th century (Second Great Awakening, industrial revolution, abolition of slavery, Civil War, immigration, etc.) altered the lives of every American regardless of race, ethnicity or class, forever. Coupled with the emergence of the United States as a polyglot "nation teeming with nations," the formative processes of culture during the 19th century are varied and complex, providing worthy



Figure 13. The Luyster House as it appeared in 1999.

avenues for research to fill the void in a record that is far from complete.

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