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"The road to ruins and restoration": Roland W Robbins and the professionalization of historical archaeology

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"THE ROAD TO RUINS AND RESTORATION": ROLAND W. ROBBINS AND THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the American Studies Program

The College of William and Mary

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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by

Donald W. Linebaugh

1996

APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Donald W. Linebaugh

Approved, March 1996

Robert A. Gross

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Strawbery Banke, Inc.

James P. Whittenburg

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the family of Roland W. Robbins, particularly his wife Gerry and daughter Bonita. Gerry has been especially generous, giving me total access to Roland's papers and talking with me about his career and their life together. Bonita has been especially good at providing interpretative ideas about many aspects of her father's life, particularly his sketchy early years and his intense interest in Thoreau. Like Gerry, she has also listened patiently to my theories about her father's career, and has provided many alternative suggestions. This project has brought back many memories for Gerry and the family, and they have been willing to share both the good and the bad sides of their husband and father. Although they have not worked with me as extensively, I also owe a great deal to the Robbins's other children, Jean and Dick. They have been supportive of the project from the very beginning and seem to get more interested each week that passes.

This work has been made much richer through interviews with several of Robbins's archaeological and Thoreauvian colleagues and friends. Thoreau scholar Thomas Blanding introduced me to the Robbins family and helped with the project from its very inception. He has talked with me about Roland and Thoreau and offered interesting and helpful observations about their surprising similarities. Family friend and local artist Kristina Joyce generously offered to speak with me about her friendship and work with Roland. A gifted artist and calligrapher, Kristina lettered the text for the 1983 reprint of Robbins's book of poetry *Thru the Covered Bridge* and also illustrated other projects for him. She provided helpful thoughts on Roland as a mentor figure and on his personality. I had the pleasure of interviewing the nationally known Thoreau scholar Dr. Walter Harding Jr. of Geneseo State College on a cold November day in the warmth of his house in Geneseo, New York. In addition to a crackling fire and excellent coffee, Dr. Harding provided helpful insight into Roland's career, particularly his work on the Thoreau cabin site and many years of participation in the Thoreau Society. He also generously offered his correspondence files relating to Roland and the Thoreau cabin project for my use. Dr. Paul Heberling of Juniata College also spent a cold and snowy November afternoon with me discussing his memories and stories about Roland. He had met Robbins in 1976 during Robbins's stay at Juniata College as lecturer-in-residence. Dr. Heberling, a university-trained archaeologist, provided a very fascinating and enlightening perspective on Robbins. He also contributed an audiotape of one of Robbins's lectures to the students at Juniata. The late Thomas Hopkins, a local stonemason who worked with Roland on many restoration projects in the Northeast, took great pleasure in describing their work together and related engaging stories about Roland. Finally, Evan Jones, co-author of *Hidden America*, took the time to meet with me and to travel back to the last few years of the 1950s and discuss the process of creating and marketing this important early work on historical archaeology. Mr. Jones and his wife Judith invited me into their home, fed me a wonderful lunch, and spent the day talking with me.

Scholars at several of the sites excavated by Roland have been helpful in providing additional archival information and opportunities to examine the artifacts and sites themselves. The librarian and archivist at Strawbery Banke in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Susan Grigg, provided assistance during my visit to the site and answered my long-distance inquiries as well. Archaeologist Susan Kerns of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation provided a great deal of help with the Shadwell project. She directed the latest excavations at the site and was able to offer important insights into the site's structure and the previous excavations by Kimball, Schumacher, and Robbins. Architect Floyd Johnson, the project director of the Shadwell project during Robbins's work, met with me to discuss Robbins and the project, and read my draft manuscript dealing with the Shadwell dig. At Historic Hudson Valley's Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, curator Kate Johnson and archivist Claudia Dovman were extremely helpful and enthusiastic. They shared the archival material relating to the site and ferried me to the artifact repository at the Rockefeller Archives.

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My committee, particularly Dr. Robert A. Gross, has been extremely supportive and helped me focus my thoughts and develop my ideas. Dr. Gross has read and reread this entire work and offered excellent help with both substance and the craft of writing. Dr. Marley R. Brown has shared his memories of Roland with me during the project and has always been willing to talk about the project and read my drafts. Dr. Dennis O'Toole has been a mentor and friend willing to give generously of his time and talent. It was an exciting coincidence when he left Colonial Williamsburg to become the Executive Director of Strawbery Banke, Inc. in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Dr. Virginia Kerns has freely given of her expertise and limited time, and shared experiences from her own biographical work on anthropologist Julian Steward. Dr. James P. Whittenburg has provided helpful comments and support during the final stages of the project.

Finally, my wife Suzanne has been a best friend and confidante throughout the project. She has read and reread drafts, listened to many versions of the same lecture, and lived with an uninvited guest (Robbins) in our lives for over five years. It is a joy to be able to share the ups and downs of a project of this magnitude with someone who understands the pleasure of working through an idea and choosing just the right word. She will no doubt be relieved when our study no longer looks like an "hommage à Roland."

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ABSTRACT

Roland W. Robbins helped to pioneer the profession of historical archaeology. As the discipline professionalized, he found himself increasingly excluded. This study analyzes Robbins's career within the context of the disciplines of archaeology and historic preservation and considers the professionalization process, current cultural resource management practice, the value of early data, and the importance of public archaeology.

The study also explores archaeology as Robbins's solution to his long personal crisis of vocation. He reacted to his coming of age during the Depression by searching for personal foundations and also responded to larger cultural needs, including a quest for the roots of the past. The dissertation focuses on Robbins's field and research approaches at several important sites. Although Robbins's techniques initially were little different from the developing practice, he did not embrace changing professional standards, choosing to maintain his own approaches to archaeology in the face of rejection by the new professionals.

Robbins also lacked credentials; he had no college education or permanent, stable position and he came from a labor background that did not mix well with the aspiring middle class academics. Robbins was an enthusiastic populist and developed a successful business approach to archaeological consulting.

Beginning in the 1960s, an anthropological versus restoration approach was introduced into historical archaeology. While Robbins continued to seek ruins as a means of rekindling the past, academic archaeologists dug to expose and dissect the past, looking at cultural and social processes. As the methodological and ideological gulf widened, Robbins became bitter and resentful of what he perceived to be academy control of the past.

In Robbins's approach, business success, historical knowledge, and popular appreciation of the past went hand in hand. His rivals eschewed both business and popularity in pursuit of professionalism. The study finds that the contest over professionalism concealed many similarities of practice between Robbins and his critics. Ironically, the professionals in the field have ultimately embraced many of Robbins's positions and practices in terms of consulting, the meaning and use of ruins, and the importance of public participation and support.

"THE ROAD TO RUINS AND RESTORATION":

ROLAND W. ROBBINS AND THE

PROFESSIONALIZATION OF HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

He has been called the "People's Archaeologist," the "Man Who Found Thoreau."[1] Roland Wells Robbins's discovery of Thoreau's cabin at Walden Pond in 1945 marked the beginning of an extraordinary career that encompassed the excavation of the Saugus Iron Works in Massachusetts, the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills in New York, and Shadwell, Thomas Jefferson's Virginia birthplace. Yet, for all these accomplishments, Robbins ultimately failed to achieve much stature among professional archaeologists. His career is emblematic of the ways in which emerging academic disciplines and practitioners attempt to legitimize themselves and, in the process, exclude both early pioneers and the public.

Taking his intellectual lead from Thoreau, the self-educated Robbins discovered that he could realize his ambitions in the field of letters within the expanding discipline of historical archaeology. Robbins explains that

> it was a curiosity about my own community that led me to dig in Massachusetts when I had no more equipment than a shovel and a questioning mind. At the time I had a thriving business as a house painter and handy man--and no archaeological training whatsoever. But I found that simple tools and the rudiments of a scientific approach, cautiously exercised, could ferret out history that had evaded others; and, as time passed, the opportunities to do so became so demanding that I ceased to be an expert at washing other

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[1] James Dodson, "The Man Who Found Thoreau," *Yankee* 49(1985):62.

> people's windows and renovating other people's houses, and was established as a working archaeologist.[2]

Although he was entirely self taught, Robbins's early work earned the respect of many scholars in history and archaeology. For instance, in 1948, Smithsonian curator J. Malcolm Watkins wrote of his visit to the Saugus dig, "...I cannot begin to tell you how impressed...I [was] with your project and the wonderful results that are everywhere apparent."[3] In 1959, John Cotter, a founding father of historical archaeology in America, portrayed Robbins's work as distinguished by "inquisitiveness, commonsense, and...hard work."[4] By the mid-1960s, however, Robbins was increasingly snubbed by professional archaeologists engaged in formally establishing historical archaeology as a discipline. Although Robbins's techniques initially were little different from the developing practice, he did not embrace changing professional standards, choosing to maintain his own approaches to archaeology in the face of rejection by the new professionals. Robbins also lacked credentials; he had no college education or permanent, stable position and he came from a labor background that did not mix well with the aspiring middle class academics.

Beginning in the 1960s, an anthropological versus restoration approach was introduced into historical archaeology. While Robbins continued to seek ruins as a means of rekindling the past, academic archaeologists dug to expose and dissect the past,

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[2] Roland W. Robbins and Evan Jones, *Hidden America* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1959), p. 11.

[3] Letter from C. Malcolm Watkins to Roland Wells Robbins, March 21, 1952. Papers of Roland Wells Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[4] John L. Cotter, "Review of *Hidden America*," *Archaeology* 14(1961):221.

looking at cultural and social processes. As the methodological and ideological gulf widened, Robbins became bitter and resentful of what he perceived to be academy control of the past.

He responded to this vocational crisis by increasingly identifying with Henry David Thoreau. A model of the practical intellectual, who scorned the authority and gentility of cultural elites for the hard-won experience of working people, Thoreau appealed to the high-school dropout Robbins. Paradoxically, it was through Thoreau that the self-educated Robbins first discovered that he could realize his desire for a meaningful intellectual career within the infant discipline of historical archaeology. The search for Thoreau's cabin at Walden Pond provided the opportunity that Robbins sought, and he seized it with furious determination. His tenacity, coupled with the historic preservation movement, the development of historical archaeology, and an expanding interest in Thoreau, launched Robbins on a controversial career devoted to the preservation and restoration of ruins throughout the northeastern United States. His career was a manifestation of both his personal craving for stability and equilibrium in a changing world, and of what historian Michael Kammen sees as the growing national concern for heritage and memory in the face of "worries about security, freedom, swift social change, and a sense of radical discontinuity with the world as it had hitherto been known."[5]

Robbins was a pioneer in historical archaeology and contract archaeology and can be counted among the first industrial archaeologists in America. Robbins excavated more

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[5] Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), p. 538.

early iron works sites than any other archaeologist and was thoroughly familiar with the process of iron making. The results of Robbins's lifetime of research at over 60 sites can be used to provide current scholars with important new evidence for ongoing research and interpretation to the public (Appendix A). This potential has been demonstrated by several projects that have followed on Robbins's previous excavations, including Shadwell, Falling Creek, Philipsburg Manor, and Sterling Forest. He also excavated many important domestic sites that have been utilized for analysis.

Throughout his extended career in archaeological and historical research, Robbins supported himself and his family and cultivated a vocation that temporarily offered him both the stability and equilibrium he craved and the satisfaction, success, and recognition he sought. While his work was rejected by many academically trained archaeologists, it was eagerly welcomed by the general public. Reviews and comments on his publications and presentations indicate that he succeeded in making "history come alive...[in] making something live again in people's imaginations."[6]

In some cases, however, by continuing to "find things out in his own way," Robbins, like other early pioneers, inadvertently destroyed important archaeological data. Although irreplaceable evidence was certainly lost, his meticulous documentation and recording of his projects provides a tremendous body of usable information for new research and interpretation. The quality of his documentation is so good that his excavations have the potential to provide even more usable data than that available from many professionally excavated sites of the period. To the dismay of the professional archaeological community, Robbins also actively encouraged the general public to

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[6] Dodson, "The Man Who Found Thoreau," p. 116.

become "pick and shovel historians," declaring that the past was not the exclusive property of university-trained archaeologists.

Because of his public orientation, his antiquarian interests, and combative style, Robbins's work has been largely forgotten or ignored by "scientific" researchers who consider it useless or simply worthless. Although his later projects failed to keep up with the rapidly changing standards of the discipline, his meticulous documentation captured massive amounts of useful and important data. Robbins's research projects also provide an opportunity to analyze approaches to studying the past that exist outside academia. Even more significant is the high level of skill and resourcefulness demonstrated in his records, fieldnotes and diaries, photographs, and maps. The quantity and quality of these resources is simply staggering.

Robbins's life and early work show that he had a variety of reasons for embracing historical archaeology as a career. It is clear that he was working within a system that desired to create monuments and shrines as symbols of the American past. He worked within and was often directed by the many small historical societies, museums, and family associations that desired to identify and interpret the physical remains associated with their sites. Like any pioneer, Robbins also desired to build a shrine to his personal success and to the man who represented the independence and self-determination that he so desperately needed. "Do I think [Thoreau] wanted me to find [the cabin]? You're damned right I do! I think he wanted me to stay right there until I found the damned thing!"[7]

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[7] Frederick Turner, *Spirit of Place: The Making of an American Literary Landscape* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1992), p. 48.

In Robbins's approach, business success, historical knowledge, and popular appreciation of the past went hand in hand. His rivals eschewed both business and popularity in pursuit of professionalism. The contest over professionalism concealed many similarities of practice between Robbins and his critics. Ironically, the professionals in the field have ultimately embraced many of Robbins's positions and practices in terms of consulting, the meaning and use of ruins, and the importance of public participation and support.

The results of his work, still visible in many state parks and historical sites, now provide a new generation with symbols of the American past. In building and accepting these symbols, Robbins made himself an emblem of Thoreauvian self-determination, an unlettered, self-educated man of action, with common sense and a thoroughly Yankee background, who could be called the "People's Archaeologist." As Thoreau said of his experiment at Walden, "if one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours."

CHAPTER I. THE ROAD TO WALDEN POND

There is properly no history, only biography.
Ralph Waldo Emerson[1]

Roland Wells Robbins's career in historical archaeology had its origins in an amalgam of personal experiences and larger social and cultural trends. His family situation, lack of stability in early life, and ordeals during the Great Depression motivated him to seek stability and control over his life through hard work and a curiosity about the American past. He probed historical incidents for representations of economic and social stability, seeking foundations. Fueled by concerns with rapid growth and industrialization and middle-class anxieties over eastern and southern European immigration, Progressive reformers also pursued symbols of the country's heritage. The convergent Colonial Revival, with its "heady blend of nativism, antimodernism, and elitism," likewise "represented a longing for stability and roots."[2] The resulting historic preservation movement, engaged in its own search for foundations that increasingly embraced historical archaeology, championed the protection and preservation of buildings and sites that venerated the American past.

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[1] Emerson quoted in Robert D. Richardson, Jr., *Emerson: The Mind on Fire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 513.

[2] James M. Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism, and the Remaking of Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 6, 52.

Within this framework, Robbins fashioned his career as the "Pick and Shovel Historian."

Born in Worcester, Massachusetts on March 21, 1908, Roland Wells Robbins was raised in a working-class family. Robbins's parents, Fred Flint Robbins (b. 1866) and Lucy May (Davis) Robbins (b. 1873), met while working at the Concord Junction Depot, where his mother was the telegraph operator and his father the baggage master (Figure 1). Fred Robbins, born in Albany, Vermont, was a good-natured and friendly fellow. Roland's mother, Lucy May, was born in Acton, Massachusetts, an easygoing woman who loved her children and was openly "worshiped" by her husband.[3]

The senior Robbins's career as a railroad machinist required the family to move repeatedly during Roland's youth. The family never owned a home, Robbins later recalled, but "we were a family with an old and strong New England Yankee heritage. By today's standards we would have been considered poor."[4] Of his early home life with brothers Lawrence, Harland, Kenneth, and Reginald Leonard, Robbins stated

> I have nothing but pleasant memories of my younger years growing up. There was no family fighting nor heavy squabbling, nor did I havefrightening nightmare fantasies haunting me in my youth. My parents seemed to be well suited to each other and happy with their family life.[5]

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[3] Irwin Robbins, personal communication, 1994. Irwin and Roland were cousins.

[4] Roland W. Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," n.d., Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. iv.

[5] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. v.

Figure 1. Lucy Mae Davis and Fred Flint Robbins (couple on right) on their wedding day (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

Robbins didn't have much in common with his older brothers because of their age differences, but he and his younger brother Leonard "grew up together and were close."[6] Whether at the movies or attending Sunday School, the brothers were always together (Figure 2). Roland later recalled that on one particular Sunday morning he decided that the five cents given him by his parents for the collection plate could be put to better use.

> When I mentioned my intent to Leonard he would have none of it. "I'll tell ma and pa when I get home!" We worked out a compromise. He wouldn't tell our parents, providing that I gave him half of the penny candy....[7]

Although Robbins couldn't remember "his mother and father ever attending a church service," he was baptized on Easter Sunday in his twelfth year. "I have little recall of my Baptist faith after this," he later wrote, and "the family soon joined the Methodist Church."[8]

One of Robbins's major interests as a child, like that of so many of his contemporaries, was baseball. "He played shortstop," recalled his wife, "and there was always a game going on somewhere." Robbins was also an excellent skater and became drawn to ice hockey at an early age. Although his interest in sports traveled well from city to city as his family moved, Robbins's transition from school to school was likely more problematic.

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[6] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. v.

[7] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. vii.

[8] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," pp. vii-viii.

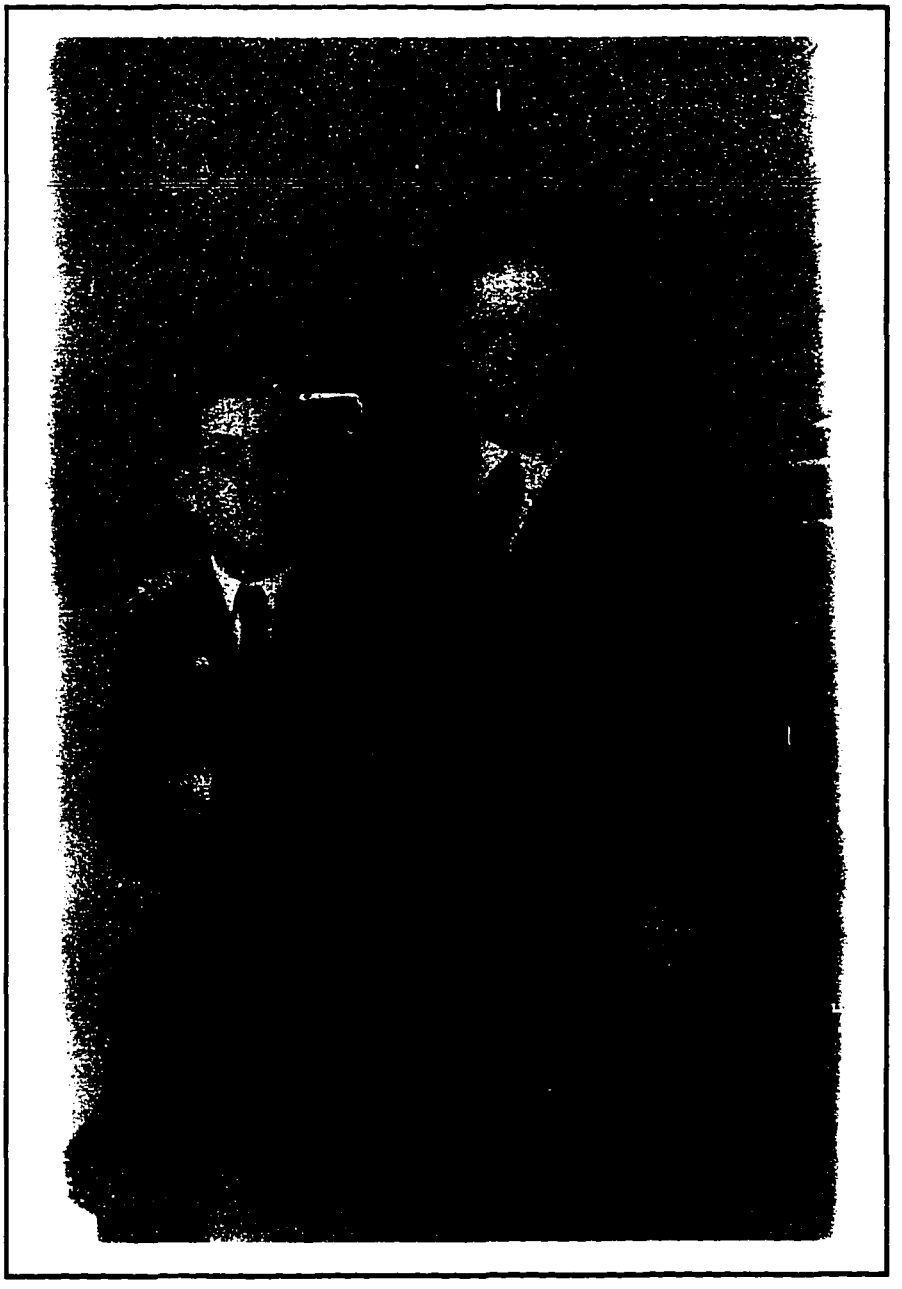

Figure 2. Roland (left) and brother Reginald Leonard Robbins, ca. 1920 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

Robbins makes little mention of his school years other than to state that "my formal education ended in 1924 after finishing one year of high school."[9] He later revealed his insecurity about his education, when he explained that,

> it was common practice for you to look for a job once you got out of grammar school....In my time, to finish grammar school was the equivalent of completing high school today. And to complete high school then was like getting your first college degree today.[10]

Reflecting on the link between education and employment, he wrote that "attitude meant everything--it was part of the job. A good attitude and a disciplined attention to what you were doing went a long way. It was like serving an apprenticeship, even if the job was becoming only an office boy as I did."[11]

Robbins's school experience may have also been colored by a learning disability, affecting both his reading and writing capacity. Notations in Robbins's journals indicate that he always had difficulty reading and typing, and would become frustrated and tired. Geraldine Robbins recalls that her husband struggled with reading and writing throughout his life. "It was hard work for him," she recalled; he always "needed to use his finger or a ruler to follow along each line of the text." Mrs. Robbins also remembered that Roland would often have her read materials aloud, and then take notes.[12] He regularly commented in his daily journals and project notes on

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[9] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. ix.

[10] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. viii.

[11] Robbins, 'Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. ix.

[12] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1990. Mrs. Robbins suggested the possibility of dyslexia, a condition also diagnosed in one of Robbins's grandchildren. She also recalled that Robbins was extremely gifted in mathematics and able to work extended problems without aid of paper or calculator.

the physical drain he experienced from this type of work.[13] While Robbins's reading and writing problems were a constant irritation, he devised successful strategies for coping with them and, in retrospect, kept extraordinarily detailed daily journals and produced vast correspondence.

After leaving school in 1924, Robbins found work as an office boy with R.G. Dun & Company, a credit reference bureau in Boston. He spent several years with this firm and went on to work for several other Boston area employment agencies, becoming manager of the newly formed Boston Reference Bureau in 1928. In 1929, the Depression forced the closing of the company; Robbins ironically noted that "I couldn't find a new position for myself, let alone drum up positions for the Boston Reference Bureau to fill."[14] That same year, he suffered the loss of his mother, Lucy May, who died at their home in Somerville, Massachusetts.[15] Lucy's death appears to have precipitated her husband's decline and death two years later, leaving the unmarried twenty-three-year-old Robbins alone to find his way in the world.[16]

Like millions of unemployed Americans in the early 1930s, Robbins worked at any odd job he could find. He later wrote that "[I] took any means I could find to make enough to support myself. I rang hundreds of doorbells seeking odd jobs of

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[13] Roland W. Robbins, "Tennis Notebook, 1961-67, 1970," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., n.p.

[14] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. ix.

[15] Annual Report - 1929, Town of Acton, Mass.

[16] Irwin Robbins, personal communication, 1994. Irwin remembered that his Uncle Fred was devastated by his wife's death. After the death of his parents, Robbins had little contact with his older married brothers, who by then had families and concerns of their own, but he remained close to Leonard.

cleaning cellars, washing windows, waxing floors, painting--you name it and I'd do your job for you. This way I got by and saved my personal dignity of self-support."[17] In 1932, Robbins headed from Boston to Rutland, Vermont, where he quickly fell in love with the landscape and the people. He had hoped to find more odd-job opportunities, and had initially expected to live in his secondhand Maxwell automobile until he could find work. Robbins's plans changed when he met Larry Culver, an attendant at the Long Trail lean-to shelter maintained by the Green Mountain Club. Culver offered lodging and friendship, and after his departure Robbins took over the duties of attendant, keeping the shelter clean and providing firewood and water for overnight hikers. These duties left his days free, which he spent in Rutland looking for steady work.

When no permanent jobs appeared, Robbins began to wash windows and houses for the town's elite. It was while scrubbing the Clifford Funeral Home in 1932 that he "began writing Vermont verse." While standing on the ladder, he said later, he heard a verse of what was to become his first poem, "Howdy, Neighbor." "When a fellas down and out and surely needs a friend, I ask to whom he can turn--on whom he can depend."[18] Robbins's poetry and verse writing served as an important inner outlet and voice for his frustrations with the lack of steady employment, his wandering lifestyle, and feelings of loneliness. Robbins would later write that "it kept

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[17] Roland Wells Robbins, *Thru the Covered Bridge* (Rutland, Vt.: Academy Books, 1986, Second Printing). Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. ix.

[18] Robbins, *Thru the Covered Bridge*, n.p.

my mind occupied...when I was alone and confused by the discouraging prospects for my future."[19]

Robbins submitted his work to several local newspapers and had almost two dozen published in *The Rutland Daily Herald*, *Burlington Free Press* and *Brattleboro Reformer*. The *Daily Herald's* editor, Howard L. Hindley, noted of one poem that "Roland Robbins has done a piece of genre work in his story of Gramp Fifield's funeral that either Walt Hard or Arthur Goodenough would have loved to do. In some of its grimmer implications, it suggests Mark Twain's pet horror--dallying with death, and its attributes."[20] Hindley had earlier written that "Roland Robbins, too, seems to have a way with those jog-trot rhymes of his. Bet he doesn't have to consult a rhyming dictionary."[21]

"The Lecturer" is particularly interesting because it suggests Robbins's early working-class disdain for the academics with whom he later clashed.

> Professor Knowall came to town
> And gave a lecture on
> The planting of the 'taters and
> The growing of the corn.
>
> He went ahead and told us how
> The milking should be done
> And said we shouldn't scare the cows
> Or try to make them run.

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[19] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. x.

[20] Howard L. Hindley, ca. 1932, quoted in Robbins, *Thru the Covered Bridge*, n.p. Walter Hard was Vermont's unofficial poet laureate [Walter Hard, Jr. and J. Kevin Graffagnino, *Walter Hard's Vermont People* (Middlebury, Vermont Books, 1981), p. ix].

[21] Howard L. Hindley, ca. 1932, quoted in Robbins, *Thru the Covered Bridge*, n.p.

He swung and banged his dainty hands
To bring his ideas out
And used a lot of college words
We never heard about.

And ended up by telling how
To gather in the hay.
Then asked if there was anyone
Who had a word to say.

Sam Fifield stirred and looked about.
Then slowly he arose
And said, "I'd like to say a word
'Fore meeting's brought to close.

I sort of take it from your talk
That all we need to do
Is scratch about the soil a bit
And plant a seed or two.

Then sit back in our easy chairs
And watch it as it grows,
And count the profits that we'll make
From all the dif'rent rows.

You've even got the gumption, friend
To try and tell us how
To feed and raise our cattle--when
I doubt you've milked a cow.

I've done successful farming now
For more than forty years
So I don't think I need to know
You city folks ideas.

I find to get the best of life
You've got to work and plod--
And that alone ain't good enuff
Unless you work with God.

When your ideas can better that
And prove a finer way.
Come back, and I will listen then
To what you have to say.[22]

While clearly pleased with his publishing successes in poetry, Robbins was quick to caution that the experience "...didn't add a nickel to my income and I had the same problem of finding work to support myself."[23]

This support continued to come primarily through odd jobs until 1934, when a customer who owned the local Ford Motor dealership hired Robbins to sell cars on commission. That same year, in August, Robbins married Geraldine Prior, and they set up house in a small apartment in Rutland. "When I first met Roland," Mrs. Robbins recalled, "he was sleeping in his car and working odd jobs; I guess today we would call him a homeless person."[24] He didn't have much in common with his brothers or sisters, she remembers, but he "was quickly adopted into my family; they were very fond of him."[25] Roland was a generally happy and well-adjusted fellow, Mrs. Robbins said; he never thought of himself as having had a hard life.[26]

With little sales commission income to support them and faced with the prospect of a cold Vermont winter, the two loaded up their used Chevrolet in October 1934 and headed back to Massachusetts. The newlyweds settled into a one-room

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[22] Robbins, *Thru the Covered Bridge*, pp. 61-62.

[23] Robbins, *Thru the Covered Bridge*, n.p.

[24] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

[25] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

[26] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

apartment in Cambridge, where they lived for the first two years of their marriage. Robbins quickly reestablished his small "but successful" window cleaning and odd-jobs business, and expanded it to include interior painting and refinishing.[27] These "were still the depression years, and money was hard to come by," Mrs. Robbins remarked; however, Roland worked hard at a great assortment of odd jobs.[28] "There was always some money coming in," she recalled, "and some work to do."[29]

In 1936, through a "fortunate family situation," Robbins was able to obtain "a newly-built Cape Cod cottage with more than an acre of land" in the town of Lincoln, Massachusetts (Figure 3). Robbins's uncle, real estate agent Charles Davis, alerted the couple that an abandoned Lincoln farm was being subdivided into 1-acre lots. Davis also knew of a bank that would provide a mortgage to build a house with no down payment if the owners held the land free and clear. Robbins's uncle loaned the young couple the money to pay for the lot, and they were able to get a mortgage to build their first and only home.[30] Although it was "bleak and bare" at the beginning, Robbins loved the house and the stability that it represented.[31] "He never had any intentions of moving away," Mrs. Robbins recalled; "he had moved a lot as a child and never wanted to move again." Robbins's business continued to grow, and he soon

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[27] Robbins, *Thru the Covered Bridge*, n.p.

[28] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

[29] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

[30] Mrs. Robbins remembered that the bank thought that they were a good risk because of Roland's reputation as a hard worker. She also noted that they repaid Roland's uncle within several years of building the house.

[31] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

Figure 3. Roland and Geraldine Robbins on the back porch of their new home on moving day, July 4, 1936 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

had "as much work as he cared to handle--since making money was not a big issue to him."[32] Settled into their new house, the couple started a family; son Richard (Dick) was born in 1937, daughter Jean in 1939, and daughter Bonita in 1944. "Roland loved children, Mrs. Robbins reported, and was "always a responsible and good father" (Figure 4).[33] "He dearly loved his children," she continued, "and couldn't stand it if they were unhappy."[34] "He never minded the noise and confusion they caused and would work along in the midst of their games," she later recalled.[35] After Robbins's funeral, a niece wrote to Mrs. Robbins that "she always thought that when he stopped in [at their house] that he had come over to play with the kids."[36]

"In sports," wrote Gerry Robbins, "tennis was his greatest love"; it took the place of baseball for Robbins in his adulthood (Figure 5).[37] "He had an awkward style because he never took any lessons," she remembered. "He just picked up a tennis racquet and whacked away.... He would just start swinging, like it was a baseball bat."[38] Robbins played regularly with friends and entered many tournaments; "he frequently won--not on his skill, but on his energy. He could wear

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[32] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

[33] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

[34] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

[35] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

[36] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

[37] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

[38] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

Figure 4. Roland and children Dick (left), Jean (standing in front of Roland), and Bonita in Roland's arms (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

Figure 5. Roland and Bob Johnson (right) at the Lexington Men's Singles Finals, fall 1941 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

down his opponents by tiring them out."[39] This remarkable energy showed in everything that Robbins did: his odd jobs work, his family, his research, and his tennis. This terrific energy would eventually enable him to succeed in historic-sites archaeology. Mrs. Robbins noted that "there was no end to his physical and mental energy....his mind was always working. I think it ran all night!"[40] Floyd Johnson, his colleague at Shadwell, remembered that "he was just full of energy, and just vibrated."[41]

With his growing family, heavy work schedule, regular social engagements, and daily athletic activities, Robbins had little time left to write poetry. Rather than discard it completely, and still hoping that it would contribute to his financial support, he collected his earlier work in *Thru the Covered Bridge*, and published it in 1938.[42] Robbins later wrote that "it was too personal to me when I was experiencing the trying times of the depression years to just discard it."[43] The collection was generally well received by reviewers in the *Boston Herald*, *Burlington Free Press*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Boston Globe*, and *Concord Herald*. Edith K. Dunton, the book reviewer for the *Rutland Herald*, noted that while the "verses are entertaining.... Mr. Robbins has a good deal to learn about rhyme and verse form before he'll be a

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[39] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

[40] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

[41] Floyd Johnson, personal communication, 1995.

[42] Two of Robbins's poems were collected in Louise Hall Littlefield's compilation *The Triad Anthology of New England Verse* (Portland, Maine: Falmouth Book House, 1938).

[43] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. x.

real poet."[44] The reviewer for the *Burlington Free Press* also found fault with Robbins's poetic style, but noted that he "seems to have caught the Vermont rural spirit in his verse, which emphasizes a certain atmosphere more than rhyming or metrical perfection."[45] The Vermont spirit that Robbins had captured in his verse was an expression of the New England tradition of individualism and personal freedom that Robbins would cherish and follow for the rest of his life. Christina Joyce, a friend and local artist who later illustrated a second edition of the poems for Robbins, remembered that Roland "told me over and over again how much these poems had meant to him when his mother died during the depression years."[46]

"Roland was always busy with something," his widow remembered (Figure 6). When he had written "all the poems he had in him," Robbins turned to other types of research and became an avid observer of the world around him.[47] It was at this time that he began keeping notes and records, for instance, regularly documenting the weather and chronicling the changes in season. Explaining his transition into historical research and writing, Robbins related how the "venerable historical setting" of the towns of Concord and Lexington provided him with a rich source for satisfying his "innate curiosity about events that formed our American history" (Figure 7).[48] This interest in the past also grew out of Robbins's unsettled roots and his desire to create

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[44] Edith K. Dunton, "Read 'Em or Not," *Rutland Herald*, July 19, 1938.

[45] Burlington Free Press, "More Vermont Verse," *Burlington Free Press*, editorial page, n.d. Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[46] Christina Joyce, personal communication, 1993.

[47] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

[48] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. xi.

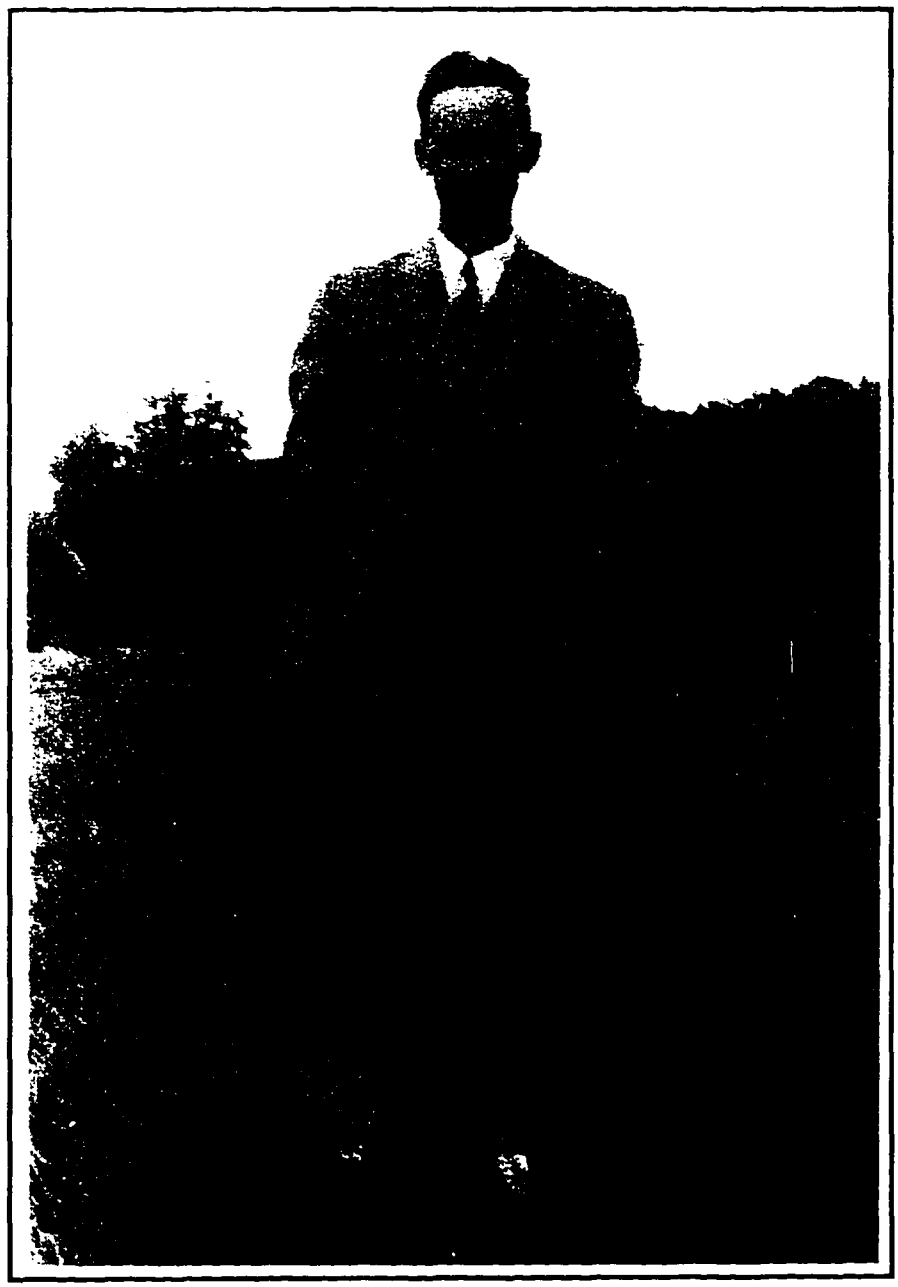

Figure 6. Roland in dapper attire, September 1941 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

Figure 7. Roland and children visiting the grave of Major William Bradford, Plymouth, Mass., July 17, 1946 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

a stable life for himself and his family. His family's past and traditions were almost unknown to him; he later wrote that "for all my research, I know very little about my name....By the time I got interested in my ancestry, my parents had died."[49]

His first major research project began while painting the living room of a house in Concord, where he heard an interesting tale about sculptor Daniel Chester French and his Minute Man statue. His curiosity piqued, Robbins set off on his first historical investigation, a "long search for all the details about French and his famous statue at the Old North Bridge."[50] During 1943 and 1944, Robbins researched and wrote *The Story of the Minute Man* (1945), a pamphlet on the history of the sculpture (Figure 8). During this two-year period, he spent many weekends using sources in the Concord Public Library and courthouse. According to journalist James Dodson, who interviewed Robbins for *Yankee* magazine in 1985, "most of his education...came from the basement of the Concord Public Library...rummag[ing] through the personal writings of Concord's greatest thinkers--Emerson, Alcott, Channing, and Thoreau."[51] "When he had time he was at the library looking up something--no matter what," recalled Mrs. Robbins. "It was whatever took his interest....He always remembered the librarian calling down to tell him it was time to leave."[52]

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[49] Roland W. Robbins to Rowland Allen Wells, January 23, 1962. Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[50] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. xi.

[51] Dodson, "The Man Who Found Thoreau," p. 117.

[52] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

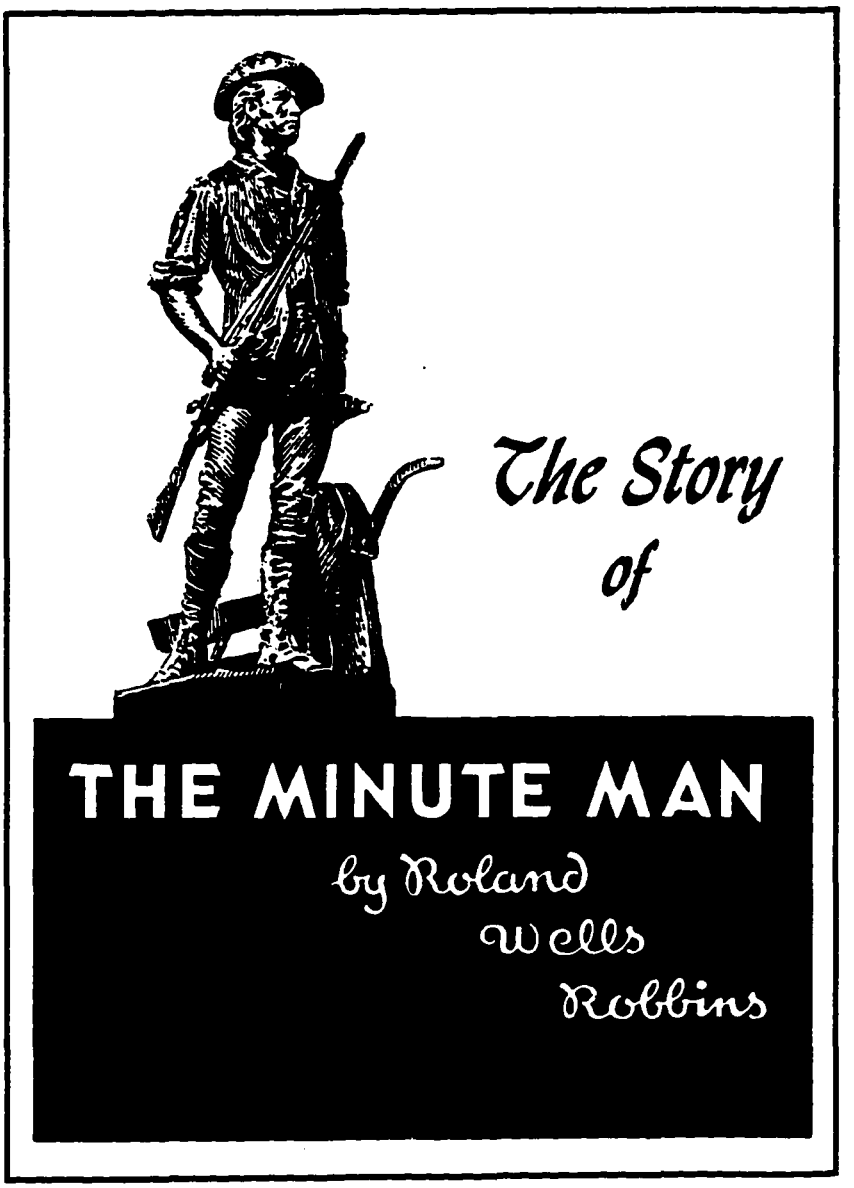

Figure 8. Cover of *The Story of The Minute Man.*

This first attempt at historical investigation, he felt, established his "local reputation as a researcher." In reflecting on his work, Robbins stated that he "felt overpowered by an urge to find out how a young man of Concord, who never before had been commissioned as a sculptor, had won the chance to design this memorial...."[53] This declaration underscores Robbins's drive to discover how he himself could secure a chance to pursue a meaningful career with little experience or education. He would soon find the opportunity he sought in the excavation of Thoreau's cabin at Walden Pond and the hidden ruins of America's past.

When Robbins ventured to the shores of Walden Pond in 1945, historical archaeology was virtually unknown. Although several projects such as the major WPA excavations at Jamestown began during the depression, historical archaeology's development into a recognizable discipline would take decades. Historical archaeology slowly grew out of and for many years developed in parallel with the historic preservation movement. As archaeologist Marley R. Brown III has noted, until the 1970s most historical archaeologists "allowed their sites to be selected for them by organizations committed to the preservation and restoration of historic buildings and sites."[54] The development of historical archaeology was stimulated by many of the same concerns and motivations that were pressing preservationists into action.[55]

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[53] Robbins and Jones, *Hidden America*, p. 14.

[54] Marley R. Brown III, "A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England," in *New England Historical Archaeology. The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife: Annual Proceedings*, ed. Peter Benes, pp. 4-15 (Boston, MA: Boston University, 1978), p. 4.

[55] A complete history of historic preservation and historical archaeology is beyond the scope of this work and already the subject of several excellent works. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before*

The historic preservation movement, fueled by concerns with rapid growth and industrialization, patriotism, and middle-class anxieties over eastern and southern European immigration, had gotten its start in the mid-nineteenth century.[56] During the first half of the twentieth century, it championed the protection and preservation of buildings and sites that venerated the American past.[57] As one New England commentator would explain, these shrines were "a reminder to new citizens of the service due from them and their children to the Commonwealth."[58] William J. Murtagh, a historian of the preservation movement, summarizes some of the complex reasons for the growth of the preservation movement in the late nineteenth century:

> not only were we as a people using historic shrines to assert our legitimacy in an international community of venerable nations, but also, as individuals and groups, we looked to associative history for reassurance. In the face of post-Civil War affluence, established families pursued genealogy and the preservation of their ancestral

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Williamsburg (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965); Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981); James M. Lindgren, "The Gospel of Preservation in Virginia and New England: Historic Preservation and The Regeneration of Traditionalism" (Ph.D. diss. College of William and Mary, 1984); James M. Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993); James A. Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Robert L. Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives in Historical Archaeology* (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara, 1975); Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1974).

[56] Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion*, pp. 3-4.

[57] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 121-122.

[58] Curtis Guild, Jr., 1907, quoted in James M. Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship': Historic Preservation in Progressive-Era Massachusetts," *The New England Quarterly* LXIV, no. 4 (1991): 594-608.

homesteads as a challenge to "new money's" claims of legitimacy.[59] Furthermore, Murtagh continues, the turn-of-the-century immigration from eastern and southern Europe threatened both the recently established middle class and the elite, which "calmed its own anxieties by a veneration of the past."[60] For example, historian James M. Lindgren writes that the situation was dire for "tradition-minded Bostonians."[61] As immigrants flooded cities like Salem, Portsmouth, and Boston, "native Yankees moved west....By 1910, 70 percent of Boston's population was either foreign born or first generation."[62]

The historic preservation societies that emerged around the turn of the century were "almost entirely WASP and middle to upper class."[63] These new organizations, argues Lindgren, sought to protect important sites and "build a coalition of forces to include not only the affluent and educated, but also institutions such as schools, churches, and governments."[64] In the increasingly heterogeneous and complex modern world in which they lived, "preservationists sought to maintain a tradition they interpreted as homogeneous and simple."[65] Historian T. J. Jackson Lears argues that "antimodern impulses helped WASP elites to become a unified and self-conscious

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[59] William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Pittstown, NJ: The Main Street Press, 1988), p. 30.

[60] Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, p. 30.

[61] Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship'," p. 594.

[62] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 29.

[63] Lindgren, "The Gospel of Preservation," p. 9.

[64] Lindgren, "The Gospel of Preservation," p. 9.

[65] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 27.

ruling class."[66] These progressives "prized their memory, sweetened by myth and wishful thinking, of an earlier unvarying harmony in New England."[67] "Tradition-minded Yankees wanted a past that was usable," writes historian James M. Lindgren, and early buildings and sites provided concrete symbols for their interpretation and reinvention of the past.[68] Southerners also prized these symbols; Father Abram J. Ryan wrote that "a land without ruins is a land without memories--a land without memories is a land without history."[69] Harvard professor Charles Eliot Norton explained that

> To maintain in full vigor the sense of the dependence of the individual life upon the past, more is needed than a mere intellectual recognition of the fact. Such is the frailty of our nature that our principles require to be supported by sentiment, and our sentiments draw nourishment from material things, from visible memorials, from familiar objects to which affection may cling. And it is this nourishment that the true home supplies.[70]

The social and cultural impulses at work in the late nineteenth century also resulted in a new focus on the decorative arts. The general "resurgence of interest in early American Life," known as the Colonial Revival, brought about an interest in collecting and preserving smaller artifacts as well as historic buildings.[71] American

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[66] T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), p. 301.

[67] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 27.

[68] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 10.

[69] Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion*, p. 10.

[70] Charles Eliot Norton, 1889, quoted in Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship'," p. 601.

[71] Barbara Clark Smith, *After the Revolution: The Smithsonian History of Everyday Life in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), p. x.

collectors and antiquarians began to reject European antiques and turn to American material culture, placing new value on these expressions of American craftsmanship and ingenuity.[72] As with buildings, collecting American antiques "could be a way of appropriating was well as appreciating the past--that is taking control of history and claiming it as one's own."[73]

The first half of the nineteenth century saw little interest in preservation, particularly in light of the country's relatively brief existence. America's ruling classes "felt little need to base their legitimacy on an appeal to antiquity" as they had in the Old World.[74] The youthful country's inhabitants wished to shed their outmoded customs of the past, "break free of the burdens of history," and establish their own American traditions in literature and art.[75] For instance, Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote that old houses were "'heaps of bricks and stones' that a man builds 'for himself to die in, and for his posterity to be miserable in.'"[76] By mid-century, however, a concern for the past was slowly growing as the founding fathers died and the revolution began to fade in the memories of most Americans. George Washington's Mount Vernon had become a patriotic mecca by the 1850s, and people

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[72] Smith, *After the Revolution*, p. x; Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion*, p. 5; Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, pp. 6-7.

[73] Smith, *After the Revolution*, p. xii.

[74] Michael Wallace, "Reflections on the History of Historic Preservation," in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, ed. Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig, pp. 165-199 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), p. 167.

[75] Wallace, "Reflections on the History of Historic Preservation," p. 167.

[76] Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1852, quoted in Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 111.

began to think of it as a national shrine. The national campaign to save George Washington's Mount Vernon established the pattern for preservationism during the remainder of the nineteenth century.[77]

The Mount Vernon Ladies Association, the organization formed to rescue the property, was led by Miss Ann Pamela Cunningham. The thirty-seven-year-old Cunningham worked with national personalities, such as orator Edward Everett, and raised thousands of dollars for the association's initial work. Hoping to rally the country around this symbol, Everett declared that it provided "a common heritage for the estranged children of a common father, the spell of whose memory will yet have the power to reunite them around his hallowed sepulchre."[78] "In the period following the Civil War," writes preservation historian Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., "the scope of the Mount Vernon movement, together with the influence of the centennials of various phases of the Revolution, combined to create a deeper appreciation of historic sites."[79]

By the late nineteenth century, the rapid growth of the country's population and the advance of industrial capitalism speeded the destruction of early buildings and sites across the country. As discussed above, these changes also stressed the social structure of the society and were particularly troubling to the country's elite. These

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[77] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, pp. 29-40.

[78] Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past: History Museums in the United States," in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, ed. Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig, pp. 165-99 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), p. 139.

[79] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 62.

groups, whether the Brahmins of New England, the descendants of the Southern planter class, or the handful of multi millionaire industrialists, became increasingly interested in assuming custodianship of the past as a way to restore and underpin their political and cultural authority, to resurrect "the golden days when their ancestors had been undisputed masters of the region."[80] Their custodial obligation, they felt, focused on preserving the tangible remains of the past that reflected "the good old days [that] were doubtless better than ours in many ways."[81] Preservation and protection advanced rapidly; in 1895, there were twenty house museums in the country and by 1910 there were over one hundred.[82]

The support for preservation projects throughout the Southern, Mid-Atlantic, New England, and Western states grew rapidly between the 1880s and 1940s. In the South, preservationists "attempted to make museums out of buildings associated with famous men," and reestablish the gentility of the Old South.[83] Their early efforts included projects like the preservation of Arlington, or the Lee Mansion, in 1883 and the Moore House, site of the British surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1881. The preservation movement in the South gained new strength with the 1888 founding of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA). The APVA first acquired the Powder Magazine in Williamsburg, and then turned its major focus to

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[80] Wallace, "Reflections on the History of Historic Preservation," pp. 168-69.

[81] Charles Knowles Bolton, 1920, quoted in Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship'," p. 602.

[82] Wallace, "Visiting the Past," p. 139.

[83] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 63; Wallace, "Reflections on the History of Historic Preservation," pp. 169-70.

the preservation of Jamestown Island. Addressing an APVA gathering at Jamestown, Professor John Leslie Hall of the College of William and Mary proclaimed that "this island is to us what those sacred spots were to the older nations. It is at once our Acropolis, our Palatine Hill, and our isle of Thanet. Let us ever love it and preserve it."[84] Traditionalism, argues Lindgren, "became the creed of Virginia's civil religion, its legendary heroes the saints, and its historic sites the shrines."[85] In Virginia, noted college student James Branch Cabell, "we shape our history with discretion...no history is a matter of record; it is a matter of faith."[86]

Preservation activities in the Mid-Atlantic states were largely focused on structures and battlefield sites associated with the Revolution or with buildings linked to important events in the nation's early history. Many of the region's preservation projects during the late nineteenth century were the work of patriotic groups who sought to save sites associated with the Revolution. Members of the organization to preserve Valley Forge hoped that the site would serve as a mecca, "a fountain to which the people of our beloved land may ever turn and drink inspiration from the memories with which it is associated and which cluster around and about it."[87]

The 1890s marked a period of intense interest in patriotic societies throughout the eastern United States.[88] Groups such as the Colonial Dames, Sons of the

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[84] Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion*, pp. 1-2.

[85] Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion*, p. 9.

[86] Cabell, 1947, quoted in Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion*, pp. 11-12.

[87] J. Smith Futhey, 1879, quoted in Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 83.

[88] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 122.

Revolution, and Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) became involved in a multitude of preservation-related activities, including restoration of Independence Hall and the American Flag or Betsy Ross House. The DAR was founded to encourage "historical research and preservation of relics and sites connected with the Revolution."[89] Its membership of women from across the country was organized into local and state chapters, but, unlike many other patriotic and historical groups of the period, it had a powerful national organization headquartered in Washington, D.C. Like the DAR, the Colonial Dames was a patriotic women's organization, but was more broadly interested in sites related to the entire history of the country. While they differed in several respects, the Colonial Dames had "one goal in common with the DAR--the education of children and immigrants."[90]

In turn-of-the-century New England, the local historical society was the most influential and active agency engaged in the work of preserving and caring for old buildings. While the range of sites included those associated with great men, noteworthy ancestors, and patriots, most "appealed to local pride or commemorated the service of early inhabitants....and always included a recognition of the hardships endured by sturdy ancestral pioneers."[91] For instance, the campaign to save the Old South Meeting House in Boston became an important symbol and inspiration to the New England preservation movement.[92] In 1872, the congregation moved services

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[89] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 131.

[90] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 138.

[91] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, pp. 102-03.

[92] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 8.

from the building and tried to sell it to the Massachusetts Historical Society. When this sale didn't materialize, the structure was sold "under the auctioneer's hammer." A banner hung from the tower, reading "SHALL OLD SOUTH BE SAVED?" galvanized a large group of citizens. After a great deal of negotiation with the Old South Society, the property was sold to the Old South Association in May 1877.

Local preservation efforts across New England grew out of the inspiration provided by the Old South Meeting House and resulted in the early preservation and protection of many of the structures and sites that Roland W. Robbins would later investigate and excavate. For instance, in Lexington, Massachusetts, the Lexington Historical Society purchased the Hancock-Clarke House when the owner decided to cease maintaining the structure. The Society was only able to purchase the house, not the land. With the help of a committee to raise funds to move the structure and with the offer of a lot across the street, the house was relocated in 1897. Several years later, the Society became the first in New England to own a historic house other than its headquarters with the purchase of the Munroe Tavern, facing the famous Lexington Battle Green.[93]

Other groups active in saving New England's historic buildings during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include family and literary associations organized at local, regional, and national levels. For instance, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the home of author Thomas Bailey Aldrich was purchased by a citizen's group in 1908. This organization furnished the house with the help of the author and

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[93] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, pp. 110-11. Robbins would later excavate both the Hancock-Clarke House and Munroe Tavern.

opened it to the public.[94] A host of family associations, including the Fairbanks Family in America, The Pilgrim John Howland Society, and the Alden Kindred of America, also entered the preservation arena in the early twentieth century. The members of these groups were active in genealogical research to secure their places in the family history, and were interested in local preservation issues related to family properties.[95] They purchased and preserved the homesteads of their early ancestors through fundraising projects carried out at annual family reunions, often held at the sites.[96]

Although the bulk of preservation work was carried out by historical and patriotic organizations, a new profession of preservationists made up of antiquaries, architects, and museum directors was slowly developing. The antiquarian group, although the least professional, was extremely successful in recording and saving historic buildings. Oddly, architects were not generally active participants in the early preservation movement. In the early 1920s, their participation in preservation was greatly strengthened when architectural scholar Fiske Kimball was named chairman of the American Institute of Architects' (AIA) Preservation Committee.[97] Kimball increased the committee's influence in the education of architects in proper restoration techniques, produced reports on the status of preservation projects across the country,

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[94] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 115.

[95] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, pp. 101-102.

[96] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, pp. 115-118. Robbins excavated the 1627 John Alden House for the Alden Kindred in 1960.

[97] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 207.

and established protection measures for buildings within each chapter. Museum directors also played a part in the preservation of historic structures through the creation of house museums, period rooms, and interior furnishing displays.

One of the most influential organizations in the New England preservation scene was the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA), the brainchild of William Sumner Appleton. Appleton's birth into a leading Brahmin family in Boston and his Harvard education "influenced his later career by strengthening his loyalties to Yankee traditions."[98] Caught in the struggle between antimodern sentiments and industrial power, Appleton initially failed to "find his niche in life." Lindgren observes that, "like Wallace Nutting and other soon-to-be antiquarians, he [Appleton] suffered a nervous collapse," an affliction that Robbins would also confront in his early career.[99] Appleton and Nutting's neurasthenia resulted from their failure to find success in business, while Robbins's resulted from overwork related to the demands of his new career. Their remedy was largely the same: to immerse themselves in historical study, "work that consumed their energy, fascinated their interest, and offered personal meaning."[100]

With a lifetime trust fund from his father, Appleton was free to explore a career as an antiquary. After becoming involved in saving the Harrington House in Lexington, Massachusetts, Appleton began to talk of forming a regional preservation

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[98] Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship'," p. 597.

[99] Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship'," p. 598.

[100] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 22.

society, and in 1910 established his new organization.[101] Appleton put all of his energy into the new society. Appleton strongly criticized the "one-house" approach of the many small societies that neglected so many other important structures. He also stressed the "opportunities unveiled by archaeologically accurate, scientifically informed preservation work." For Appleton, Lindgren asserts, preserved buildings "could become actual documents which...could tell a visual story about early New England life."[102] Appleton's reorientation of "preservation to the professional disciplines of archaeology, architecture, and history..." encouraged scholars in these fields to study their own past, launching "a wave of interdisciplinary research."[103] Although he propelled the preservation movement in new directions, he retained the "widespread belief that...early dwellings represented the unpretentious lives, rigorous thrift, and clearheaded resourcefulness of pioneers."[104]

In 1911, SPNEA purchased its first historic property, the ca. 1670 Swett-Ilsley house in Newbury, Massachusetts. In a scenario that was to be repeated countless times, the Society took out a mortgage, used endowment funds, and solicited funds from descendants of the builder to complete the purchase. Appleton quickly rented the property to create a regular income to help with the mortgage payments.[105] Although his work was largely confined to the New England area, Appleton's

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[101] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, pp. 237-39.

[102] Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship'," p. 605; Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, pp. 134-52.

[103] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 11.

[104] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 69.

[105] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 242.

correspondence with preservation groups up and down the East Coast influenced many projects.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, preservation groups fell into two categories with respect to their reasons for selecting buildings for preservation: historic and inspirational values and architectural qualities. Probably the single most important factor for preserving a building during this period was for use as a historic house museum that would contribute to a reinvented past. Preservationists frequently referred to their sites as shrines or meccas.[106] "Laboring side-by-side with patriotic and ancestral societies," Lindgren observes, "SPNEA often articulated the era's civil religion."[107] The buildings that these organizations preserved and protected "reified old-time New England values, including a respect for law, civic pride, and honest labor," and were "appropriate vehicles for informing foreigners and less enlightened natives as to American traditions and values."[108]

Another increasingly important reason for preservation and a criterion for saving specific buildings was the appeal to the growing tourist trade. In 1924, for instance, 30,000 tourists visited the House of the Seven Gables.[109] Lindgren argues that tourism benefited directly from traditionalism, the "hymn of the civil religion."[110] Massachusetts Lieutenant Governor Curtis Guild, Jr., saw the Paul

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[106] Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion*, pp. 9-10.

[107] Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship'," p. 603.

[108] Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship'," p. 603; George F. Dow, n.d., quoted in Lindgren, "'A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship'," p. 603.

[109] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 121.

[110] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 38.

Revere House as a mecca for "thousands of pilgrims from all over the Country seeking the shrines of American history."[111] Likewise, Appleton remarked to a group of merchants in Cambridge, Massachusetts, that:

> The preservation of such a house [Cooper-Austin] must surely increase the number of visitors going to Cambridge, lengthen the time they stay there, and increase somewhat the amount of money they spend there. All of this is good business, and accordingly we appeal to you as a business man to help this enterprise as a business proposition for Cambridge.[112]

The proper restoration of the Abraham Browne House, Appleton wrote in 1916, "would be of greatest educational value--a Mecca for tourists and a joy to all."[113]

The least common criterion for preserving a building was as an architectural monument. As the chairman of the AIA Preservation Committee lamented, "the public is not readily persuaded where matters of beauty are a concern. People appreciate old buildings for sentimental reasons....They do not understand, nor treasure, them for their construction or outstanding architectural value...."[114] Although the public still valued sentimental attachments, Appleton and SPNEA had generated a professional movement that "increasingly stressed science."[115] As Roland W. Robbins would later experience, this professionalism "helped to

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[111] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 38.

[112] William Sumner Appleton, n.d., quoted in Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 268.

[113] William Sumner Appleton, 1916, quoted in Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 92.

[114] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 271.

[115] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 101.

marginalize those who had been the pioneers of the movement [primarily the early women leaders]."[116]

By the 1920s, businessmen were increasingly involved in the delivery of the past to the general populace.[117] Following World War I, corporate capital became king, and "business leaders began to exude a smug assurance that they were the sole and legitimate heirs of the American tradition."[118] John D. Rockefeller's Williamsburg restoration was at the forefront of this trend and epitomizes the changing face of historic preservation. Williamsburg was influential in both the scope of its task and its increasingly professional approach to preservation.

The restoration of Williamsburg, Virginia, began with the vision of William Archer Rutherford Goodwin, the rector of the historic Bruton Parish Church. In 1924, he approached both John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Henry Ford about funding the project. The Ford organization declined to become involved, but Goodwin's initial meeting with Rockefeller succeeded in planting a seed about a Williamsburg restoration.[119] In 1926, Rockefeller visited the town with Goodwin and committed to funding an architect to prepare a series of drawings that would show the restored Williamsburg.[120]

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[116] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 105.

[117] Wallace, "Visiting the Past," p. 142.

[118] Wallace, "Visiting the Past," p. 142.

[119] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, pp. 14-15.

[120] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, pp. 18-19.

Following initial studies, Rockefeller announced that he wanted to restore the whole historic area.[121] With two million dollars in land and the firm of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn engaged as projects architects, the actual restoration was ready to begin. Goodwin's next obstacle was finding the necessary "contractors, historians, archaeologists, furniture experts, draftsmen, landscape architects, and engineers" to carry out the project.[122] In 1928, few of these professions had given much attention to the study of colonial buildings and landscapes. Historians did not yet consider buildings and material objects as documents, archaeologists were still focused on the prehistoric inhabitants of this country, and decorative arts professionals were just beginning seriously to consider early American objects.

The field most prepared for the Williamsburg restoration was that of architecture. A team of experts was eventually assembled to develop new techniques and approaches to research, preservation, and restoration. It was this advisory committee of architects that reviewed decisions and drafted restoration guidelines.[123] Committee member Fiske Kimball first recommended that an archaeologist be hired to keep a thorough record of the restoration. In 1929, the committee selected Prentice Duell, an archaeological draftsman at the University of Pennsylvania, for the position.[124] Hosmer notes that "historic-sites archaeology did not yet exist as a

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[121] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, pp. 19-25.

[122] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 31.

[123] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, pp. 32-34.

[124] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 37.

profession, so he [Duell] had to retrain himself in order to interpret brickwork as he found it in the Wren Building."[125]

The next Williamsburg building phase was notable for its increasing professionalism under the direction of architect Edwin Kendrew. Kendrew organized a more thorough research approach that resulted in detailed architectural monographs on each building project.[126] Archaeology was integrated into these structure reports and methods were standardized, particularly the way in which foundations were recorded. However, the objective of archaeology remained focused on the identification of architectural data, not archaeological features or artifacts.[127]

The Williamsburg restoration quickly became a model for preservation programs across the country, serving as a sort of clearinghouse for restoration and preservation information.[128] With little doubt, the biggest achievement of the Williamsburg restoration was the successful blending of many disciplines in a manner that resulted in an extremely thorough approach to restoration and preservation on an enormous scale. The Williamsburg staff, led by president Kenneth Chorley, also aided and supported the process that eventually resulted in the passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935.[129]

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[125] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 37.

[126] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, pp. 58, 60.

[127] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 60.

[128] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 65.

[129] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, pp. 66-67.

From 1935 to 1950, Chorley "visited, advised, and inspired any number of preservation groups from St. Augustine, Florida to Deerfield, Massachusetts."[130] In the mid-1940s, the Williamsburg staff was also asked to assist with several other Rockefeller-funded projects near his home in Tarrytown, New York: Philipse Castle and Sunnyside. However, the Williamsburg staff apparently did not like spending Rockefeller money on this type of "amateur approach," and were not happy with the quality of the archaeology and research that they saw employed by the Tarrytown Historical Society.[131]

The privately funded preservation projects of the twentieth century had numerous federally sponsored counterparts that grew out of Depression-era social programs. The work of the National Park Service in the 1930s, the preservation activities of the Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and Historic American Buildings Survey during the 1930s, the passage of the Historic Sites Act in 1935, and establishment of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the late 1940s all served to create a major federal role in historic preservation. These efforts created the first sizable and national group of trained professionals in preservation and archaeology.[132] The governmental activities added to the massive private projects, and together they assisted in formulating a national policy for historic

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[130] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 67.

[131] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, pp. 70-71. This site was later investigated by Roland W. Robbins under contract with Sleepy Hollow Restorations as part of a thorough reanalysis and reevaluation of the original 1940 restoration (see Chapter 4).

[132] Wallace, "Reflections on the History of Historic Preservation," p. 171.

preservation that influenced the creation, legitimization, and reinforcement of moral and social values in America.

The early historic preservation movement in America was dedicated to the creation of national shrines and monuments and, more specifically, to the creation of a set of symbols that supported and legitimized specific social ideas and values. Historic preservation in New England was more than protecting buildings, argues historian James Lindgren. "It embodied a contest, sometimes of crisis proportions, over the definition of past, present, and future."[133] Historian Michael Kammen writes that people at the turn of the twentieth century

> seemed to thrive upon the backward glance, not so much for purposes of escapism...but because the creative consequences of nostalgia helped them to legitimize new political orders, rationalize the adjustment and perpetuation of old social hierarchies, and construct acceptable new systems of thought and values. It is precisely because so much that genuinely mattered was new that people needed notions of the past that would help to define their national identities in positive ways, and required secure traditions to serve as strong psychological anchors. Otherwise, as one momentous century ended and the prospect of a new and uncertain one loomed, they faced the future as culturally displaced persons.[134]

One of the principal, and most visible, results of this social contest was the creation of "great public monuments of various sorts: statues, memorials, obelisks, fountains, cemeteries, and other structures...."[135]

Robbins's research on the Minute Man sculpture, one of these early nostalgic monuments, actually grew from similar circumstances. He was searching for "strong

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[133] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 5.

[134] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 295.

[135] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 295.

psychological anchors" to ground himself following the social and economic displacement that he faced during the depression years. Robbins was truly seeking to discover how he, like sculptor Daniel Chester French, could secure a chance to pursue a meaningful career with little experience or education. He was looking back to move forward.

By the 1930s, Kammen argues, "public sculpture...became less allegorical and more functional. Its purpose was not so much to perpetuate myths as it was to inspire or assist the process of remembrance...."[136] In this sense, the memorial and historical markers along the country's new highway systems became "a kind of surrogate for conventional public sculpture," and linked tradition with travel.[137] Historian David Lowenthal explains that "designation locates the antiquity on our mental map and lends it status...The marked antiquity becomes an exhibit contrived for our attention."[138] During the Massachusetts Bay Colony Tercentenary year of 1930, for instance, the Tercentenary Commission "erected permanent iron signs and markers in 96 cities and towns to indicate over 200 places or events significant in the history of Massachusetts."[139] "Markers celebrating this relic or forbidding access to that one profoundly influence what we make of them," writes Lowenthal. "Mere

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[136] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 505.

[137] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 505.

[138] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 265.

[139] Everett B. Mero, *Celebrating a 300th Anniversary: A Report of the Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary of 1930* (Boston: Tercentenary Conference of City and Town Committees, Inc., 1931), pp. 102-03.

recognition thus transforms the visible past."[140] Coupling tradition and nostalgia to travel using markers brought historical sites to the attention of the American public on a large scale.

As discussed above, during the first several decades of the twentieth century a small group of private collectors and museums had "fundamentally transformed the presentation of Americana to the people of the United States," setting new precedents and standards for the explication of history.[141] Historic preservationists engaged in "the deliberate use of preserved symbols, their display in appealing settings," and attempted to make them relevant.[142] Regional and local sites, from Sturbridge Village to Williamsburg, opened across the country, and the public response was overwhelming. As American business increasingly supported preservation, the "commercialization of the past became a by-product of this general attraction to the candle of the quaint."[143] In the worst cases, the new historical sites represented the trivialization of tradition, and in the best the democratization of tradition.[144]

Historical archaeology played a central role in the creation of these national and regional sites and monuments, often as a pawn of eager preservation and historical societies. Archaeologist Robert Schuyler has argued that historical or historic-sites archaeology prior to the twentieth century took three forms: "1) a

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[140] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, pp. 269-70.

[141] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 342.

[142] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, p. 5.

[143] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 342.

[144] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 343.

concern with trade goods found in aboriginal sites..., 2) politically motivated work at Euro-american sites in America undertaken for pragmatic political or nationalistic reasons, and 3) scientific excavations at Euro-american sites."[145]

Interest in European trade goods began in earnest with the growth of prehistoric archaeology in the late nineteenth century. This early work on Native American sites produced little more than brief descriptions of the materials, but provides an initial link between the developing discipline of anthropology and early historic-sites research.[146] Although American prehistory was still largely the province of amateur gentlemen scholars, archaeologists were beginning to work within larger museums, foundations, and eventually universities. These scholars were primarily focusing their efforts on the description of archaeological materials and their rudimentary classification.[147] Investigations of Euro-American sites also began during the mid-nineteenth century, and included projects such as the 1842 rediscovery and excavation of the Jesuit site of Ste. Marie I in Ontario and the 1853 excavation of the Miles Standish house site in Duxbury, Massachusetts. The Miles Standish excavations were carried out by James Hall using techniques that included plotting individual artifacts onto detailed site plans.[148]

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[145] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 24. Investigations at Native-American sites were also influenced by political and nationalistic issues.

[146] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 26.

[147] Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1980), p. 34.

[148] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 28-29.

Historical archaeology at the turn of century was, in Schuyler's view, "limited to non-industrial sites and consisted of a number of isolated excavations and artifact studies."[149] While the establishment of historical archaeology was largely a twentieth-century circumstance, two major themes had been introduced by 1900: "1) the association of historic-sites archaeology with prehistoric archaeology..., and 2) the fact that political motivations, especially involved with restorations, were a prime mover behind most projects."[150]

Historical archaeology during the first three decades of the twentieth century was not remarkably different from late nineteenth-century practice; however, several events occurred that influenced the direction of the discipline. Perhaps most important was a call for the use of historical archaeology by historians. In a 1910 address to the Wisconsin Archaeological Society, historian Carl Russell Fish noted that

> it is not only in the periods void of written sources, that archaeology can perform its services....I wish to call the attention of American archaeologists to some possibilities that it offers...even in America we have monuments which are worthy of preservation, and which can add to our knowledge of our American ancestors, as well as of our Indian predecessors.[151]

This call was actually taken up by two remarkable amateur archaeologists, William F. Calver and Reginald Pelham Bolton. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, these men engaged in archaeological research that in many ways demonstrated the discipline's movement from a preoccupation with collection and

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[149] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 36-37.

[150] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 36-37.

[151] Carl Russell Fish, 1910, quoted in Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 37-38.

classification to an emphasis on chronology and interpretation.[152] According to archaeologist Jacob Gruber, Calver and Bolton and the Field Exploration Committee sought to do far more than collect artifacts by joining "the products of their controlled excavations with the documents of history in order to expand both the knowledge and the understanding of the human activity...."[153] For instance, Bolton wrote that "domestic materials such as pottery and porcelain have a distinct value when recovered from such original deposits, connected as they were with defined periods of occupation, and known ownership of the occupants of such dwellings."[154]

Bolton explained their goals and methods in 1923, during what may be the "earliest radio broadcast on historical archaeology":

> working in groups these enthusiastic archaeologists [the Committee on Field Exploration] have scoured the surface of the city wherever unoccupied land permitted, and have dug deep into the ground, exploring the buried remains of buildings, the refuse of old households and the debris of the camps....
>
> The method of discovery is by the use of old maps and historical books locating some old site approximately, then by searching the surface for indications of human occupation, and by prodding the soil with a light steel rod, known as a "sounder," we attain a considerable degree of expertness in deciding the character of objects below the sod, then the shovel is brought into play exposing the buried layer or deposit, and in the sifter even such small objects are caught as buttons, nails, and pins....

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[152] Jacob W. Gruber, "Artifacts Are History: Calver and Bolton in New York." In *The Scope of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of John L. Cotter*, ed. David G. Orr and Daniel G. Crozier, pp. 13-27 (Philadelphia: Laboratory of Anthropology, Temple University, 1984), p. 17.

[153] Gruber, "Artifacts Are History," p. 19. The Field Exploration Committee, formed by Bolton and Calver and members of the New York Historical Society, was probably the first organization dedicated solely to research in historical archaeology.

[154] Bolton, 1918, quoted in Gruber, "Artifacts Are History," p. 19.

> One interesting line of work consists in measuring old sites, forts and buildings and making maps or drawings of them. This requires a little knowledge of surveying or engineering, but its results are important. And of course, some of the workers must keep note of every incident and discovery, and write up the subject for publication by the Society or the newspapers.[155]

By the end of the 1930s, the committee became increasingly inactive due to the age of the members and the "heightened professionalism in both history and archaeology."[156] The principles of Bolton and Calver's work were in many ways rekindled and expanded through the work of Roland Wells Robbins at Walden Pond beginning in the mid-1940s.

During the first three decades of the century, excavation of Contact-period sites increased, with selected investigations shedding new light on trade goods. These historic materials were also found to be useful to prehistorians as a "source of much more refined subdivisions in chronology."[157] Archaeology on Euro-american sites also continued to expand during these years with work at Ste Marie I in 1926, Percival Lombard's total excavation of the seventeenth-century Aptucxet Trading Post in Massachusetts, and Samuel Yonge's 1903 work at Jamestown. Employed as an engineer at the Jamestown site, Yonge excavated an area of brick foundations and

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[155] Bolton, 1918, quoted in Gruber, "Artifacts Are History," pp. 21-22. This passage could just as easily be describing Robbins's early work. His possession of their book, *History Written With Pick and Shovel*, demonstrates that Robbins was aware of the work of these pioneers.

[156] Gruber, "Artifacts Are History," p. 24.

[157] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 39-40. The introduction of stratigraphic excavation to American archaeology around World War I enabled new levels of chronological control. Using stratigraphic excavation, archaeologists began to develop regional chronologies and typologies based on the artifacts. Historical archaeology, not yet closely linked to American anthropological archaeology, was very slow to integrate these new techniques (Willey and Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology*, p. 83).

features, including the large Philip Ludwell House, that extended along the James River shoreline.[158] Yonge had supervised seawall construction during the 1901 excavations of the churchyard by John Tyler, Jr., and members of the Association for the Preservation for Virginia Antiquities.[159] This dig, Tyler later remarked, had been guided by a feeling "that there was something buried there; I was very anxious to excavate upon that site, in order to unearth anything that lay hidden."[160] In writing about the early years of Jamestown archaeology, J. C. Harrington observed that Tyler's statement "pretty well covers the objectives for most of the subsequent excavating at Jamestown over the next 50 years!"[161]

Yonge began his excavations in 1903, uncovering several important later seventeenth-century structures, including a row of brick foundations that was partially exposed along the shoreline. Yonge published his findings in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* in 1904, and followed this with his monograph, *The Site of Old "James Towne,"* later the same year. Harrington has remarked that

> the apparent goals of the early digs at Jamestown were very little different from later projects; namely, to uncover foundations and secure architectural information about the original buildings. Recovery of

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[158] Samuel H. Yonge, *The Site of Old "James Towne"* (Richmond, Va.: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1930).

[159] Yonge, *The Site of Old "James Towne,"* p. 66.

[160] J. C. Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," in *The Scope of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of John L. Cotter*, ed. David G. Orr and Daniel G. Crozier, pp. 29-51 (Philadelphia: Laboratory of Anthropology, Temple University, 1984), p. 31.

[161] Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," p. 31.

> artifacts was not ignored, but it was incidental to the major objective.[162]

This period also witnessed the first excavations in Williamsburg as part of the Rockefeller restoration project. Archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume has noted that

> archaeology as a tool of the architectural restorer was developed in Williamsburg in the 1930s....The method, known as cross-trenching, involved the digging of parallel trenches a shovel blade in width and a shovel length apart, and throwing the dirt up onto the unexcavated space between them. Because the colonial buildings of Williamsburg were set out parallel to the streets, the trenches were dug at a 45 degree angle to the streets on the theory that such cuts would most quickly locate foundations running at right angles to each other....The trenching was done by laborers who paid little attention to the salvage of artifacts and none to the layers whence they came.[163]

The individuals who participated in this early work ranged "from a trained archaeologist to unsupervised laborers to landscape architects to a CCC crew."[164] Artifacts from this work were often recovered during screening of the backdirt through large mesh (½-inch) screens placed over the trenches.[165] Documentation quality was variable, and the artifacts were usually shipped directly to research department staff members who had no contact with the field workers.[166]

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[162] Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," pp. 31-32.

[163] Ivor Noël Hume, *Historical Archaeology* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), pp. 73-74.

[164] Linda Derry and Marley R. Brown III, "Excavation at Colonial Williamsburg Thirty Years Ago: An Archaeological Analysis of Cross-Trenching Behind the Peyton Randolph Site" (Williamsburg, Va.: Office of Archaeological Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1986), p. 7.

[165] Derry and Brown, "Excavation at Colonial Williamsburg Thirty Years Ago," p. 10.

[166] Derry and Brown, "Excavation at Colonial Williamsburg Thirty Years Ago," pp. 7-8.

The historic sites movement had been bolstered in 1906 with the enactment of the federal Antiquity Act, and, as discussed above, the preservation and restoration movement was also gaining momentum through the work of organizations like the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, SPNEA, and the APVA. These organizations slowly began to seek the aid of archaeologists for restoration and reconstruction projects. Historic-sites archaeology grew during the first three decades of the century due to increased political and financial support brought about by a variety of new concerns for and interests of Americans in their heritage.[167]

Although all three traditions of historic-sites archaeology--scholastic, aboriginal contact sites, and restorations--expanded during the 1930s and 1940s, restoration- and preservation-oriented archaeology grew to dominate the field.[168] The rapidly growing preservation movement and the social crises of the Great Depression fostered a need to reinforce "America's sense of tradition and history." These economic and social stresses precipitated the development of many public work relief programs, including the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration, which embraced archaeology as a way to create physical reminders of the past and object lessons in American traditions.[169] This approach to historic-sites archaeology

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[167] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 42.

[168] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 42. American archaeology, particularly prehistory, began to be established as a recognized subfield of anthropology in the early 1920s and increasingly organized within the university. The founding of the Society for American Archaeology in 1934 brought together academic and museum archaeologists [Thomas C. Patterson, "The Last Sixty Years: Toward a Social History of Americanist Archaeology in the United States," *American Anthropologist* 88(1986):7-26].

[169] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 44; Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 470-71.

was also supported by the passage of the Historic Sites Act in 1935, which made the preservation of significant historic sites a national policy.[170]

Expertise in historic-sites archaeology had not yet developed, and few professional archaeologists were prepared to lead the thousands of unskilled laborers in this new endeavor. During the 1930s, the federal government began to employ professional archaeologists for some excavations, turning increasingly to prehistoric archaeologists.[171] For instance, in 1935, National Park Service officials began to worry about the quality of the work at Jamestown, and sent anthropologist W. J. Winter and "technical foremen" Alonozo Pond and H. Summerfield Day to direct the archaeological fieldwork.[172] The architects, under Henry Chandlee Forman and John Zaharov, had established their territory and fought bitterly with Winter and his anthropological cohorts over control of the work. After much wrangling between the groups, the Washington office of the Park Service officially divided the excavating responsibilities; the architects would excavate everything within a 3-foot perimeter of each foundation, and the anthropologists would attend to everything else.[173] Although Winter felt that the arrangement made no theoretical or practical sense at all, he tried for a time to work within the system.

The archaeologists had vastly different goals from their architectural colleagues, focusing their search on evidence that "would define tracts of land,"

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[170] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 45.

[171] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 46.

[172] Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure*, pp. 414-415.

[173] Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure*, p. 415.

features including ditches, fence rows, wells, and trash pits.[174] The excavation methodology of the archaeologists also departed from that of the architects; the archaeologists utilized wide ten-foot trenches to identify fence posts and other scattered features. Harrington notes that this "exploratory digging was meticulously recorded, but never really synthesized."[175] Although the two groups worked side by side for several months, their varied goals and methods were irreconcilable. During the summer of 1936, when the fray had literally reached the point of physical violence, the Park Service temporarily closed the project.

Noël Hume writes that although both sides came out looking bad, the anthropologists "were remarkably enlightened" in their approach.[176] In April of 1935, Winter produced an interesting summary of the situation at Jamestown:

> I have reached the conclusion that the combination of archeological and architectural activities at the same time will never work in a satisfactory manner....After all[,] the most important things on Jamestown Island are not the brick foundations. We are attempting to make a study of culture, to gain all of the information that the ground has to yield. The only way to do this is to make use of the skill of trained archeologists. The evidence of Indian occupation should not be ignored. The very first English habitations had no brick foundations, yet a trained archaeologist can read in the ground any evidence of wooden structures and secure data that would escape the best architects....We have need of architects and consultants, it is true, just as we have need of geologists, conchologists, numismatists and other specialists. Their work, however, comes after that of the archeologist.[177]

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[174] Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," p. 35.

[175] Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," p. 35. The artifacts were cleaned, catalogued, and sorted, but were not marked or stored by provenience.

[176] Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure*, p. 416.

[177] W. J. Winter, 1935, quoted in Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure*, p. 416.

The battle at Jamestown left Park Service officials in a quandary about whom to hire to supervise the archaeological work. Turning to the Smithsonian for help, the Park Service was referred to the University of Chicago and an anthropology graduate student named J. C. Harrington. Harrington, also a registered architect, arrived at the park in late 1935 and worked until 1941. As he later noted, "when it came to digging a colonial site and carrying out related research, we were all babes in the woods."[178] Using his background in history, architecture, and anthropology, he quickly established a systematic approach to the work, compiling a historical background report prior to undertaking new excavations.[179] Harrington noted that the field techniques of the previous excavators were "essentially continued."[180] The major change in field methodology, he explained, was "to give more attention to the total area of each unit we might be working on."[181] Harrington went on to excavate about 10 percent of the site, outlining the general town layout and its evolution. The architectural and artifactual evidence excavated by Harrington provided the first clear picture of life in seventeenth-century Virginia.[182]

Harrington recalled that

> [my] greatest deficiency was in my dismal ignorance of nonarchitectural artifacts. I came to Jamestown with the ability to recognize the difference between a corrugated and a simple stamped Indian potsherd,

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[178] Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," p. 36.

[179] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 47.

[180] Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," p. 36.

[181] Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," pp. 36-37.

[182] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 48.

> but such terms as "delftware" and "stoneware" were completely foreign to me; they were all just "china."[183]

Ivor Noël Hume has noted that Harrington's work was marked by "first-rate field drawings (the product of his architectural training) and by improved digging and recording techniques designed to address the kinds of concerns expressed in 1935 by the beleaguered and frustrated anthropologists."[184] Perhaps the biggest advance in developing methods for this new type of archaeology, according to Harrington, was the concept of preparing the "historical orientation report," or historical background research before the start of fieldwork.[185]

Another project immersed in the preservation and restoration tradition of the day was the excavation at Washington's Mount Vernon. In 1931, Morley Jeffers Williams, a landscape architect from Harvard, conducted fieldwork as part of a study of colonial plantations and gardens.[186] Between 1936 and 1939, Williams "systematically tested for structural foundations, garden wall footings, and the like, selecting areas to investigate based on the results of intensive documentary research."[187] Dennis J. Pogue, Mount Vernon's Director of Restoration, has noted that "while not a trained archaeologist, [Williams] did recognize the need to document

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[183] J. C. Harrington, "From Architraves to Artifacts: A Metamorphosis," in *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology: Breaking New Ground*, ed. Stanley South, pp. 1-14 (New York: Plenum Press, 1994), p. 7.

[184] Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure*, p. 418.

[185] Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," p. 38.

[186] Dennis J. Pogue, *Archaeology at George Washington's Mount Vernon: 1931-1987*, File Report no. 1 (Mount Vernon, Va.: Mount Vernon Ladies Association, 1988), p. 3.

[187] Pogue, *Archaeology at George Washington's Mount Vernon*, p. 3.

his work and made careful drawings of his finds, took photographs, and recorded the location of many of his test trenches."[188] During the 1940s and 1950s, Walter Macomber, also an architect, carried out archaeological investigations of the greenhouse slave quarter site at Mount Vernon. The work of both investigators consisted largely of test trenching to identify features, primarily foundations, that were subsequently exposed through additional trenching.[189]

During the same period, another archaeological project involving architects was underway at St. Mary's City, Maryland. Architect Henry Chandlee Forman "used the experience he gained at Jamestown to conduct excavations at St. Mary's City" from 1936 to 1965.[190] Using his own money and several small grants, Forman excavated at the Town House of 1634, the Chapel of St. Mary's, the Governor's Castle, the Leonard Calvert house, and the St. John's site, in the heart of this early seventeenth-century capital of Maryland.[191] Although Forman never produced a formal site report, he described his work in several publications including the famous *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance* (1938).

In the northeastern United States, several local, private projects were completed during the late 1930s and early 1940s by archaeologists who would soon become friends and colleagues of Roland Robbins. In the early 1940s, Henry

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[188] Pogue, *Archaeology at George Washington's Mount Vernon*, p. 3.

[189] Pogue, *Archaeology at George Washington's Mount Vernon*, pp. 8, 12, 15, 16, and 23.

[190] H. Chandlee Forman, "Some Pioneering Excavations in Virginia and Maryland," *Maryland Archaeology* 22, no. 2 (1986): 9.

[191] Forman, "Some Pioneering Excavations," pp. 10-13.

Hornblower II initiated excavations at several sites in Plymouth, Massachusetts. With Sidney Strickland, he excavated the John Howland house site (ca. 1637-1687) and the John Clark site (ca. 1627-1650) in 1940. In 1941, J. O. Brew of the Peabody Museum excavated the Edward Winslow house (ca. 1637-1700) as part of an archaeological field course. This early work resulted in excellent fieldnotes and artifact assemblages; however, no reports were produced.[192]

Excavations for restoration projects and at historic Indian sites continued to form the bulk of historical archaeology. However, these projects were not without research objectives, whether restoration-oriented or scholastic in nature. One of the more research-oriented projects of the period was the Peabody Museum Awatovi Expedition, a five year project begun in 1935 under the direction of J. O. Brew. Although work focused on prehistoric sites in the Jeddito Valley, the Awatovi site was selected for investigation because of the documentary history of the Spanish mission church and its stormy existence.[193] Another project carried out amid the restoration-preservation tradition, Conrad Bentzen's 1941 excavation of the courthouse lot in Yorktown, Virginia, illustrates the application of standard field methods from prehistoric archaeology to historical archaeology. Bentzen, working for the National Park Service, used careful mapping techniques and worked within an arbitrary ten-foot grid to record architectural and archaeological features, and excavated using natural stratigraphic levels to expose the complex sequence at the site. While his

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[192] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 50-51.

[193] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 56-59.

report does not describe the artifacts, it is apparent that he used them for on-site interpretation.

Historical archaeology between 1933 and 1945 was strongly shaped by the Great Depression and its economic and social consequences, resulting in its overwhelming focus on restoration. At the same time, American archaeology was struggling to define itself within anthropology. During this period, government anthropologists introduced the tenets of logical positivism into the discipline, stressing a rigorous scientific methodology; it quickly became the "unacknowledged theoretical and ideological perspective of the newly emerging discipline."[194] Prehistorians were focused on methodology rather than content; how a colleague "did something became more important than what they did or why they did it."[195] This focus on method was overshadowed in historical archaeology by restoration, although it became more prevalent as historical archaeology was embraced by the anthropological community. If historical archaeology had a central research paradigm at this time, it was restoration.

Great amounts of manpower and funding were applied to historic sites through both federal agencies and local historical and preservation groups primarily interested in immediate tangible results and with little interest in intensive research and publication.[196] While this pattern was repeated across the country, it was especially evident in New England. Although research-oriented archaeology was not entirely

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[194] Patterson, "The Last Sixty Years," p. 14.

[195] Patterson, "The Last Sixty Years," p. 14.

[196] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 72.

ignored, specific techniques were aimed primarily at securing data for restoration and interpretation. Restoration archaeology was the standard, and, according to Schuyler, "even excavations that involved careful technique and recognition of the significance of associated artifacts were...mainly for filling park museum cases or exhibiting the restored site to the public."[197] This was just as true for Jamestown as it was for smaller historic house museums. The Jamestown project clearly demonstrates a number of attitudes that were encountered by the researchers of the prewar period: a bias among anthropological archaeologists that historical archaeology was not real archaeology and against historians and architects practicing archaeology, a view that archaeology in support of restoration or park development for the public was tainted, an identity crisis over whether historical archaeology was history or anthropology, a lack of knowledge about historic artifacts, and a continuing emphasis on description.[198]

Completely immersed in this restoration and preservation outlook, historic sites work came to a close in the early 1940s with the American entry into World War II. "By 1942," Schuyler notes, "most field crews and indeed most professional archaeologists were serving the war effort in some capacity. Archaeology at both historic and prehistoric sites was almost at a dead standstill in America."[199] When

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[197] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 73.

[198] Stanley South, ed., *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology: Breaking New Ground* (New York: Plenum Press, 1994), pp. vi-vii.

[199] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 73.

excavations resumed at the end of the war, Roland W. Robbins was poised to begin using archaeology in the service of historic-sites restoration.

CHAPTER II. "HOUSE HUNTING FOR HENRY DAVID THOREAU"

Although Robbins would always consider his Walden Pond excavations as his amateur work, the project gave him his first taste of the excitement, satisfaction, and recognition that he could acquire through historical and archaeological exploration. Moreover, the enterprise offered a solution to his crisis of vocation that drew on his practical experience as a workingman and Yankee tinkerer. Robbins's new career searching for ruins would furnish him with the materials to build his own personal foundation, a solid basis on which he could establish a stable life. While his interest in and study of history originated with his work on the Minute Man statue, it was magnified and intensified during his quest for Thoreau's cabin site. The story of the excavation is significant because it demonstrates the essential manner in which Robbins began to acquire his knowledge of historical archaeology, combining his own research and experimentation with the expertise of specialists in a wide range of areas including history, archaeology, and conservation. Through his search at Walden, Robbins also established a life-long interest in Thoreau that would inspire and sustain him throughout his long and controversial career in archaeology.

Heightened interest in Thoreau and his works in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ushered in a period of national prominence that culminated in 1945 in the one-hundredth anniversary celebration of Thoreau's sojourn at Walden Pond.

This elevated interest created a sizable audience for Robbins's eventual discovery at Walden. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Walden Pond had developed into a shrine, a mecca for Thoreauvian disciples.[1] Thoreau had attained sainthood in the eyes of his followers, and the cabin site had became a major stop for literary pilgrims. In the early 1870s, a stone cairn was begun to mark the cabin location. Bronson Alcott, Thoreau's transcendentalist friend and colleague, recorded that "after bathing we contribute severally our stone to Thoreau's cairn. The pyramid is insignificant as yet but could Thoreau's readers add theirs the pile would rise above the treetops to mark the site of his hermitage."[2] By the 1880s and 1890s, the Walden cabin site was listed in many literary guidebooks. Theodore F. Wolfe's *Literary Shrines* notes that "another generation of visitors comes now to this spot, --pilgrims from far, like ourselves, to the shrine of a 'stoic greater than Zeno or Xenophanes,' -- a man whose 'breath and core was conscience.'"[3]

While Walden Pond emerged as a physical shrine for thousands of Thoreau admirers, the works of Thoreau became the focus of the American literary community. For many years, the academy had dismissed Thoreau as a minor disciple and imitator of Emerson. The publication of the fourteen-volume transcription of the *Journals* in 1900 and the issuance of multiple editions of *Walden* brought renewed

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[1] Lawrence Buell, "The Thoreauvian Pilgrimage: The Structure of an American Cult," *American Literature* 61(1989):175-99.

[2] Jeanne M. Zimmer, "A History of Thoreau's Hut and Hut Site," *ESQ* 18 (1972): 136.

[3] Theodore F. Wolfe, *Literary Shrines: The Haunts of Some Famous American Authors* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1895), p. 73.

attention to Thoreau's writing.[4] Vernon Parrington's influential *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927) was the first major twentieth-century publication to acknowledge the important literary contribution of Thoreau's writings. Thoreau's message of individualism and self-reliance thrust him into the public's eye during the depression years of the 1930s.[5]

In 1941, a small group of individuals interested in fostering research and scholarship on Thoreau and his writings established the Thoreau Society. The escalated interest in and attention to Thoreau and his writings culminated in the publication of F. O. Matthiessen's *American Renaissance* the same year. According to historian Eric Cheyfitz, Matthiessen's work effectively canonized, legitimized, and normalized the works of Thoreau, and likewise Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, and Whitman, in the academic literary community.[6]

Pilgrimages to Walden, begun in the late nineteenth century, continued throughout the early twentieth century, and grew stronger in the decades before World War II. This growth was a direct result of the expansion of travel and tourism and an indirect outgrowth of artists and scholars who sought to experience American traditions themselves and incorporate and interpret them in their writing and painting.[7] With interest in American literature and literary figures flourishing, and

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[4] Walter Harding and Michael Meyer, *The New Thoreau Handbook* (New York: New York University Press, 1980), p. 207.

[5] Harding and Meyer, *The New Thoreau Handbook*, p. 208.

[6] Eric Cheyfitz, "Matthiessen's *American Renaissance*: Circumscribing the Revolution," *American Quarterly* 41(1989):347.

[7] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 339.

historical archaeology at a virtual standstill, Robbins began excavating the site of Thoreau's cabin in 1945.

From 1938 to 1945, Robbins worked full-time at his odd-jobs business and continued to explore his interests in a variety of local and regional historical subjects (Figures 9 and 10). He was introduced to the continuing debate about the accuracy of the actual house site while attending the Thoreau Centennial held at Walden Pond on July 4, 1945. Local historian Allen French conducted the ceremonies that began with readings from Thoreau's work. Following the readings and lectures, a discussion ensued about the accuracy of the cairn's location. Some older members of the audience recalled that the cairn was previously closer to the pond, while others quoted Thoreau's own description of the house's site "on the side of a hill...and half a dozen rods from the pond."[8] One discussant questioned the Thoreau evidence, Robbins recalled, but was quickly reminded that Thoreau was a practicing surveyor and would not have mistaken a distance that he knew so well.

Following a picnic lunch at the Cliffs, a favorite Thoreau haunt, Allen French reportedly stopped Robbins and said that he was pleased to see him turn his interests to the problem of Thoreau's house.[9] Robbins recounted that

> after such a verbal pat on the back as was given me by Mr. French--not too common an experience with me--I had no alternative. Besides, I had become unusually interested in the controversy. I made up my mind that I must try to establish the site of Thoreau's house."[10]

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[8] Philip Van Doren Stern, ed., *The Annotated Walden: Walden; or, Life in the Woods* (New York: Marboro Books Corp, 1970; reprint 1992), p. 245.

[9] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, p. 5.

[10] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, p. 6.

Figure 9. Roland and daughter Jean take a break from window washing, October 1942 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

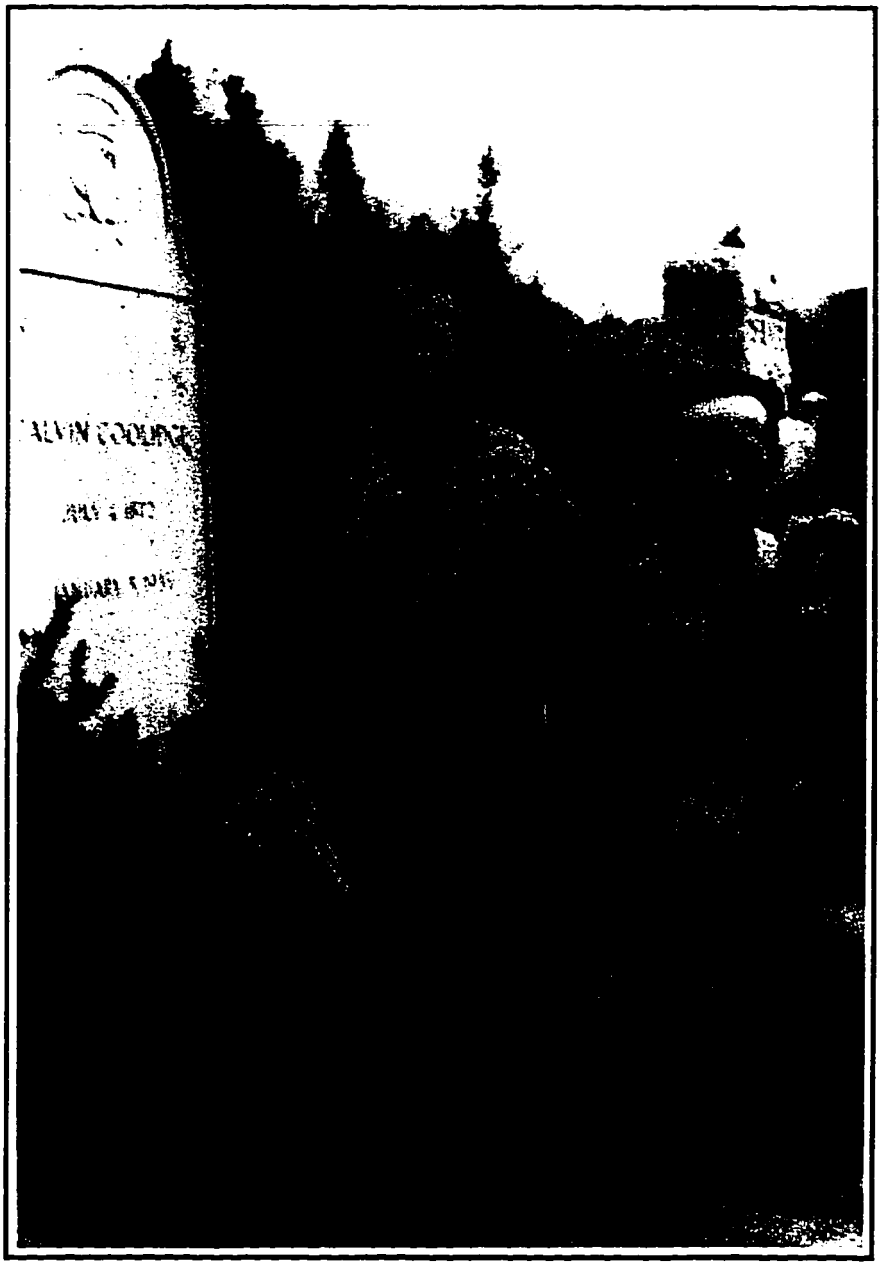

Figure 10. Roland and children Dick (left) and Jean (right) visiting the grave of Calvin Coolidge, ca. 1945 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

The Thoreau Centennial meeting gave Robbins the chance to rub elbows with academics for the first time. He met the literary scholars who attended the gathering, and, later, somewhat sarcastically recalled that he

> was impressed by the gray and intellectual heads that predominated among those in attendance. I, with all my 37 years, felt conscious of stepping from my generation into one I was not in a literary way prepared for. Here I was among the "Big League" of the literary world. Prominent professors of literature, as well as authors of note, were paying their respects to this site...."[11]

Several weeks after attending the Thoreau Centennial, Robbins received a note from a friend, who warned him that others were planning the same "hunt" and that he might have a "race" on his hands.[12] Clearly hoping that he discover the site himself, Robbins wrote that this information "startled me into getting out my inadequate six-foot steel ruler the following evening and heading for the pond together with Mrs. Robbins."[13]

During this first visit to the pond in August 1945, Robbins measured the distance from the shore to the cairn and site marker, and found that it was over 200 feet. This distance, he recorded, was "considerably beyond the 6 rods that Thoreau credits as the interval from his 'house' to the pond."[14] The initial measurements piqued Robbins's curiosity and prompted him to inquire further about the present

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[11] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, p. 3. It was probably not lost on Robbins that Thoreau was 37 years old when he went to live at Walden.

[12] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, p. 9.

[13] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, p. 9. Geraldine Robbins would continue to help her husband on projects throughout his career. "When he would get behind," she recalled, I would help him out" (Robbins, personal communication, 1996).

[14] Roland W. Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 2.

cairn location and hut monument. Mr. Hart, the park caretaker, told Robbins that the inscribed boulder at the front of the cairn was placed in 1928, and the hut markers were laid out ca. 1935 by "a fellow from the south."[15] Skeptical of the accuracy of the cairn's placement, Robbins searched his copy of *Walden* for references to the cabin's whereabouts, finding several references to its location "on the shore." After comparing *Walden* with *The Journals*, Robbins decided that Thoreau's descriptions and measurements of the cabin in the former work were not very reliable. Expanding his inquiry into the cairn's location, Robbins also located several photographs of Walden taken by Herbert Wendell Gleason documenting that the cairn had remained in the same position since 1899. Based on this discovery, Robbins returned to the pond several times during August and September of 1945 to match contemporary descriptions by Channing and Thoreau with the current landscape at the site.

During one of these visual inspections, he located with his "prodding rod" some brick fragments imbedded in the pathway that led to the cairn (Figure 11). When additional searching failed to turn up further evidence, Robbins went to Thoreau's 1846 map for answers. However, after several evenings of study, he recorded that "nothing conclusive derived from our deductions."[16] Commenting on the work ahead, he noted dramatically that "this has got to be done the hard way. I'm going to start from scratch."[17]

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[15] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 6.

[16] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 22.

[17] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, p. 18.

Figure 11. Roland at Walden Pond, Thoreau's Cabin, 1946 (Photo by Edwin Way Teale, Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

During his first season, Robbins located and excavated several important features, including the cabin's stone chimney foundation and several areas of brick debris. In October 1945, he applied to the Middlesex County Commissioners for permission to excavate and began digging in the area of the previously identified brick fragments. He noted in his log that he found one hundred fragments of old brick about 13 feet from the cairn and about 2 to 7 inches below the surface.[18] In what was one of the first examples of Robbins's utilization of expert assistance for specific research problems, he took a sample of the bricks to the Northeast Brick Company in North Cambridge for dating.[19] A brickyard employee, Mr. Carleton, identified the pieces as "old water struck, hand-made brick considerably older that one hundred years."[20] While Robbins stated that this did not prove that the bricks came from Thoreau's house, he felt certain that they were part of Thoreau's "one thousand second-hand brick."[21]

Robbins excavated this brick evidence, ending up with a unit 14 feet long and tapering from 9 feet wide nearest the cairn to 4 feet at the other end (Figure 12). He next opened an 8-×-7.5-foot unit near one of the granite hut markers. His notes for these excavations are relatively thorough and contained a sketch showing the relationship of the units to the cairn and granite hut markers, as well as artifact

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[18] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 25.

[19] Prior to his trip to the brickyard, Robbins visited the library to read all that he could find on bricks and brickmaking. This approach advance his self-education, drawing on multiple sources to explore new techniques or research problems.

[20] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 28.

[21] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," pp. 29-30.

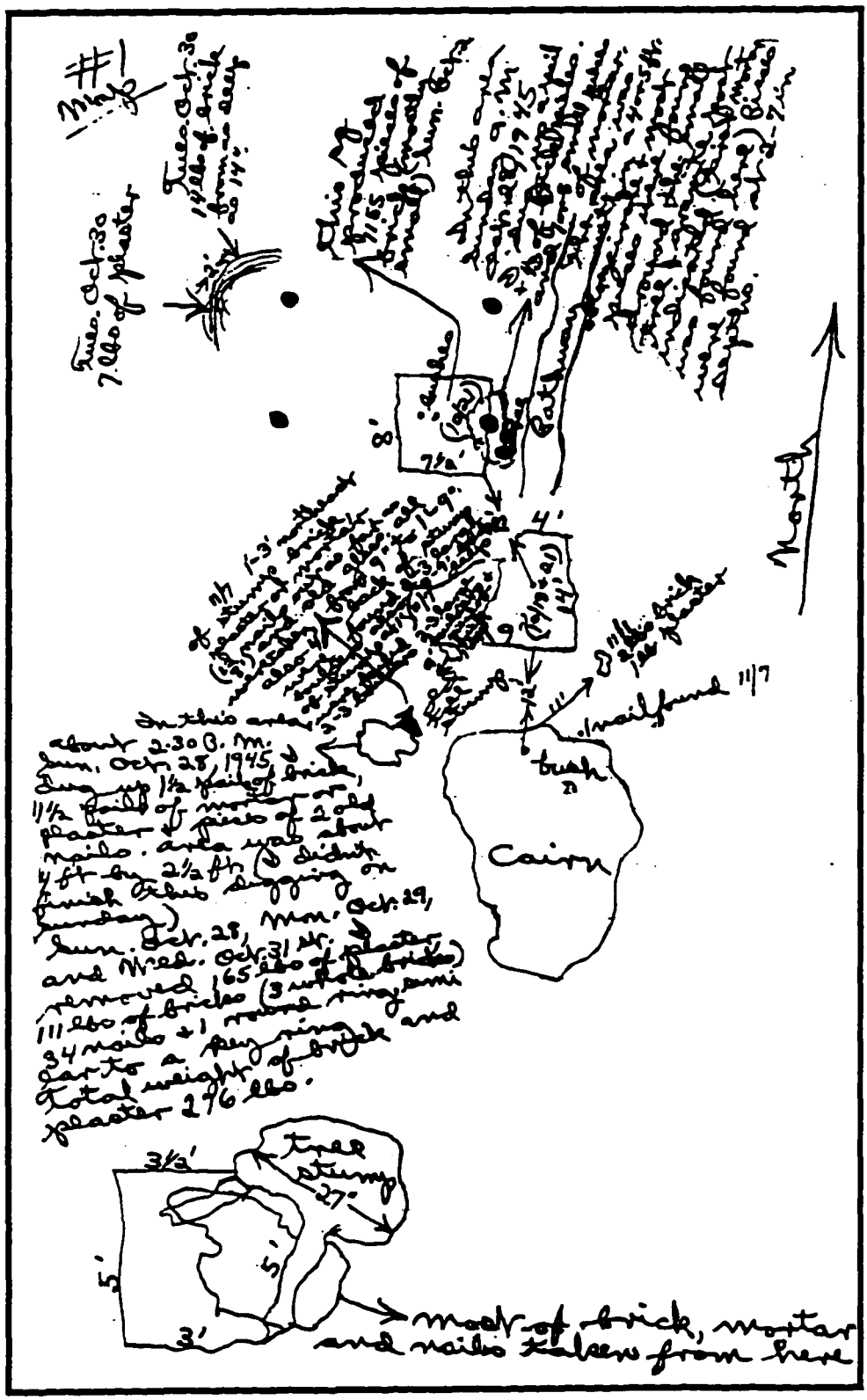

Figure 12. Map of early excavations at Walden, October 30, 1945.

information by count and/or weight. For example, this unit produced 1,155 brick fragments from a depth of between 2 and 7 inches, as well as the first traces of mortar and plaster.[22] Robbins's next excavation unit was adjacent to a large tree stump west of the cairn. In this 3-×-5-foot unit, he recovered 165 lbs. of plaster; 111 lbs. of bricks, including 3 whole bricks; 34 nails; and 1 round metal ring, from the top 12 inches of soil.[23]

Curious about the relationship of the large tree stump to the cairn and house site, Robbins confirmed the tree's presence in several 1899 Gleason photographs and made arrangements to date the tree.[24] Mr. John Lambert of the Division of Forestry accompanied Robbins to the site in November 1945 to inspect the stump for tree-ring dating. Lambert counted 75 to 76 rings, estimating that the tree was about 80 to 81 years old when it died, and noted that it "probably...snapped off in the 1938 hurricane."[25] This confirmed Robbins's suspicion that the tree had covered and protected the brick and plaster evidence of the cabin for all but about ten years after the site's abandonment by Thoreau.

Digging on the northeast side of the stump, Robbins discovered brick, plaster, mortar, nails, and glass, at a depth of 8 to 21 inches. He also identified several "boulders" or large rocks at about 21 inches.[26] Robbins then moved to a spot 6 feet

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[22] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," pp. 32-34.

[23] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 35.

[24] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 42.

[25] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," pp. 45-46.

[26] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 50.

east of the stump at the north end of the cairn. Here, he identified nails at 12 inches below the surface and several large stones or "boulders" at 2 feet. Continuing to find additional stone and brick with mortar, and suspecting that he had located a foundation, he enlarged the hole until it measured approximately 3 feet square and 3 feet 6 inches deep.[27] On November 12, 1945, Robbins recorded in his log that he "...uncovered the foundation of the house's chimney."[28] The square base of stone and brick measured approximately 4 feet 8 inches north-south × 5 feet east-west. After showing the feature to witnesses Mr. Conant, Mr. and Mrs. Allen French, and Mrs. Caleb Wheeler, Robbins cleaned the foundation in preparation for careful mapping and later photographs by Marcia Webber, a professional photographer (Figures 13 and 14). After verifying that the photographs were good, he backfilled the excavation unit.[29]

During the winter, Robbins analyzed his previous findings and continued excavation. Focusing on the chimney, he searched for sketches of the cabin printed in early versions of *Walden* and in Thoreau biographies that would give some hint of the chimney placement and orientation. Robbins noted in his log that the original Ticknor and Fields printing of *Walden* (1854) showed "the house facing east or southeast, also the chimney is inside the house in this picture."[30] He also checked the compass

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[27] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 57.

[28] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 60.

[29] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 67.

[30] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 76.

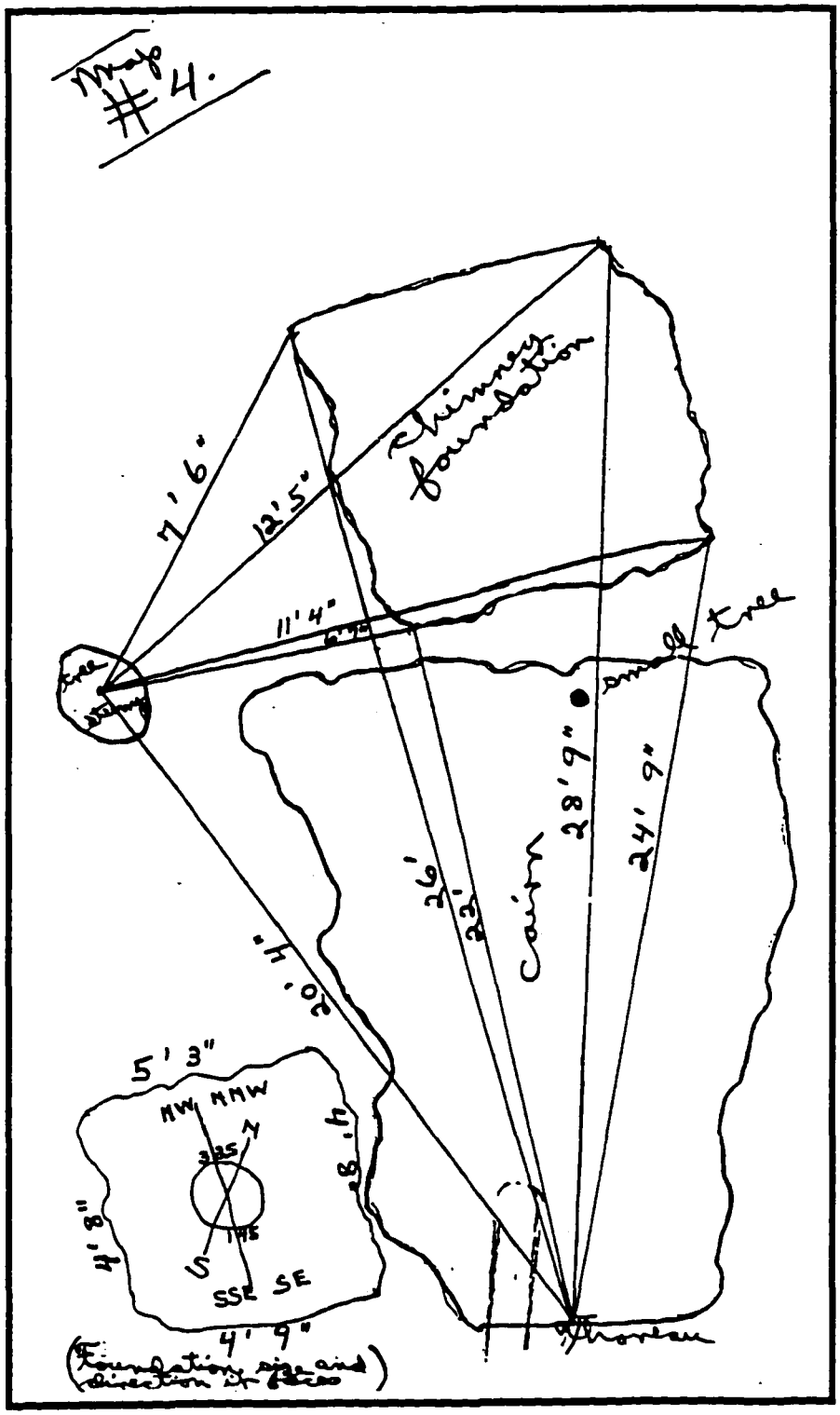

Figure 13. Plan of chimney base, November 1945.

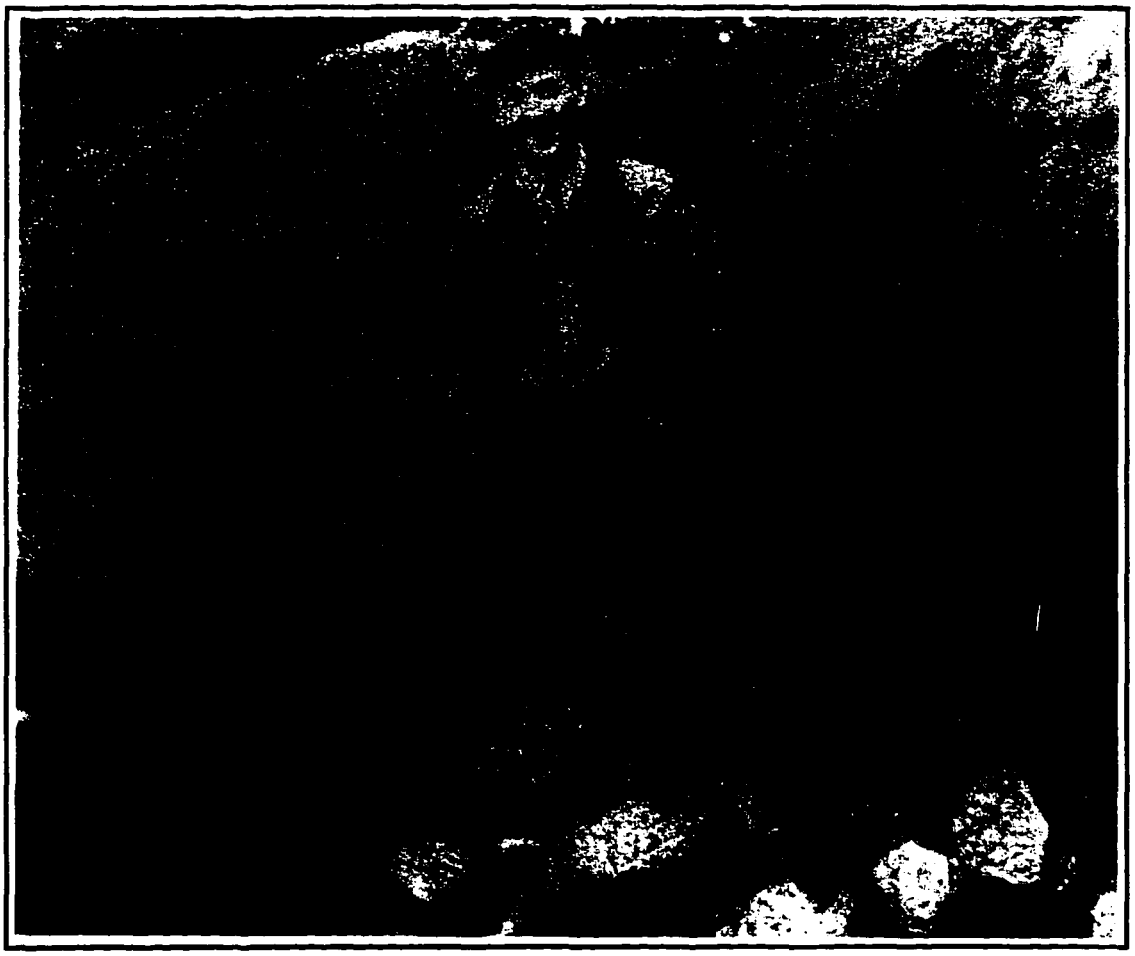

Figure 14. Roland standing in chimney base excavation, November 1945 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

orientation of the chimney foundation with Thoreau's 1846 map of Walden Pond and found that "they lined up with one another quite perfectly."[31]

Robbins next began looking for the cellar, digging at the northeast corner of the cairn. He recorded that he excavated a hole 7 feet 2 inches deep, "but the soil seemed to me to be in a virgin condition... a white and fine sand soil which had some gravel in it."[32] Finding little evidence next to the cairn, Robbins moved to a spot next to the tree stump near the cairn, but also found a "virgin" soil. Robbins's last excavation unit during 1945 was placed along the east side of the chimney foundation, where he "dug for signs of post holes."[33] He found no evidence of posts, but at 6 inches below the surface he discovered 31 nail fragments and an ash deposit.

In early January, Robbins began discussions with several people, including architect Thomas Mott Shaw and partner Andrew F. Hepburn, about an appropriate monument for the house site.[34] He also made several trips to the Concord library, where he researched the development of cut and wire nails, and scrutinized the papers of Thomas Wentworth Higginson for an alleged reference to Thoreau's cellar with a

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[31] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 77.

[32] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 79.

[33] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 84. It is unclear whether Robbins was aware of the archaeological use of the term posthole at this point in his career; however, he may have picked it up through his correspondence with members of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society and attendance at their meetings. Robbins was also spending a great deal of time reading at the Concord Library, but does not mention any specific books on archaeology.

[34] Roland W. Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., 2/14/46. This project marked the first of many contacts between Robbins and the firm of Perry, Shaw, & Hepburn.

"a pine tree of ten year's growth in the middle."[35] He finally found this reference in a letter written in 1867 and speculated that the pine tree mentioned by Higginson might be the tree stump near the cairn. Robbins noted that

> Bronson Alcott and Mrs. Adams are credited with establishing the cairn in 1872, only 5 years after Higginson made his hike to the pond, and early pictures show the tree that yielded my booty growing close to the cairn, it makes Higginson's observation quite accurate.[36]

Throughout the late winter and early spring Robbins proceeded to analyze the information from the previous season's digging. He continued his investigations of the construction of the cairn, and visited Thoreau's Texas House in Concord to inspect its cellar. Here he found that "the foundation was built of boulders with brick being used throughout for wedges."[37] This evidence, Robbins believed, confirmed "the work of the chimney foundation I located at Walden Pond."[38]

Robbins returned to the site in the spring of 1946 and dug in the vicinity of the chimney foundation, where he uncovered additional features including the northwest and southeast corner foundations of the cabin and the structure's cellar hole. His first excavation work in 1946 concentrated on a grouping of boulders within the area of the granite markers. Robbins speculated that this might be the spot of Thoreau's "outdoor fireplace," used for cooking before finishing the house and chimney.[39]

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[35] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 2/25/46.

[36] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 2/25/46.

[37] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 3/29/46.

[38] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 3/29/46. The stone chimney foundation at Walden also contained brick fragments.

[39] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 3/31/46.

While it was in a good location behind the house and buried at the same depth as other house features, Robbins remained unsure of this interpretation. Additional digging in an area about 6 feet to the northwest of the chimney foundation produced numerous artifacts including both bricks and nails. Robbins interpreted this area, "banked on three sides" and open on the side facing the house, as the site of Thoreau's woodshed.[40]

In addition to his ongoing research, Robbins continued his discussions with T. Mott Shaw about a "Walden memorial" (Figure 15).[41] After receiving revised plans for the memorial, he went to the Acton Monumental Co. to obtain estimates for

> ...10, six ft. high, 8 in. sq., drilled with chain hooks and set-up on hut's site, granite markers, also large boulders to cover site of hut's chimney foundation, with inscription of 150 letters on center boulder....[42]

Robbins obtained an estimate and completion date of before July 4th, and then met with Mrs. Caleb Wheeler, Mr. Wallace Conant, and Mr. and Mrs. Allen French to show them Shaw's plan. Both this group and the Middlesex County Commissioners were "enthused with it and felt a July 4th or July 13th dedication would be possible and an excellent idea."[43] Robbins spent the remainder of May working on the

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[40] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 4/25/46.

[41] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 5/11/46.

[42] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 5/11/46.

[43] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 5/13 to 5/14/46.

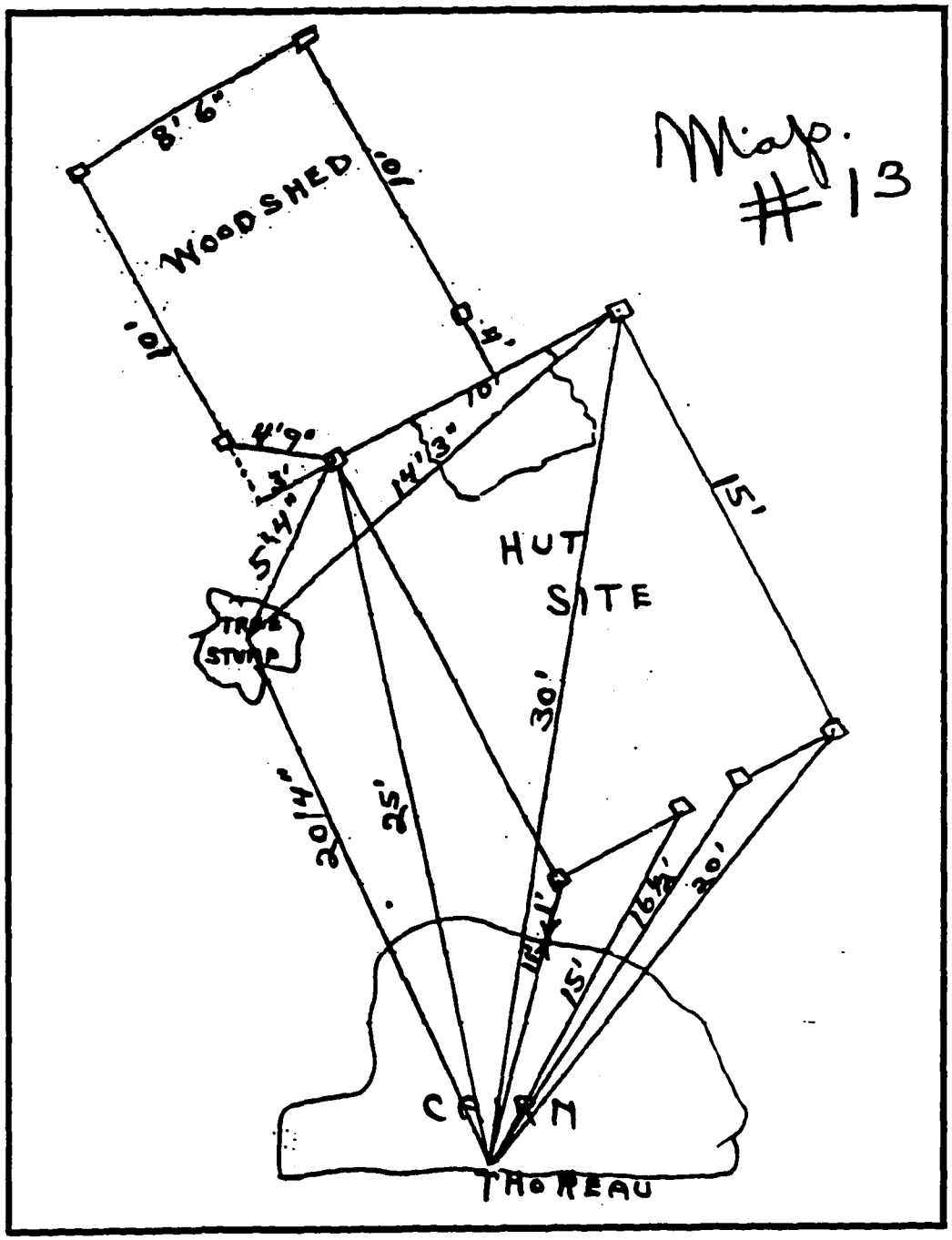

Figure 15. Plan of proposed granite monuments.

Walden memorial. At the end of the month, he resumed digging near the woodshed, finding both cut nails and brick about 10 inches deep (Figure 16).[44]

On May 31, the County Commissioners notified Robbins that they had revised the plans for the memorial drawn by T. Mott Shaw. The new plan called for a series of markers that enclosed the house site area and the cairn without marking the footprint of the house itself, which they feared had not been absolutely identified.[45] Robbins and his local supporters found this suggestion completely unacceptable, recommending instead that the cairn remain the only monument. Several meetings were held to resolve the dispute, which Robbins blamed on Fred Hart's resentment at his discovery, and it was decided that the National Thoreau Society be given the opportunity to decide on the final plan.[46]

In June, Robbins checked his discovery through additional documentary research and confirmation from other archaeologists and specialists. He took the artifact collection from his previous excavations to Professor Frederick Morton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for identification and dating. Professor Morton looked at the materials and reported that "it was impossible to place a definite age on such evidence. But he said it appeared to be old enough to fit the period when Thoreau built at Walden."[47] Later in June, Robbins returned to the pond with forester Jack Lambert to "determine the exact age of the tree stump" by cutting a

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[44] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 5/30/46.

[45] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 5/31/46.

[46] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 6/3/46.

[47] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 6/15/46.

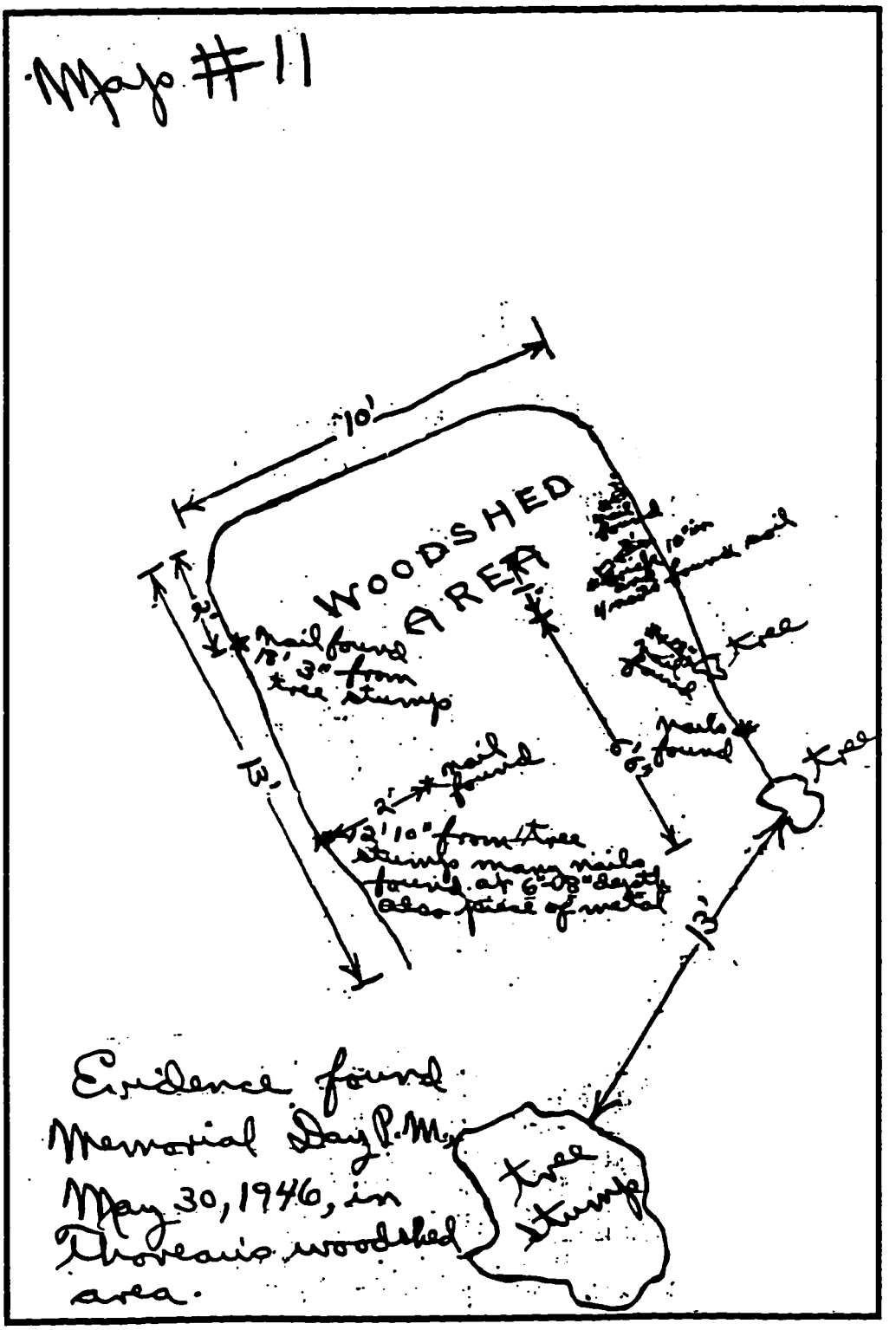

Figure 16. Plan of excavation in "Woodshed Area," May 30, 1946.

cross-section for tree ring dating.[48] Lambert determined that the pine tree was 91 years old, indicating that it began growing in 1855, 8 years after Thoreau left the house and it was moved.[49] Robbins attempted to confirm this date through additional archival work with Gleason's photographs of the pond, discovering several views of the pine tree in the late nineteenth century. Robbins also returned to the Concord Library to study Thoreau's original map of Walden Pond. This inspection of the map indicated that "the 12 rods distance from the hut's southern end to [the] cove is identical with the distance I measured from cairn to cove."[50] In early July, Robbins visited Boston archaeologist Sidney Strickland, who "does a great deal of excavating work down around Plymouth."[51] Strickland confirmed that all of the nails were cut and from the "period that Thoreau lived at Walden."[52] Robbins records that Strickland "was convinced I had found the original chimney foundation...."[53]

Robbins's work on the Thoreau memorial advanced, and in May he met with the committee to select an appropriate inscription. On July 4, 1946, he returned to the house site and resumed excavations in the area of the woodshed. He discovered a

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[48] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 6/17/46.

[49] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 6/26/46. This date assumed that the tree fell during the hurricane of 1938. This was later confirmed by Miss A. Bruel, who reported that she visited the house site the day after the hurricane and witnessed two men cutting up the fallen tree (see "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/13/46).

[50] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 6/22/46.

[51] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/1/46. Strickland excavated the John Howland House, a site that Robbins visited during his work at the John Alden House from 1960 to 1964.

[52] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/1/46.

[53] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/1/46.

feature of stone and brick "that follows the pattern of the chimney foundation," and identified it as the southeast corner of the woodshed."[54] He noted that he "did not uncover the entire formation but will when the proper witnesses are present."[55] Several days later, he uncovered the possible remains of the northwest corner of the house. Robbins reported that he relocated two or three boulders, four feet northeast of the tree stump and ten inches in the soil, and recorded that

> the way they fit together, coupled with the fact that their top surface was about 10" below present ground level shows that a hole was dug in the soil to embed them when they were laid. This and the fact that they are in the position where the northwest corner of the hut would have been located tends to prove the boulders were placed and used for a foundation of one corner of the hut.[56]

In mid-July, Robbins explored in earnest for the house's 6-×-6-foot cellar hole. Beginning an excavation to "tunnel" under the cairn in search of the cellar, he removed several of the cairn's stones. After a little digging in this spot, he identified "what appeared to be a boulder foundation" that went two feet into the ground, but failed to find evidence for the cellar.[57] Upon further reflection, Robbins realized that the 13-×-15-inch stone foundation was located almost exactly in the center of the house. He returned to Joseph Hosmer's published account of his visit to the house in September 1845 and found that Hosmer referred to a "king-post... extending from the

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[54] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/4/46.

[55] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/4/46.

[56] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/8/46.

[57] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/15/46.

bottom of the cellar to the ridge-pole..."[58] While the boulder foundation was not in the bottom of the cellar, Robbins speculated that it was used to support this king-post, and that Hosmer may simply have forgotten its exact position.[59] If this was the foundation of the king-post, Robbins wrote, "the 6' × 6' cellar hole should be found between the center of the hut site and the position of its door."[60] This information suggested to Robbins that he would find the cellar "only after the rear of the cairn has been moved."[61]

Robbins made one final attempt to locate the cellar without moving the cairn, digging beneath the northeast side of the cairn. While he found few artifacts, he noted that

> the soil appeared to show signs of having been fill. It did not have the different layers of course and fine sand that other areas that apparently had never before been dug showed....At 7 feet I found gravel and soil that appeared to have never been disturbed.[62]

Although not conclusive, this testing encouraged Robbins to meet with the park authorities to obtain permission to move the cairn. The meeting took several days to arrange. In the interim, Robbins visited with Mr. Orchard at the Peabody Museum to obtain "information for binding and preserving the plaster and mortar found at

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[58] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/15/46.

[59] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/15/46. Hosmer's account was published in the *Concord Freeman* [May 6, 1880], 35 years after his visit.

[60] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/15/46.

[61] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/15/46.

[62] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/15/46.

Walden."[63] Robbins had commented in his log on the poor condition of the plaster and mortar evidence and was anxious to find a suitable treatment to preserve these artifacts. Orchard recommended that he soak the pieces in a solution of *Alvar* mixed in acetone and then allow them to air dry. Robbins was particularly pleased to find out that "it does not change color of pieces treated nor is it harmful to use."[64]

In mid-August, Robbins met with the Middlesex County Commissioners, who granted him permission to move the cairn and excavate the area to find the cellar.[65] Later in the month, he began to move the rear of the cairn, and discovered over 30 stones with inscriptions dated to 1878 at the bottom of the pile. These stones, he later ferreted out through documentary research, had been placed by early pilgrims to the site.[66] Robbins was interested in the cairn as both a monument to Thoreau that provided a direct link through Alcott and others and, like historical signs and monuments, as a marker of the approximate site of the cabin. It would become his job, as he saw it, to improve on markers that recorded the approximate locations of historical sites by discovering the actual physical ruins that provided a direct link with the past event or personage. He would provide a visible foundation for the site to root it in the present.

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[63] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/15/46.

[64] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 7/15/46. "Alvar 7-70 mixed with pure acetone; 8% Alvar to 92% acetone."

[65] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 8/13/46. Robbins moved the stones to the other side of the cairn, shifting it slightly away from the hut site.

[66] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 8/31/46.

Beginning his excavations under the cairn, Robbins, along with his friend Anton Kovar, relocated the king-post foundation and began to dig in the "cellar hole area."[67] Here he found, "old nails and pieces of plaster as well as odd pieces of glass....The soil we dug out definitely was a mixture of different grades of sand and loam."[68] The excavation was conducted with the help of members of the local community and the National Thoreau Society, including Secretary Walter Harding. This part of the cellar hole was dug to approximately four feet below ground surface and yielded primarily cut nails. Before Robbins backfilled the unit, Walter Harding prepared a statement about the discovery for those present to sign, and it was then placed in the bottom of the hole. The note read

> The undersigned have witnessed the excavation of the cellar hole of Henry David Thoreau's Walden cabin on Labor Day, September 2, 1946 by Roland Wells Robbins, who discovered the site of the chimney foundation on November 11, 1945.[69]

Excavation on the cellar hole continued after moving more of the cairn's stones.[70] This new excavation uncovered a deposit of several large pieces of plaster along the cellar edge measuring almost seven feet long, one foot thick, and three feet wide. Robbins also found nails beneath this plaster feature. On September 3, 1946, he finished digging the plaster feature and cellar hole, photographed the evidence, and

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[67] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 9/1/46.

[68] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 9/1/46.

[69] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 9/2/46.

[70] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 9/3/46. Robbins recorded that he found two coins at the bottom of the cairn, a 1899 nickel and 1913 penny.

prepared a measured drawing of the area.[71] He speculated that the location of the plaster just outside the cabin door indicated that the plaster feature represented either a disposal or preparation area used by Thoreau when he plastered the inside of the house in November 1845. The cut nails sealed below the plaster, he continued, were likely disposed of earlier by Thoreau when he was working on the building.[72] Robbins reported that artifactual evidence from the cellar hole included plaster, glass, brick, crockery or pottery, and nails, all found about two feet below the upper "humus deposit." He stated that "wood ashes were also found. Three or four feet beneath the 2' level of the cellar-hole, fill soil was found" that contained no artifacts.[73] Robbins speculated that this clean fill was deposited first and that the upper fill with artifacts was added later from the surrounding soil, containing a mixture of old and new materials.

Following his work on the cellar, Robbins filled and leveled the area and made measurements to prepare his final maps of the site (Figure 17). In October 1946, he returned to Walden to search for the Thoreau privy, digging several long narrow trenches in the area of the earlier granite post monument. While locating additional brick and mortar remains, Robbins reported that he did not find the outhouse (Figure 18).[74] His work on the project during the remainder of 1946 and early 1947 focused mainly on historical research, including investigations on the inscribed stones that he

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[71] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 9/3/46.

[72] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 9/3/46.

[73] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 9/3/46.

[74] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 10/23/46.

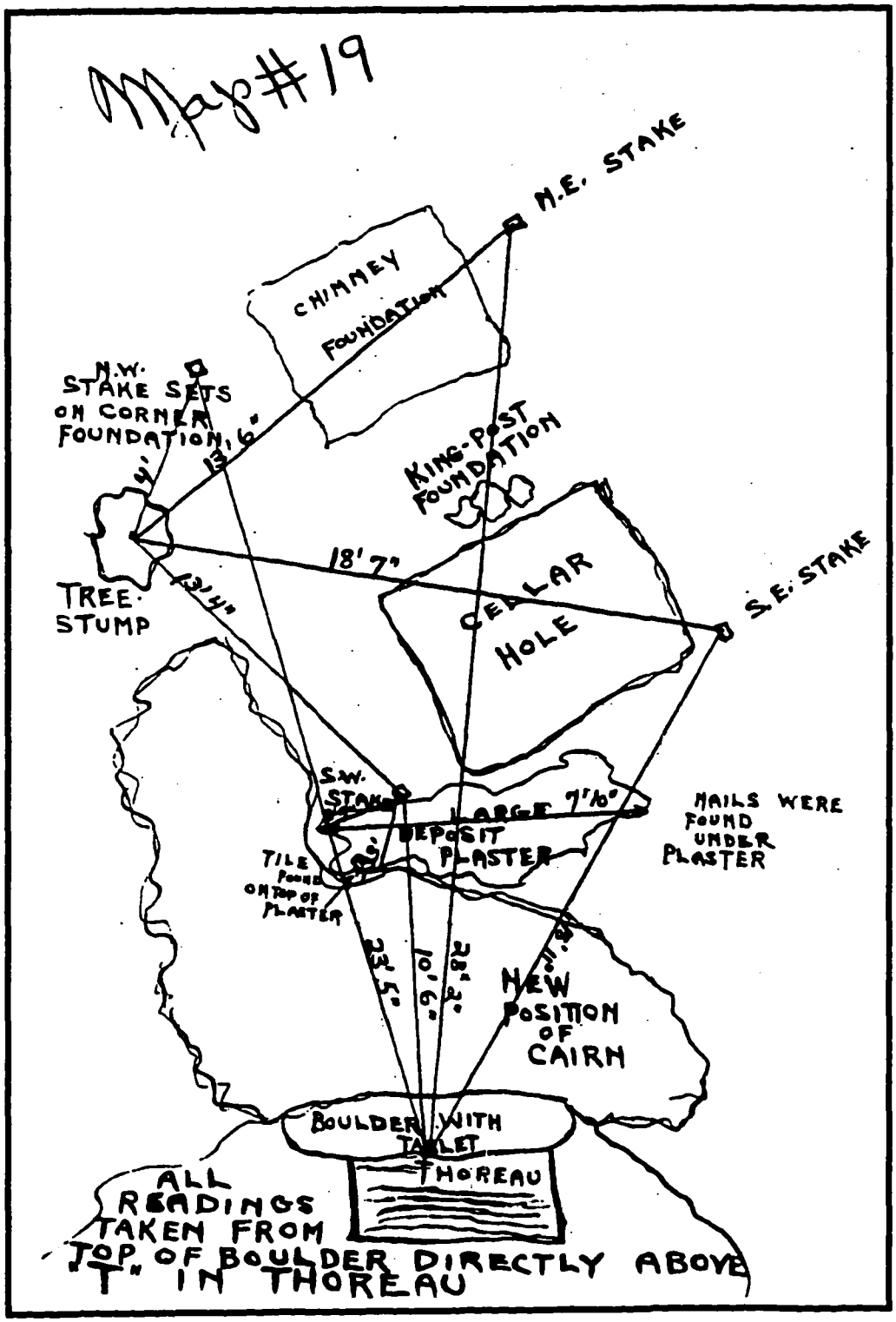

Figure 17. Plan of major features at Walden excavation.

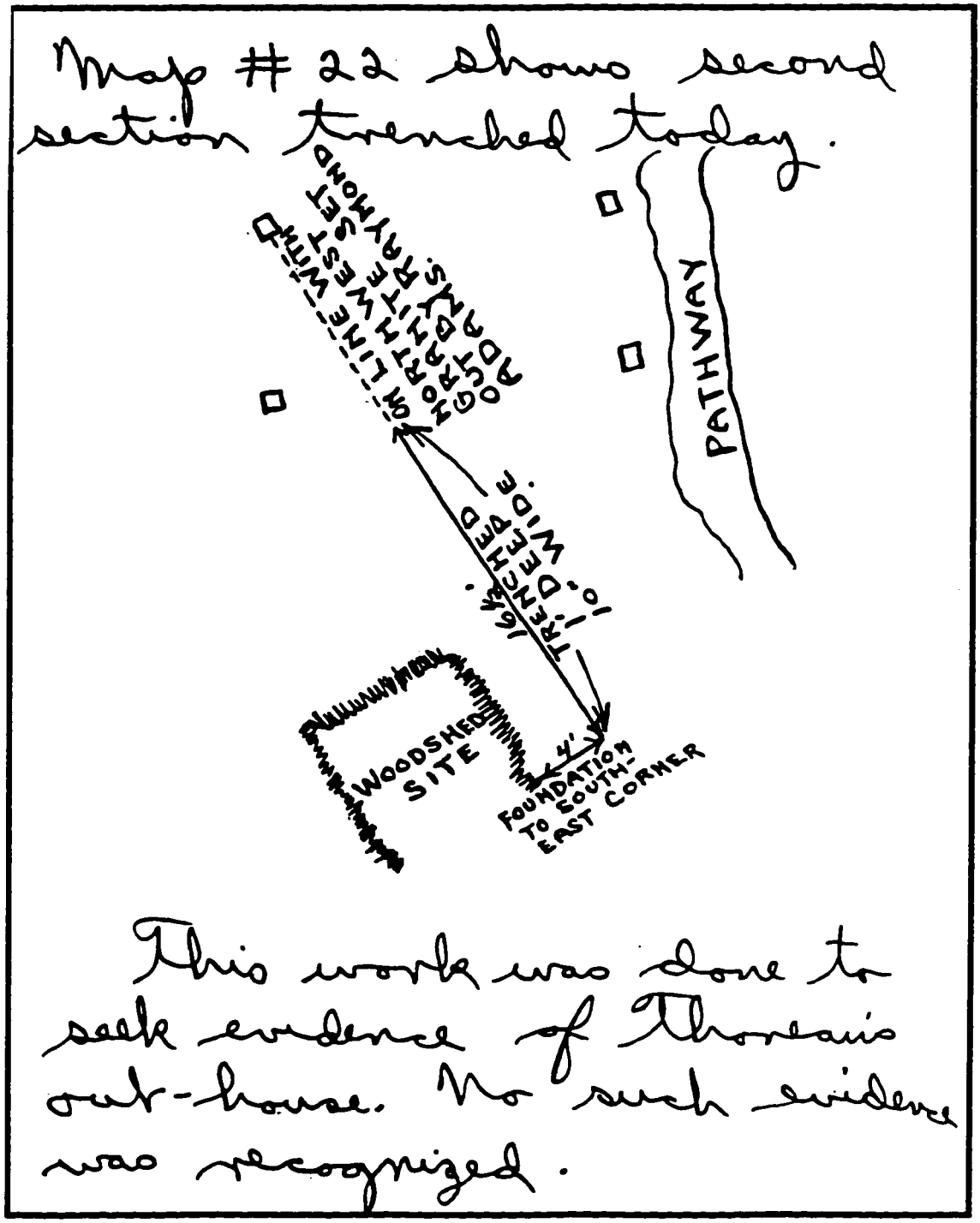

Figure 18. Plan of excavations to identify outhouse.

found on the cairn and the location of the Thoreau house after it was moved from Walden. During this time, he also participated in additional planning meetings for the Walden memorial.[75]

While Robbins's work at the Thoreau house site was in his own mind a completely amateur undertaking, the work is creative and resourceful because of its integration of historical research and excavation, and the overall level of documentation.[76] His decisions to excavate in specific areas, while not systematic in the sense of grid-oriented testing, were intelligently based on a dialogue with the documentary evidence and thorough testing with his steel probe rod. As recorded in his daily logs, Robbins used a wide range of documentary sources, including Thoreau's journals; the numerous editions of *Walden*; period letters and newspaper reports; photographs, particularly those by noted photographer Herbert Gleason; period maps; and interviews. His study of the Minute Man statue had prepared him for the documentary research required for the Walden project, and he quickly became skilled at interrogating the documents and weaving several types of evidence together to support a theory. Rarely trusting a single source, Robbins used the documents in combination with his physical evidence to tell the story of Thoreau's house at Walden. Not one to leave any stone unturned, he followed up on all leads, whether early accounts of the cabin's site, descriptions of the building itself, or the cairn and its relationship to the original Thoreau house. He made great use of his documentary

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[75] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 10/46 to 4/47.

[76] Robbins described the Walden project as his amateur work in several radio interviews. This was also confirmed by his wife Geraldine.

data in terms of his excavation areas. With information provided by several contemporary descriptions of the cabin and Thoreau's map of the pond, he used the location of the chimney and northwest corner pier features to direct his future excavations.

Robbins excavated vaguely by natural strata and utilized general horizontal controls. His plan drawings of the excavation units at the cabin site provide some horizontal control of the locations of both features and artifacts. He measured and mapped all of the excavated features, using triangulation based on a fixed point such as the pine tree stump, granite markers, or the brass plaque mounted on the cairn. In addition to his detailed drawings, Robbins took hundreds of photographs to document his work at the site, and also enlisted witnesses to verify his discoveries. While horizontal control of artifact provenience was evident, vertical control was generally lacking. His three daily log books, however, are filled with references to the specific depth of artifacts and their soil associations. It is apparent from these log books that Robbins recognized soil changes and understood their importance.[77]

Artifacts from the excavation were stored in numbered envelopes that were referenced in his daily log reports. While the horizontal provenience of the artifacts is relatively clear, vertical references are missing. The large amounts of brick, mortar, plaster were not generally stored by provenience. However, the daily logs usually record the weight of these artifacts by excavation unit. While Robbins made numerous efforts to have the artifacts identified by various experts, he clearly saw them as less important than the actual "foundations." This, however, is not surprising since

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[77] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," 9/3/46.

Robbins declared that he "did not dig for artifacts...but for ruins," still a typical practice in historical archaeology at the time.[78]

Before finishing fieldwork at the site, Robbins attempted to sell the story of the discovery to numerous magazines, including *Atlantic Monthly* and *Life*.[79] With no response from these publishers and his project almost finished, Robbins decided to produce his own book on the project. Although Robbins tried to interest several publishing houses in the book idea, he received only rejections, prompting him to publish the book himself.[80] The resulting *Discovery at Walden* is a lively account of his experience that exudes a sense of dedication to the work at hand. It also reveals a level of personal insecurity understandable in someone embarking on a new career. Although Robbins learned much of his trade through experience and common sense, he gleaned a great deal of knowledge from contact with professional researchers and their writings. In a 1946 notebook entry, he remarked, "I wanted to leave evidence for a scientific analysis by a person of authority," acknowledging both the status he sought and the people he later struggled against.[81]

Robbins guarded his claim to the discovery of the cabin site, controlling who saw his fieldwork at Walden and maintaining a level of secrecy that in some ways

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[78] Dodson, "The Man Who Found Thoreau," p. 116.

[79] Roland Wells Robbins to Walter Harding, January 26, 1946, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[80] Robbins worked with the firm of George R. Barnstead & Son of Stoneham, Massachusetts, paying for the cost of typesetting and printing himself. Ten years earlier, the Barnstead company had produced Robbins's book of poetry and verse *Thru the Covered Bridge*.

[81] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," pp. 61, 92.

worked against him. Some members of the National Thoreau Society, for instance, were not convinced of Robbins's discoveries, particularly because of his unwillingness to let them view the diggings while the work was underway.[82] Early in the dig, he refused to let Walter Harding of the Thoreau Society look at his excavations, and later that year recorded that "I told [Mr. Rogers] of my results at Walden Pond (but didn't reveal the foundations location)."[83] In recalling the incident, Harding remembered that Robbins was reluctant to allow him to see the site because "Robbins was always very suspicious of any college teachers--he had one particularly unfortunate experience."[84] It seems that Robbins told one of his window-washing customers, H. H. Blanchard of the Tufts English Department, about his discovery. Blanchard, recalled Harding, was "one of those real stuffed shirt Ph.D.'s who felt that no one without a Ph.D. was worthy to be in his presence."[85] Blanchard "belittled Roland's discovery" and, adding insult to injury, put something in the newspaper about it without telling Robbins.[86] Robbins felt betrayed, Harding recalled. He had wanted to keep control of the information and the situation, after all "this was Roland's secret not H. H. Blanchard's."[87]

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[82] W.B.C. to Walter Harding, January 14, 1946, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[83] Robbins, "#2 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 1.

[84] Walter Harding, personal communication, 1992.

[85] Walter Harding, personal communication, 1992.

[86] Walter Harding, personal communication, 1992.

[87] Walter Harding, personal communication, 1992.

Robbins made no excuse for his careful handling of news about the discovery, stating that "many are they who want to know the secret and have gone out to Walden Pond to seek it. This is in vain as I took special precautions to conceal my work until plans were formulated to preserve it."[88] The plans he refers to included both his own publication of the discovery and the creation of a Thoreau memorial or shrine at the cabin site. In recording the discovery of Thoreau's house in his field notebook, Robbins noted that "Mr. Conant said it would prove to be one of the world's greatest shrines," and added in the margin, "*Let's hope so.*"[89]

Robbins, however, desired to do more than simply earn a living by unearthing ruins and recreating buildings, explaining that "by profession I operate a small and successful window cleaning and painting business but by heart I live with the unanswered questions to the historical past."[90] He sought to interest the public in the process of research and the excitement of discovery. His animated style in *Discovery at Walden* was well suited to captivate his readers. The title page of *Discovery at Walden* promotes Robbins as the discoverer of Thoreau's Walden. It also announces, like a supermarket tabloid, that the book contains the "*Exclusive* Photographs of Thoreau's Chimney Foundation" [emphasis added].[91] Perhaps the book's most engaging feature is the presentation of a number of almost unbelievable coincidences,

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[88] Roland Wells Robbins to Walter Harding, January 23, 1946, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[89] Robbins, "#1 Thoreau Hut Notes," p. 61.

[90] Robbins to Harding, January 26, 1946.

[91] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, title page.

such as Robbins's moving into his Lincoln house on July 4, the day that Thoreau moved into the cabin; the visit of a young man named Henry David Thoreau, Jr., "a distant relative of Henry David Thoreau," to the site on the day Robbins discovered the first evidence of the cabin; and the discovery of the chimney foundation exactly 100 years to the day after the cabin had been finished.[92] While adding mystery and excitement to the narrative, the many coincidences serve both to expand the storyline and to reinforce that Robbins was the true discoverer of the cabin and certainly the right man for the job. It was, he seems to suggest, his destiny.

The book sold well, received good reviews from the press and the public, and created demand for Robbins as a lecturer (Figure 19).[93] Robbins distributed many review copies and received reactions from readers in all walks of life. The National Thoreau Society secretary, Professor Walter Harding, wrote to Robbins that "you did a superb piece of work. As for criticisms, I actually cannot find a single error in it--and I think that it is the first book on Thoreau that I've read that I could honestly say that about."[94] In the introduction to *Discovery at Walden*, Harding writes that as a person "more stimulated by ideas than things," he was skeptical. A brief visit to the site, however, gave him a shiver of excitement, and a review of the evidence convinced him of the accuracy of Robbins's work. The book, he noted, is a "careful

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[92] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, p. 25.

[93] The first printing sold out in several years and Robbins eventually reprinted the book in paperback.

[94] Walter Harding to Roland Wells Robbins, February 27, 1947, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

Figure 19. Geraldine Robbins reading *Discovery at Walden* with Roland looking on, ca. 1947 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

recording of each step in his [Robbins's] labors, scholarly in the best sense of the word, and as fascinating as a detective story."[95]

Both newspaper and journal reviewers found *Discovery at Walden* to be a compelling and unique detective story. Clayton Hoagland of *The Sun* wrote that "*Discovery at Walden* has added an unusual chapter to the history of American literature of the nineteenth century....Your photographs are unique in the field of what I should call American literary archaeology."[96] A reviewer in the *New England Quarterly,* noting the importance of Robbins's identification of the cabin location, also explained that

> there are further reasons...for welcoming this little book--not the least being its story of the quest....The story of the triumphant quest is as good as a detective yarn.... Robbins...tells his story with shrewd, homespun, naively humorous quaintness.[97]

Robbins's window-washing customers, like the public at large, were equally enthusiastic about the book for both its story and storytelling. Mrs. John H. Philbrick reported that "yesterday we borrowed a copy of *Discovery at Walden* from the Plymouth Public Library, and before the afternoon was ended, I had read it in toto to

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[95] Walter Harding quoted in Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, pp. xv-xvi.

[96] Clayton Hoagland to Roland Wells Robbins, February 19, 1947, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[97] Townsend Scudder, "Review of Discovery at Walden," *New England Quarterly*, 20(1947), p. 274.

my husband, who was also much interested and thrilled by your discovery--and by your subsequent treatment of it in the book."[98]

The Walden project was Robbins's answer to a calling that came from deep within himself. It was at Walden Pond that he first realized that history and archaeology could fulfill his desire to find a meaningful professional career. Geraldine Robbins remembers that "as he was doing window washing, and house painting, and all that, he never expected it to be his profession for life, this was always a stop gap."[99] He sought to be more, he said, than an "expert at washing other people's windows and renovating other people's houses...."[100] At Walden, he began to formulate the answer to the question that had drawn him to the Daniel Chester French sculpture of the Minute Man: how to secure a chance to pursue a meaningful career with little experience or education. Working amidst Thoreau's chimney foundation, he experienced for the first time the power of physical remains to captivate and capture both his imagination and the imagination of those around him. Although his entry into this work created anxiety and insecurity, it also held immense promise for the future; in his mind there was no turning back.

While Robbins always considered his Walden excavations an amateur undertaking, the project set the pattern for his future career in historic-sites

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[98] John H. Wilkins to Roland Wells Robbins, April 27, 1947; Mrs. John H. Philbrick to Roland Wells Robbins, September 30, 1947, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[99] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

[100] Robbins and Jones, *Hidden America*, p. 11.

archaeology and restoration.[101] As chronicled above, he applied his intuitive knowledge of the world to the task at hand, utilizing an interest in history, a natural talent for meticulously documenting the world around him, and his everyday skills as a handyman. During this first excavation, he borrowed heavily on his practical workman's craft knowledge, whether painting houses or washing windows, and on his proficiency in problem solving. He became familiar with soil strata and with the use of artifacts and features for dating and site interpretation through on-the-job experience, through a dialogue with other practitioners and experts in the field, and through reading in history and archaeology. Robbins used his basic knowledge of carpentry, masonry, and surveying and his inventive mind to craft commonsense solutions to the puzzle that he endeavored to solve at Walden.

At Walden, Robbins also refined his trademark detective-story approach to writing about his work, and first successfully experimented with his public speaking skills. While the Walden excavation captured his imagination and launched him on the road to historic-sites archaeology, it was at Saugus that he would firmly lay the groundwork for a life dedicated to identifying and restoring the ruins of the past.

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[101] Robbins felt that his first professional work was done at Saugus, and considered the Walden dig to be the product of amateur methods and intentions (Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992).

CHAPTER III. FORGING A NEW CAREER: THE SAUGUS IRON WORKS AND JEFFERSON'S SHADWELL

Following the work at Walden, Robbins was invited to lecture about his discovery to local preservation and historical societies, which were increasingly interested in the development of archaeological sites as monuments to early America. Robbins's enthusiastic lectures on his work at Walden captured the imagination of these eager preservationist groups, who immediately solicited him to visit their sites. His lectures and publication on the Walden excavation led directly to Robbins's participation in historical archaeology projects at other sites in the eastern United States.

Although historical archaeology was growing, it did not emerge "as an organized and established field between 1946 and 1960."[1] This phase of work in historical archaeology witnessed a growing awareness of historic sites and a slow refinement in methods and technique. These investigations generally had a better publication record and took a greater interest in the study of artifacts and their use for interpretation than did the projects of the previous half century. Excavation techniques improved, and stratigraphic controls were introduced and used in many projects. Even

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[1] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 129.

with increasing outside interest in historical archaeology by the late 1950s, the field was still unorganized and trying to identify its intellectual foundations.

From the late 1940s to the early 1960s, Robbins performed pioneering work at a series of important sites, the Saugus Iron Works in Saugus, Massachusetts, the Jefferson birthplace in Virginia, and the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills in Tarrytown, New York, for preservation organizations that were engaged in developing and enhancing their properties through historical restoration, reconstruction, or monument building. The postwar period was an age of anxiety, "a time when concerns about national security, swift social change, and a profound sense of historical discontinuity troubled people deeply."[2] Historian Michael Wallace has written that "the populist openings of the thirties were checked and reversed...the meaning of "historical" was narrowed...[and] the bourgeousoise set out to uproot 'un-Americanism' and celebrate,...'the American Way of Life.'"[3]

Historical museums and sites around the country reacted to this growing angst and began to market themselves as sources of patriotic inspiration, national pride, and as keepers of the legends of early America. Although some of these organizations sought to educate the public and fulfill their "desire to preserve oases of the pastoral, pre-industrial past at a time of startling technological and urban change," others "fetishized history," actually highlighting American technological development and glorifying industrial progress.[4] The Saugus Iron Works restoration, for example, was

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[2] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 537.

[3] Wallace, "Visiting the Past," p. 150.

[4] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 538; Wallace, "Visiting the Past," p. 150.

underwritten by the American Iron and Steel Institute as a symbol of the industry's important contribution to the past and present growth of the country. In this context, the Saugus project was wedged between the tradition-oriented, antimodern values of the early preservation movement and the burgeoning commercial utilization of the past. This so called "Corporate Roots movement" had its own agenda that was frequently at odds with the goals and desires of preservation professionals.[5]

The often complex and varying goals and objectives, and lack of experience, of the restoration-minded organizations and their sponsors made planning and implementing excavations difficult and required Robbins to do far more than excavate. At Saugus, for instance, he was at once a member of the restoration planning committee, primary archaeologist, exhibit planner, site interpreter, museum curator, landscaper and landscape restorer, maintenance chief, and often the day-to-day manager of the site. This multitude of responsibilities provided Robbins with new challenges and stresses every day of the project, negatively limiting his time and reducing his ability to concentrate on the archaeology at hand.

The mixed messages that Robbins received from the multi-headed Saugus organization--J. Sanger Attwill, the director of the First Ironworks Association; Quincy Bent, the chairman of the Restoration Committee; Walter S. Tower, the president of the American Iron and Steel Institute; and Conover Fitch, project architect for Perry, Shaw, Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean--resulted in a series of conflicts between Robbins and these men over both archaeological and non-archaeological concerns. Although the schizophrenic manner in which the Saugus operation was

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[5] Wallace, "Visiting the Past," p. 150.

managed eventually brought Robbins to the brink of a nervous breakdown, he continued to educate himself in both history and archaeology and gained important new insights into managing archaeological projects within a setting of institutional constraints and monetary pressures.[6] These business management skills enabled him to develop into the consummate professional consulting archaeologist, while at the same time positioning him as an entrepreneur and exploiter of the past in the eyes of the academy.

The Saugus Iron Works restoration is important because it illustrates Robbins's developing research and excavation skills within the context of a major reconstruction-oriented project, one typical of the preservation projects conceived and begun in New England during this period. In 1948, the First Iron Works Association of Saugus, Massachusetts, aware of Robbins's recent successes at Walden, hired him to excavate the site of the Saugus Iron Works. The president of the Association, J. Sanger Attwill, invited Robbins to participate in an "Antique Treasure hunt" to find the iron making components at the site.[7] Robbins was initially hired for a short-term trial project, but became "so successful" at finding the iron furnace ruins during the first few weeks that he was retained on a full-time basis.[8] Working with a crew of laborers and heavy mechanical equipment, Robbins built on his experiences gained at Walden, developing and refining his archaeological techniques.

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[6] Wallace, "Visiting the Past," p. 150.

[7] J. Sanger Attwill to Roland Wells Robbins, August 24, 1948, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[8] Marley R. Brown III, ed., "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology" (1975) Saugus Ironworks National Historic Site, Saugus, Mass., p. 1.

By the time of Robbins's initial involvement in the Saugus project, the iron works property had a long history within the historic preservation movement. Incorporated in 1943, the Association was actually the result of preservation efforts begun around the turn of the twentieth century.[9] The Iron Works House had survived into the early twentieth century, but the remainder of the industrial complex was largely forgotten. When the house was placed on the market in 1911, it quickly drew the attention of SPNEA founder William Sumner Appleton.[10] Acting as a historic property broker, Appleton sought to interest a buyer who would preserve and restore the house. After negotiating with several prospects, included Henry Clay Frick, Andrew Carnegie, and the local DAR and SAR chapters, Appleton finally interested Wallace Nutting, a former minister and noted antiquarian, in purchasing the structure in 1915.[11]

Nutting promptly hired architect Henry Charles Dean to restore the structure. After restoring the interior and exterior to their seventeenth-century finishes and expanding the later-period ell, Nutting used the building to display part of his collection of antiques and display his reproduction furniture.[12]

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[9] During later excavations along Central Street, Robbins located a "First Iron Works" historical marker placed by the Lynn Historical Society in 1898. Roland W. Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 65.

[10] Stephen P. Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration: A Tentative History" (1978) Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site, Saugus Mass., p. 1.

[11] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," pp. 1-2. Nutting, unhappy in the ministry, suffered a nervous breakdown; his recovery involved his complete immersion in the civil religion of the past [Edie Clark, "The Man Who Looked Back and Saw the Future," *Yankee* 50, no. 9 (1986): 112].

[12] Clark, "The Man Who Looked Back," pp. 174-75.

In 1920, Nutting sold the property to antiques dealer Charles L. Cooney, and in 1925 Cooney's estate sold it to Boston antiques dealer Philip A. Rosenberg. Rosenberg then promised M. Louise Hawkes, an officer of the local DAR, that "he would sell the house only to the Daughters of the American Revolution or to the Town of Saugus."[13] In 1930, the town began negotiations to purchase the house and property for a park, but the town's interest waned due to the "ridiculously high" price.[14] In 1935, Miss Hawkes offered to purchase the adjacent iron works site parcel from the bank that had foreclosed on the mortgage, and in 1938 the Parson Roby Chapter of the DAR obtained title to the land.[15]

In keeping with his 1929 promise, Rosenberg offered the property to the town of Saugus and the DAR in 1941, but neither had the money. He, therefore, sold it to The Alumni Association of the Henry Ford Trade School, who intended to move the structure to Henry Ford's developing Greenfield Village in Dearborn, Michigan.[16] The initial reaction of the townspeople and preservation community was negative, but fundraising proved disappointing; so Appleton devised a plan to split the cost evenly among the state, town, and the public. When it became clear that this approach would also fail, Appleton worked to create a non-profit corporation to acquire the land and

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[13] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," p. 3.

[14] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," p. 3.

[15] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," p. 3.

[16] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," pp. 3-4.

run the property. In 1944, the money was raised for the purchase, and the First Iron Works Association officially assumed operation of the museum.[17]

In 1948, J. Sanger Attwill, then president of the Lynn Historical Society and an early supporter of the iron works project, succeeded the Association's first president, Henry W. Porter. His local business of reproducing and restoring period furniture provided an excellent network for fundraising, including Louise Dupont Crowninshield. Mrs. Crowninshield was both a financial contributor and fundraiser for the project, and it was she who in 1944 approached Quincy Bent, a vice-president of Bethlehem Steel Corporation, for money. Bent first visited the site in 1947, and while generally unimpressed with the Iron Works House, was excited by the nearby slag pile and the potential of the site to contain original iron works elements.[18]

In 1947, the Association formed a reconstruction committee consisting of Quincy Bent, Edward L. Bartholomew, Charles Rufus Harte, John Woodman Higgins, and Walter Renton Ingalls. Higgins, Harte, and a group of other knowledgeable individuals visited the iron works in 1945, and, like Bent, saw great potential in the site. The Restoration Committee's first undertaking was to approach the officers of the American Iron and Steel Institute for support. The Institute, however, felt that it could not support the project without some tangible evidence that the remains of the iron works actually existed on the site. Therefore, in the summer of 1948, J. Sanger Attwill approached Roland W. Robbins about a brief exploratory

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[17] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," pp. 5-6.

[18] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," p. 6.

dig at Saugus.[19] Robbins was between seasons for window washing and painting and thus readily agreed to begin digging at Saugus in the fall of 1948.

Robbins met with Attwill at the Iron Works on September 10, 1948, and was briefed on the primary objective of his initial tests: locate and excavate the blast furnace foundations (Figure 20). Robbins's initial "testing [of] the soil by sinking holes," revealed that the land along the Saugus River was covered with as much as four feet of slag fill.[20] After four days of digging "numerous test holes," Robbins identified a stone foundation "buried three feet deep and some fifty feet north of the slag heap which runs north and south" (Figure 21).[21] He recorded that

> ...at one foot and one foot three inch depths, I located small pieces of old chinaware. At two feet six inches a bed of clay with pieces of red (baked) clay and bits of charcoal, as well as good-sized pieces of sandstone mixed with it, was located. This vein was six to nine inches in thickness. Beneath this vein was found a base of medium-sized stones.[22]

The Reconstruction Committee was so impressed by the success of Robbins's initial excavations that it agreed to finance his work for an additional six weeks, at a cost of $1,500.00.[23] This first evidence of the furnace foundation became the center of Robbins's continuing excavations. By October 16, 1948, he had identified "the

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[19] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," p. 9.

[20] Roland W. Robbins, "Report on Research and Excavations: Executed from September 10, 1848 to October 16, 1948," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[21] Roland W. Robbins, "Report of Archaeological Progress at the Old Iron Works Site, Saugus, Massachusetts, from September 10, 1948 to June 25, 1949," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[22] Robbins, "Report on Research," p. 2.

[23] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," p. 9.

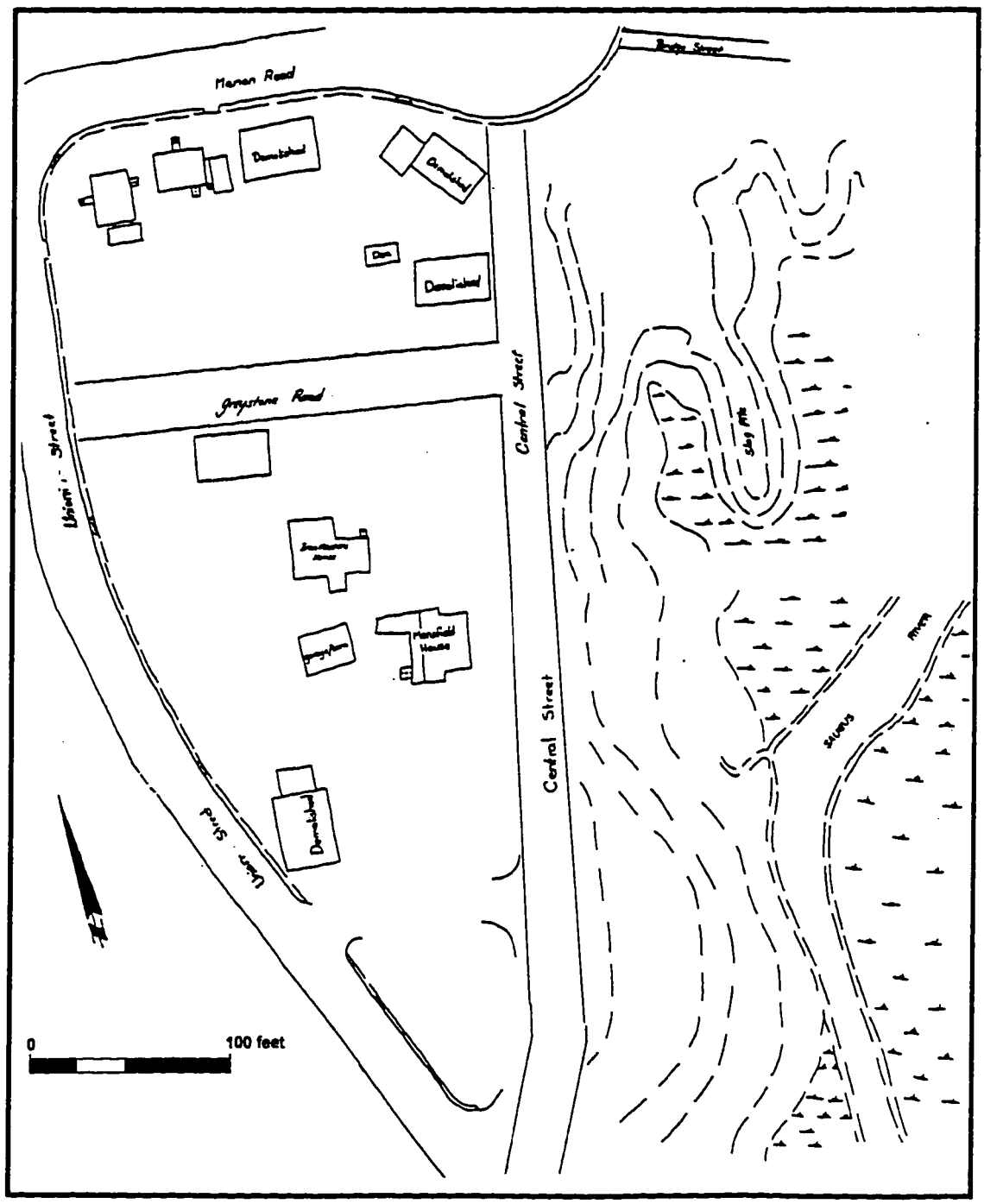

Figure 20. Plan of the Saugus Iron Works area prior to excavation (Brown 1975).

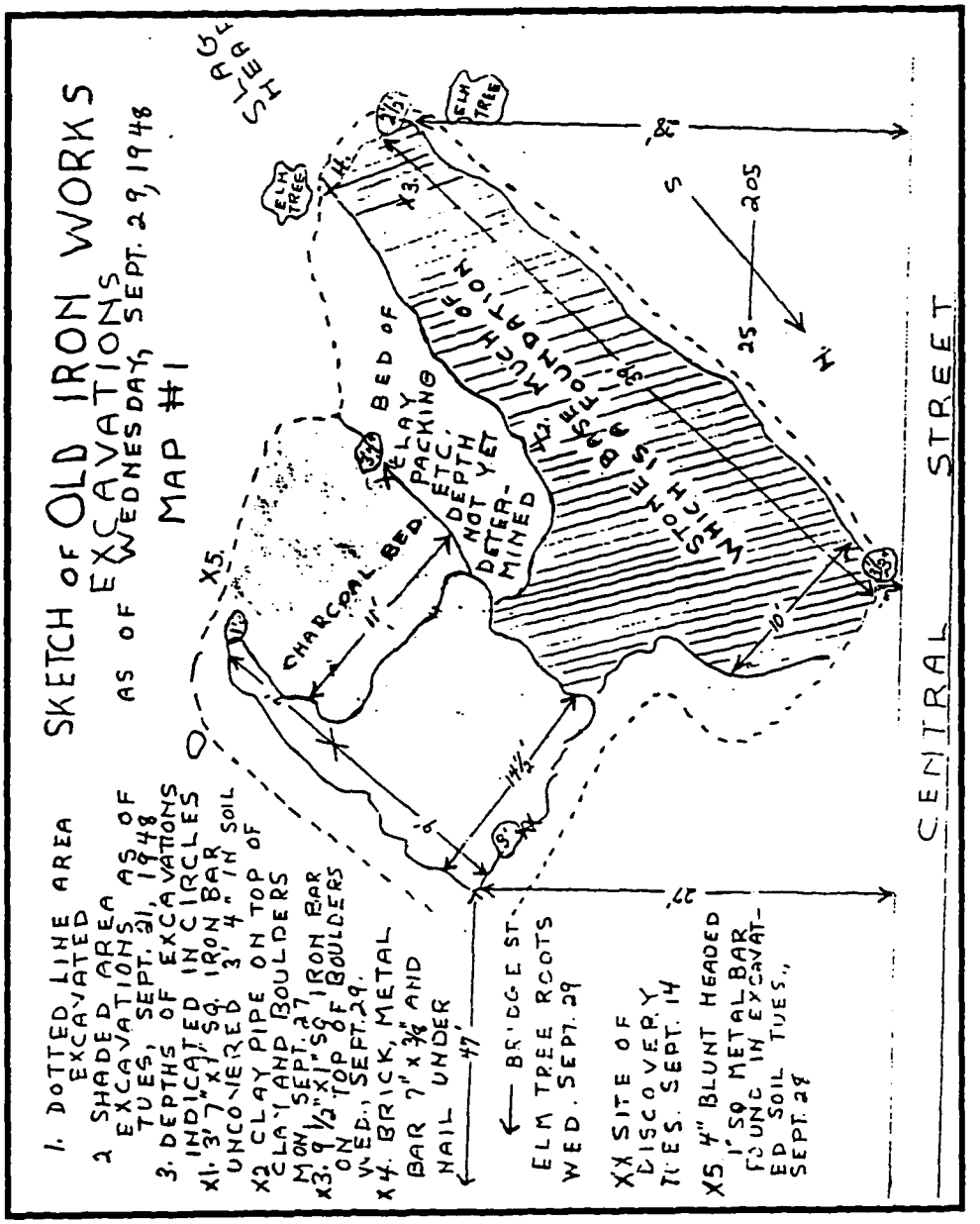

Figure 21. Sketch of Old Iron Works excavations, September 29, 1948.

outline of the furnace foundation, the heavy timbered base for the bellows, and the crucible cavity" (Figure 22).[24] He also identified several wooden beams at the northwest corner of the blast furnace foundation, buried eight feet below the ground surface. Robbins speculated that these beams were part of "the waterwheel [and sluiceway]...near the northwest corner of the blast furnace."[25] The sluiceway, he thought, probably ran along the western side of the furnace, and the furnace waterwheel would be found north of the furnace under the Central Street roadway.

Robbins described the soils that he had encountered within the furnace excavation area as follows:

> The top soil...consisted of a fill that had purposely been placed over the ruins. The surface and sub-surface of this fill were created by erosion and wash. The fill and wash averaged about two feet in depth and was foreign to the immediate locale. This was determined by the absence of slag in the soil used for fill.[26]

He ended his report on the 1948 excavations by noting that "future research and excavations should prove very fruitful...[and recommending a] concerted effort to concentrate on the records of "The Company of Undertakers for the Iron Works" for a thorough study and analysis."[27]

In December, curious about the sluiceway's construction, Robbins returned to Saugus to check on several details. He noted that he was "impressed with soil at [the] level of [the] base of [the] beams which form [the] sluiceway, it was blue-gray in

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[24] Robbins, "Report of Archaeological Progress," p. 1.

[25] Robbins, "Report on Research," p. 4.

[26] Robbins, "Report on Research," pp. 4-5.

[27] Robbins, "Report on Research," p. 5.

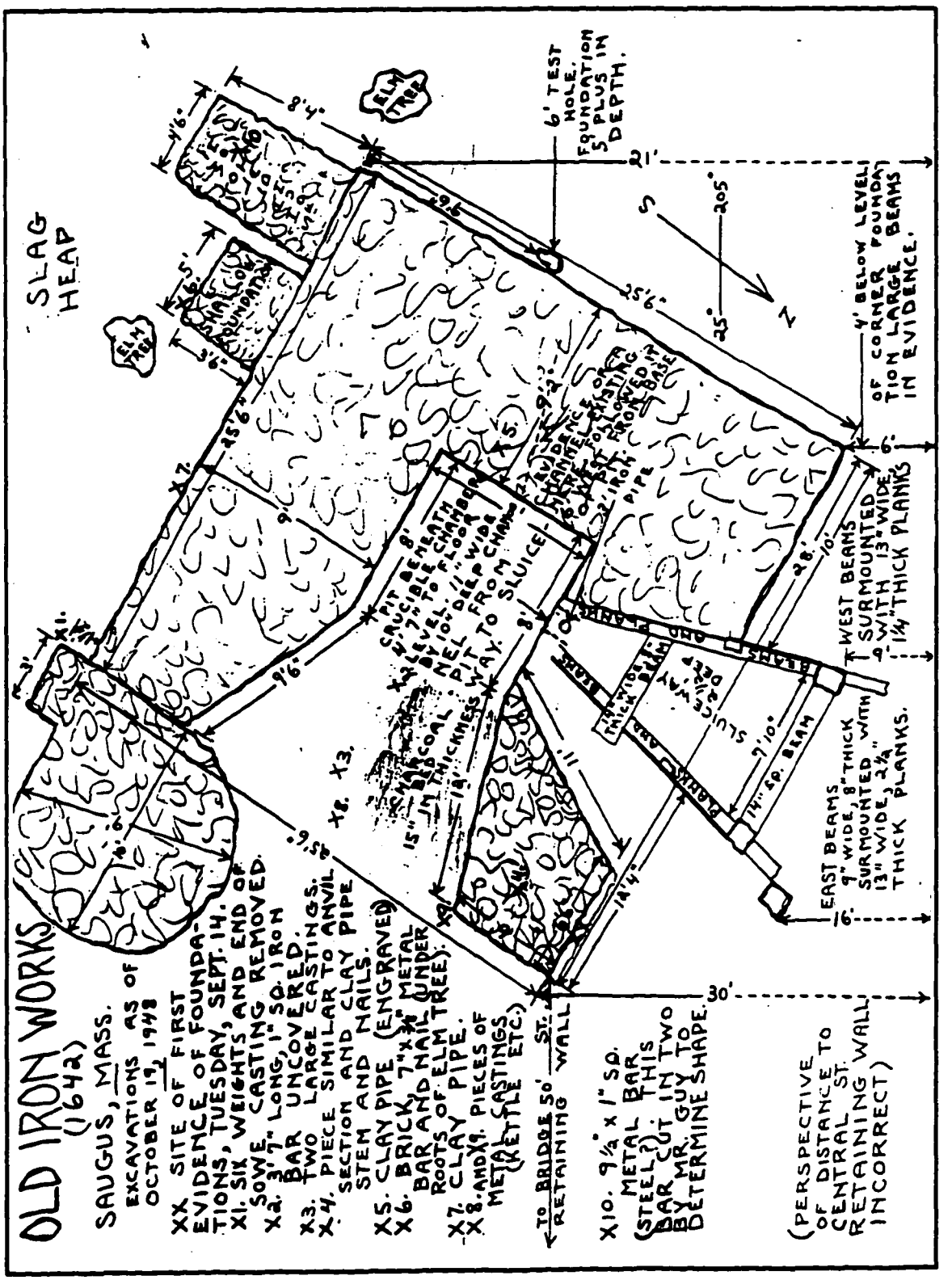

Figure 22. Old Iron Works, excavations as of October 19, 1948.

color. Its bed was above about 4 inches deep. Beneath it was a deep bed of fine sand."[28] He also dug a test outside the sluiceway and found only a coarse gravelly sand that "seemed to be much more natural...." Robbins collected soil samples from each stratum in glass jars for later examination.[29]

The Reconstruction Committee, fortified by Robbins's success at finding iron works features, once again approached the American Iron and Steel Institute for funding.[30] The Institute agreed to finance additional archaeological work, and in the spring of 1949 Robbins was hired on a full-time basis. Plans to restore the furnace had begun to materialize even before excavations resumed in the spring of 1949. The First Iron Works Association and American Iron and Steel Institute formed a Joint Restoration Committee to manage the project and elected Quincy Bent as chairman. In spring 1949, E. Neal Hartley of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was hired to begin a long-term historical research project on the iron works.

With the Joint Restoration Committee in place and the project historian on staff, Robbins and a team of local laborers began full-time work on the Saugus project in May 1949.[31] The workers initially cleaned the previous year's furnace excavations, identified the furnace tailrace, and then traced it along the southwest side

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[28] Roland W. Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1948," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., pp. 12-13.

[29] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1948," pp. 13-14.

[30] Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," p. 9.

[31] Roland W. Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. p. 24.

of the furnace. Robbins noted in his log that "we are now digging to a depth of nearly 7 feet to reach the upper most evidence of the tailrace."[32]

In May 1949, Robbins's field team was expanded to include two new members, surveyor John Bradford and photographer Richard Merrill. Robbins noted that he immediately met with Bradford, who worked on an as-needed basis, about making a master plan for cumulatively plotting excavation information (Figure 23).[33] Merrill, like Bradford, was hired on an intermittent basis to photograph the excavations and features.[34] Through his association with specialists like Bradford and Merrill, Robbins greatly expanded his skills in surveying and photography during the Saugus project.

Similarly, when Robbins recovered numerous wood and bone specimens, he sought help from Barbara Lawrence, curator of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard for bone identification, and Fred Orchard at the Peabody Museum for "properly treat[ing] and preserv[ing] the timbers of the tailrace and bellows base."[35] Although Lawrence took on the project of identifying the faunal remains from the project, Orchard explained to Robbins that his museum was not equipped to conserve large wooden artifacts.[36]

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[32] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 24.

[33] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 25.

[34] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 28.

[35] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 37.

[36] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 37. Orchard recommended slowly drying the wood and treating the better specimens with a preservative (Alvar 7-70, 8% solution).

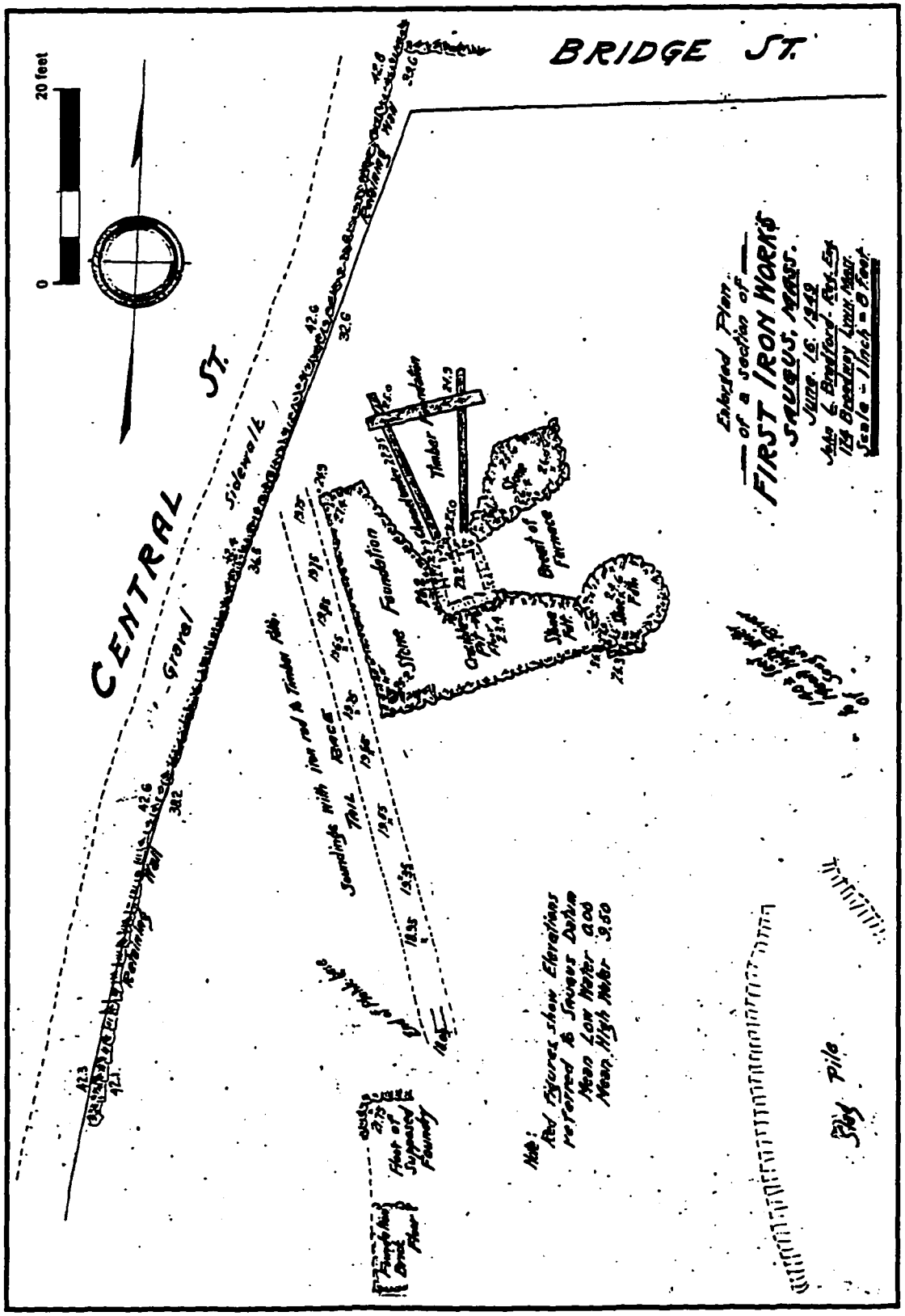

Figure 23. Enlarged plan of a section of First Iron Works, June 16, 1948, drawn by John L. Bradford.

By July 1949, Robbins had identified 5 separate foundations, and began identifying them by number,

> beginning with [the] furnace foundation as #1, the possible hammer foundation as #3, junction of 2 walls as #2, the possible forge foundation east of #2 and #3 as #4, and the stone evidence running ESE of the 3rd large elm tree site as #5.[37]

Robbins also began a search along Central Street for the canal or waterway that supplied the furnace with waterpower. His first two trenches (#1 and #2) averaged between 13 and 16 feet wide and from 30 to 55 feet long, and were oriented perpendicular to Central Street (Figure 24). These hand-excavated trenches each contained portions of a linear feature that measured between 4 to 5 feet deep and 10 to 12 feet wide, both with tapering ditchlike sides. Robbins was intrigued by these features, but noted that he was "not entirely convinced" that he had found the canal course.[38]

From the very start of his full-time employment at Saugus, Robbins's approach to the excavations began to assume a haphazard appearance, apparently lacking any organized plan. Although Marley Brown has commented that "in most cases, Robbins's testing proceeded on a rather random and limited basis, reflecting the location of utility trenches and other construction activity, rather than the application of any systematic sampling scheme," a closer look at his field notes and logs suggests that his work was far from random.[39] Robbins attempted to follow the evidence in a

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[37] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 45.

[38] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," pp. 45-46.

[39] Brown, "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology," p. 17.

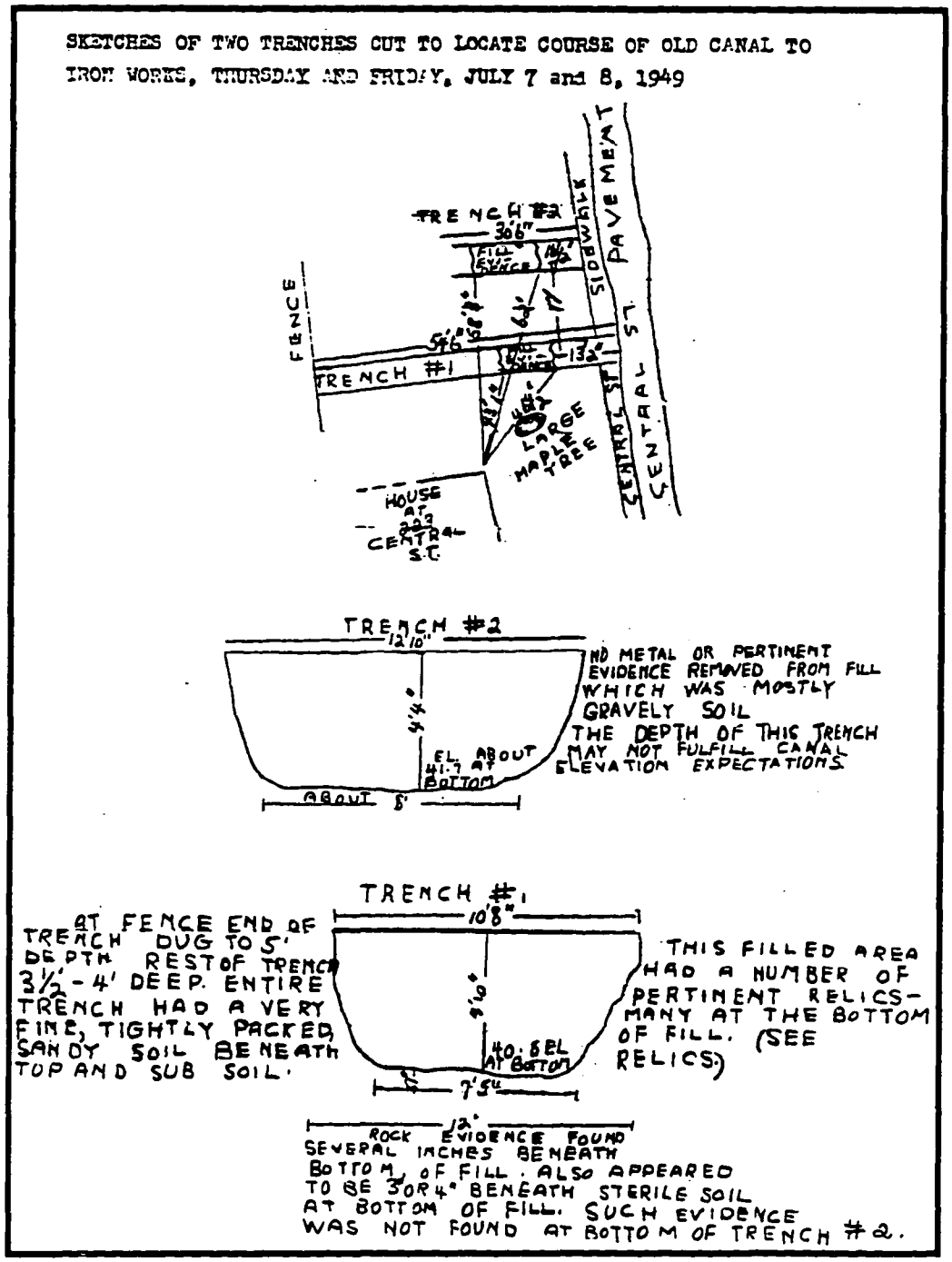

Figure 24. Sketches of two trenches cut to locate course of old canal to Iron Works, July 7 and 8, 1949.

logical sequence: for instance, beginning with the furnace complex and then defining its watercourse and the source for this water. His strategy consisted of tracing identified features and evaluating the landscape, both through testing and topographic clues.[40] Testing north of the iron works property resulted in the discovery of a series of other watercourses that were then carefully followed to identify associated features and buildings. Finally, the watercourse features were all traced to the river, where the dock or wharf area was investigated. While several areas were often under investigation at the same time, Robbins did his best to work through specific areas and features in anything but a random manner, attempting to complete work in each activity area before moving on.

Private property issues, construction demands, and weather all hindered Robbins's attempts to carry out his work in a systematic and organized fashion. For instance, Robbins's testing around the houses that lined Marion Road, Central Street, and Bridge Street was continuously hampered by difficulties in getting permission to excavate and by landowner complaints.[41] Robbins was frequently promised access to properties by the Association's attorney, but after preparing for the work, he would find that the situation was not properly resolved. In fact, the attorney's reputation with the neighbors was such that Robbins was frequently called upon to act as a negotiator and mediator between the property owners and the attorney, particularly when the iron works wished to buy the land.[42] Lengthy delays in rerouting Central

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[40] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 8.

[41] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 192.

[42] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 152.

Street severely disrupted Robbins's plans for completing work on the furnace complex before moving to other areas.[43] Along Bridge Street, his excavations on several of the watercourses and the refinery complex were disrupted when attorneys discovered that they had not obtained permission to work in the Bridge Street right-of-way. They ordered Robbins to backfill his units immediately and abandon the area until they had attended to the problem.[44] This caused a lengthy delay in the recording of features related to the refinery building, and necessitated focusing work on other areas.

Robbins's work plans were also disrupted by needs of the architects and builders who were following him across the site during the reconstruction process. He was frequently asked to stop work in one area and move to another to answer a question or respond to a problem that had developed. He was also limited by the guidelines set by the Reconstruction Committee in that they directed him to "concentrate his activities on locating and exposing only the major features of the industrial complex of the Iron Works proper."[45] For example, his work on the charcoal house, located on private property north of the iron works during testing for the watercourses, was terminated by the Committee.

Although his ability to focus on specific archaeological areas and features would become increasingly hindered by the overwhelming demands of the managers and the complexity of the site, Robbins initially succeeded in organizing his work around the furnace. Robbins identified five additional foundations to the southeast of

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[43] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 117.

[44] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 222.

[45] Beaudry, "Archaeology and the Documentary Record," n.p.

the furnace by August 1949, and was continuing his series of "canal test trenches" along Central Street to locate evidence of the watercourse to the furnace. During October and November 1949, he concentrated his excavation efforts on features associated with the furnace foundation, the casting bed, the crucible pit, and the bellows base, along with the area east of the furnace foundation itself. Summarizing his work for 1949, Robbins wrote

> ...my major problems were not the locating and excavating of buried foundations, but rather the association of these foundations one to the other and their functions. This was necessary to determine the original pattern of the plant and its layout.

Robbins also reported that "our museum is bulging with tons of various artifacts uncovered during past excavations. These visible legacies of the past are being classified and must be preserved..."[46] While proud of his accomplishments, Robbins concluded that identification of the ruins was not enough: "the fact that many foundations and sites have been located does not indicate that my work with them is done. To locate foundations is one thing--to fit them and their intricacies into the over-all picture is another matter."[47]

From late winter 1949 to July 1950, Robbins performed only limited testing, including the furnace crucible pit and the area east of the Central Street retaining wall (Figure 25). The winter weather was severe and limited work in the field, and the Reconstruction Committee decided that he should "terminate present excavations until the middle or last of March." They suggested that he spend his time on cataloging the

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[46] Robbins, "Report of 1949 Archaeological Progress," p. 3.

[47] Robbins, "Report of 1949 Archaeological Progress," p. 3.

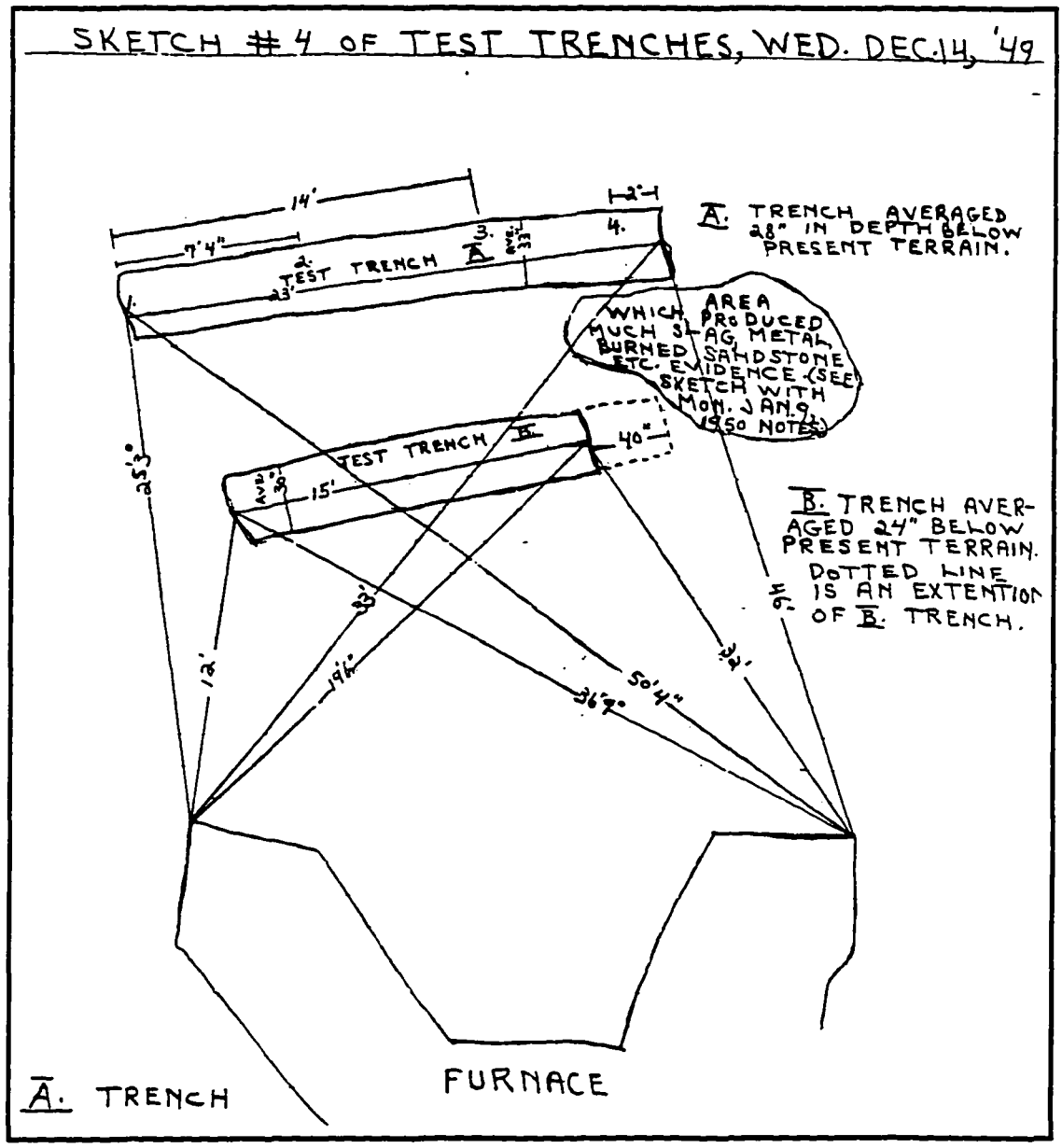

Figure 25. Sketch #4 of test trenches, December 14, 1949.

artifacts and writing his report for the 1949 excavations, and the group discussed re-routing Central Street for excavations of the furnace waterwheel.[48]

The work near the crucible pit focused on several fill areas with slag and metal artifacts. Robbins initially speculated that these depressions may have been used for cooling hot slag, but felt that the amount of metal waste and metal artifacts suggested another interpretation.[49] Along the Central Street retaining wall above the furnace, Robbins trenched the slope to determine the stratigraphy and the possible location of the furnace loading bridge.[50] He identified a concentration of stones, fired soil, charcoal, and a large iron sow in the same area, suggesting a possible foundation related to some type of production activity, potentially a bloomery or Catalan forge.[51] Robbins also continued to investigate the source of the furnace watercourse, particularly the "cranberry bog" area, during the first half of 1950.[52]

In addition to cataloging "relics" during the extremely cold and snowy winter, Robbins continued to investigate appropriate conservation methods.[53] He wrote to Henry Hornblower about iron artifact conservation, who suggested that Robbins

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[48] Roland W. Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 9.

[49] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 5-6.

[50] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 17.

[51] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 20. A sow is an ingot or mass of iron solidified in a sand mold.

[52] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 31.

[53] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 1-2.

contact James Bateman of Williamsburg.[54] In late January, Robbins sent Mr. Bateman "eight metal specimens" for restoration, but he felt that the results were disappointing and not worth the cost.[55] During this period, Robbins also began what was to become a standard procedure of sending samples of iron artifacts and waste, slag, and iron ore, to laboratories at several steel companies.[56] The members of the Restoration Committee hoped that these tests would provide new information on the specific iron making process, result in the identification of iron sources, and succeed in distinguishing products made at the Saugus operation.

In April of 1950, Robbins and Hartley traveled to East Braintree and West Quincy, Massachusetts, to investigate the early iron furnaces at these locations.[57] Hoping to use these furnaces, thought to be branches of the Saugus Iron Works, for comparison with the Saugus complex, Robbins dug several tests holes in an attempt to verify the furnace locations. At West Quincy, he located a foundation and evidence of burned sandstone furnace lining in an area measuring 24 × 21 feet, and also found evidence of a slag deposit.[58]

Robbins received his introduction to community politics during the campaign to relocate Central Street.[59] Negotiations continued between the Saugus Iron Works

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[54] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 13.

[55] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 15, 37-38.

[56] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 26-28.

[57] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 53-57.

[58] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 55, 57.

[59] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 69. Robbins had previously determined that the furnace waterwheel was buried beneath the street.

staff and town officials for several months; the primary disagreements revolved around the cost of the project, public safety, and convenience. Town meetings generated heated debate and opposition from homeowners in the iron works neighborhood, and town representatives and neighbors visited the site throughout the summer of 1950. Robbins gave them a full tour of the excavations, museum and laboratory, and artifact collection, and vigorously lobbied for the project.[60] With the help of this lobbying effort by Robbins, the road re-routing was approved during a special town meeting on July 27, 1950. Anxious to resume excavations, Robbins began work the following day.[61]

Moving out from the furnace in hopes of identifying other iron works structures, Robbins turned his attention to excavating the Bridge Street area, beginning a series of test trenches along the north side of the street.[62] Almost immediately, the digging identified two foundations at depths of approximately 3.5 and 5 feet. Robbins also identified a "large circular affair," on the north side of Bridge Street, that appeared to be a hammer base.[63] At a depth of 34 inches, he found a "stump or block of a tree that measured 41 inches in diameter."[64] "The theory at the moment," he recorded, "is that the circular wood base is the base on

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[60] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 95-96.

[61] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 105A-106.

[62] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 106.

[63] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 108.

[64] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 108.

which the hammer fell and the metal waste about it was the accumulation of the impurities extracted from the iron by the hammer action."[65]

During August, Robbins met with Conover Fitch and Mr. Harrison Schock of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn to discuss details of the furnace layout.[66] At this session, and others like it over the next two years, Robbins provided commentaries on the features, plan and profile drawings of the excavations, and relevant photographs, all to aid the reconstruction design process.

After identifying the hammer base along Bridge Street, Robbins dug several test trenches "to determine the natural soil line" and guide future excavations.[67] "At this spot," he recorded, "only several inches of surface soil covered a deep deposit of natural clay."[68] His notes for the excavation of these trenches contain detailed descriptions of the soil profiles with soil color, soil type, disturbances, and the stratigraphic relationships between the various layers and deposits.[69] During late August, Robbins used the heavy equipment to begin restoring "the slope from Central Street to the area south of the furnace," to the natural contours that existed prior to the construction of the Central Street roadway.[70]

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[65] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 108.

[66] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 112.

[67] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 113.

[68] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 114.

[69] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 123-26.

[70] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 122. Robbins would often move the heavy equipment into a new area to remove the fill, while his laborers worked on completing the hand excavation in another area. With several pieces of equipment and a good-sized crew, Robbins maintained excavations in several different areas at any

On August 25, Robbins and his men found a second possible hammer base about eleven feet east of the first base. This feature also appeared to be a section of tree, although in this case squared off and somewhat smaller than the first, 21 × 23 inches.[71] Robbins and Hartley were excited about this discovery, believing that it and the previous hammer base were likely part of the iron works refinery.[72] This interpretation was strengthened when, on August 31, Robbins found the head of a trip hammer in the immediate vicinity of the bases. Robbins noted that the 500 pound iron hammer head was covered with approximately 8-10 inches of soil, and "appeared to be resting on natural clay" (Figure 26).[73]

On September 5, 1950, the Central Street detour went into effect, and Robbins made arrangements with the backhoe operator to begin removing the street surface as soon as possible.[74] The backhoe work, Robbins reported, entailed "restoring the natural contour here," and began with the removal of the Central Street retaining wall between Bridge Street and Marion Road.[75] After the bulk of the fill was removed from the Central Street slope above the furnace, Robbins and his crew continued the search for the furnace waterwheel, "removing the fill from the area at the northwest

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moment.

[71] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 131.

[72] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 132.

[73] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 138-39.

[74] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 140.

[75] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 143, 145.

Figure 26. Robbins shows 500 lb. iron hammer found at Saugus to school children (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

corner of furnace and the easterly slope of the ravine" by hand.[76] He also continued test trenching to establish the natural grade at the intersection of Central and Bridge streets and Marion Road, when utility trenching produced evidence of a possible water course and a new foundation.[77] The bottom layer of silt, Robbins recorded, contained "Indian chips...that suggest the possibility of a natural brook having crossed here...."[78] A similar watercourse was found in a trench behind the house at the corner of Marion Road and Central Street. Robbins believed that this trench was a direct approach to the furnace waterwheel.[79]

Beginning in mid-October, Robbins initiated a series of test trenches between Marion and Greystone roads west of Central Street (Figure 27).[80] Four of the twelve trenches revealed soil profiles that strongly suggested to Robbins that he had identified a waterway cutting southeast from the cranberry bog to the iron works.[81] He wrote that

> the information and artifacts revealed by trenches #4, 5, 6, and 7, as well as similar evidence noted in two trenches crossing Union St. near junction of Marion Rd. speak convincingly of a brook or water course leading from the cranberry pit in a somewhat southeasterly direction (Figure 28).[82]

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[76] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 152.

[77] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 155.

[78] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 166.

[79] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 167-69.

[80] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 173.

[81] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 175-79.

[82] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 177.

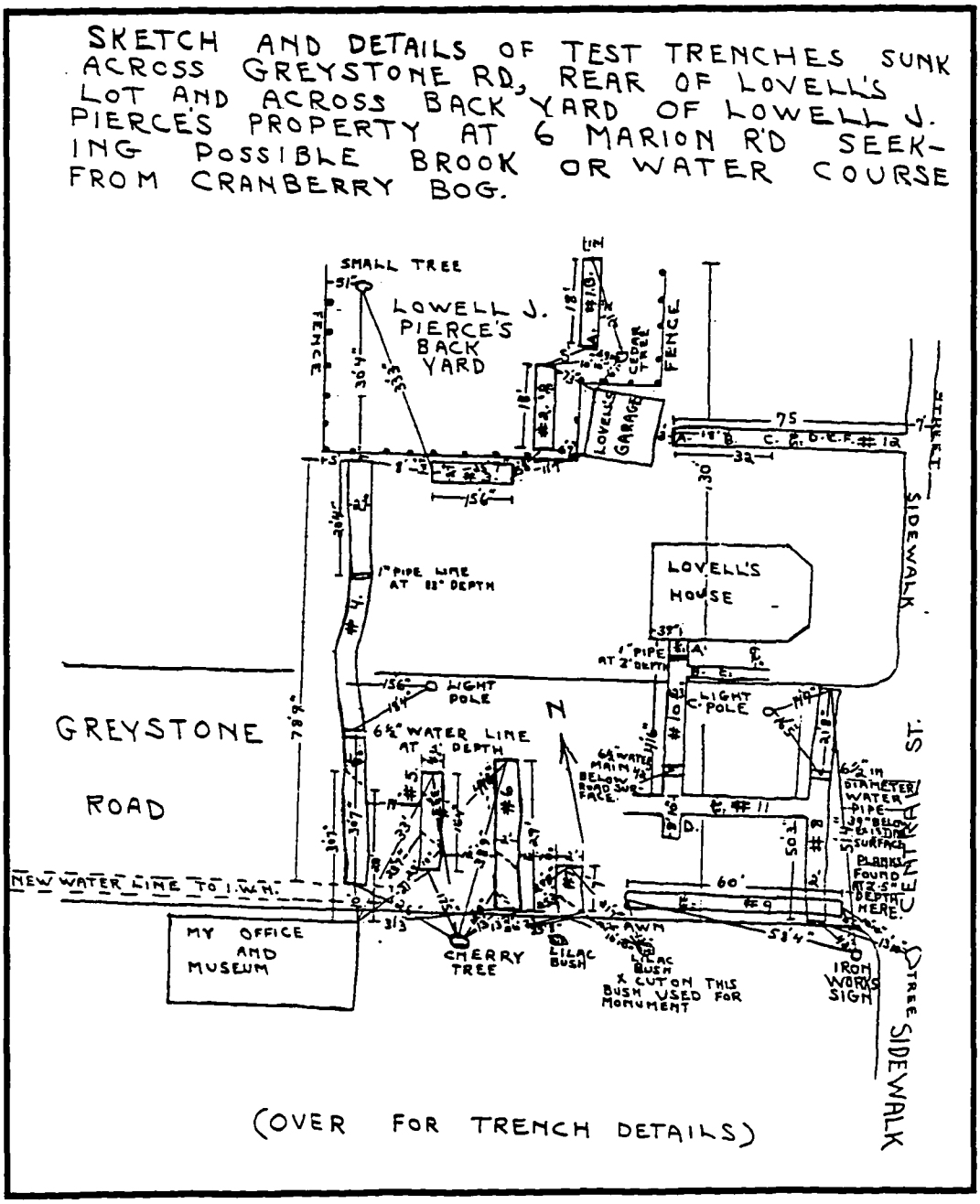

Figure 27. Sketch and details of test trenches sunk across Greystone Road seeking possible brook or water course from cranberry bog.

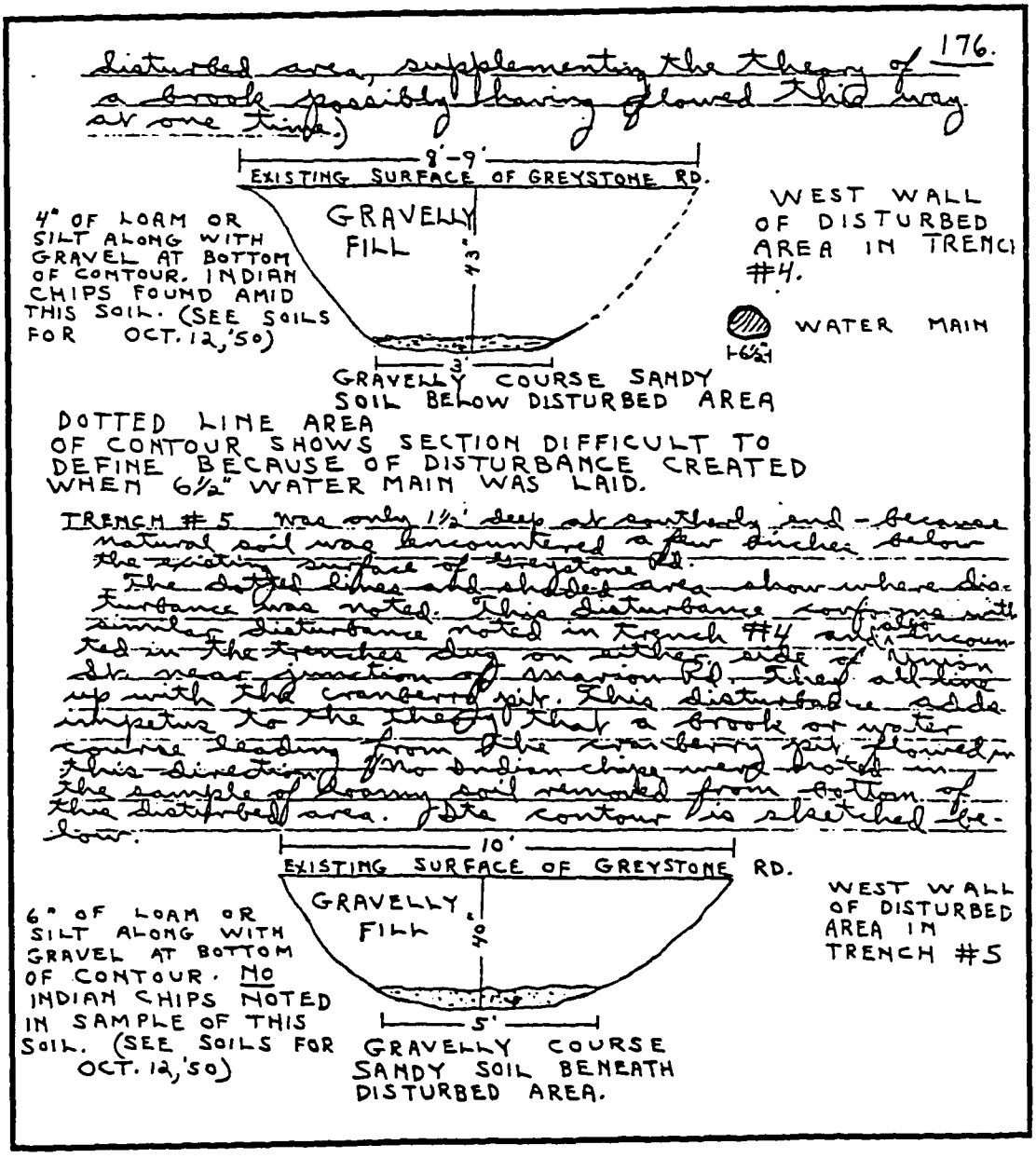

Figure 28. Profile drawings and notes on fill in Trenches #4 and #5, Greystone Road area.

Robbins also identified the site of the probable charcoal house in the rear yard of a house on Marion Road, west of Central Street (Figure 29). He reported that three feet of fill soil covered a stone foundation and charcoal bed that measured 45 inches deep.[83] Ongoing digging at the charcoal house site was unfortunately cut short due to complaints from the tenant living in the house; Robbins was forced to record and photograph the features quickly before backfilling the excavation.[84]

During November 1950, Robbins continued working on restoring the original contours along Bridge Street and testing along Central Street to determine the extent of the ravine.[85] Robbins and his crew then returned to work on the site of the anvil base foundation in the refinery area, south of the Bridge Street retaining wall (Figure 30).[86] He rapidly identified several new features including uprights that supported the hammer beam, a stone foundation north of the retaining wall, and possible evidence of the waterwheel pit and watercourse (Figure 31).[87] Shortly after finding these new features, Robbins was informed by the Institute's lawyer that the area would have to be backfilled immediately because it was within the 40-foot Bridge Street right-of-way. Before the area was backfilled and fenced, Robbins was able to sketch the evidence and have Richard Merrill take photographs.[88]

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[83] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 183.

[84] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 194-200.

[85] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 202-03.

[86] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 215.

[87] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 215-19.

[88] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 223, 225A-C.

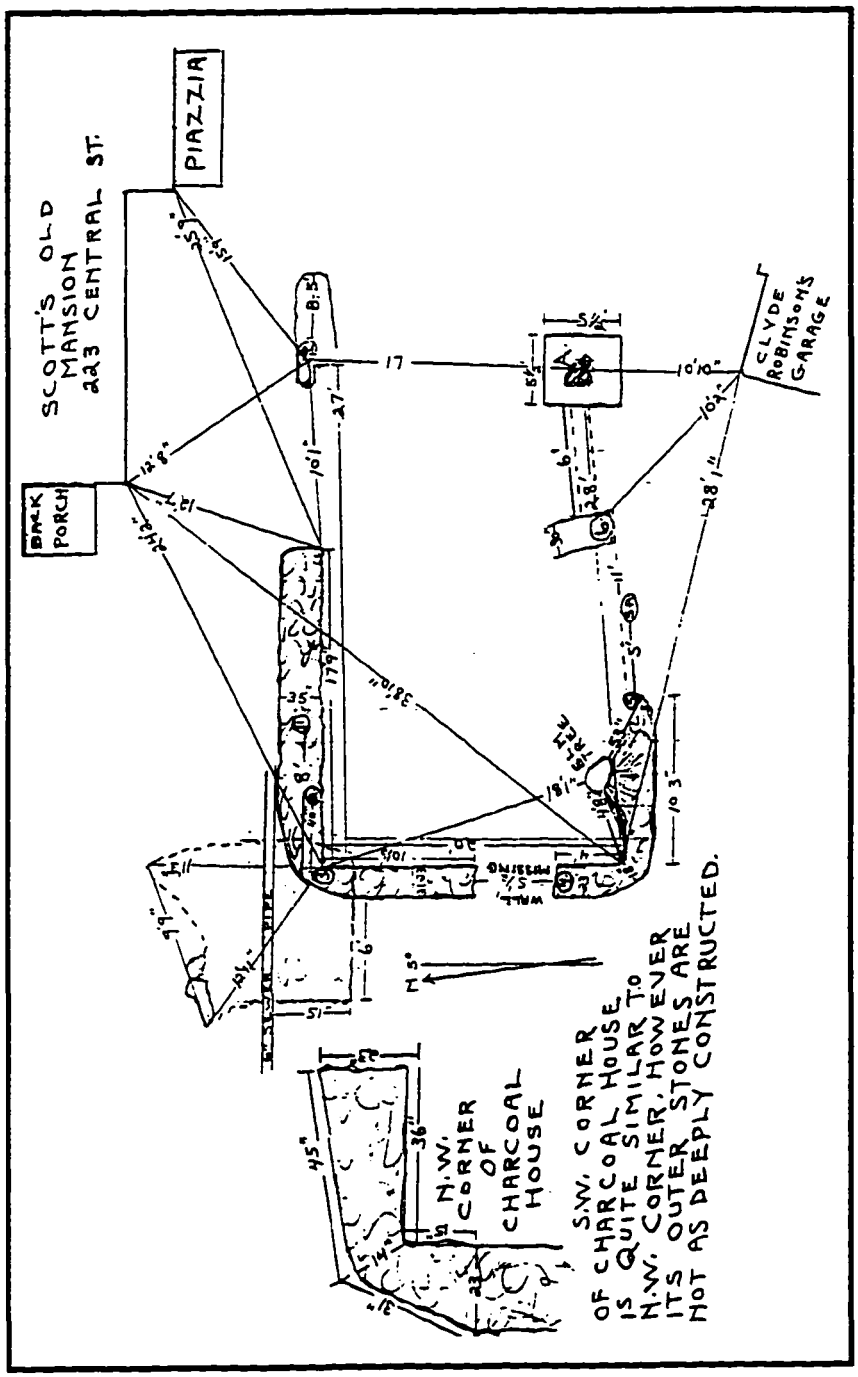

Figure 29. Plan of charcoal house evidence.

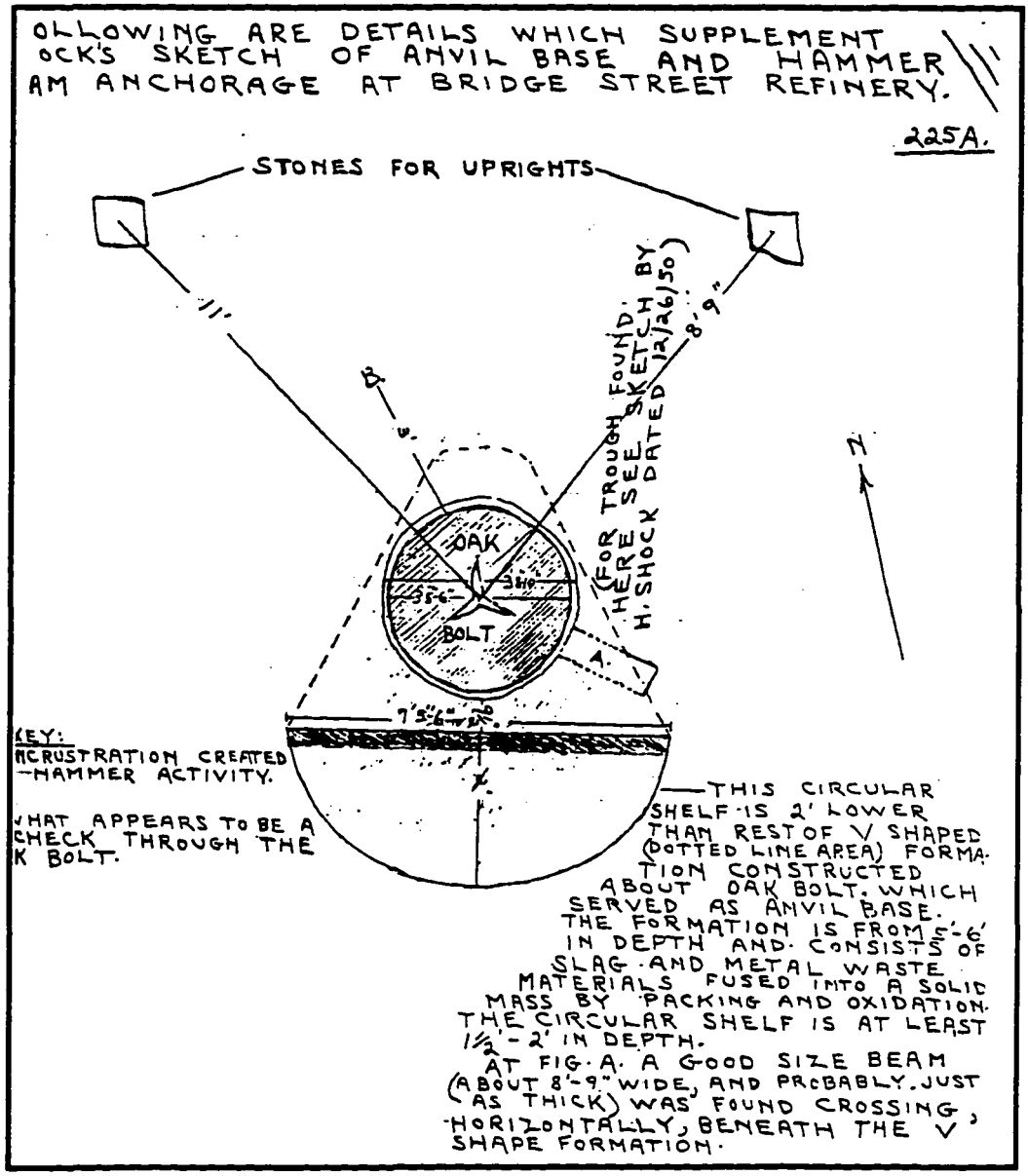

Figure 30. Details and sketch of anvil base and hammer, Bridge Street refinery.

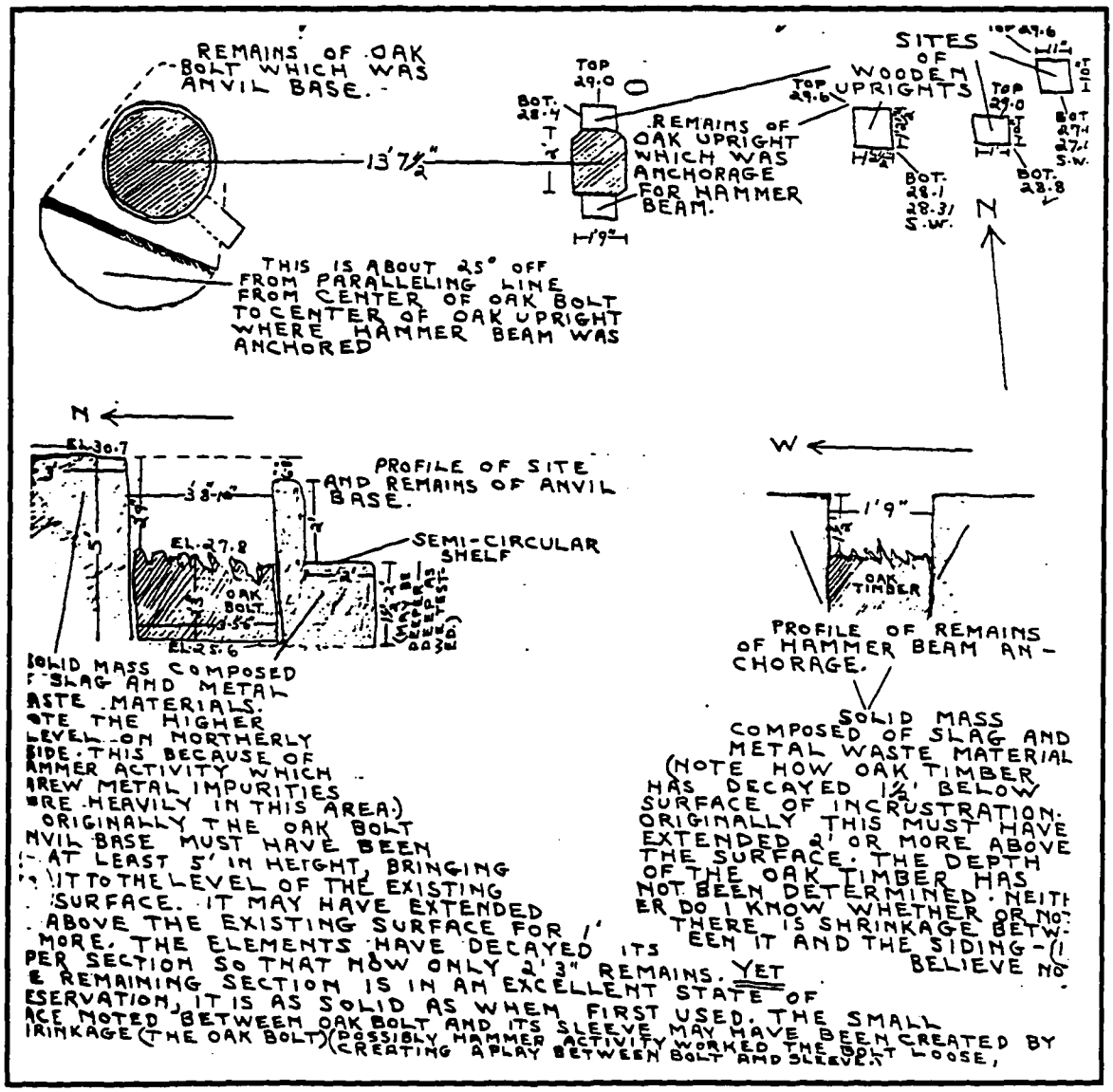

Figure 31. Details and sketch of anvil base, anchorage for hammer beam, and wooden uprights, Bridge Street refinery.

During the 1951 season, Robbins returned his attention to excavation along the recently closed Central Street corridor. Digging in January along the Central Street slope near the furnace and at the intersection of Central Street, Marion Road, and Bridge Street, he identified a stone foundation west of the furnace and a disturbance at the head of the Central Street ravine slope, respectively. Robbins believed that the stone foundation was likely the base of the furnace bridge or at least a retaining wall associated with the bridge, and identified the disturbance as the watercourse leading to the furnace raceway (Figure 32).[89] Using the watercourse as a lead, Robbins concentrated his energies on finding the furnace waterwheel pit, thought to be some 20 feet below Central Street. In February 1951, he identified a waterwheel bucket and proceeded to uncover the entire furnace wheel pit and adjacent raceway (Figure 33).[90] Robbins excitedly recorded in his log that "today's work hit the jackpot! While I had expected to find about 25% of the waterwheel cradled in the race at least 40% of the wheel was found there..." (Figure 34).[91] He calculated the wheel's diameter as 16 feet, and determined that it was definitely an overshot wheel.[92] The wood preservation was remarkable, and Robbins found the wheel, wheel pit, and a section of the raceway virtually intact.

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[89] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," pp. 6-7.

[90] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 24.

[91] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," pp. 25-26.

[92] Roland W. Robbins, "Annual Archaeological Report - 1951," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

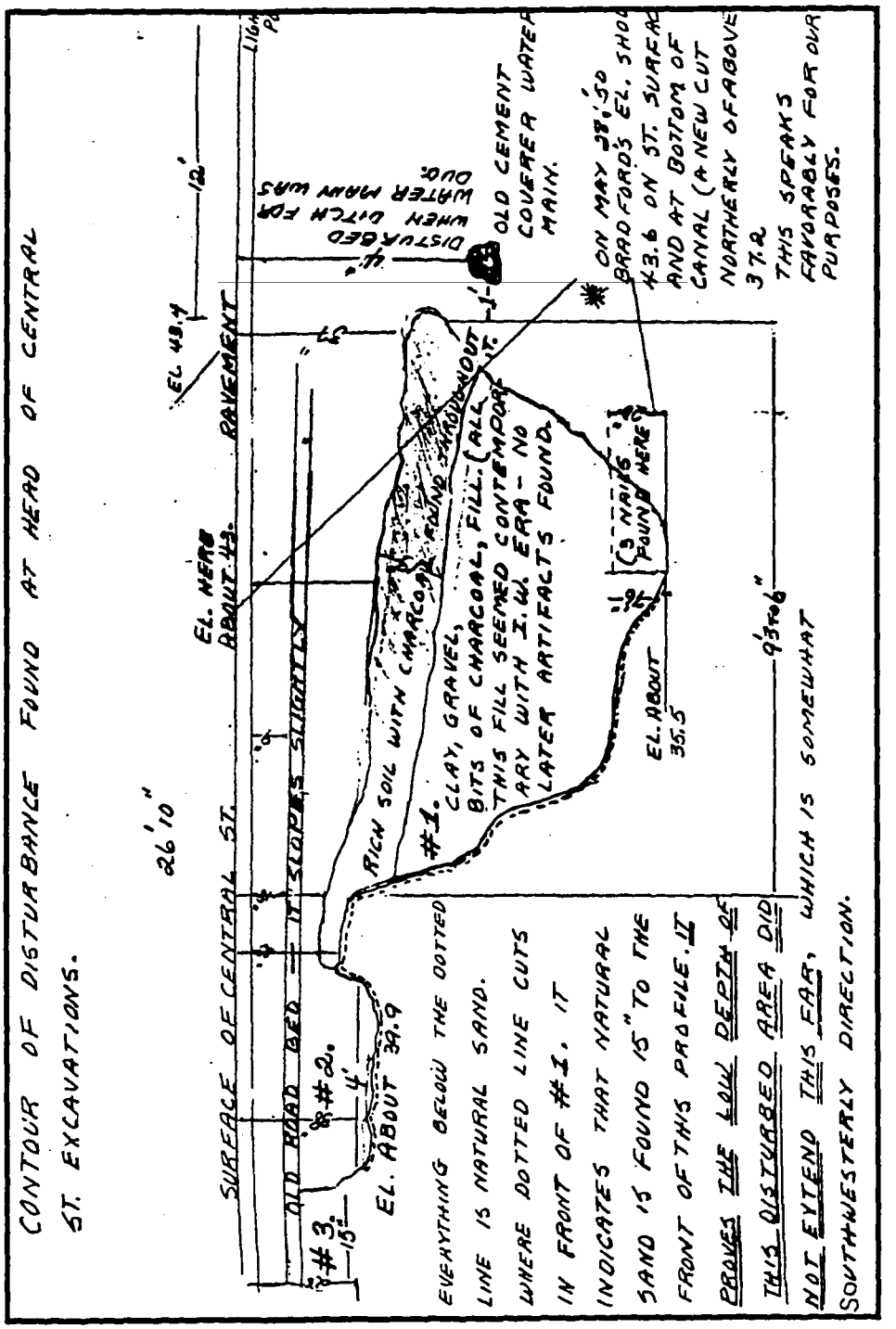

Figure 32. Contour of disturbance found at head of Central Street excavations.

Figure 33. Robbins excavating in furnace raceway (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

Figure 34. Visitors looking at remains of furnace waterwheel and raceway (Robbins stands in base of waterwheel pit with remains of original wheel) (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

The almost unbelievable condition of the waterwheel complex created a major preservation issue, prompting Robbins immediately to search for appropriate conservation treatment prior to dismantling the feature. His first inquiry was with Fred Johnson, a curator at the Robert Peabody Museum in Andover. Johnson had few ideas, telling Robbins that "it was so large that it may be impractical to do much with it," but recommended that he talk with Dr. Elso Barghoorn at Harvard's Biological Laboratories or Hugh Hencken at Harvard's Peabody Museum.[93] Robbins met with Barghoorn several days later and Barghoorn became interested in the problem and offered to begin some limited testing.[94] Robbins reported his finding to the Restoration Committee who authorized him to "attend to all arrangements for the dismantling, treating, and preserving of the water wheel."[95] Barghoorn experimented with several possible treatments before arriving at the process of immersing the wood in hot paraffin wax to drive off the water and provide structure to the wood.[96]

While seeking appropriate treatment for the waterwheel complex, Robbins continued test trenching on the east side of Central Street and along the north side of Bridge Street, searching for the furnace and refinery watercourses.[97] This trenching uncovered evidence of watercourses to both the furnace and refinery, and suggested

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[93] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 33.

[94] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 36.

[95] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 44.

[96] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," pp. 46, 52.

[97] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 49.

that the furnace watercourse split off the refinery canal (Figure 35).[98] This evidence convinced Robbins that the furnace waterwheel was supplied from the same source as the refinery, and also suggested to him that the furnace and refinery were built at the same time.[99]

During the summer of 1951, Robbins and his crew excavated to the south, east, and west of the furnace foundation, locating yet another foundation along the furnace tailrace.[100] By June, Robbins was satisfied with Barghoorn's experimental wood treatment process and completely dismantled the furnace waterwheel complex and shipped it the Harvard lab.[101] In July, Robbins resumed testing along Bridge Street near the refinery and located a second watercourse along the east side of the structure.[102] About this time, he moved his heavy equipment into the wharf area, focusing on Foundation #6, the possible warehouse.[103] While testing in the area south of Foundation #6 and east of the slag dump, Robbins discovered several round beams over 50 feet long. He interpreted these beams as base sills for the wharf or

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[98] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," pp. 51, 55, 58.

[99] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 58.

[100] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 63.

[101] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," pp. 68-69.

[102] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," pp. 75-76.

[103] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," pp. 75-84.

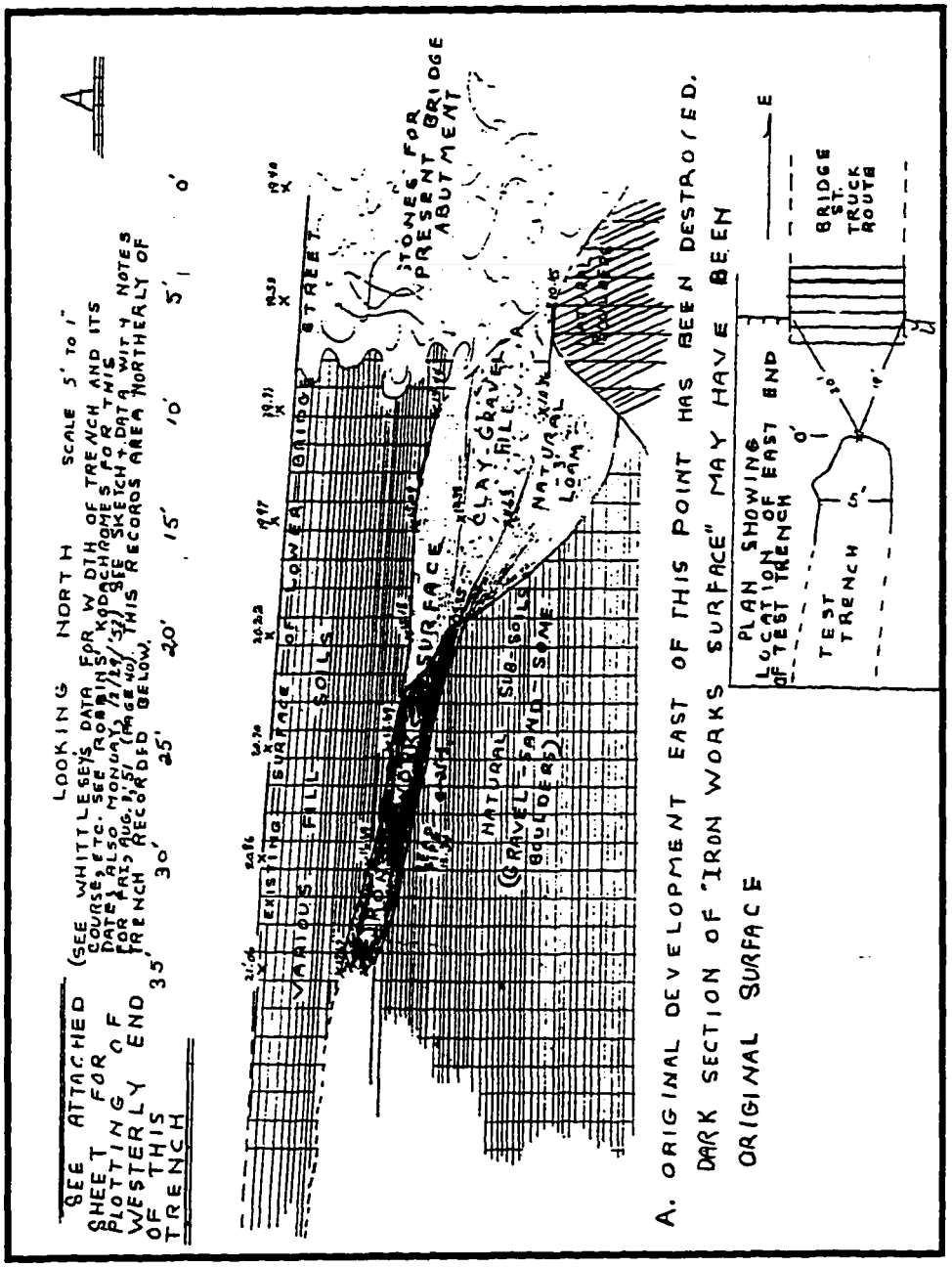

Figure 35. Cross-section of trench along Bridge Street to locate additional raceways.

dock.[104] Later the same day, a trench along the south side of Bridge Street revealed evidence of a third potential watercourse crossing Bridge Street.[105]

During the fall of 1951, Robbins excavated the wharf area and the two refinery waterways identified earlier in the year. In October, he located more evidence of a dock in the wharf area on the east side of the slag dump, and completed limited excavations among the Joseph Jenks foundations on the tailrace of the furnace waterwheel.[106] In late November, Robbins had his crew uncover the hammer anvil base feature within the refinery, and began excavating the related hammer watercourse and wheel pit.[107] This work continued into December, when Robbins and the crew also began to investigate the second refinery waterway, located east of the hammer waterway.[108] Robbins also sought evidence of the refinery forge between these two watercourses.[109]

Robbins continued to excavate in the Bridge Street refinery area in the new year, working on the second wheel pit on the first or hammer refinery waterway.[110] Digging in this area was discontinued when Robbins decided to wait for "more

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[104] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 83.

[105] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 88.

[106] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 99.

[107] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 123.

[108] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 126.

[109] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 129.

[110] Roland W. Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

consistent good weather."[111] The weather warmed in a few days, and Robbins began excavating "evidence of old retaining wall" at the foot of Central Street.[112] After several weeks in this area, he moved the crew back to the Joseph Jenks forge area "just westerly of [the] south end of [the] slag dump."[113] In mid-February, Robbins's crew identified several base sills and other timbers that suggested the presence of a race or wheel pit feature (Figure 36).[114] Several days later, Robbins found the hub and shaft of a waterwheel buried in the fill, and within the next two weeks identified two more waterwheels in their wheel pits.[115] The excavations in the Jenks area also yielded "many interesting artifacts," including shoe leather, slag, iron waste materials, and red clay tobacco pipes.[116] Robbins later found a fourth waterwheel and identified the remains of Jenks's forge hearth.[117]

During late March and April, Robbins continued work in the Jenks area and opened up the second refinery waterway crossing Bridge Street.[118] In April and May, he restored the furnace casting beds and the area between the furnace and first

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[111] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 10.

[112] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 11.

[113] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 15.

[114] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 16.

[115] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," pp. 20, 24, 26.

[116] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 30.

[117] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 32.

[118] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 37.

Figure 36. Sketch of Roland W. Robbins, 1952, drawn by Bobby Blake.

refinery waterway.[119] While working in the area of the second refinery waterway, Robbins identified a possible third waterway crossing Bridge Street.[120]

From June through August, Robbins focused his attention on the layout of the refinery and two associated waterways.[121] He worked around the anvil base and "cleaned down to [the] working surface of [the] refinery area," and also excavated along the second refinery waterway.[122] In late July, additional digging in the refinery area identified another anvil base feature, which Robbins believed argued for a "two hammer setup at the forge."[123] This discovery led to a series of Reconstruction Committee meetings that pitted Robbins against the other committee members who ultimately decided that the layout had only one hammer that had been replaced.[124] Further work around the base revealed evidence that the second hammer, like the first, had been extensively used.[125] Even with this convincing new evidence, the Committee members refused to change their minds; in fact, chairman Quincy Bent commented to Robbins, "What are we going to do? We've got to do some building."[126]

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[119] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," pp. 50-51.

[120] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," pp. 50-51.

[121] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 61.

[122] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 66.

[123] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," pp. 79-80.

[124] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 87.

[125] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 91.

[126] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 92.

During the fall of 1952, excavation continued at the refinery forge layout, with Robbins "seeking possible evidence of early uprights."[127] In late October, Robbins resumed his search for the "southerly course of [the] third waterway."[128] At the same time, he dug new trenches in the wharf complex, where he reported that "we are finding a great deal of rich, black...soils in the area abutting...the stone wall built above the wharf sill. In it are many artifacts, including some very interesting shoe leather."[129] Excavations in the wharf area also located what Robbins believed to be the dock basin for floating boats at low tide.[130] New trenching north of Bridge Street identified "definite evidence of the basin" that supplied the iron works waterwheels.[131] The remainder of the year was focused primarily on the excavation of the waterway in the slitting mill site and the wharf area.[132]

Little digging occurred during January and February 1953 because of bad weather. When work resumed in March, Robbins focused on the rolling and slitting mill site, "removing all fill soils to the natural sub-surface which can be carefully studied for evidence of gear pits or other slitting mill activity."[133] His crew also

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[127] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," pp. 93, 95.

[128] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 105.

[129] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 108.

[130] Roland W. Robbins, "Archaeological Discoveries for 1952," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[131] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 114.

[132] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," pp. 114-29.

[133] Roland W. Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 15.

returned to the wharf area after Robbins and assistant Steve Whittlesey had recorded the details of the "yard and dock sills." Following this mapping, Robbins and Whittlesey laid out "a system for numbering the sills intended to be removed."[134] In April and early May, Robbins concentrated his efforts on the slitting mill site, working "about the charcoal bed and stone work located there."[135] He also excavated the "surface directly below the iron works surface with the hope that we might find some evidence of stone work, or locate sites of wooden uprights."[136]

During late May and June, Robbins and his crew worked on restoring the "west arm of [the] ravine, to the south of [the] stairway to [the] furnace" along Central Street. Beneath the retaining wall, he relocated a stone foundation, that after additional excavation was found to contain a possible hearth, cast iron hearth plate, slag material, and another anvil base. Although historian E. Neal Hartley had previously identified the foundation as a roasting oven, Robbins thought that the evidence suggested smelting activity.[137] Just prior to Memorial Day, Robbins and crew also opened seven test trenches around his office prior to having the area regraded. Although the tests "revealed no evidence of stone foundations, Robbins located several "post sites." He recorded in his daily log that "possibly these posts originally were pilings for some sort of building structure. To properly evaluate the

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[134] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 18.

[135] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 24.

[136] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 36.

[137] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," pp. 47-60.

pattern of the post holes, and to determine how many more exist in this area, it will be necessary to take the entire area down to the sub-soils."[138]

Beginning in late June 1953, Robbins began the removal of Central Street, running test trenches to "determine the extent of fill..." and "pick up contours that existed there 3 centuries ago."[139] This work continued until July, when he was ordered to stop by Quincy Bent. After discussing Bent's "gruff remark" with architect Fitch and the state of his health with his doctor, Robbins met with Bent several days later and resigned as archaeologist and member of the Restoration Committee.[140]

Archaeologist Marley Brown writes that "it would appear that Robbins's resignation was triggered in part by an argument with Quincy Bent." Historian Stephen Carlson has likewise reported that, "increasingly, Robbins came into conflict with Quincy Bent over the extent of the remaining archaeological effort."[141] However, Robbins's decision actually grew out of a variety of obstacles, including his continuing frustration with the decisions of First Iron Works Committee and Joint Restoration Committee members and architects, an extremely complex archaeological site, overwork caused by responsibility for many non-archaeologically related issues, and the cumulative effects of these problems on his physical and mental health.[142]

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[138] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 53.

[139] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 67.

[140] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," pp. 78-81.

[141] Brown, "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology," p. 13; Carlson, "The Saugus Iron Works Restoration," p. 10.

[142] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," pp. 80-81.

Robbins became disenchanted with First Iron Works president J. Sanger Attwill early in the project because of his failure to run a tight ship. Although unhappy with many daily operational problems, Robbins was particularly disgusted with Attwill's repeated failure to pay his crew members' meager salaries on time.[143] Attwill's lax attitude toward the payroll, Robbins recorded, also carried over to his management of the Association's accounts payable. Robbins was repeatedly called by suppliers and contractors who had not been paid, even after calling Attwill. Another disagreement, typical of those between Robbins and Attwill, revolved around the installation of a fire alarm system for the museum buildings. Robbins strongly argued for the "utmost precautionary measures where we are exhibiting our original waterwheel, anvil block, and other wooden artifacts, and hundreds of invaluable relics."[144] However, Attwill overruled Robbins's suggestion for the alarm system because the museum buildings were still "temporary."

Robbins was also discouraged by what he felt was the architect's lack of interest in and ignorance of the archaeological evidence. Robbins and several other members of the Joint Restoration Committee, including chairman Quincy Bent, were concerned about the quality of architectural work by staff at Perry, Shaw, Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean. For instance, Robbins recorded that

> ...for the past 2 years the architects have had the opportunity to study the detail and features of the furnace...etc; and yet are confused and ignorant of desirable furnace foundation data....Making the architects

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[143] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 119. On many occasions, Robbins made short term loans to crew members to cover what he perceived to be Attwill's negligence.

[144] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 30.

> confusion seem more unusual is the fact that all of Hartley's, Bradford's and my information has been made available to them, as well as Merrill's pictures.[145]

Several months later, surveyor John Bradford was asked by architect Harrison Schock to provide his drawings of excavations in the wharf site, but Robbins told Bradford to do "no such thing."[146] Robbins commented that

> my experience with Schock proves he has not the ability to understand the details of my business....As such I do not intend to have Schock "decipher" and interpret something which is still in its preliminary state and very complex. Schock will receive a copy of my report on this area when it is prepared, and with other associates.[147]

Robbins was not the only staff member to be irritated by Schock. In a 1951 letter to committee member Charles R. Harte, chairman Quincy Bent wrote that "Mr. Schock's personality leaves much to be desired. He has a rare talent for rubbing people the wrong way, and has clashed on several points with Robbins and Hartley."[148] In early 1952, Robbins noted that Schock was going to complain to Mr. Bent because he was not providing the needed data to the architects. Robbins recorded that Schock had not written or phoned to request information since September 1951, adding

> how can I be refusing him data if he doesn't ask for it. All my work has been with [Conover] Fitch....I have shown the utmost patience with the architects in many respects....Apparently Schock again has his rear

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[145] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 80.

[146] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 109.

[147] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 109.

[148] Quincy Bent quoted in Charles R. Harte to Roland W. Robbins, August 7, 1951, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

> in a sling and is going to try and use Robbins as a means of getting out of it.[149]

Following a meeting of the Joint Reconstruction Committee in 1952, Robbins reported that both he and Hartley had remained silent about problems with the reconstruction, noting that "this silence was our tribute to Fitch, who is a hellava nice fellow--and not personally responsible for the architects' errors."[150] In mid-1953, committee member and iron works expert Charles R. Harte resigned because of his own frustrations with the reconstruction designs, particularly the forge layout and furnace.[151]

Problems also existed within the infrastructure of the Joint Reconstruction Committee, particularly the free hand given to chairman Quincy Bent by the American Iron and Steel Institute.[152] Robbins came into conflict with Bent early in the project, and their disagreements grew as the project evolved. In 1950, for instance, they argued over staffing. Bent had visited the Iron Works over a weekend and found that no one was available to show visitors through the excavations and house. On Monday, Attwill informed Robbins that Mr. Bent wanted him at the iron works over the weekends for this purpose. Robbins was incensed that Bent expected him to do this in addition to his many other responsibilities.[153] After talking with his

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[149] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 18. Conover Fitch was the project architect for Perry, Shaw, Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, and Harrison Schock worked for Fitch.

[150] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 23.

[151] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 77.

[152] Carlson, "The Saugus Ironworks Restoration," p. 11.

[153] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 108-09.

wife, he made the decision to resign "because of the consistent lack of cooperation my department gets from Bent and Attwill."[154] Robbins discussed the situation with Charles Parker and Walter S. Tower of the American Iron and Steel Institute in New York and both "wouldn't hear of it [the resignation]....Mr. Tower then told me to sit tight--everything would be taken care of."[155]

Robbins and Bent clashed again a few months later over the issue of Robbins's salary and car expenses. Robbins had been told by Tower that he would get a salary increase and should also request car expense reimbursement.[156] Robbins followed this discussion up with a letter to Tower, but when Bent heard about it he believed that Robbins had deliberately gone over his head. "Obviously Mr. Bent was irritated by the incident...," Robbins recorded.[157] Bent also told Robbins that he was not to lecture to groups during the work day. This exasperated Robbins because these engagements were pro bono lectures for local groups and clubs to "create interest and spread goodwill!" He noted that "after Mr. Bent's acid remark I have no designs on continuing this goodwill work in the future."[158]

In addition to the larger issues, a continuing set of smaller matters with Bent also rubbed Robbins the wrong way. At Christmas 1950, for instance, Robbins asked

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[154] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 109.

[155] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 109.

[156] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 110.

[157] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 146-48; Roland W. Robbins to Walter S. Tower, August 9, 1950; Walter S. Tower to Roland W. Robbins, September 1, 1950, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[158] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 148.

Bent for permission to issue a small Christmas bonus to his crew but Bent denied the request. While dealing with Bent was problematic, Robbins generally enjoyed a good relationship with the staff of the American Iron and Steel Institute. Institute president, Walter S. Tower counseled patience, urging that Robbins try to maintain a good working relationship with Bent. He added that he hoped that "life's little irritations will not in any way detract from interest in the job which you have managed so well...."[159] Tower was always very supportive of Robbins's work, and frequently commended him for his extra efforts and excellent achievements.[160]

As a consequence of the enormous archaeological task and the problems associated with working for multiple project managers, Robbins had, he said, been "driving himself beyond all reasonable limits." His wife Geraldine reported to Quincy Bent that "in a desperate effort to keep going he went from doctor to doctor and specialist to specialist. The diagnosis in every case was the same--overwork."[161] Robbins came to realize the problem himself, writing to Quincy Bent that

> As complex as my archaeological work was it presented no problem which would wear me out, both physically and mentally. But to mix this work with sundry duties ranging from overseer of all problems to caretaker of washrooms, interspersed with two museums to study and carefully prepare appropriate exhibits for, as well as public relations and goodwill, research which developed mediums for restoring our priceless artifacts, both metals and wood, annual meetings which necessitated careful planning and many late evenings, as well as

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[159] Walter S. Tower to Roland W. Robbins, July 3, 1951, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[160] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 72; Tower to Robbins, July 3, 1951.

[161] Geraldine Robbins to Quincy Bent, October 29, 1953, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

> numerous other time absorbing details, was more than my strength could contend with after dieting on it for five years.[162]

Robbins felt saddest that so much of this extra effort was "just taken for granted."[163]

All of these factors had an effect on Robbins's physical and mental health. By fall of 1952, he was complaining of "touchy nerves and irritableness." After a complete physical, his doctor recommended that he take a vacation and forget about Saugus. He wrote to an associate in Philadelphia that

> two days after returning from my vacation, I found myself bordering on the rim [*sic*] of a possible nervous breakdown. I am under doctors [*sic*] orders to take things much more quietly, as well as a full dose of pills and medicine three times daily.[164]

Several months later he complained about his "damn nerves...kicking up again," and the doctor increased his dose of medication.[165] In late December, Robbins visited another doctor for continuing nerve problems, who also advised a vacation.[166] A visit to yet another doctor in early January 1953 confirmed the earlier diagnosis and treatment, and in February, Robbins finally took a much needed one-month vacation.[167] While the vacation helped Robbins renew his strength, he returned to

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[162] Roland W. Robbins to Quincy Bent, November 16, 1953, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[163] Robbins to Bent, November 16, 1953, p. 1.

[164] Roland W. Robbins to Reverend Charles Jarvis Harriman, November 20, 1952, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[165] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 115.

[166] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 128.

[167] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," pp. 1, 12.

the same set of circumstances that had precipitated his earlier problems. The confrontation between Bent and Robbins over the Central Street excavations in July 1953 was the final straw. Robbins had dealt with the "human elements" and overwork for too long and was "completely worn out."[168] Robbins remained characteristically resilient about his trouble at Saugus: "Of course there were certain human elements that saw to it that my life was unpleasant. But that happens wherever you go."[169]

Robbins's excavations at the Saugus Iron Works clearly fit into the restoration tradition typical of much postwar historical archaeology. In a 1975 review of his work, archaeologist Marley Brown reports that Robbins effectively "located and excavated the major industrial components of the Iron Works" (Figure 37).[170] His work went beyond the typical levels of restoration archaeology in many ways. This is particularly true considering the lack of a comparative database from excavations of other iron works.[171] To the extent possible, his work at Saugus was generally undertaken in a very logical and organized manner. The project was interdisciplinary in its structure, drawing, for instance, on the work of full-time historian E. Neal Hartley, metallurgical experts from the iron industry, and several members of the Harvard Biological Laboratories and Botany Museum.

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[168] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," pp. 78-79.

[169] Roland W. Robbins to Teresa and Elso Barghoorn, October 27, 1953, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[170] Brown, "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology," p. 5.

[171] Mary C. Beaudry, "Archaeology and the Documentary Record," in "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology," ed. Marley R. Brown III, Saugus Ironworks National Historic Site, Saugus, Mass. (1975), n.p.

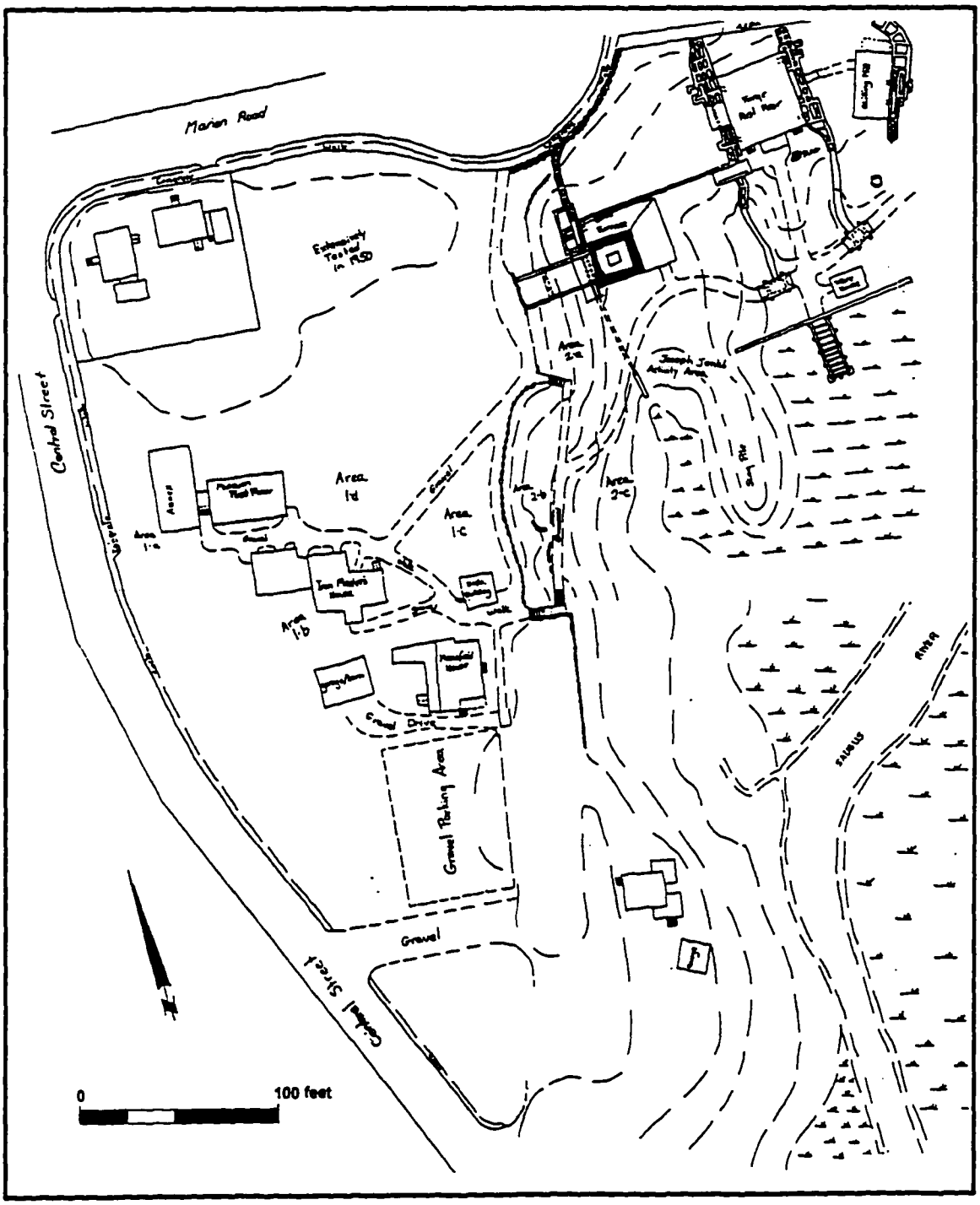

Figure 37. Plan of Robbins excavations prepared by Marley R. Brown III (Brown 1975).

Robbins's decisions to excavate at Saugus were based on a dialogue with the documentary evidence and on following features such as the furnace base, anvil bases and hammers, watercourses, and waterwheel pits to determine building locations or activity areas.[172] Robbins used a wide range of documentary sources gathered by himself and historian Hartley to direct his fieldwork at Saugus, including early illustrations of iron works by Diderot, plats and maps, and contemporary accounts.[173] Robbins's historical research began early in the project, even before Hartley was hired, and while limited it "helped him in interpreting his archaeological finds."[174] Throughout the project, Robbins traveled to local and regional libraries and research centers to consult the documentary record.[175] He recalled that most of his reading was directed at obtaining a "little better idea of what I should look for....I had to learn to identify the iron works buildings, what we should expect to find, what a blast furnace consisted of...that sort of thing. I thought that that would be the best information to have if I was going to dig."[176] Archaeologist Mary C. Beaudry, who analyzed the use of documentary sources for the project, writes that "he did not have the advantage of a full-scale [historical] research report to guide his investigations,"

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[172] Although this approach has now been embedded in a scientific or systematic framework, Robbins's methodology to identifying features differs little from present practice.

[173] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 49; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 40; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 37.

[174] Beaudry, "Archaeology and the Documentary Record," n.p.

[175] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1948," p. 4; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 33; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 123.

[176] Roland W. Robbins, *The Reader's Almanac*, Audio tape of November 24, 1959, New York: WNYC, 1959).

or even a complete chain of title for the property.[177] "Robbins was able to make fairly accurate statements about the remains he uncovered, based on the small-scale research which he personally conducted," she concludes.[178]

Robbins supplemented his documentary research with visits to other iron making sites in the area and throughout New England. These opportunities for comparative research were very important for Robbins in that little descriptive information was available through written sources. The sites that he visited, although often dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, provided opportunities to visualize the Saugus features because of their extant aboveground ruins.[179] He also had the opportunity to study sites and features with historical links to Saugus, such as the furnaces at East Braintree and West Quincy, Massachusetts. Robbins spent several days probing and testing at each of these sites in an effort to identify common construction features and activity areas. At each furnace, possibly branches of the Saugus operation, he took numerous ore, slag, and coal samples for laboratory analysis.[180] Robbins also developed a dialogue with other archaeologists and historians working on historic sites around the country, particularly those excavating iron making sites such as the National Park Service's project at Hopewell Village in Pennsylvania.[181]

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[177] Beaudry, "Archaeology and the Documentary Record," n.p. Beaudry was the project historian and reviewed the documentary records related to the project.

[178] Beaudry, "Archaeology and the Documentary Record," n.p.

[179] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 212.

[180] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 51-64.

[181] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 81.

Robbins excavated by natural strata and utilized very general vertical and horizontal controls within test units and trenches. His plan drawings provide accurate horizontal information on the locations of both features and artifacts; horizontal and vertical control of artifacts and features was more refined at Saugus than at Walden. Marley Brown notes that Robbins "used geographical referents existing at the time of excavation for designating his units," often the street names or property addresses.[182] "For more precise plotting," Brown continues, "Robbins resorted to simple triangulation using whatever landmarks were convenient."[183] While Robbins carefully recorded field sketches in his notebooks and daily log, precise mapping of features, including elevations, was provided first by a local surveyor and later by a full-time engineer.[184] Robbins would contact the surveyor when he needed a feature recorded, either prior to or after excavation.[185] Mr. Bradford would conduct his field recording with a transit and then submit his drawings to Robbins, who carefully reviewed and corrected them.[186]

In addition to notes and drawings, Robbins had a professional photographer record his work with thousands of black and white photographs.[187] Robbins also

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[182] Brown, "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology," p. 3.

[183] Brown, "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology," p. 3.

[184] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 25; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 50.

[185] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 62.

[186] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 68.

[187] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," pp. 24, 31; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 117.

engaged the services of an aerial photography company, personally took thousands of color slides, and shot hundreds of feet of 16mm movies.[188] The aerial photographs were enlarged and provided Robbins with excellent base maps for his work, while the movie footage was eventually used for the production of the 15-minute "full color" film titled *The Saugus Ironworks Restoration.*[189]

During his work at Saugus, Robbins clearly understood soil changes and was able to read this evidence with increasing precision, recognizing fill sequences and features such as structural postholes. Robbins excavated many small trenches and test units to determine the stratigraphy and identify iron work disturbances and natural soils or subsoils, prior to more extensive excavation.[190] His field notes for these test units and trenches provide extremely detailed descriptions of the stratigraphy, including soil color, type, and depth, as well as disturbances within the profiles.[191] This work assisted in both feature identification and in "restoring the original contours" of the land. Although stone foundations continued to be of primary interest, Robbins identified numerous postholes and intact posts related to iron works buildings.[192] For example, in 1953 he found a large posthole complex that he

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[188] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 194; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 105.

[189] This film was the Golden Reel Award Winner for the History and Biography Category at the 1955 Golden Reel Festival.

[190] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 113.

[191] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 123, 175, 189.

[192] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 45.

thought might be related to a post building near the iron works house.[193] Although not within Robbins's area of interest, prehistoric features were identified on several occasions and he contacted members of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society about excavating several features that would be destroyed.[194]

During excavation of trenches, test units, and features, artifacts were recovered primarily by handsorting. Soil removed from iron works features was also screened for artifacts from the beginning of the work, but the work was not always systematic and was subject to the availability of labor.[195] Materials such as iron waste, slag, ore, and sands from the casting area were sampled and sent to various metallurgical laboratories for analysis.[196] Unusual artifacts thought to be critical for the interpretation of features and iron works buildings, such as the 500-pound hammerhead, were usually piece-plotted through triangulation.[197] Robbins was also extremely careful and precise in removing and recording large artifacts and features such as the waterwheel and flume or the wharf sills.[198]

Artifacts from the excavation were stored with horizontal and limited vertical (feature-related) provenience information. Robbins worked on the artifact catalog or

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[193] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 53.

[194] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 60.

[195] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," pp. 28, 35; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 98.

[196] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 77, 135, 145, 172.

[197] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 138.

[198] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 69; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 18.

inventory as the project progressed, usually when weather did not permit excavation.[199] Materials were also photographed by Merrill and Robbins as the cataloging proceeded.[200] While the artifacts were never systematically analyzed, as typical of many restoration-driven projects during this period, Robbins used the artifacts for feature interpretation and dating. He researched clay tobacco pipes, iron wares, and pottery, and also employed the expertise of collectors and curators.[201] On several occasions he met with Smithsonian curator C. Malcolm Watkins and his mother, Lura Woodside Watkins, both ceramics experts, who helped with the identification of Saugus artifacts.[202] Robbins also established an arrangement with Barbara Lawrence and staff at the Harvard Zoological Laboratory to analyze faunal remains.[203]

The Saugus site produced thousands of artifacts, and exhibited excellent preservation of metal, wood, and leather. This preservation presented enormous conservation problems that concerned Robbins from the very beginning of the excavations. Robbins contacted several iron conservation specialists, and eventually

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[199] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 43; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 47.

[200] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 44.

[201] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," pp. 102, 215.

[202] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," pp. 30, 127. Both C. Malcolm Watkins and Lura Woodside Watkins were highly respected ceramics experts (see Lura Woodside Watkins, *Early New England Pottery* [Sturbridge: Old Sturbridge Village, 1959], and C. Malcolm Watkins, *North Devon Pottery and its Export to America in the 17th Century*, Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology, United States National Museum Bulletin 225, [Washington, D.D.: Smithsonian Institution, 1960]).

[203] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," pp. 20, 26, 30, 37.

began a series of experiments with Prof. Uhlig of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.[204] In 1952, Robbins hired a worker to begin a series of metal-cleaning experiments, with brushes, grinding wheels, and electrolytic reduction.[205]

Even more problematic than metals were wooden artifacts. Robbins voiced his concerns with wood preservation problems in early 1949 and quickly began searching for help with this conservation challenge.[206] With the discovery of the waterwheel sections in 1950, Robbins renewed his search for suitable wood treatments. In early 1951, Dr. Elso Barghoorn at the Harvard Biological Lab conducted a series of experiments testing possible treatments on samples of iron works wood, finally settling on a paraffin wax impregnation technique.[207] Many sections of the waterwheel pit and flume and waterwheel itself were successfully preserved for display.

Robbins's collaboration with Dr. Barghoorn also resulted in their study of sea level rise along the coast. His discovery of three-hundred-year-old iron works features submerged under the Saugus River caused Robbins to wonder about sea level during the 1640s. Dr. Barghoorn studied the features and the underlying geological

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[204] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," p. 21; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 58; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 38.

[205] Arthur C. Laura, "Research Notes on Metal Artifacts and Their Restoration," Papers of Roland W. Robins, Lincoln, Mass., ca. 1952. This work is meticulously documented and includes a sketch of the artifact with pretreatment measurements, detailed condition of object, and the treatment program carried out.

[206] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1949," p. 28.

[207] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," pp. 33, 36, 46, and 52. Elso S. Barghoorn to Roland W. Robbins, May 22, 1951, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

formations beginning in 1951, and in 1953 published "Recent Changes in Sea Level Along the New England Coast: New Archaeological Evidence."[208] This article, based on the archaeology at Saugus and at the Boylston Street fishweir in Boston, concluded that the Saugus evidence proved a sea level rise of 3 feet over 300 years or about 1 foot per 100 years.

Although Robbins prepared a series of annual reports on his excavations at Saugus, he never wrote his final report on the work because of his abrupt resignation in 1953.[209] The record of his work is thoroughly documented, however, in his detailed daily logs, numerous letter reports on specific features and excavation areas produced for the Reconstruction Committee and architects, and excellent mapping and photographic documentation.

The restoration goals of the Saugus project clearly drove the overall research, particularly the archaeology. Robbins was responsible for locating and excavating the major iron works structures and restoring the landscape, while the architects were to provide plans for the restoration and supervise the construction.[210] Brown suggests that there was "little effective cooperation between the archaeologist, the historian, and the architects."[211] As discussed above, this lack of cooperation was particularly

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[208] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1951," pp. 100, 103, 106; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1952," p. 109; "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1953," p. 53; Elso Barghoorn, "Recent Changes in Sea Level Along the New England Coast: New Archaeological Evidence." *Science* 117(3048):597-598.

[209] Robbins, "Saugus Ironworks Daily Log - 1950," p. 92.

[210] Brown, "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology," p. 15.

[211] Brown, "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology," p. 15.

evident between the researchers and the architects, although it is clear that Robbins and Hartley did not work as closely as possible. Both Hartley and the Reconstruction Committee often advocated documentary evidence over archaeological evidence, particularly in cases of conflicting data. For instance, Hartley wrote that "...the absence of documentary reference to a second hammer, made the actual use of two hammers [as evidenced by Robbins archaeological data] highly questionable."[212] Brown noted that "it is obvious that, at least in the case of the refinery forge, archaeological evidence was either entirely ignored or modified in the final design."[213] While this type of situation was not altogether unusual for a restoration-driven project, it concerned Robbins, who strove for thoroughness and accuracy, and it certainly contributed to his health problems and eventual resignation.

The Association's managers pushed Robbins's work and the physical reconstruction, as fast as possible. Funding was not unlimited, and both the First Iron Works Association and the American Iron and Steel Institute had their own agendas for the finished complex. In large part, these agendas arose out of the increasing use of the past, specifically historic sites, for political and commercial purposes. The application of tradition and nostalgia to marketing, whether for manufacturing, sales, or tourism, grew steadily following World War II. Ties between the past and the present were seen everywhere.

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[212] E. Neal Hartley, *Ironworks on the Saugus* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 176.

[213] Brown, "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology," p. 15.

The American Iron and Steel Institute celebrated the ironwork's legends and traditions and the progress of American industry in the 1955 film, *The Saugus Iron Works Restoration: A Shrine to Pioneers of American Industry*. Using the "Saugus Pot," long held to represent the first casting from the ironworks, as an example, the film's narrator explained that "tradition and fact are often worlds apart, so a spectro-analysis was made of both the iron in the pot and the iron found at the ironworks, their chemical composition was found to be identical, tradition was fact."[214] The message was clear: science and careful research could verify history, and the traditions of the past could successfully be linked to the realities of the present. The past and the present dissolved into one as the movie screen was filled with the image of several colonials sitting in front of the fireplace in the Ironmaster's House. "Before this very fireplace," the narrator explained, "New England's earliest settlers dreamed of the day that America would meet its own needs for iron."[215]

The Cold War threat of the early 1950s was taken seriously, and the production of materials for the resulting military buildup was extraordinary. The process of selling America's might and strength in the world was in full swing; a link to the past that embraced the tradition of American independence and progress provided an excellent justification for this militarism. The use of historic sites and symbols to support democratic beliefs and the war against communism, both in public

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[214] First Iron Works Association, Inc. and American Iron and Steel Institute, *The Saugus Iron Works Restoration* (New York: Filmfax Productions, 1955).

[215] First Iron Works Association, Inc. and American Iron and Steel Institute, *The Saugus Iron Works Restoration*.

and private agencies, became quite common.[216] Uncertain about their future, explains historian Barbara Clark Smith, "Americans exhibited both a sense of celebration and a sense of defensiveness about their country, its values, and its history."[217] For instance, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., thought that Colonial Williamsburg should be "a significant and constructive force and factor in our world today." Similarly, programs to enhance the "teaching of American history and heritage ...in the ideological war against communism," were created for the New York State Regents.[218] The themes of progress, patriotism, and national security are echoed throughout the 1955 Saugus film. "The Saugus Ironworks of 1650," the narrator explained, "is a prime example of the industrial pioneering that made America what it is today."[219] "The spirit of Saugus and the skills of Saugus men," he continued, "passed from father to son, from skilled workman to apprentice and helped to win the war of independence."[220] As the film reached the end, the narrator reminded the viewer that

> the ironworks at Saugus is no monument to a dead past, it is a reminder of the great advances which the iron and steel industry has made and will continue to make. Helping to provide the sinews of our

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[216] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 586-87.

[217] Smith, *After the Revolution*, p. xvi.

[218] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 586-87.

[219] First Iron Works Association, Inc. and American Iron and Steel Institute, *The Saugus Iron Works Restoration.*

[220] First Iron Works Association, Inc. and American Iron and Steel Institute, *The Saugus Iron Works Restoration.*

> national security and the basis for our unmatched standard of living.[221]

American industry was actively converting from wartime to civilian production, and progress and technology loomed large in advertising appeals. "The great centers of iron and steel production which serve America today," the narrator explained, "represent the evolution and expansion of the industry from the early days of Saugus. Today, Saugus is not only a shrine but a measure of progress as well."[222]

The messages of a site like Saugus were many, and the potential to use its history and tradition for regional promotion and tourism were also great. "The conversion of historic houses into shrines often had promotional overtones," argues Wallace.[223] In 1960, the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Preservation and Restoration of Historic Sites reported that "tourism has become big business...and historic sites more and more are luring the tourist."[224] Heritage and patriotism became the bywords of travel literature and promotional campaigns run by state and regional economic development committees, and visitorship skyrocketed.[225] The 1958 "Yankee Homecoming" is a fascinating example of this type of marketing strategy. The official guidebook advertises the event as a chance for people from all over the country to "make a pilgrimage to New England, the section

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[221] First Iron Works Association, Inc. and American Iron and Steel Institute, *The Saugus Iron Works Restoration*.

[222] First Iron Works Association, Inc. and American Iron and Steel Institute, *The Saugus Iron Works Restoration*.

[223] Wallace, "Reflections on the History of Historic Preservation," p. 175.

[224] Quoted in Wallace, "Reflections on the History of Historic Preservation," p. 176.

[225] Wallace, "Reflections on the History of Historic Preservation," p. 176.

of our country that is second to none in the establishment of our Government and in its preservation and growth."[226] The book celebrates themes of "Our Yankee Heritage," "Our Yankee Present," and "Our Yankee Future," presenting the "historical, scenic, cultural, and industrial advantages of this six state area."[227]

Seeking to launch "New England's Patriotic Rebirth," the committee organized a wide variety of special events and created organized tours such as "New England Route '75: The Yankee Trail" and "The Yankee Free Enterprise Trail."[228] The Yankee Trail marked, they said, the "path of American Democracy which was blazed by New England pioneers and heroes... this hypothetical route...threads its way through Yankee Shrine Towns."[229] These stops, actually outdoor museums in most cases, ranged from Old Sturbridge Village to Mystic Seaport, and Saugus, "The birthplace of America's Iron and Steel Industry."

The primary objective at Saugus, the book's author writes, was to build as faithful and authentic a reproduction of the original as was humanly possible; the promise of authenticity was important for drawing visitors."[230] Although Robbins was very proud of his work at Saugus, he was not completely satisfied with the authenticity and accuracy of the finished restoration. His experiences at Saugus made him wary of the personalities, power, and influence of outside funding sources and

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[226] Jack Frost [pseud.?], *Yankee Homecoming: Official Sketch Book* (Boston: Yankee Homecoming Council, 1958), p. 4.

[227] Frost, *Yankee Homecoming*, p. 6.

[228] Frost, *Yankee Homecoming*, pp. 31, 76.

[229] Frost, *Yankee Homecoming*, p. 31.

[230] Frost, *Yankee Homecoming*, p. 33.

their control of restoration and preservation decisions. Although at times apprehensive of the organizations for which he worked, Robbins did not stop pursuing other similar archaeological projects. To do so would have limited his ability to earn a living at archaeology and would have impacted his mission of creating tangible reminders of the past. In fact, by the mid-1950s he embraced and encouraged the participation of the commercial world and had formulated his own grand ideas integrating archaeology into popular culture:

> General Mills and similar commercial organizations spend millions annually on the Lone Ranger, Space Cadet, etc. The comic books are turning to stories on American History and Pioneering. And Davy Crockett lives again! I believe that the stuff I uncover can be just as fascinating. The factual material I find may not be good for public consumption, but when it is properly mixed with "legend," it is quite edible. Someday--and I hope that it will be in my day--the commercial organizations will swing to using data based on my kind of work. And when they do they will wonder why they hadn't thought of it earlier![231]

Although Robbins realized both the educational and economic implications of embracing the past for the general populace, he also personally "thought wistfully about individualism, self-reliance, and other verities associated with the colonial period and the early republic," when faced with "vague though genuinely felt threat[s] to freedom."[232] It was not just the threats of the rapidly changing twentieth-century world that worried Robbins, but the daily personal and economic perils of his chosen career. Robbins did not brood over his anxieties or insecurities--he put them to work

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[231] Roland W. Robbins to Evan Jones, April 30, 1955, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[232] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 537.

with furious determination and energy. At Saugus, he had learned a lot about himself and the evolving worlds of historic preservation and historical archaeology.

For the first few postwar decades, Robbins's research approaches and methods reflect many of the general trends in historical archaeology at large. As a result of both increasing federal involvement and the developing tourism and heritage enterprises, the practice of historical archaeology expanded in the twenty years between the end of World War II and the early 1960s. The particularistic restoration approach, linked to the historic preservation movement and its desire to fortify tradition and reinforce legend, remained almost universally visible in historical archaeology throughout the period. While historical archaeology was focused on ruins, anthropological archaeology concentrated all of its efforts on "clarifying concepts and methodological issues and with establishing precise language, uniform terminologies, and standardized procedures."[233] These scholars believed "that knowledge was cumulative and their business was to acquire data to expand our understanding of past cultures and long term processes of change." In so doing, they prioritized practice over method.[234] Preoccupied with professionalizing their own world, anthropological archaeologists had little time for or interest in studying the remains of the past 300 years.

The growing need for historical archaeology in the postwar era was first made apparent at the "Conference on the Use of Resources in Historical Areas Administered by the National Park Service," a 1946 meeting held at Colonial

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[233] Patterson, "The Last Sixty Years," p. 16.

[234] Patterson, "The Last Sixty Years," p. 16.

Williamsburg and Jamestown.[235] Those in attendance, archaeologists, historians, National Park Service officials, Colonial Williamsburg staff members, and a host of other experts, regarded the National Park Service as the "focal point for the future development of historical archaeology in America."[236] J. C. Harrington has written that

> many of today's historical archaeologists would be surprised, if not shocked, at the direction that this high level conference took, but it was only symptomatic of what professional people, including most archaeologists, conceived as the role of our discipline.[237]

In addition to figuring out its proper role and function, the biggest problem that faced historical archaeology, the group quickly decided, was the lack of trained personnel and training programs.[238] Although "the accumulation of data and collections, the large number of historic sites already excavated, and the recognition of the need for the training of 'specialists in the identification of historic objects' seemed to herald the emergence of a recognizable discipline in the immediate post war years," there was still little interest among anthropologists in this "tin-can archaeology."[239]

By 1952, Harrington would identify historic-sites archaeology as divided between "*colonial archaeology*, sites related to the transplantation of an established culture to a "foreign territory," i.e., the Colonial and Frontier periods in the U.S.,

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[235] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 74.

[236] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 74.

[237] Harrington, "From Architraves to Artifacts," p. 11.

[238] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 74.

[239] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 76; South, *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology*, p. vi.

and *restoration archaeology*, the "many projects in which building sites, military sites, and other remains are excavated for the purpose of locating structures exactly and obtaining information for their restoration."[240] Colonial archaeology, Harrington reasoned, "represented approaching a site within a broader context, while restoration archaeology was extremely focused and narrow in its subject and approach." Harrington's observations on restoration archaeology reflect Robbins's situation at Saugus: "The problems of construction and restoration are so specialized that the archaeologist is not much more than a digging technician, and in most cases the conclusions and interpretations must be left to military specialists and architects."[241]

Following World War II, the National Park Service and other federal agencies had cut back on many of their programs and began new projects at a slower pace.[242] At the same time, the work of local historical and patriotic societies and associations, as well as municipal and state agencies, was revived and expanded. These groups "took on a new, active, and central role in post war historical archaeology."[243]

In Virginia, renewed interest in historical archaeology was spurred by the approach of the 350th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown in 1957. Everyone was quick to get into the act: Congress established the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, and the Virginia General Assembly created the

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[240] J. C. Harrington, "Historic Site Archaeology in the United States," In *Archaeology of the Eastern United States*, ed. James B. Griffin, pp. 335-44 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 336, 341.

[241] Harrington, "Historic Site Archaeology," pp. 341-42.

[242] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 75-76.

[243] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 76.

350th Virginia Anniversary Commission.[244] These organizations were eventually responsible for many local excavation projects; however, the most significant was a renewed research effort at Jamestown Island. John Cotter was put in charge of this new four-year project, and under his direction archaeologists Edward B. Jelks, B. Bruce Powell, Joel Shiner, and Louis R. Caywood, explored "13 acres of the site with a system of trenches covering over 6 miles."[245] The archaeologists were typical in their lack of training and experience, Cotter noted; "only Caywood had experience in the archeology of historic Anglo-American sites...."[246] Even Caywood lacked formal training, and therefore, like Robbins, "the archaeologists learned on the job."[247] Of their excavation work, Cotter noted that

> limitations on field methodology were yet another frustration during the 1954-1957 campaign. The field crew, locally hired and carefully trained by the archaeologists, was far smaller than the CCC crews that had assisted in earlier excavations; the workers therefore could not be expected to reduce each grid square stratum by stratum, "onion peeling" the earth in quest of features. Instead, with the archaeologists keeping close watch and often doing most of the trowel work themselves, the crew dug three-foot trenches along grid lines at fifty-foot intervals to undisturbed earth.[248]

Like Robbins's trenches at Saugus, these units were designed to identify structural and landscape features, such as ditches, walks, wells, etc. The overburden removed from these trenches was provenienced only by trench, which were sometimes several

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[244] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 77.

[245] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 77.

[246] John L. Cotter, *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia* (Archeological Society of Virginia, Richmond, Special Publication No. 32, 1958; reprint 1994), p. 30.

[247] Cotter, *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown*, p. 30.

[248] Cotter, *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown*, pp. 30-31.

hundred feet long. The features were then individually located within the project grid. Horizontal control of artifacts was maintained using the grid and feature designations, while vertical control was maintained by dividing the individual features into stratigraphic levels or zones.

The goal of the work at Jamestown was to locate the 1609 fort, reinvestigate the church site, and identify and excavate structures, refuse pits, ditches, and wells across the town site; the results included identification of over 141 structures, many of which were domestic dwellings.[249] In 1958, Cotter produced *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia*, a site report that went well beyond the typical restoration report of the period, providing detailed descriptive data on the features and structures, with thorough illustrations of the fieldwork and results using drawings and photographs. The artifact assemblage was presented in tabular form and included thorough representative photographs.[250]

While Cotter worked at Jamestown, National Park Service excavator Louis R. Caywood explored the nearby Green Spring Mansion site (1643-1797). Test trenching and area excavation within a 50-foot grid completely exposed the mansion and identified an early pottery kiln as well as several outbuildings. "Although stratigraphy is mentioned," Schuyler reported, "the general field approach apparently utilized trenching along the walls until foundations were outlined."[251] Caywood noted that

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[249] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 77. The fort has remained elusive; the APVA's recent Jamestown Rediscovery project carries on the tradition of seeking out the fort.

[250] Cotter, *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown.*

[251] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 78-79.

"it was hoped that some of the excavation tests would reveal good stratigraphic sequences. However, rather disappointing results were obtained from the few locations where cultural depth was found."[252] Like Robbins, Caywood dug test trenches at various locations to "determine the type of soil to be dealt with, the depth of overburden on the original soil layer, and the possible existence of unknown structures."[253] The details of the excavations were recorded on coordinate sheets representing each 50-foot square; mapping appears to have been completed using both a transit and aledaide and plane table.[254] The report presents a description of the excavation results, and a brief but accurate discussion of the artifacts recovered from the site. Smithsonian curator Malcolm Watkins, who helped Robbins at Saugus and his later projects, prepared a "rather refined" treatment of the ceramics, employing the descriptive system already in use at Colonial Williamsburg's Archaeology Laboratory.[255] Caywood also utilized Harrington's recently published pipe-dating method, in combination with dating by bowl shape.[256] Artifact illustrations include both photographs and line drawings. As typical of this type of restoration archaeology that sought ruins, Caywood noted that the "excavations relate only to the

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[252] Louis Caywood, *Excavations at Green Spring Plantation* (Yorktown, Va.: Colonial National Historical Park, 1955), p. 2.

[253] Caywood, *Excavations at Green Spring*, p. 6.

[254] Caywood, *Excavations at Green Spring*, p. 5; Plate II.

[255] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 79; Caywood, *Excavations at Green Spring*, pp. 20-21.

[256] Caywood, *Excavations at Green Spring*, p. 24.

foundations...."[257] However, Caywood excavated at least one nonstructural feature, a large trash area that was "completely worked out with gratifying results."[258]

Colonial Williamsburg's "archaeological engineer," James K. Knight, continued the 1930s tradition of cross-trenching to identify architectural features throughout the 1940s and 1950s. This approach changed in 1957 with the appointment of Ivor Noël Hume as Director of Archaeology.[259] Noël Hume's background was in Roman-period excavations in England, where he had studied and used Sir Mortimer Wheeler's stratigraphic approach to excavation.[260] His first major dig in Virginia was not at Colonial Williamsburg, but at a plantation on the York River known as Rosewell. Here he excavated a large refuse dump containing four distinct strata and, based on the cross-section of soils, developed a clear occupational sequence for the site, ranging from a Native-American camp to a domestic plantation. Hume's excavation at Rosewell has been called "the first sophisticated application of the stratigraphic method to a non-architectural feature in American historic sites archaeology."[261] Hume also exceeded the previous standard for reporting on

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[257] Caywood, *Excavations at Green Spring*, p. 5.

[258] Caywood, *Excavations at Green Spring*, p. 2.

[259] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 79.

[260] Robbins appears to have also been familiar with Wheeler's work; he had a copy of Wheeler's *Archaeology From the Earth* (London: Penguin Books, 1956) in his library.

[261] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 80. Although the use of stratigraphic excavation for chronological control had become standard method in American archaeology during the first half of the twentieth century, it was not regularly applied in historical archaeology until at least the mid-1950s [Willey and Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology*, p. 244].

excavations in his *Excavations at Rosewell*, presenting a detailed and well illustrated description of the eighteenth-century artifact assemblage.[262]

J. C. Harrington, having moved on from Jamestown, completed a full exploration of the site of Sir Walter Raleigh's sixteenth-century fort on North Carolina's Roanoke Island in 1953. The total excavation demonstrated that the site was probably the earthen star fort of the first English colonization attempt; however, the artifactual material was sparse. Harrington's report, *Search for the Cittie of Raleigh*, "is a classic example of the judicial use of stratigraphic and areal excavation resulting in an accurate restoration."[263]

Several other early military sites were also excavated during the 1940s and 1950s within the restoration or reconstruction tradition. In 1947, a long-term excavation was launched at Georgia's Fort Frederica National Monument. The dirt floors of the fort's barracks produced a wide range of artifacts, and further work identified the warehouse, town fortifications, town gate, and a domestic area.[264] The identification of two well-documented houses allowed the entire area to be tied into the historic town grid. The archaeologists, under the direction of Charles H. Fairbanks, were able to clearly show and understand the sequence of construction and remodeling on these two lots through the documents and artifacts recovered.[265]

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[262] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 81.

[263] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 81.

[264] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 85-86.

[265] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 86.

Although an enormous assemblage of artifacts was recovered, Schuyler notes that, "the familiar pattern of no or inadequate analysis once again appears."[266]

Fort Necessity, the scene of Washington's famous Great Meadows battle in Pennsylvania, was also excavated by Harrington beginning in the early 1950s.[267] The site had been disturbed by archaeological activities in the 1930s, but archival research and excavation resulted in a complete reinterpretation of the fort's shape and size.[268] Initial work at the site utilized exploratory trenches tied to permanent boundary markers.[269] When the complexity of the site was realized, a "regular coordinate system" was laid out and all trenches were referenced to this grid.[270] Exploratory trenches were 3 to 5 feet wide, "depending upon the nature of the anticipated feature," and were widened when "an important feature was encountered."[271] These trenches were excavated, using picks and shovels, by natural stratigraphic layers and cultural features. The artifacts, it appears, were provenienced by trench and feature.[272] The work was recorded in field notebooks, field drawings, and through photographs.

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[266] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 86-87.

[267] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 87.

[268] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 87-88.

[269] J. C. Harrington, *New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity: A Report on the Archeological Explorations at Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site* (Richmond, Va.: The Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1957), p. 25.

[270] Harrington, *New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity*, p. 25.

[271] Harrington, *New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity*, p. 25.

[272] Harrington, *New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity*, pp. 26-42.

Harrington's report, *New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity*, is a classic of the restoration archaeology tradition. He provides a thorough "orientation" report on the documentary history, carefully describes previous work at the site, gives a thorough account of the project and its relationship to the new reconstruction of the fort, and provides his thoughts on the impact of historic-sites archaeology on the site.[273]

Although Moreau S. Maxwell and Lewis R. Binford determined the architectural sequences and recorded features at Fort Michilimackinac in much the same way that Harrington did at Fort Necessity, their analysis of the artifacts was a major break from previous approaches.[274] Binford and Maxwell analyzed the artifact assemblage from Michilimackinac both quantitatively and qualitatively. Schuyler notes that "each structure's function and date is analyzed on the basis of documentary evidence, remaining architectural elements, and by the nature and frequency of artifact types."[275] Simple statistical methods of association were used to refine both chronological and functional distribution and association. The project report illustrates increasing sophistication in handling historic artifacts, particularly the clay tobacco pipe. For instance, Binford refined Harrington's pipestem dating technique by expressing it in a straight-line regression.[276]

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[273] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 88.

[274] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 89. Binford and Maxwell of the University of Michigan began their work at this northern Michigan fort in 1959.

[275] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 90.

[276] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 90.

Another example of this increasing use of artifact analysis for interpretation is James Deetz's work for Plimouth Plantation at Rocky Nook, Kingston, Massachusetts. Archaeological work in the 1930s verified the historical interpretation of this site as the Howland family home. In 1959, Deetz excavated several structures that could be historically documented. The site was excavated using a series of test trenches. Within these units, the soil was removed in 6-inch arbitrary layers. Horizontal control was maintained in 5-foot sections within the trenches, and the soil was screened through ¼-inch mesh screen.[277] Deetz's reports on the site are generally presented in summary format, including a brief discussion of the site history (title chain), the excavated features and structures, and more detailed presentation of the artifactual information recovered from the site.[278] These reports contain only the most basic sketch maps of the site and plan of the excavations, and one artifact photograph.[279]

Although Deetz's reports are not outstanding for their length or quality, they are important in "demonstrating further experimentation with dating techniques in historical archaeology."[280] He used Harrington's pipestem technique for the analysis but found that it produced confusing results with multiple peaks. Additional analysis and excavation allowed Deetz to refine his interpretation to suggest two separate

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[277] James Deetz, "Excavations at the Joseph Howland Site (C5), Rocky Nook, Kingston, Massachusetts, 1959: A Preliminary Report," *Supplement to The Howland Quarterly* 24, nos. 2-3 (January-April 1960): n.p.

[278] Deetz, "Excavations at the Joseph Howland Site"; "The Howlands at Rocky Nook: An Archaeological and Historical Study," *Supplement to The Howland Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (July 1960).

[279] Deetz, "Excavations at the Joseph Howland Site"; "The Howlands at Rocky Nook."

[280] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 91.

buildings on the site, one dating to the mid-seventeenth and the other to the early eighteenth century.

The excavation of a typical nineteenth-century ranch house in Arizona exemplifies a new interest in explanation and interpretation that slowly appeared in American archaeology beginning in early 1960s. Originally thought to be the ruins of a Jesuit visita, the site was investigated by the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society with help from the University of Arizona. During 1960, Bernard L. Fontana directed the weekend excavations at the site, discovering that it was actually a nineteenth-century house complex: thus "one of the first domestic, non-specialized and non-spectacular sites from modern America came under the archaeologist's trowel."[281] Excavations within the building utilized natural levels for vertical artifact control, and when the room partition walls appeared, the rooms were used for horizontal provenience.[282] Historical research proved productive, and the site was found to have spanned only 40 years; therefore, Fontana treated the artifacts as one chronological unit. Because of the limited chronological sequence, Fontana focused on detailed analysis of the artifacts. The report, *Johnny Ward's Ranch*, "is a true archaeological report with analysis going from specific specimens to the general national level," with in-depth study of nails, tin cans, cartridges, bottles, and other specialized material.[283] Schuyler calls the report the "first handbook for historic-

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[281] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 106.

[282] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 106-07.

[283] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 107.

sites archaeology...[and] the first substantive monograph in American industrial archaeology."[284]

Although the study of artifacts was expanded in the late 1950s through these extraordinary projects, researchers were generally not effectively utilizing artifacts. Harrington noted that he found "very little evidence that artifacts were adequately used for either historical or anthropological ends."[285] He recalled that

> not all of us were so conscientious during the emerging years, even though we paid lip service to the significance of this product (the artifact) of our excavating. And, even if we might have wanted to do better in this respect, most of us were neither sufficiently conversant with artifacts of the period, nor had the benefit of published reports from excavations of other sites of the same provenience.[286]

Historical archaeology witnessed a growing awareness of historic sites and a refinement in methods and technique during the immediate postwar period. The projects completed during this period illustrate the increasing interest in historic-sites archaeology on several fronts. These projects generally had a better publication record than earlier excavations, and took a greater interest in the study of artifacts and their use for explanation and interpretation. Excavation techniques were increasingly standardized, and stratigraphic controls were introduced and used in many projects. Even with increasing outside interest in historical archaeology, the field was still unorganized and trying to establish an intellectual identity.

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[284] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 107.

[285] Harrington, "From Architraves to Artifacts," p. 10.

[286] Harrington, "From Architraves to Artifacts," p. 10.

Since the early 1950s, J. C. Harrington advocated a close tie between archaeology and local history groups and societies, creating opportunities for practitioners like Robbins.[287] Harrington expressed his surprise that historians were so slow to make use of "this obvious historical tool." He noted that "experience in this country over the past fifteen or twenty years has demonstrated quite convincingly that the methods and techniques of archaeology can be applied advantageously to the field of local history."[288] Sounding a lot like Robbins, Harrington explained how a local history group could handle an archaeological project, noting that the most difficult item was arranging for the services of a trained archaeologist:

> ...there are relatively few archaeologists with experience in this sort of work, and essentially none who have had the specialized academic training that would give them the necessary background. Most archaeological students in this country do their academic work in the general field of anthropology, having a course or so in archaeological methods and various courses on prehistoric cultures. Others receive highly specialized training in the Oriental and Classical fields, but none have academic training which qualifies them to excavate and interpret an early nineteenth-century frontier settlement, a Revolutionary War earthwork, a Colonial house site, or a seventeenth-century Jesuit mission site.[289]

During these early years, Harrington and the few other archaeologists interested in historic sites served as a sort of clearinghouse for historical archaeology, bringing together the few skilled practitioners and the organizations that sought their services. It was through recommendations from colleagues like Harrington and Harvard's J. O.

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[287] J. C. Harrington, "Archaeology and Local History," *Bulletin of the American Association for State and Local History* II, no. 6 (1953): 157-67.

[288] Harrington, "Archaeology and Local History," p. 157.

[289] Harrington, "Archaeology and Local History," pp. 161-62.

Brew that Robbins would obtain his project excavating Shadwell, the birthplace of Thomas Jefferson.[290]

After some needed rest and relaxation from his schizophrenic schedule at Saugus including tennis and time at home with his family and friends and several "small" jobs, Robbins traveled to Virginia to excavate Shadwell. He had heard from Harrington in February 1954 that the Thomas Jefferson Birthplace Memorial Park Commission (TJBMPC) was interested in excavating the site.[291] Harrington also wrote to committee member Floyd Johnson and recommended Robbins for the job. Several days later, Robbins followed up on the lead provided by Harrington, writing an inquiry letter to Johnson, a local restoration architect.[292] He was at that moment excavating at the John Winthrop, Jr., blast furnace in West Quincy, Massachusetts. He wrote to Johnson that although he had a busy schedule for 1954 he would like to discuss the work "because of the significance and the nature of the Shadwell project."[293] Johnson submitted Robbins's letter of intent to the board of directors and requested information on his fees. Robbins replied that his fee was $1,000.00 per month plus traveling expenses, not including labor and mechanical equipment charges

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[290] Robbins and Harrington carried on a long correspondence beginning with Robbins's work at Saugus. Robbins apparently met Brew during one of his trips to the Peabody Museum, while participating in the Saugus project. He had several Harvard connections that assisted at Saugus, including Fred Orchard of the Peabody, Elso Barghoorn of the Biological Lab, and Barbara Lawrence of the Museum of Comparative Zoology.

[291] J. C. Harrington to Roland W. Robbins, February 19, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[292] Roland W. Robbins to Floyd Johnson, February 24, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[293] Robbins to Johnson, February 24, 1954.

and surveyor and photographer fees, and offered to make a brief visit to the site to determine its potential. If this brief study did not prove fruitful, he wrote, then "I would not take it upon myself to waste your money nor my time."[294] This visit, should it indicate good potential for locating the house site, would also "make it possible to predict quite accurately the time and expense elements involved."[295]

Several weeks later, Robbins received word from Johnson that National Park Service archaeologist Paul J. F. Schumacher had been chosen as the Shadwell archaeologist.[296] Robbins didn't correspond with Johnson again until June, when he wrote that he had "heard that the explorations at Shadwell have not been too fruitful to date" and that they were likely to end soon.[297] Robbins was sorry, he said, that the work was not more successful, and assured Johnson that archaeologist Schumacher was "entirely competent." However, Robbins still thought that he might have some luck and volunteered his services to assist in locating the house site.[298] After meeting with the Building Committee, Johnson responded to Robbins that they would

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[294] Roland W. Robbins to Floyd E. Johnson, March 10, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[295] Robbins to Johnson, March 10, 1954, p. 2.

[296] Floyd E. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, March 23, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. It appears that Schumacher became available for the job after Robbins had been recommended and had submitted his fee proposal. Schumacher could work for comparatively little or no cost to the commission because of his institutional support from the National Park Service. Robbins was priced out of the job.

[297] Roland W. Robbins to Floyd E. Johnson, June 1, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[298] Robbins to Johnson, June 1, 1954.

like to have him visit the site, "but cannot guarantee you a project at this time."[299] Tentative plans were made for a meeting in mid-July, and Robbins requested copies of materials from the previous archaeological work. These plans came to an abrupt halt when Johnson told Robbins that the commission had decided to "authorize the architects to commence the preparation of working drawings for a house of the Peter Jefferson period and background....on the land known as 'Shadwell' where it has been definitely established Thomas Jefferson's birthplace stood."[300] This decision came as a "startling surprise" to Johnson and Robbins, who felt that the committee was acting in haste; Robbins thought they were rejecting his offer of volunteer services.[301] Johnson assured Robbins, however, that he was still welcome to visit the site "any time you might be in the area."[302]

This initial visit finally occurred in early November 1954, when Robbins met with chairman Raymond Hunt and architect Johnson. He spent several days in the Charlottesville area inspecting the site and reviewing the results of the two previous excavations. The first excavations at the site had been performed for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation in 1941 under the direction of architect Fiske

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[299] Floyd E. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, June 9, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[300] Floyd E. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, June 30, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass; Floyd E. Johnson to Thomas J. Michie, March 18, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. This letter provides a summary of the project by Johnson.

[301] Roland W. Robbins to Floyd E. Johnson, July 2, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[302] Floyd E. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, June 30, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

Kimball. Robbins noted in his report that during these excavations Kimball identified a small stone foundation, a larger brick cellar foundation, and two small brick features.[303] Kimball and his architectural assistants excavated trenches across the area in an attempt to identify brick foundations.[304] The trenches and artifacts were then roughly plotted on sketch maps after excavation of each trench.[305] Although Kimball found hints of earlier artifacts, he reported that the majority of the materials dated to the late nineteenth century. As was typical of these early excavation projects, the ceramics were classified by curators at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, where Kimball served as director. After additional "test trenches and pits...were dug at random on the ridge," Kimball concluded that the large brick foundation was not the mansion house of Peter Jefferson because it did not face south, "then almost universal in a Virginia dwelling house," and because no evidence of a chimney for the structure had been found.[306] These foundations and two smaller brick features to the east of the ridge top were, Kimball thought, likely outbuildings.

In early 1954, Paul J. F. Schumacher, archaeologist at the Independence National Historical Park, tested the area of the recently razed nineteenth-century Smith house site, just west of the two large foundations identified by Kimball. J. O. Brew of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology had initially

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[303] Roland W. Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell, Birthplace of Thomas Jefferson," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[304] Fiske Kimball, "In Search of Jefferson's Birthplace," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* LI, no. 4 (1943): 318.

[305] Kimball, "In Search of Jefferson's Birthplace," p. 319.

[306] Kimball, "In Search of Jefferson's Birthplace," p. 319.

recommended a group of men, including Dr. William Roberts, G. H. Smith, John M. Corbett, R. W. Robbins, and Dr. Eric Reed, for the project.[307] Schumacher had been suggested for the work by Jamestown archaeologist J. C. Harrington, who was able to arrange a short leave of absence for Schumacher in the spring of 1954. Schumacher set up a 10-foot grid across the area, numbered each grid square, and prepared a ground plan with the elevation of each square.[308] After relocating the cellars excavated by Kimball, Schumacher began trenching the area east of these cellars and under the demolished Smith house. These trenches, varying in width from 2.5 to 5 feet, were excavated to subsoil.[309] The artifacts, all post-1800 according to Schumacher, were cleaned and bagged, "the bags numbered and labeled as to location and date."[310] Schumacher kept detailed fieldnotes for each day on the project, documented the work using black-and-white photographs and color slides, and prepared a site plan and profiles of each trench.[311] The trench profiles are very good representations of the soil strata and features encountered during the project.[312] Although the documentation of the horizontal and vertical extent of the site is excellent, the artifact proveniences are vague. For example, the locations listed for

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[307] Johnson to Michie, March 18, 1960, p. 3.

[308] Paul J. F. Schumacher, *1954 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell* (Charlottesville, Va.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1954), p. 2.

[309] Schumacher, *1954 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell*, pp. 2-3.

[310] Schumacher, *1954 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell*, pp. 3-4.

[311] Schumacher, *1954 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell*, p. 4.

[312] Paul J. F. Schumacher, "Profiles of Trenches," Archaeological Survey for the Jefferson Birthplace Memorial Park Commission, May 1954.

Bag 10 are "Trench 5, between Trench 2 and 19th Century house foundations" and for Bag 13 only "From Trench 7."[313] It is unclear whether the trenches were excavated stratigraphically, as the artifact provenience contains only horizontal information.[314] Schumacher found little in the Smith house area during his brief exploration project and concluded that "I do not believe that the Smith home site is the location of the Jefferson home site."[315]

After reviewing the previous excavation reports, Robbins spent several days "becoming better acquainted with the terrain...."[316] He carefully walked over the site, "probing about [the ridge] crests and level areas seeking evidence of early buildings," but failed to identify evidence of building sites.[317] He next focused his efforts on the level strip of the ridge, east of the Smith house, and in the area of two small brick foundations identified by Kimball.[318] Robbins conducted tests in the area with his steel rods and relocated Kimball's "hearth definitely hollowed at the top," the easternmost of these brick features. He carefully excavated this feature and found a 3-

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[313] Paul J. F. Schumacher, "Field Notes, Archaeological Exploration, Shadwell Property, Charlottesville, VA, May 10 - June 4, 1954," List of Artifacts, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Charlottesville, Va., n.p.

[314] It is not clear from either Schumacher's report or field notes whether the trenches were actually excavated by soil strata or layer for vertical artifact control. The trenches may have simply been shoveled to subsoil and profiles drawn of the walls.

[315] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," pp. 4-5. By the time that the initial work was completed, Schumacher had exhausted his leave of absence and was not able to extend the work (Johnson to Michie, March 18, 1960, p. 5).

[316] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 5.

[317] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," pp. 5-6.

[318] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 6.

foot-square brick-lined pit below the brick "hearth." Beneath the brick and inside the pit, he discovered a layer of red clay between 3 and 6.5 inches thick (Figure 38). Under this clay fill, he found "a black soil containing much charcoal evidence and many artifacts."[319] Robbins concluded that the unmortared and stacked brick lining was unsuitable for supporting a structure, and that the feature likely functioned as a cooling cellar within a building.

Shortly after resuming his probe testing, Robbins identified another pit feature 100 feet east of the brick-lined pit, but did not excavate this feature. After completing his initial testing work at Shadwell during the fall of 1954, Robbins became convinced that the evidence of the Peter Jefferson house could be found. He wrote to Floyd Johnson that

> ...I am making recommendations for excavating the entire knoll easterly of the post fence....The entire area should be shaved down by careful bulldozer operations. This work will reveal all disturbances [features] there. It will show the original layout of buildings, occupations by later generations, as well as reveal the location of all test pits and trenches dug by [previous] investigators. This work should not be undertaken--except by the most competent of specialists in this field. I am not implying that I am the man to do the work--but I must warn that if the work is undertaken by any other than a specialist in this extremely specialized work--the answers are lost for all time. It can never be done again....Once the Board Members of the Thomas Jefferson Birthplace Memorial Park Commission have the complete basic layout of the original Shadwell development, then they can proceed to develop a program for its reproduction....I am sure that if they can recognize the potential of first determining complete knowledge of what was there originally, they will find a new and exciting impetus for the entire project. I hope that nothing will be done with the area which we partially excavated to the east of the brick foundation. It may have been a refuse pit...[or] unlined cellars....You

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[319] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 7.

Figure 38. Robbins examining the brick-lined "cooling pit," 1954 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

> fellows have got a rich bonanza! But it has got to be carefully minded.[320]

Johnson wrote to Robbins that the commission was "very much impressed with our recent find of artifacts," and might be interested in undertaking additional excavation.[321] Johnson inquired about Robbins's availability for the work and the fees or charges, and indicated that he would have an engineer plot the two small cellar features and expand the 10-foot grid begun by Schumacher.[322] Following negotiations over expenses, it was decided to begin work in early April 1955.

When Robbins arrived at Shadwell on April 1, the site had been staked by a local engineering firm in a 10-foot grid matching that used by Schumacher (Figure 39).[323] Robbins immediately set to work digging "small borings" to locate brick features or foundations, and then hired a farmer with a mechanical posthole digger to help complete the tests.[324] This systematic testing at each 10-foot stake resulted in 540 test units, each 3.5 feet deep and 14 inches wide, covering an area measuring 300 × 180 feet.[325] Although the test holes failed to identify any additional cellar features, Robbins notes that they indicated that "plowing activity has disturbed [the]

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[320] Roland W. Robbins to Floyd E. Johnson, November 14, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[321] Floyd E. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, November 29, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[322] Johnson to Robbins, November 29, 1954.

[323] Roland W. Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[324] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 2.

[325] Roland W. Robbins, "Notes for the Annual Meeting TJBMPC, May 5, 1955," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

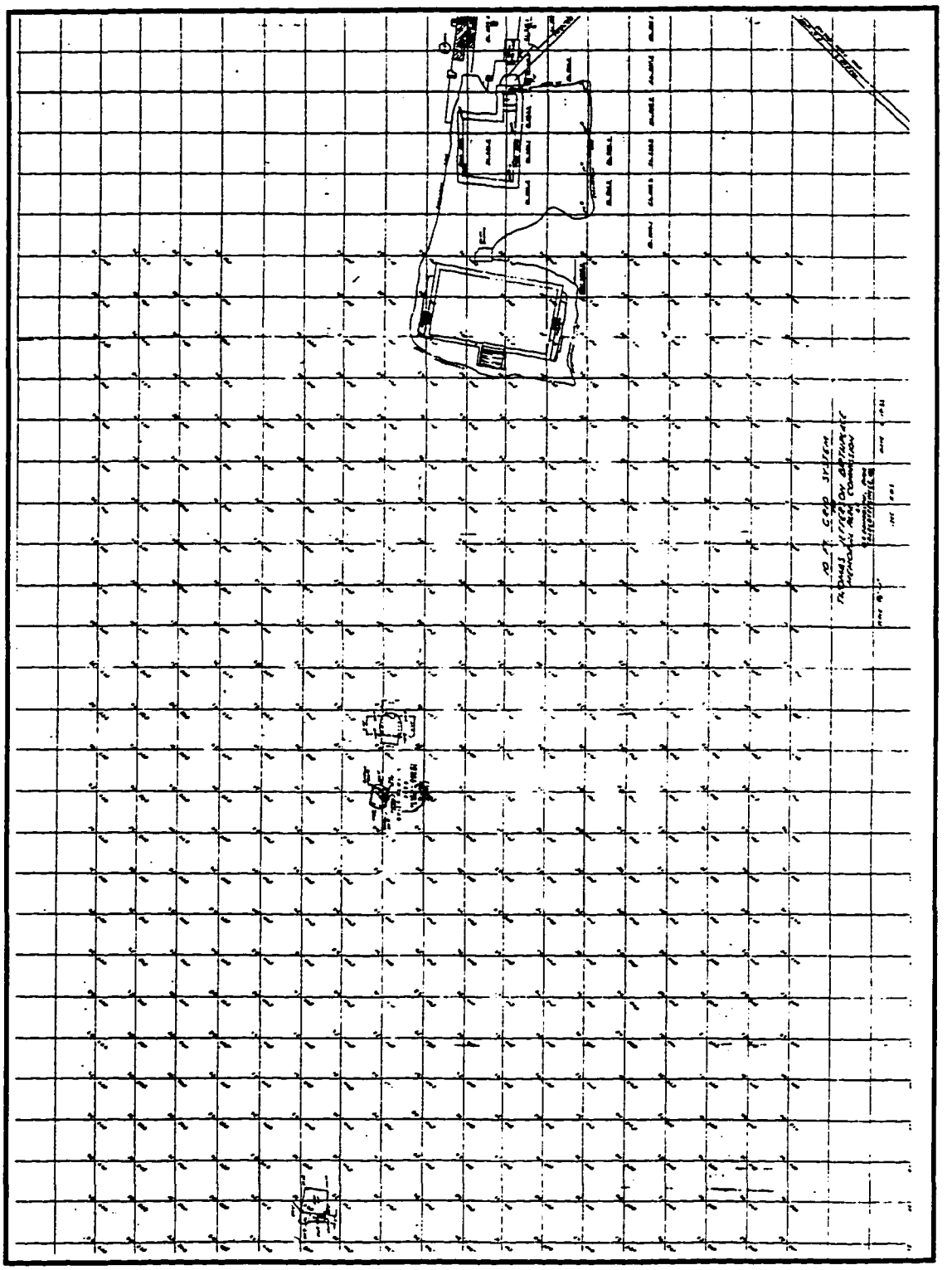

Figure 39. Plan of 10-foot grid showing features, 1955 (Kimball's large cellars to right, Robbins's smaller cellars in center).

area to a depth quite consistent of 8 [inches]."[326] Within several days, Robbins began to remove the plowzone within the 10 foot grid squares, to the "undisturbed Piedmont clays" (Figure 40).[327] "Each square was recorded by its four stake numbers and assigned an additional number designating the chronological order of this work."[328] While artifacts were recovered primarily by hand sorting, the backdirt was also piled by grid unit for later screening.[329] "The workmen," Robbins recorded, "would not only seek artifacts while 'shaving' the 8" of disturbed soils, but would go through them with their hands when it was placed in their wheel-barrows."[330] This work produced brick, mortar, window glass, ceramics, and hundreds of handmade nails, but failed to identify any new foundations.[331] Robbins recorded that

> we shall have to be quite careful when taking out the various grid squares to record the related squares that produce the greater bulk of relics indicative of houses or buildings. This way we may be able to pin-point the site of buildings, and come up with pertinent information by studying the basic evidence found 8", and lower, beneath the existing surface.[332]

The distribution of artifacts was going to be critical, he reasoned, because of the lack of extant brick foundations.

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[326] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 6.

[327] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 12.

[328] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 12.

[329] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 5.

[330] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," pp. 12-13.

[331] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 13.

[332] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 9.

Figure 40. Robbins and crew excavating topsoil from 10-foot units, 1955 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

Early in the fieldwork, Robbins became concerned about the shallow depth of subsoil and the possibility that foundation features had been destroyed through plowing and erosion. This led him to investigate several other contemporary historic houses, including Tuckahoe and Plain Dealing, to get information on the depths of the foundations relative to the surface and subsoil elevations.[333] This data, combined with a later soils evaluation at Shadwell, reinforced his belief that the lack of foundations at the site was related to erosion and plowing.

In late April 1955, the commission chairman visited Robbins at the site and casually mentioned that work would have to terminate at the end of the month due to financial constraints. In order to finish the grid squares by the end of the month, Robbins anxiously explained, he would have to excavate with a mechanical scraper. This was not a proper method, he argued, because "it would mix in the soils from numerous areas, making it impossible to determine which grids provided the most evidence of relics from buildings."[334] After several meetings, it was decided to continue with the hand excavation for as long as time and money permitted.

Robbins reviewed his work for the commission at their May business meeting, and they agreed to continue the excavations through June to complete the grid square excavation. He recommended that the two large foundations identified by Kimball be reexcavated to verify the absence of chimneys, and that the artifacts from the

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[333] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 16-20. Floyd Johnson had recommended Tuckahoe as a good example of a house with which Peter Jefferson would have been familiar (Floyd E. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, March 14, 1955, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.).

[334] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 10.

excavations be identified by a "top authority," such as C. Malcolm Watkins of the Smithsonian Institution.[335]

While excavation of the grid squares continued, Robbins met with soil scientists from the local Soil Conservation Service to explore his hypothesis regarding extensive erosion at the site.[336] He noted that they "took numerous borings where I had removed the grid squares and the results of this work corroborated my findings that the area had been disturbed by plowing to a depth of about 8 inches."[337] They also confirmed his suspicion that erosion may have already eliminated 10 to 20 inches of topsoil in the area. This soils data was a critical factor in Robbins's conclusion that the main house foundation had almost certainly been destroyed by "salvage, plowing, and erosion."[338]

In late May 1955, his crew continued to remove grid squares, and Robbins began excavating the 6-foot-square unlined clay pit that he had identified in 1954 (Figure 41).[339] He recorded that the beaten clay floor of the cellar was about 32 inches below the existing surface, about the same as the bottom of the brick-lined cellar to the west.[340] The "surface soils" above the pit were a clay that varied in

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[335] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 15.

[336] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," pp. 13-14.

[337] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 16.

[338] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 16; John A. Smart [Soil Conservation Service] to Dr. Robin Roberts (Roland Robbins), May 6, 1955, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[339] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 23.

[340] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 10.

Figure 41. Robbins (right) and laborers pose for a group photograph while excavating topsoil from 10-foot units, 1955 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

thickness from 11 to 14 inches; the upper 8 inches had been disturbed by plowing. The fill within the cellar consisted of a "rich black-brown soil containing much charcoal and many artifacts."[341] Artifacts found within the cellar fill included wrought nails, window glass, metal buckles, cutlery, and delft, Chinese export porcelain, earthenware, and salt-glazed and brown stoneware. In addition, he also found 109 fragments of white clay pipes, including several bowls. Robbins noted in his report that the artifacts, particularly the pipes, suggested a date prior to the Shadwell fire.[342]

In June, after a two-week hiatus from Shadwell, Robbins returned and began reexcavating the large foundations originally discovered by Kimball. Grid squares were removed from the area over and around the cellars, and the backfill was mechanically excavated. During this process, Robbins identified a new brick feature between the brick and stone foundations, measuring 54 × 39 inches.[343] Located 10 feet north of the southwest corner of the brick foundation, he interpreted the new brick feature as a stair footing. His work in reexcavating the brick foundation also confirmed that no chimney base was present. Robbins later speculated that the structures over the two cellars were probably related, even though the cellars were not parallel.[344]

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[341] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 10.

[342] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 10; Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 30.

[343] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 26.

[344] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 32.

The excavation of grid squares above the two small brick features also continued throughout the month. The squares to the east and west of the "main house area," around these two small cellars, produced distributions of artifacts that allowed Robbins to "isolate the site of the main house from the brick cellar [Kimball's] to the west, as well as isolate it from the clay walled storage cellar to the east." Drawing on the soils and erosion data, feature excavations, and lack of chimney on Kimball's large brick cellar, Robbins was convinced that the main house was centered over these two small cooling cellars.[345] After the fire had destroyed the Jefferson home in 1770, he speculated, another house had been built at the site; this dwelling was destroyed some years later, and cultivation of the site began. This cultivation and the subsequent erosion, Robbins believed, destroyed the foundation evidence for the Shadwell mansion.[346]

The final photographs and plotting of features were completed during the last week of June, and Robbins returned to his home on July 2, 1955.[347] During the first two weeks of July, Robbins prepared his report for the project, submitting it to the commission on July 20, 1955.[348] Following Robbins's submission of the report,

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[345] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 34.

[346] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 34.

[347] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 34.

[348] Roland W. Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell, Birthplace of Thomas Jefferson," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

plans were formulated for the reconstruction of the Shadwell home. In 1961, Robbins attended the opening day publicity session for the completed reconstruction.[349]

Robbins's work at Shadwell clearly demonstrates the increasing precision of his field techniques and research methodology, a level that was little different from many of his academic counterparts of the period. Through previous experience, exchanges with colleagues, and reading in the archaeological literature, Robbins discerned the need to approach "shallow," plowzone sites like Shadwell much differently from "deep," stratified sites like Saugus. The shallow, plowed "topsoils" at Shadwell, he believed, dictated careful hand excavation to obtain the greatest amount of data. Precise horizontal and vertical excavation controls, Robbins asserted, were necessary to recover the scant artifacts from this type of shallow site and to determine the patterns of these materials.

Robbins's decisions to excavate at Shadwell were, as at Saugus, based on a dialogue with the documentary evidence. He used a wide range of documentary sources identified through his own research to direct his fieldwork at Shadwell, including the reports of previous archaeology, several Jefferson biographies, primary documents such as wills and deeds, and a variety of historic maps and plats.[350]

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[349] Roland W. Robbins, "Shadwell-1961, Daily Log," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1. Mrs. Robbins recalled that Roland was never happy with the reconstruction and felt that it did not reflect the archaeology and was just "not quite right" (Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1993).

[350] Floyd E. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, March 2, 1955, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Contains a discussion of calculations by engineers based on Jefferson's 1799 map of the property. For example, Robbins read Saul K. Padovers's *Jefferson* (New York: The American Library, 1952), John R. Morse, Jr.'s *Thomas Jefferson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898), and Frank B. Lord's *The Story of Monticello* (Washington, D.C.: American Publishing Company, 1928).

Robbins also interviewed several members of the Smith family, the last occupants of the property.

At Shadwell, Robbins excavated by natural strata and utilized precise and systematic horizontal controls by immediately reestablishing and expanding Schumacher's 10-×-10-foot grid system over the entire ridge. He systematically dug "small borings" or shovel tests across the grid that were designed to locate features.[351] These tests allowed Robbins to assess the stratigraphy, particularly the disturbed plowzone, and guided his excavation of the larger units.[352] As mentioned above, Robbins also engaged local soil scientists to test his hypothesis regarding erosion at the site, data that proved critical to Robbins's eventual conclusion that the main house foundation had been destroyed by "salvage, plowing, and erosion."[353] The soils data were also supplemented with numerous visits to other early house sites to study their foundations and compare this information with the data recovered from Shadwell.[354]

In addition to his methodological approach to the project, the quality of the documentation of Robbins's excavations at Shadwell unquestionably separate his work from that of predecessors Kimball and Schumacher. His plan drawings and field notes provide precise information on the excavation of each 10-×-10-foot test unit,

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[351] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 2.

[352] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 6.

[353] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 13, 14, 16.

[354] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 8; Roland W. Robbins, "Shadwell Field Notebook - 1955," visit to Plain Dealing, April 14, 1955, and Tuckahoe, April 2, 1955, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

including soils descriptions, artifacts, and the location of features or disturbances.[355] Robbins recorded basic sketches in his field notebook and daily log and completed precise mapping of features including elevations.[356] The work at Shadwell was meticulously documented with Robbins's black-and-white photographs and color slides.[357] Floyd Johnson remembers that "he was meticulous in everything that he did, photographing, keeping records, cataloging, and it was not a slap-happy operation."[358]

Robbins clearly recognized soil changes and was certainly able to read and understand this evidence, accurately describing fill sequences and identifying soil features such as structural postholes.[359] Robbins recorded the identification of several postholes during the Shadwell project, not always an easy task in the dark red Piedmont soils.[360] In fact, while examining a barn on the property, he commented on its post-in-ground construction and speculated, "if the Shadwell mansion had been supported on this kind of a structure, then the posthole evidence can be located."[361] Robbins also identified and recorded the previous test pits and trenches by Kimball

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[355] Robbins, "Shadwell Field Notebook - 1955," section titled Shadwell Grid Data 1955.

[356] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," pp. 24, 29.

[357] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 1. Copies of the photographs and slides were provided to the TJBMPC by Robbins in June 1957 (Hope B. Rasor to Roland W. Robbins, June 20, 1957, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.).

[358] Floyd Johnson, personal communication, 1995.

[359] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 12.

[360] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 4.

[361] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 6.

and Schumacher. For instance, on April 20, 1955, he recorded Grid Square #12 in his fieldbook, writing "a Fiske Kimball test trench, course outlined by dotted line...."[362]

Plowzone soil removed from each 10-×-10-foot unit was carefully hand sorted and then stockpiled for later screening.[363] While the artifacts from the excavation were stored with clear horizontal provenience information, the vertical provenience was less reliable and consistent. However, Robbins's fieldnotes indicate that he generally separated the artifacts into plowzone or feature fill contexts, and in several instances divided features by layer.[364] For example, the Grid Square #7 artifacts were divided into six bags; the first two (7A & 7B) contained materials from the "grid and above pit," the third and fourth (7C & 7D) contained artifacts from the rubble in clay pit, and the fifth held artifacts that "came from [the] 1-3" layer of fill at [the] bottom of [the] brick evidence (rubble) and were on [the] floor of [the] clay pit."[365] Artifacts were placed in a paper bag for each square marked with the square number, stake numbers, and date.[366] The artifacts were also roughly counted and

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[362] Roland W. Robbins, "Shadwell Grid Data - 1955," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 7.

[363] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 12.

[364] Robbins only identified and excavated a few features that had not to some extent been previously excavated by Kimball or Schumacher.

[365] Robbins, "Shadwell Grid Data - 1955," p. 4.

[366] The artifacts were stored in these original bags until the most recent archaeological project at Shadwell. During this project, the artifacts were transferred into plastic bags and Robbins's bag notes recorded. The original bags were then destroyed; the author retains one example in his collection.

recorded by type on each bag; brick was counted and recorded on the bag but was not kept.[367]

While the artifacts from Shadwell were never systematically analyzed as part of Robbins's work, typical of many early restoration-driven archaeology projects discussed above, he used the artifacts for feature interpretation and dating. He read extensively on clay tobacco pipes, and again enlisted the help of Smithsonian curator C. Malcolm Watkins and his mother Mrs. Lura Watkins with the preliminary identification of ceramics.[368] Robbins also sent six white clay tobacco pipe bowls or bowl fragments to expert H. Geiger Omwake for analysis.[369] Omwake prepared a brief report "Report on the Examination of White Kaolin Pipes from Shadwell" for Robbins in June 1955.

Robbins went to work on the report of his 1955 excavations at Shadwell as soon as he returned to his home. Although this report is primarily descriptive, it goes well beyond Kimball's exclusively architectural approach, providing chapters on his initial visit, the previous archaeological studies, preliminary historical research, excavations of test pits and grid squares, a brief summary of the artifacts, and conclusions and recommendations.[370] Robbins also reported on his investigations into the effects of erosion on the site, and on his visits to other early house sites for

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[367] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 12; Robbins, "Shadwell Field Notebook - 1955," contains a grid excavation list with unit number, grid reference, and date of excavation.

[368] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 34.

[369] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 30. Omwake was an independent researcher whom Robbins probably met through C. Malcolm Watkins.

[370] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," n.p.

comparative purposes. To his credit, the report is illustrated with black-and-white photographs of the excavations, references are appropriately footnoted, and Omwake's tobacco pipe analysis is included as an appendix. J. C. Harrington wrote of Robbins's work and the report that "although I would not say that he has given absolute proof that the Peter Jefferson site was found, I think he has presented an excellent case."[371]

Like his Walden book, the Shadwell report is written in a conversational style that is organized chronologically. Robbins captivates the reader with his approach to the problems and "controversies" encountered while investigating the site.[372] As was typical of restoration-oriented archaeological projects during the period, Robbins's discussion of the artifacts is very general and primarily directed at site dating.[373] When compared with other projects of the period, some aspects of Robbins's work were relatively advanced. For instance, he used artifact distribution data from excavation of the grid squares to "pin-point the sites of buildings," successfully delineating several activity areas.[374] Robbins's conclusions, particularly his reliance on comparative examples of early Virginia houses and the lack of chimneys at Shadwell, ultimately resulted in the misidentification of the main dwelling and outbuildings. However, his recommendations, including the need for additional

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[371] Johnson to Michie, March 18, 1960, p. 8.

[372] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 5.

[373] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 25. While his final report does not include an artifact inventory, his field notes contain a bag list with artifact counts by glass, window glass, china, pottery, and nails. This general trend is discussed in more detail in the next section.

[374] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," pp. 9, 20.

historical research and complete analysis of the artifacts by an appropriate expert, such as C. Malcolm Watkins of the Smithsonian, demonstrates his concern with accurate interpretation of the site and appropriate treatment of both the artifacts and records.[375] Most importantly, even though his interpretation was incorrect, his systematic methods of collecting and recording allow his data to be integrated with current research.

Recent reexcavation has determined that the main house is almost certainly associated with the cellars identified by Kimball in 1941, and that Robbins's two small cellars and clay pit feature were probably a kitchen and slave quarter, respectively. Former Monticello archaeologist Susan Kern, who directed the most recent excavations at Shadwell, notes that Robbins successfully identified all the features within the areas that he excavated and kept very meticulous records. Kern and her staff did not originally have a copy of Robbins's base map and grid. However, using the detailed provenience information on the original artifact field bags, they were able to almost completely reconstruct the grid and site layout.[376] Robbins's records have been useful in the reinterpretation of the site; his systematic collection and recording of the artifacts within a grid have allowed for a complete reanalysis of the materials, including the application of computer-aided artifact distribution mapping.[377]

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[375] Robbins, "Report on 1955 Archaeological Exploration at Shadwell," p. 35-37.

[376] Susan A. Kern, personal communication, 1993.

[377] Susan A. Kern, personal communication, 1993.

The Shadwell project was entirely shaped by the restoration goals. Although on several occasions Robbins commented that the archaeological information was insufficient for an accurate reconstruction, the construction eventually proceeded.[378] Robbins had warned the committee of the dangers of a poorly conceived and executed project from the very first.[379] As he neared the end of his 1954-55 excavations, Robbins indicated his hesitancy about proceeding with a reconstruction in a letter to author Evan Jones:

> They [the committee] seem to think that what I have found is enough to warrant the building of the reproduction on the ridge. I tell them that we have removed 47 grid squares to date. This is but 10 percent of the 476 grid squares! They apparently haven't appropriated enough money to have this work extend more than a couple of more weeks![380]

As discussed above, it is clear that the TJBMPC was prepared to proceed with reconstruction at several times during the archaeological studies of both Schumacher and Robbins.[381] Although the commission consisted of several well-known architects and historians, there was no one on the board with experience in reconstruction projects based on archaeological data and interpretation. The commission had conceived the project as a reconstruction of the "ruin" of the house on the actual site, and they clearly intended to see the project to completion. Their determination to complete the restoration grew out of local and national pride in the site. They felt,

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[378] Robbins, "Shadwell-1955, Daily Log," p. 10.

[379] Roland W. Robbins to Floyd E. Johnson, November 14, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[380] Roland W. Robbins to Evan Jones, April 30, 1955, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[381] Johnson to Michie, March 18, 1960.

Robbins reported, that they had a "better claim" for the Jefferson birthplace site reconstruction than did the Washington and Lincoln birthplace groups. Although it did not approve of "the conjectural restoration of the Shadwell buildings," the National Park Service also saw the project as a crusade for a "national shrine at Shadwell."[382] The report stated that the NPS

> ...desires to see the birthplace preserved in order that further historical and archaeological studies may be made and in order that the building ruins which have been unearthed, or which may be unearthed in the future, may be properly maintained and marked for the benefit and inspiration of the American people.[383]

Author Evan Jones noted that, at Shadwell, Robbins would help the commission "erect an authentic mecca for tourists who now leave Monticello unsatisfied."[384] "It was," Floyd Johnson remembered, "a tourist attraction that they were primarily interested in--they were all business and professional people."[385]

With restoration projects like Shadwell primarily motivating their work, practitioners of historical archaeology increasingly felt a need to organize the field and create more structured forums for exchanging ideas. However, it would be another decade before such a professional society was established. Robbins was well aware of the need for more exchange among the pioneers then practicing historical archaeology, and in 1954 had proposed a forum to J. C. Harrington that anticipated

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[382] Charles W. Porter, 1955, quoted in Robbins, "Notes for Annual Meeting TJBMPC, Thursday, May 5, 1955."

[383] Charles W. Porter, 1955, quoted in Robbins, "Notes for Annual Meeting TJBMPC, Thursday, May 5, 1955."

[384] Jones, "Pick and Shovel Historian," p. 29.

[385] Floyd Johnson, personal communication, 1995.

Stanley South's Conference on Historic Site Archaeology by six years and the formation of the Society for Historical Archaeology by more than ten years. He wrote that "it would be well if at some time in the future we could call a seminar where by all of us could compare notes and reveal the results of our individual endeavors. I am sure that we would all benefit greatly by such meetings."[386] Harrington answered several days later that,

> you are absolutely right that the few of us working in this somewhat unusual field should get together on occasion and not only discuss our individual experiences but work out ways of making them available to others working on similar projects....I have often thought an association would be desirable....However there are far too many associations.... Furthermore, I have never felt that I had the time that it would take to help organize such a group and help carry it along in the formative years. This is certainly one subject that we should discuss, and I am sure you have undoubtedly given some thought to it.[387]

Although historical archaeology was growing, it "had not truly emerged as an organized and established field between 1946 and 1960."[388] The Park Service created the little institutional organization that existed; historians rejected any role and anthropologists were simply too busy to care.[389] National Park Service archaeologists were largely technicians, limited by the power of the restoration syndrome, and forced to collect very specific types of data.[390] Archaeology within

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[386] Roland W. Robbins to J. C. Harrington, February 8, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[387] J. C. Harrington to Roland W. Robbins, February 16, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[388] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 129.

[389] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 136.

[390] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 134.

the academy was little better: "an archaeologist signed a contract, undertook an excavation at a particular historic site, wrote a report that usually was never published, and then returned to his overriding interest--prehistory."[391]

Even with these seemingly overwhelming difficulties, changes involving the profession were clearly underway, and Robbins felt their impact by the mid-1950s. As the Shadwell project came to a close, he became interested in parlaying this successful work into a project at Monticello. He reported to Evan Jones in 1955 that Mr. Hildreth of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation had asked him to present his slide talk on Shadwell to the annual meeting of the foundation, and he was excited by the prospect. "Sure thing, said I. What the heck, those are the kind of boys I want to do business with."[392] In April 1956, Robbins did a preliminary survey at Monticello, at the request of Mr. Hildreth, to locate the site of the nailery. Working along Mulberry Row, Robbins recorded that "tests show that much of the nailery's southerly foundation survives. It seems likely its entire basic pattern is intact."[393] Floyd Johnson appears to have been advocating on Robbins's behalf, writing in January 1957 that

> I have talked with both Mr. Hildreth and Charles Bareham about your future at Monticello. Both are pulling for you but it appears your

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[391] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 134.

[392] Roland W. Robbins to Evan Jones, May 7, 1955, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[393] Roland W. Robbins, "Site of the Nailery at Monticello," Preliminary Survey, April 18, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

> profession is a jealous one and I gather doctor degrees go a long way when boards get down to make selections.[394]

Robbins's reply indicates his disappointment with the news, and conveys his feeling about the academy and their participation in historic-sites archaeology:

> I was glad to learn about the developments at Monticello. Undoubtedly the doctors degree [*sic*] will give the project academic dignity. But I doubt it will be too helpful with the problems confronting them. I am glad that when I was there I laid out the site of the "nailery," as well as other pertinent data and had copies made. In the future, when the "nailery" site has been located by someone else, it will be comforting to refer to this plan and its printing which states that the lost site of the "nailery" was found just 15 minutes after I began my investigation.... Frankly, Floyd, I do not need the Monticello work. I have more than a years [*sic*] work before me....But because of the significance of the Monticello restoration, and because of my great admiration for Thomas Jefferson, I want to see the excavations at the sites of Mr. Jefferson's dependency buildings properly located and interpreted.
>
> Historic-sites archaeology is a very specialized field. There is no university in the nation where it is taught. When it comes to practical experience in this field, I know of no archaeologist, with or without a doctors degree [*sic*], that has chalked up as many important discoveries. The results speak for themselves. The work at Monticello is no great challenge, it is routine. But the person handling it must know what to look for.

Although this situation would have completely discouraged someone with less tenacity, Robbins remained convinced of the value of his work and his skills as a historic-sites archaeologist. "My work," he said, "just helps to show what can be done with archaeology in the United States....We're a country that has grown too fast and been too careless of our landmarks."[395] In this respect, he had the support of his friends and colleagues--Brew, Harrington, and Barghoorn--and impressed his

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[394] Floyd E. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, January 17, 1957, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[395] Jones, "Pick and Shovel Historian," p. 31.

clients with the quality of his work. Floyd Johnson remembered that Ed Kendrew and Singleton Moorehead of Colonial Williamsburg "thought very highly of Roland."[396] "He was a marvelous person to work with and very energetic," Johnson continued.[397] "He seemed very professional to me," Johnson recalled. "Having watched the other archaeologist [Schumacher] work, Robbins went at it just as if he had all the college."[398]

His position in the emerging field of historical archaeology, however, was often hurt by his colorful description of himself as a treasure hunter or subterranean detective.[399] He made statements that seemed to disparage the scientific and academic pursuit of archaeology from the very first, often shunning the title of archaeologist, yet he employed a scientific approach to his work and frequently engaged scientists from other fields in his projects. In these early years of his career, it seems, Robbins was concerned about misrepresenting himself by using a title that didn't really apply.[400] He knew that archaeologists were generally university-trained and that he was a high school dropout learning his craft in the school of daily experience. However, he also knew that the average degree-holding archaeologist was a prehistorian, not trained for or usually interested in historic sites. Historical archaeology was, according to Robert Schuyler, "simply a minor topic within general

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[396] Floyd Johnson, personal communication, 1995.

[397] Floyd Johnson, personal communication, 1995.

[398] Floyd Johnson, personal communication, 1995.

[399] Jones, "Pick and Shovel Historian," p. 28.

[400] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

archaeology, not a subdiscipline or a separate field."[401] Although the topic of historic-period sites and artifacts "was of low prestige and considered redundant or heuristic by most prehistorians," historical archaeology begun to migrate toward the academy, a trend that would eventually push Robbins aside--slowly undermining the career foundations that he had so carefully built.[402]

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[401] Robert L. Schuyler, "The Society for Historical Archaeology, 1967-1992: A Quarter Century of a National Archaeological Society," *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (1993): 35.

[402] Robert L. Schuyler, "The Society for Historical Archaeology, 1967-1992: A Quarter Century of a National Archaeological Society," *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (1993): 35.

CHAPTER IV. "THE RUDIMENTS OF A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH"

If Saugus served as Roland Robbins's training ground, then the small projects that immediately followed, the Dover Union Iron Works and Shadwell, the Jefferson birthplace, were opportunities for him to refine and practice his new craft.[1] By the mid-1950s, with his use of grids for horizontal control, increasing attention to artifacts and their vertical position, and the application of special studies, Robbins was in some respects practicing state-of-the-art historical archaeology. His increasingly systematic work at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills in Tarrytown, New York, and particularly the John Alden House in Duxbury, Massachusetts, drew on his contacts with archaeologists J. C. Harrington, J. O. Brew, Henry Hornblower II, and Maurice Robbins and his study of the archaeological literature, and built on field experiences at Saugus and Shadwell. At Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, Robbins was faced with a large seventeenth- to nineteenth-century commercial and industrial site that had been extensively filled and altered during previous restoration activities. He spent five years removing the previous reconstruction, excavating the original complex of buildings, and observing the administration of a historical site.

Although Robbins faced major problems with the complicated stratigraphy and features at the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills excavations and had an increasingly

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[1] The Dover Union Iron Works was a small, private excavation/restoration project in Dover, Massachusetts, that Robbins completed for Miss Amelia Peabody in 1954.

problematic relationship with the Sleepy Hollow Restorations (SHR) staff, a review of the project suggests that the quality of his work was far better than previously understood. For instance, Robbins used trench and unit excavations to determine the previous shorelines of the tidal Pocantico River in order to establish the original spatial orientation of the complex, and performed a shovel test survey to determine areas of interest. In contrast to Shadwell, the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills site was a "deep" excavation, according to Robbins, that required the use of heavy machinery to expose and remove the thick fill sequences. After establishing the stratigraphic sequences in each area within a formal grid system, Robbins had the machine remove the "modern" nineteenth- and twentieth-century soils, leaving a buffer or interface over the colonial strata that was then removed by hand troweling and shoveling. Artifacts were recovered during excavation and also later through screening of the soil. Much of this screening was performed by volunteers in the "dig-it yourself" area. As at Saugus, Robbins was extremely successful at identifying the major mill-related features and guiding the reconstruction and landscaping work.

At Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, Robbins expanded public participation in his work, developing an active public archaeology program that inspired his fellow Americans with the romance of archaeology. While anticipating the current vogue in public archaeology by four decades, Robbins's populist approach created a tension between himself and university professionals that would run through and ultimately shatter his career. As the academy drew the discipline under its wing, it began the slow professionalization process that sought to control and standardize archaeological knowledge--the field's "secrets" were restricted to those with a symbol of professional

proficiency--"the community of the competent"[2] (Figure 42). Robbins's unrestricted approach, sharing archaeology with the masses and suggesting that they could themselves be archaeologists, ran counter to all that was held sacred in the professional culture.

As at Saugus and Shadwell, Robbins continued to labor for preservation organizations that were engaged in developing their properties through historical restoration, reconstruction, or monument building. The often complex and varying goals and objectives of these groups, ranging from educational interpretation to tourism, made planning and implementing the excavations difficult and required Robbins to do far more than excavate. While the smaller and less complicated digs, such as Shadwell and Alden, allowed him to concentrate on the archaeology, the major venture at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills once again required him to wear many hats, and regularly brought him into conflict with museum personnel and their restoration-oriented goals.

At Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, Robbins struggled to establish his status within the organization. As often befalls consultants, he was engaged in a balancing freedom and autonomy and validate an identity and position within the organizational culture. "The professional person," writes Bledstein, "absolutely protected his precious autonomy against all assailants....In the service of mankind...the professional resisted all corporate encroachments and regulations upon his independence."[3]

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[2] Donald M. Scott, "The Profession that Vanished: Public Lecturing in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," in *Professions and Professional Ideologies*, ed. Gerald L. Geison, pp. 12-28 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), pp. 27-28.

[3] Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, p. 92.

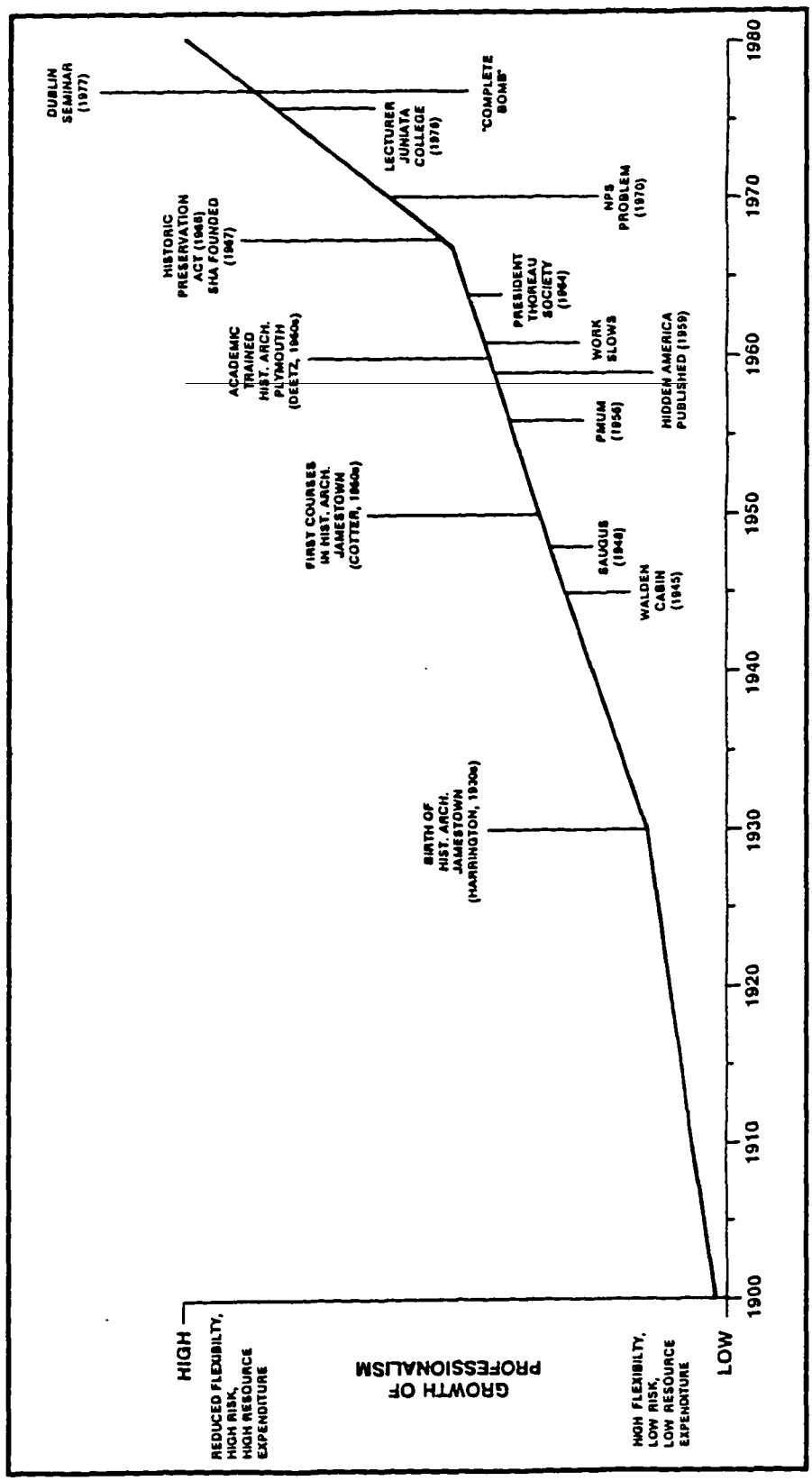

Figure 42. The growth of Robbins's career charted against the development of the discipline of historical archaeology.

However, Robbins sought both the freedom of an independent professional consultant and the security and protection of the organization--a foundation for his career. From his first project at Walden, Robbins treated his archaeological finds as a form of intellectual property, and was insistent upon complete autonomy in his work. He had been a self-employed person for most of his life, and his self-conception was wrapped up in his image of the independent consulting professional. Robbins did not want to be treated like an employee, subject to the power of others. This is evident in the Saugus project and particularly in the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills excavation where he functioned within a large-scale, institutional venue. Robbins discovered that maintaining his freedom as an independent, private practitioner was tricky; working within an established organization, like a museum or university, provided a support system and opportunities for exposure at regional and national levels. However, more importantly to his conception of self, he had to give up "a certain kind of freedom which inhered in the private practice of professions for clients," and risked becoming "a digging technician" or joining the ranks of "choreboys without much reputation among clients and without any among their more specialized colleagues."[4] As will become evident in his deteriorating relationship with the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills staff, Robbins did not want these inexperienced colleagues to manipulate and use his discoveries and impinge on his intellectual freedom as a professional consultant. At the same time, however, he also did not want them to "do him out of" his vacation pay, a benefit of paid staff employees.

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[4] Everett C. Hughes, "Professions," in *The Professions in America*, ed. Kenneth S. Lynn, pp. 1-14 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), pp. 11-12.

As Robbins became increasingly absorbed in his new career of archaeological consulting, he slowly phased out his odd jobs business. However, he retained many of the skills he had learned in business, particularly the importance of prospecting or lining up new projects and potential clients. As he had in his odd jobs business, Robbins initially relied heavily on word of mouth and personal contacts to obtain new archaeological projects. However, he quickly realized that he would also have to advertise to reach the regional preservation community and create a large enough base to sustain his business. Using both his far-reaching lecture program network and a variety of direct mail approaches, he applied his business acumen and energy to the problem, and worked out a successful promotional strategy. As professionals marketed their university degrees, Robbins traded on his practical field experience; he created his own visible symbol of competence and disseminated it through his public lectures, brochures, and eventually in his book *Hidden America*.

Between the end of the Saugus project in 1953 and the start of the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills work in 1956, Robbins kept busy with several smaller projects, lecturing, and searching for new consulting opportunities. During this period, he wrote hundreds of letters to foundations, historical organizations, and industries looking for new projects and funding.[5] Whether writing to The American Foundation, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Carnegie Institution, the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, The Ford Foundation, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, or the National Association of Manufacturers,

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[5] Roland W. Robbins, "Business Brochures-Replies, 1954-1956," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.; Roland W. Robbins, "Business Brochures-Unanswered Correspondence, 1954-1956," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

Robbins energetically pitched his expertise and the importance of historic-sites archaeology: "there are many worthwhile investigations that have national significance and bearing upon our early history and our heritage which cannot be conducted because of inadequate finances."[6] He was quickly becoming aware of the profitable connections between commercial interests and non-profit foundations for supporting his type of work.

When writing to manufacturers, for instance, Robbins usually emphasized the industrial sites that he had excavated and wrote that "industry today should know more of their past history."[7] A fascinating example of his marketing savvy is found in a letter to Virginia Electric and Power Company in 1956. Robbins had obtained a copy of a Virginia Electric advertisement designed to encourage industry to move their factories to the Richmond area. The ad highlighted the site of America's first iron works on Falling Creek with the slogan that "the home of America's First Iron Works...is a choice industrial home for your plant."[8] Robbins had visited the Falling Creek site in the early 1950s while working at the Saugus Iron Works in Massachusetts, and saw this as a perfect opportunity to obtain funding for a project in which he had a long-term interest. He wrote to the Director of Area Development for Virginia Electric, describing his work at other iron works sites and previous

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[6] Robbins, "Business Brochures, Replies - 1954-1956"; "Business Brochures, Unanswered Correspondence - 1954-1956"; Roland W. Robbins to the Director of the American Foundation, February 27, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[7] Roland W. Robbins to Mr. Noel Sargent, National Association of Manufacturers, September 12, 1955, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[8] Virginia Electric and Power Company, "Advertisement," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 18, 1956, p. 12.

investigations at Falling Creek, and ending with the pointed question, "If you folks down in Virginia are earnestly concerned with determining the pros and cons relative to the Falling Creek Iron Works, why not have me run a survey there?"[9] The reply, one of hundreds of rejections that Robbins received during his career, illustrates Virginia Electric's lack of commitment to the past that it was borrowing: "I do not know of anyone at this time who is sufficiently interested in the Falling Creek Iron Works to desire a survey, such as you suggest."[10]

Rejections, however, did not seem to slow down Robbins's tenacious letter-writing campaign.[11] Although he received mostly negative responses or unanswered letters, Robbins knew that persistence would triumph. Helen D. Bullock, the historian of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, answered Robbins's query, writing that "in our work we not infrequently have occasion to recommend archaeological examinations and would welcome the opportunity of forwarding your name."[12]

Robbins's correspondence and lecturing always seemed to provide a new connection and project. This aggressive marketing and self-promotion eventually worked against Robbins as the discipline professionalized. Although academic professionals complained about Robbins's salesmanship and self-promotion as

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[9] Roland W. Robbins to Clark P. Spellman, Director, Area Development, Virginia Electric and Power Company, July 28, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[10] Clark P. Spellman to Roland W. Robbins, August 1, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[11] Approximately 50 percent of Robbins's inquiries were not answered, and less than 1 percent of those that were answered contained a positive response.

[12] Helen D. Bullock to Roland W. Robbins, February 8, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

blatantly amateur and took exception to his entrepreneurial orientation, their lament may have been anything but altruistic. Early sociologists argued that a "primary orientation to the community interest rather that to individual self-interest" was an essential attribute of professional behavior.[13] In the past several decades, however, sociologists have suggested "the extent to which superficial similarities and harmonies can conceal important differences and conflicts" within a profession.[14] Robbins's friend Paul Heberling, a university-based archaeologist, remarked that "you just don't do that sort of thing [promotion] if you are a scientist."[15] Heberling's remark reinforces the passive, non-economic, and homogeneous professional veneer that is generally accepted by the public.[16] While it might be an overstatement to suggest that academic archaeologists were consciously engaged in a "conspiratorial and exploitative process" driven by "the needs of capitalism," professional self-promotion and competition for book contracts, endowed positions and awards within the university, and grant-funded projects could be argued to be no less exploitative than Robbins's tactics.[17] In Robbins's situation, without the security and support of an

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[13] Bernard Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions," in *The Professions in America*, ed. Kenneth S. Lynn, pp. 15-34. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 18; Gerald L. Geison, ed. *Professions and Professional Ideologies in America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), p. 4.

[14] Geison, *Professions and Professional Ideologies*, pp. 5-6.

[15] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992. Although Heberling said that this was the academic coming out in him, he was genuinely impressed with Robbins's business acumen.

[16] Geison, *Professions and Professional Ideologies*, pp. 5-6.

[17] Geison, *Professions and Professional Ideologies*, pp. 5-6; Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, pp. 298-299.

educational affiliation or permanent position--a foundation--he had little choice but to promote his work and his accomplishments for himself.

Although it rankled his academic colleagues, Robbins's promotional strategy yielded opportunities to participate in significant projects throughout the region. After spending the fall of 1955 excavating for the Hagley Foundation at the Eleutherian Mills in Wilmington, Delaware, and the summer of 1956 at the John Winthrop, Jr., blast furnace in West Quincy, Massachusetts, he began work at the Rockefeller-funded Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills (PMUM) site in North Tarrytown, New York.[18]

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., became involved in the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills project in 1940, when the Historical Society of the Tarrytowns requested money to turn the Philipse Castle, or Philipsburg Manor, house into a "historic shrine."[19] Society president Hugh Grant Rowell argued that "the Tarrytowns, with the story of the North, are just as rich in lore [as St. Augustine and Williamsburg], and, in my opinion have a richer historic background than either of the other communities...."[20] Rockefeller initially donated the money needed to purchase the property, which sits below his Pocantico Hills compound, and to complete repairs to make the house suitable as a headquarters for the Society.[21] As the project progressed, Colonial

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[18] Originally known as Philipse Castle, the property was owned and managed by Sleepy Hollow Restorations (later Historic Hudson Valley).

[19] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 550.

[20] Hugh Grant Rowell quoted in Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 550.

[21] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 70.

Williamsburg staff members Edwin Kendrew and Finlay Ferguson were called in to record changes made to the house.[22]

The continued lobbying effort of the Society's president along with the Colonial Williamsburg architect's report to Rockefeller convinced him to fund a major restoration of Philipse Castle beginning in 1941. Although Colonial Williamsburg staff provided advice on the project, they were not involved in the day-to-day restoration process. When Rutherford Goodwin and Singleton Moorehead visited the site in 1942, they were not happy with what they saw, particularly the quality of the archaeology.[23] Although "the Williamsburg professionals did not like working with an amateur approach, nor did they like to see their patron's funds used in such a way," they remained involved in upgrading the site's interpretation to visitors, drawing on the experiences of the Williamsburg operation.[24] In 1952, the Sleepy Hollow Restorations board brought in several Williamsburg staff members to assist in "increasing the educational merit and significance of these restorations while carrying forward their established traditions."[25] One of their new initiatives, a thorough research program to reevaluate the previous restoration and the site's interpretation, resulted in Robbins's employment as consulting archaeologist.

Robbins's unsolicited letter of inquiry to director Dr. Harold Dean Cater began the process that ultimately landed him the job. "If there is anything with which

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[22] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 70.

[23] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 70.

[24] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 70.

[25] Dana S. Creel quoted in Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 340.

my services could be beneficial with your work of restoring the old grist mill," he wrote positively, "I would like to hear from you."[26] Robbins had been soliciting organizations and individuals like the Ford Foundation and Rockefeller for several years, and was clearly aware of Rockefeller's association with the site. He had visited the impressive Rockefeller operation at Colonial Williamsburg on several occasions during his Shadwell work, and was no doubt excited about the potential to create a northern version of the restoration of Virginia's colonial capital.

Dr. Cater evidently responded to Robbins's query because he visited the restoration over the second weekend of July. The meeting with Cater and Robert G. Wheeler, the Director of Research, was a clear success; Wheeler wrote to Robbins that

> it was a pleasure to meet you and Mrs. Robbins this past weekend....I certainly feel bursting with enthusiasm and the desire to follow up our talks....Whenever you can work out any kind of a schedule, please let me know....I am very hopeful that your estimate of an initial digging time can be set up within the next three weeks or so."[27]

Robbins quickly responded and scheduled the preliminary tests from mid-August to Labor Day weekend. Wheeler confirmed the dates and mentioned that historical research was proceeding, prompting Robbins to respond that

> I think that the first thing we should do would be to go over all the pertinent material you have and see what we can establish about the

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[26] Roland W. Robbins to Harold Dean Cater, January 7, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[27] Robert G. Wheeler to Roland W. Robbins, July 23, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Wheeler had met Robbins during the Saugus project and attended one of his lectures.

> Philipse family occupation and development of the site. This would give us a pattern to start with.[28]

This plan met with Wheeler's approval; he told Robbins that "we are constantly at work putting together newly uncovered materials for your use."[29] As the day for beginning the work approached, Wheeler wrote to Robbins, "Gosh, I am getting more and more excited about our project with every passing day."[30]

Robbins arrived at the site on September 5, 1956, and immediately set to work reviewing the historical data that Bob Wheeler and his research assistants had prepared on "the early setup by Frederick Philipse and his descendants."[31] The research department's report, "The Philipse Castle Land and Structures, 1680-1956," provided Robbins with a brief overview of the historical development of the property and included a listing of buildings and features on the property from 1700 to 1956.[32] In the afternoon of his first day, Robbins walked over the property with the research assistants and began some limited probe testing in the area that had been investigated during the earlier restoration. Robbins also reviewed the notes and photographs from the original 1940 dig at the mill and dam site, recommending that "no excavations

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[28] Roland W. Robbins to Robert G. Wheeler, August 5, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[29] Robert G. Wheeler to Roland W. Robbins, August 9, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[30] Robert G. Wheeler to Roland W. Robbins, August 10, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[31] Roland W. Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[32] Anonymous, "The Philipse Castle Land and Structures," Manuscript prepared by the Research Department, Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown, N.Y., 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

take place in that area for the time being--it is too confusing, and too much has been destroyed, or built over."[33] Rather, he favored locating other pertinent features or ruins to determine the original layout of the mill complex. Over the next several days, Robbins worked around a previously located barn (Foundation #1) and began a series of test "holes" to determine the shoreline along the Pocantico River from below the mill dam to its confluence with the Hudson. He reported that he found "...the old peat bed of the bay--rather the salt marsh on [the] shore of [the] bay...."[34] These test holes provided "an excellent outline of the original contours of the land."[35] During this first week, Robbins also tried to locate the buildings shown on the 1848 map of the property by Beekman using the extant mansion house as a common reference (Figure 43).

In late September, Robbins hired backhoe operator Herbert Bianchine to begin testing through the deep fill along the river.[36] Robbins also placed some "preliminary test holes" to the northwest of the extant slave house, identifying 15 to 20 inches of fill in this area. This location would have to be more thoroughly tested, he noted, when "we set out a grid."[37] While working in the area north of the slave house, Robbins also located a brick foundation filled in "modern times."

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[33] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 1.

[34] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 2.

[35] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 4.

[36] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 6. These tests were given the designation "Bay Trench #M2, "M standing for mechanical."

[37] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," pp. 8-9.

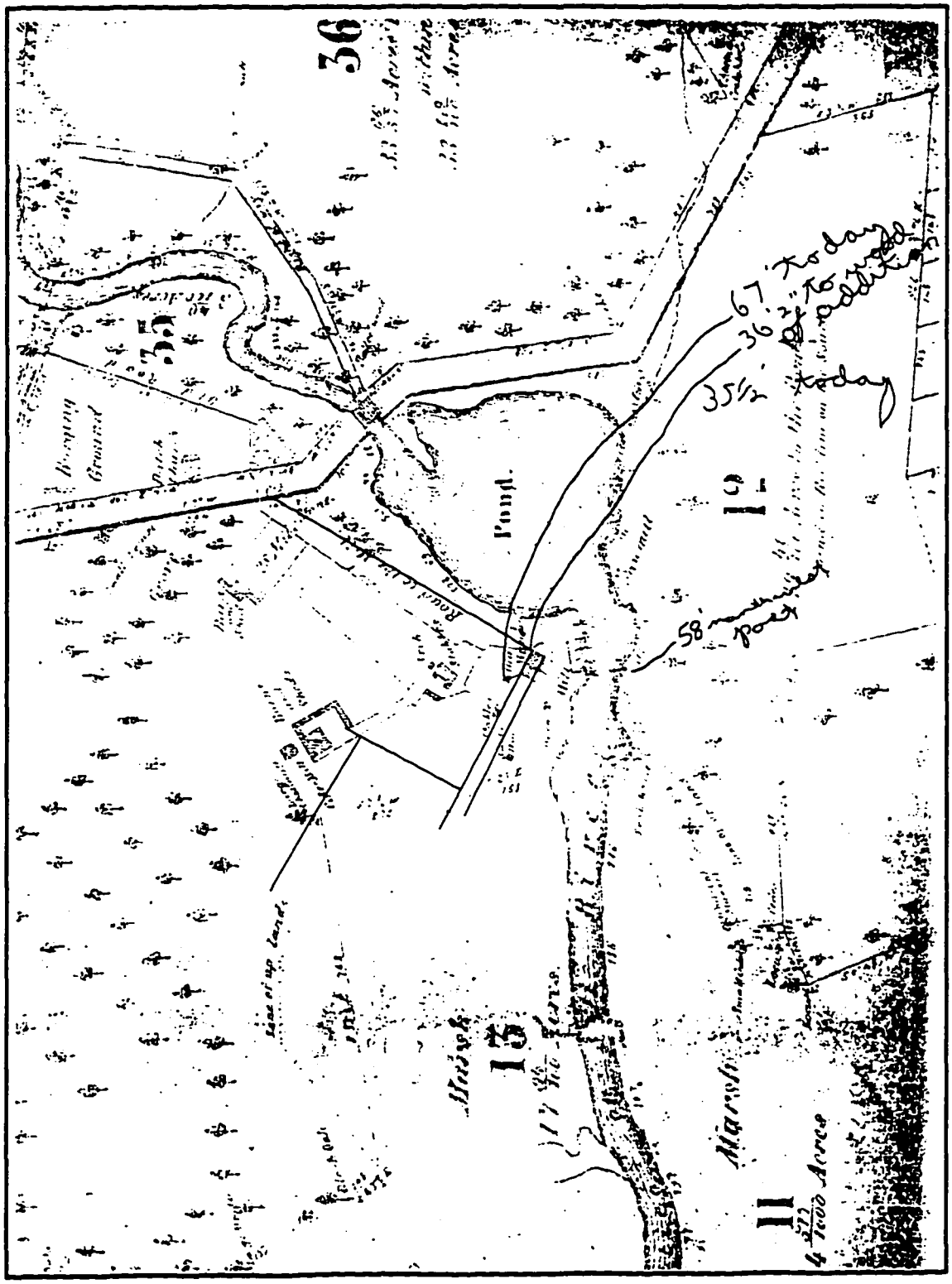

Figure 43. Beekman map of Philipsburg Manor with Robbins's notations.

The deep mechanical trenches provided Robbins with excellent stratigraphic cross-sections of the property, identifying evidence of early activity buried beneath many layers of fill and confirming his suspicions about the complex nature of the site (Figure 44). For instance, Bay Trench #M3, placed along the canal to the west of the 1940 mill reconstruction, revealed "log evidence about 7' below [the] existing surface" (Figures 45 and 46).[38] "There is no question," he recorded, "but that this was a dead-man for one of the top or upper sills."[39] While likely a dock site, Robbins believed that it was not the earliest dock because of the artifacts recovered in the silt layer just below the log evidence. He continued to run test trenches along the river and canal edge throughout early October. Several trenches east of the extant Smoke House produced evidence of a stone wall (Foundation #5) that Robbins began to interpret as a "retaining wall running along the bank of the river."[40] Placing Bay Trench #M5 to the west of the Smoke House, Robbins hoped to "locate evidence of the outter [*sic*] extremity of the river yard--dock site...."[41] This trench "unearthed the foundation for the 'caretaker's house' which once occupied the site now occupied by the Smoke House."[42] Also believed to be the location of an earlier icehouse, the stone foundation rested on a "natural boulder" that had been cut down. Robbins

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[38] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 9.

[39] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," pp. 9-10.

[40] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 12.

[41] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 13.

[42] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 14.

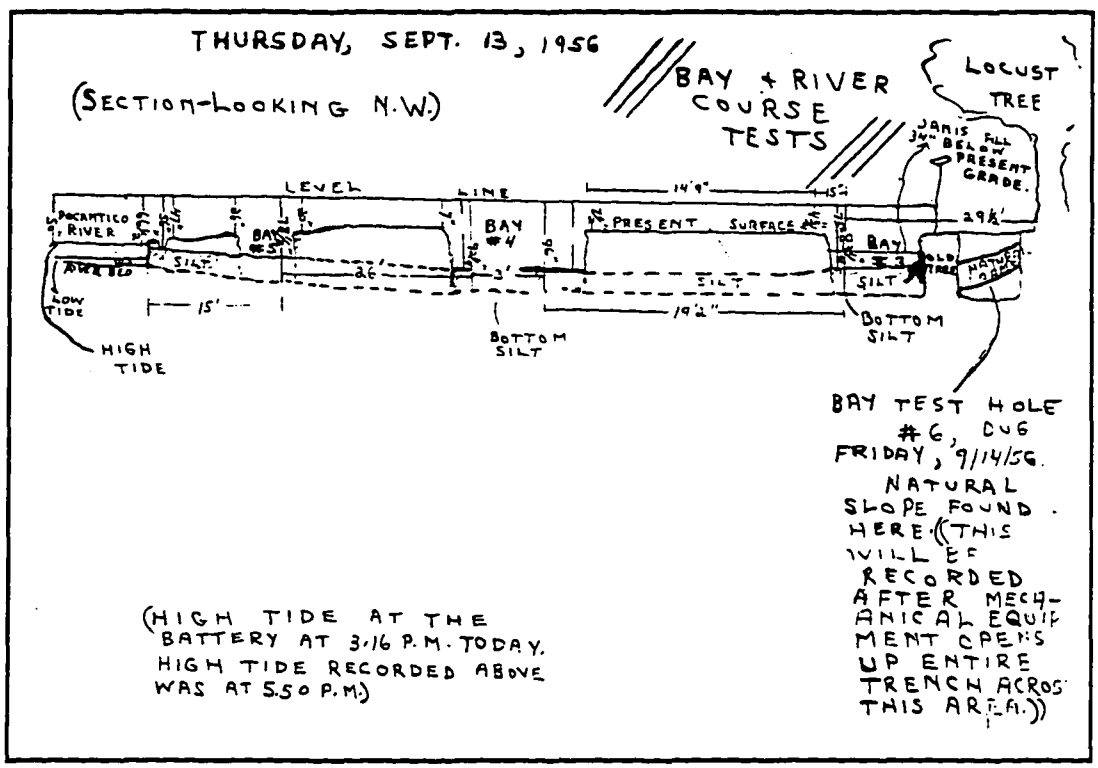

Figure 44. Profile of bay and river course tests, September 13, 1956.

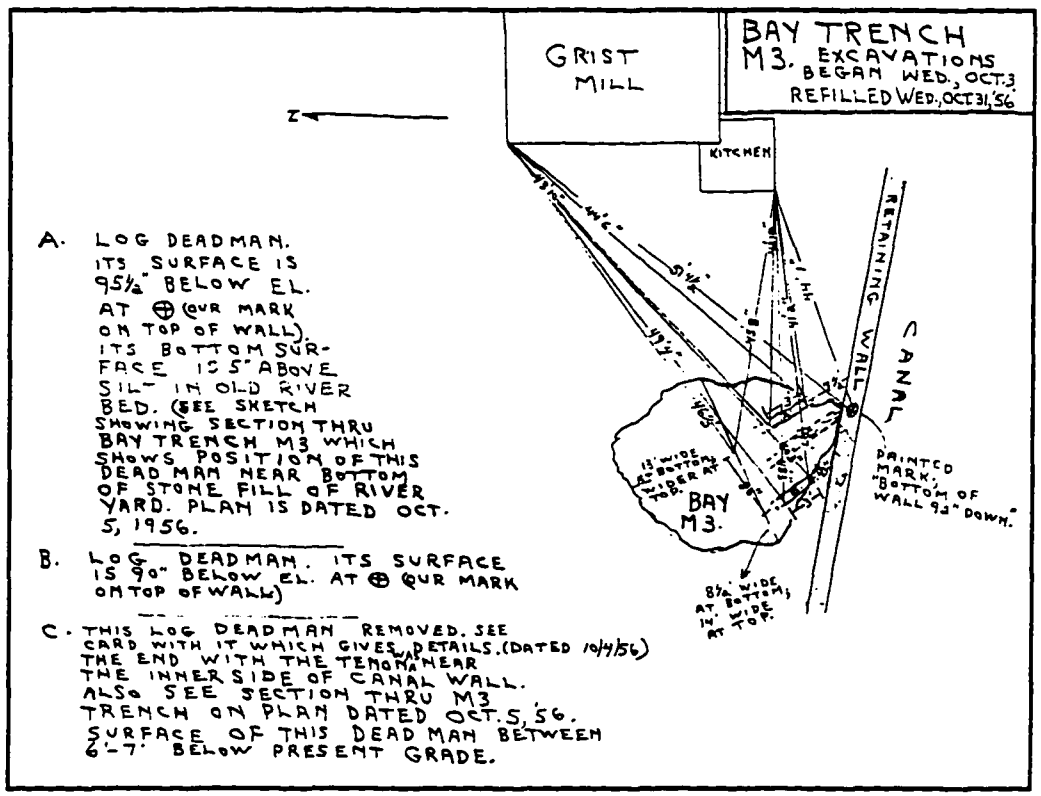

Figure 45. Plan of Bay Trench M3 excavations, October 31, 1956.

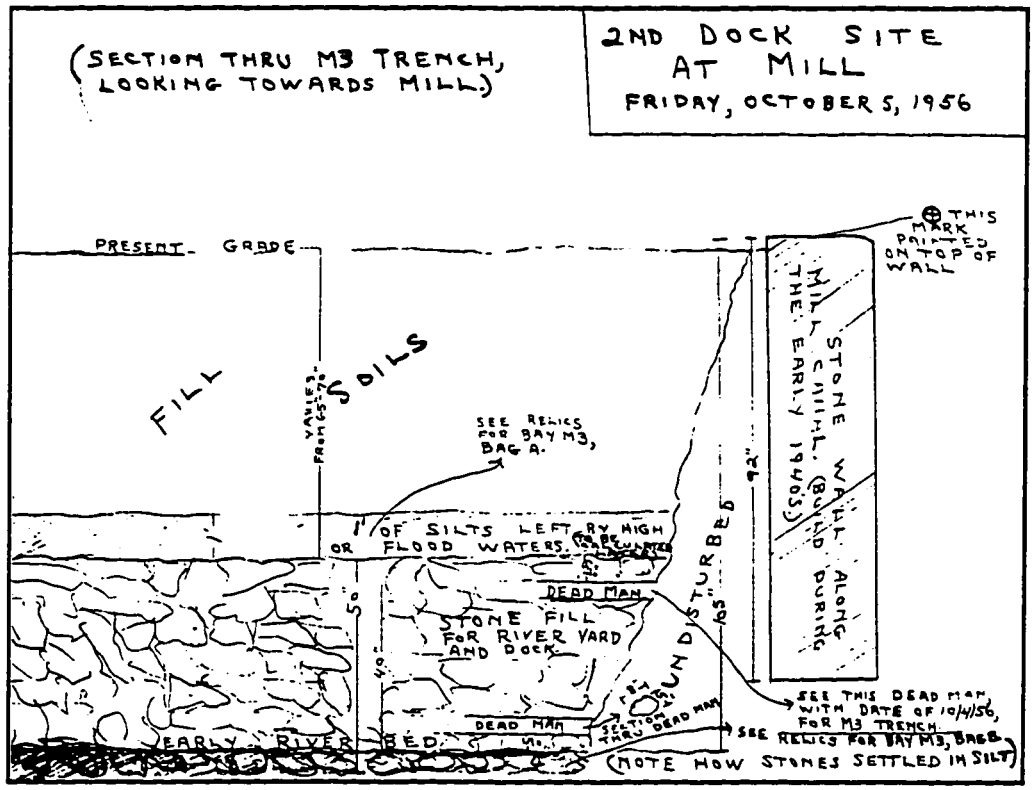

Figure 46. Section through Bay Trench M3 excavations, October 5, 1956.

reported that the fill in this area was as much as 136 inches deep.[43] Continuing work in this trench located a "16" log sill at an 8' depth," providing more clues to "what appear to be base sills for the downstream side of the river yard."[44]

During November 1956, Robbins began testing the area north of the reconstructed mill and south of the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills house. Although seeping water made work difficult, Robbins identified timber evidence in the trench and remarked that they "went to a depth of 87" near its northerly end--and still it was fill."[45] The upper fill of the trench was rich in artifacts, including "whole Dutch bricks...early earthenware, metal pieces, and lots of shell."[46] While he believed this upper fill to be related to the 1940 excavations, the lower areas were possibly undisturbed, containing "two pieces of early stoneware and two clay pipestems...also, many oyster and other shells."[47] Robbins concluded that the wooden evidence appeared to sit against a natural outcrop of stone that was cut away on the mill side. On the mill side of the timber was a silt stratum filled with "twigs, clay pipe evidence, slipware, large oyster shells, as well as clam shells and other artifacts," which suggested "an undisturbed section of the early occupation."[48] Testing of the river yard area also continued; several new trenches were placed west of the mill. In

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[43] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 14.

[44] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 16.

[45] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 18.

[46] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 18.

[47] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 18.

[48] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 20.

late November, Robbins had the backhoe dig "to the river side of the last river yard area....to pick up evidence of the nature of the construction of the outter [*sic*] side of the river yard here."[49] This work "located the southerly side of the late river yard," and he noted that "it appears to be in excellent condition...."[50]

During the final week of November, Robbins returned his attention to the stone wall that abutted the river yard, and the area of fill north of the reconstructed mill. A test trench placed south of the stone wall running east from the Smoke House identified a new section of log cribbing that abutted the "last river yard" area and ran toward the mill (Figure 47).[51] "The upstream section," Robbins noted, "is more substantial than the downstream section...."[52] Although he considered it too early to draw firm conclusions, the "fact that it is constructed separately and is heavier suggests the strong possibility that it may very well be an earlier river yard."[53] Robbins continued work immediately north of the mill in an attempt to "determine whether or not the bottom of the foundations [of the reconstructed mill] penetrated the surface of the level of the early occupation."[54]

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[49] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 22.

[50] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 23.

[51] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 25.

[52] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 25.

[53] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 25.

[54] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 24.

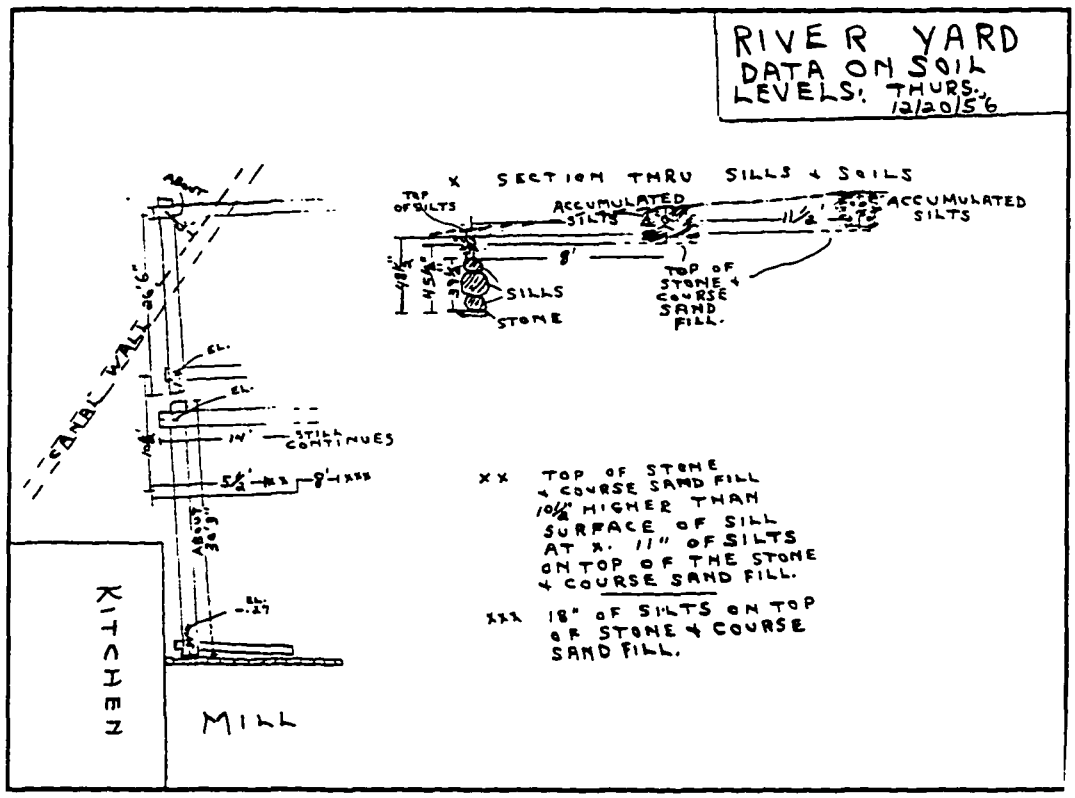

Figure 47. Plan and profile of river yard data on soil levels, December 20, 1956.

Robbins met with Dr. Cater and Bob Wheeler in early December to discuss "the present and future excavations."[55] He reported that the preliminary work was "...most successful--and it showed that major excavations should now take place."[56] Cater and Wheeler apparently agreed with Robbins and raised the question of how long "an accelerated archaeological program" would take to complete the major work. After some discussion, they concluded that it would take at least two years, and Robbins agreed to prepare an estimate for yearly excavations.[57] He and Wheeler met over dinner that same evening and discussed the proposed expenses, arriving at an annual budget of $37,500.00, including consulting fees, engineering, machinery, equipment, photography, labor, and the archaeologist's fee ($12,000/year) and expenses ($3,000/year).[58] Wheeler submitted this budget to Dr. Cater in mid-December 1956, noting that the "preliminary study...recommended that a thorough archaeological study be conducted of the entire Philipse Castle lands."[59]

Having completed his estimates for future work, Robbins returned to the excavation of trenches at the mill seeking to determine the relationships between the river yard timbers, several stone foundations, and the reconstructed mill. He and his laborers cleaned up the already opened trenches, and Robbins plotted and recorded

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[55] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 27.

[56] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 28.

[57] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 28.

[58] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 28. Robbins calculated his fee on a four-week month and rate of $50/day.

[59] R. G. W. (Bob Wheeler) to H. D. C. (Harold Cater), memo titled "Proposed Philipse Castle Archaeological Budget," dated December 18, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

their locations and strata.[60] In mid-December, he prepared an artifact exhibit along with a "general plan of the early waterway and river yards on the blowup of the master plan" for discussing the future archaeological work at a restoration board meeting.[61] The meeting, attended by Messrs. Creel and Setzer, Dr. Cater, Jo Chamberlain, Bob Wheeler, and Robbins, was "most successful."[62] Wheeler and Robbins summarized the preliminary survey, and the group discussed the time and money needed for "an extensive research program."[63] The members of the board seemed to be in favor of proceeding with the program; however, Creel wanted to have some kind of outline by January to present to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., regarding the work and its financing.[64]

Pleased with the outcome of the meeting, Robbins returned to the excavations around the mill and began a series of trenches below the mill itself.[65] By noon of the first day, he recorded that "I examined this test hole--and found undisturbed river silts at a depth of about 2' below the surface....It is too early to tell much about anything--BUT we are fortunate in finding this undisturbed area!"[66] Several other test holes below the reconstructed mill confirmed that undisturbed strata existed in this area.

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[60] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," pp. 29-31.

[61] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 32.

[62] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," pp. 32-33.

[63] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 33.

[64] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 33.

[65] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 34. These trenches were given the designation bM1, etc. ["b stands for below"].

[66] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 34.

In the new year, testing resumed in the mill and river yard area, resulting in the removal of fill soils.[67] Depending on the weather, Robbins and his laborers worked in either the trenches below the mill or those surrounding it. During the third week of January, he began a test trench "along the base of the southerly wall of the Castle where the two sections join," and opened a similar trench along the western side of the structure. Robbins hoped that these trenches would reveal the relationship between the fill and slope or "early soil line" between the Castle and the river yard and mill areas.[68] These tests were soon expanded with additional trenches on the west lawn of the Castle, between the Castle and the Smoke House.[69] One of these trenches identified a low area "where we found the evidence of the early waterway, also where the northerly end of the downstream end of the last river yard terminated."[70] Tests to the south of the Castle also identified "an early contact surface."[71] In early February, Robbins reported that "I took the contact surface in sC-2 out, sifted same, then replaced it" (Figure 48).[72]

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[67] Roland W. Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[68] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," pp. 7-9.

[69] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 8. Given the designation wC-1 for west Castle Trench #1.

[70] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 10.

[71] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 10.

[72] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 11. Roland W. Robbins, Field notes - "Castle sC2 Southeast End," February 7, 1957, Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

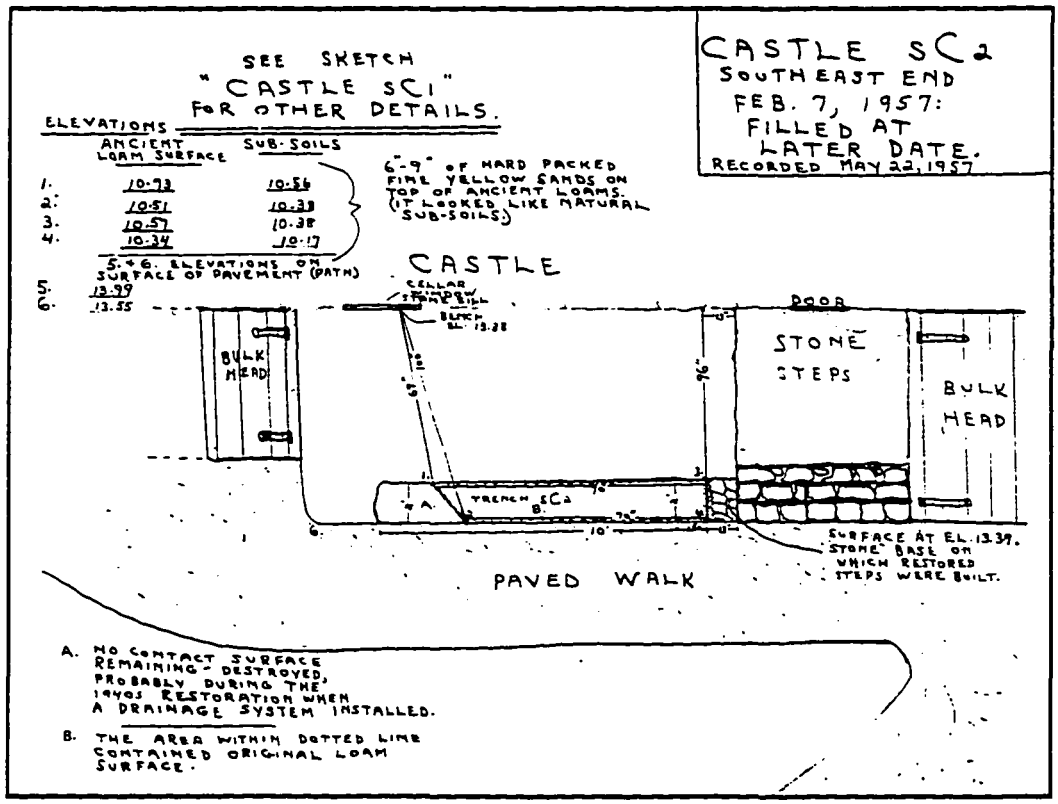

Figure 48. Plan of Trench sC2, February 7, 1957.

Although the proposed two-year exploration had received a positive response from board members in December, no official decision had been reached. Therefore, in early February, Bob Wheeler wrote to Dr. Cater requesting a definite answer because

> over the past few weeks Mr. Robbins has received a number of inquiries regarding his availability for similar explorations in New Jersey, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. Naturally he feels that he has a definite obligation to continue his work at Philipse Castle, and he wishes to do so. He cannot make plans ahead, however, on the basis of the general work decision reached in the December conversation.[73]

Wheeler utilized the demand, or perception of demand, for Robbins's professional services as leverage to force the Sleepy Hollow Restorations management to act on his and Robbins's recommendation to expand the archaeological research program.[74] Several days later, Robbins enthusiastically reported in his daily log that he heard from Wheeler that "there was no question about the two year archaeological program going through!"[75] With an extended work program approved, Robbins's digging proceeded apace.

The focus of excavations during the early part of 1957 continued to be the area around the Castle and Smoke House. Below the natural rock outcrop or ledge located west of the Smoke House, Robbins found an "earlier working surface...[that]

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[73] Robert G. Wheeler to Dr. Harold Dean Cater, February 8, 1957, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[74] Robbins's economic self-interest became bound up with his professional identity. His expansive agenda at Saugus and Philipsburg Manor created a situation akin to an open-ended contract that conflicted with the financial requirement of his employers and set him up for charges of conflict of interest by other professionals.

[75] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 12.

contained shells, old glass, metal evidence--and coal and coal ashes."[76] Excavations continued in the trenches both adjacent to and below the reconstructed mill to identify "early contours."[77] Working north of the mill, Robbins identified another section of the stone retaining wall that ran east from the Smoke House, and a possible early dock site in

> ...an area of much low disturbance less than a dozen feet northerly of the northwesterly corner of the mill...its bottom is 5'-6' lower than the top of the stone pier (the early pier)....it was filled with muds, shells, bones, clay pipe fragments, earthenware, metal pieces, etc. The fascinating thing about this is it gives us the depth we need for the water to have floated early schooners! At the moment it looks as though the vessels once docked here![78]

During March and early April, Robbins expanded the "dock" area and continued to seek "evidence of sills and cribbing to the northerly side of the 1st dock downstream of the stone pier." He thought this evidence would help prove "that the waterway was open during the periods when the 3 docks or piers were being used--and that the schooners docked along the northerly sides of these affairs, the waterway being between the docks and the bank!"[79] In considering the fill that covered the 1st dock area, Robbins recorded that

> ...the evidence we are unearthing should be an excellent medium for determining the period when the fill washed down the bank....If the evidence can be limited to the 17th, 18th and the early 19th centuries, it becomes obvious that the fills were in this area no later than the early

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[76] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 13.

[77] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 15.

[78] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 17.

[79] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 20.

> 19th century. This should be pondered...after the rest of the area has been excavated and its artifacts studied for dating.[80]

Continuing work in this area, Robbins found that the stone pier that he identified as part of the first dock actually sat on the artifact-rich muds and a layer of stone rubble, and was therefore not as early as he had first thought. The first dock, he thought, might be further to the east, so he expanded in that direction. He also continued to "cut back the roadway and bank between the Castle, Mill, and Smoke House," locating another section of the natural stone ledge.[81] A small stone foundation was identified just northeast of the Smoke House, and the area west of the Castle continued to be excavated "down by hand" to return the grade back to its original level.[82] During May, work also continued in the dock or river yard area, where the backhoe was used to "take the Dock site #2 down."[83] At the end of the month, Robbins identified "a corduroy road or walk from the high level to the westerly end of the early stone pier" adjacent to "where the ledge drops off sharply" between the Smoke House and Castle.[84]

In early June, working in the general river yard area, the workers uncovered the "remains of the easterly wall of Miss Janis's caretakers cottage," to the east of the

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[80] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 21.

[81] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," pp. 25-26.

[82] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," pp. 32, 34.

[83] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 37.

[84] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 38.

Smoke house.[85] After excavation, this foundation was removed to study the area below. Robbins noted that "the Smoke House appears to be built on a section of the Janis's Caretaker's House foundation-- which in turn appears to be within the remains of another and earlier foundation."[86] Throughout June, he also continued mechanical removal of the soils in the Docks #2 and #3 areas down to the "mud surface."[87]

By early summer, with the excavations in full swing, Robbins found himself in need of an assistant. After talking with several candidates, he selected Susan Colby, a recent college graduate in search of a summer job. Although Robbins warned her that the job would entail a little of everything, including fieldwork, Colby eagerly accepted the position. Her first job, upon beginning work in July, was "numbering the relics and getting them into the attic of the Castle" for storage.[88] Fieldwork during July continued to focus on Dock site #2, locating another deadman and "what may be the downstream sill of Dock #2" (Figure 49).[89] The muds that covered this evidence were "hard packed, as though they were natural."[90] "This mud," Robbins continued, "had on its surface various artifacts, such as a nail, coral, red brick, clay pipestems,

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[85] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 40. Robbins used the term river yard to describe the area immediately downstream from the reconstructed mill foundation where he discovered a series of possible dock or wharf features.

[86] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 45.

[87] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 43.

[88] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," pp. 9, 45, 47.

[89] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 48.

[90] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 48.

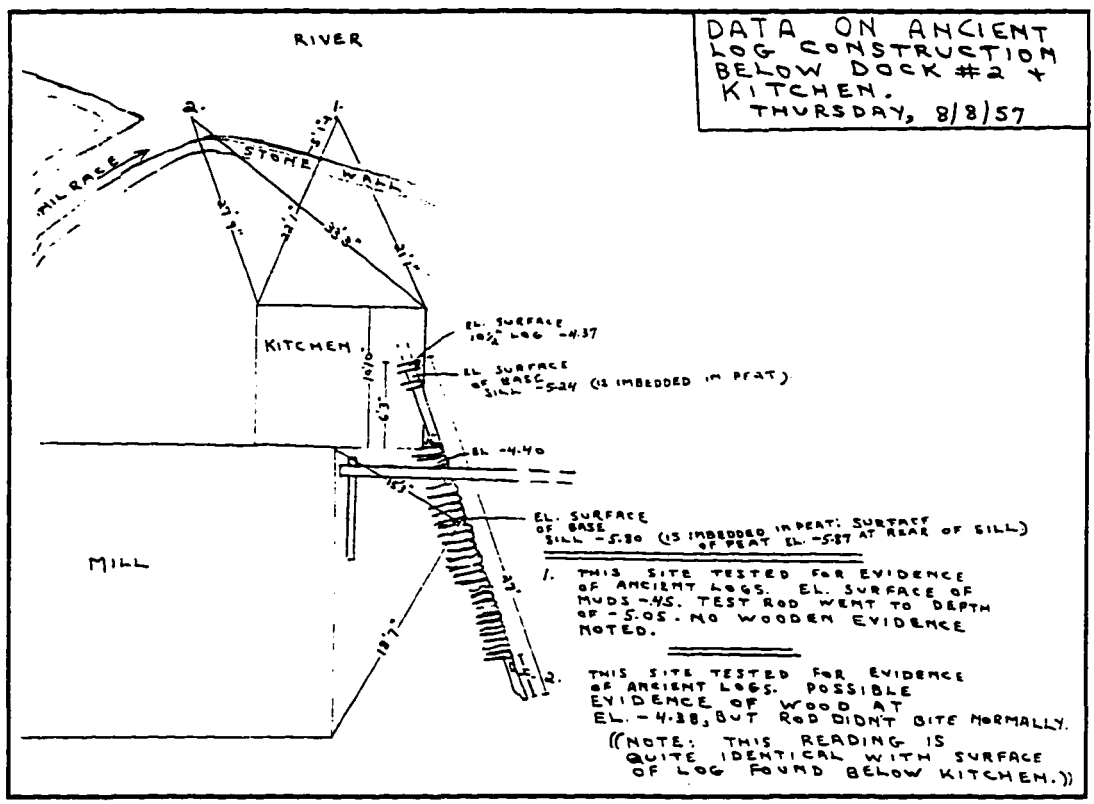

Figure 49. Data on ancient log construction below Dock #2 and kitchen, August 8, 1957.

and pieces of redstone."[91] Below this surface in the hard packed muds, he found "a yellow slipware bowl or mug and a piece of redware."[92] While removing these Dock #2 soils, Robbins discovered that "one of the large timbers had formerly been a shaft for a waterwheel....[with] mortises for its spokes."[93]

During August 1957, work moved to Dock #3, and the backhoe began taking the area down to the surface of the dock.[94] With the pace of the excavation moving briskly, Robbins found that he was not able to keep up with plotting and recording his finds. In late August, he met with Hank Fridy, an engineer employed by the Rockefellers who had helped with the previous archaeological work. Fridy agreed that he could do the engineering work that Robbins needed, including "the plotting of all our evidence of the various dock developments, etc."[95]

After careful study of the docks during the August excavations, Robbins revised his interpretation, stating that

> because of the shallowness of the draught at docks #2 & #3, I suggested that maybe they were never intended to be used as docks--rather were river yards....It seems at this time that the docks #2 & #3 were probably the work of the Beekman's--and maybe in the 19th century.[96]

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[91] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 48.

[92] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 49.

[93] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 50.

[94] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 57-60.

[95] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 61.

[96] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 63.

In removing parts of the log road at Dock #2, Robbins discovered that several of the logs were actually "the framework of an old ship!" The soils below, he noted, were removed and gone through "very carefully for their artifacts."[97] Over the next month, Robbins removed the pieces of wood making up Section B of the road and began removing the fill soils below.[98] He also began the excavation of the fill from the large stone foundation to the west of the Smoke House, and the "fills to the southerly side of the Smoke House foundation, and along the southerly side of the larger stone foundation on which the Smoke House stands."[99] Robbins's crew continued their work at the log roads, designated as L-b and L-B-B, uncovering yet another partially intact waterwheel shaft with tenons.[100]

In early October 1957, Robbins found that he had overrun his backhoe budget for the year and thus laid off Herbie Bianchine until further notice.[101] This action slowed the pace of the work throughout the remainder of the fall, and allowed Robbins to catch up on plotting features and trenches, backfilling previously investigated trenches, attending to the treatment of wooden artifacts, and studying the evidence uncovered to date. He worked in the log road area, the stone retaining wall west of the Smoke House, and the initial trenches on the south side of the Pocantico

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[97] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 63.

[98] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 63-65.

[99] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," pp. 68, 70.

[100] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," pp. 70-71.

[101] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 72.

River.[102] The crew worked with Robbins in these areas and also began to "dig along the stone work we first located and which has [the] Foundation #1 stake on it."[103] This feature turned out to be a stone drainage channel that drained a stone gutter running alongside "the supposed mid-19th century road (located in the service road)."[104]

The initial testing program located most of the major features and outlined the mill complex. With this testing phase coming to a close and the site becoming increasingly more complex, Robbins met with engineer Hank Fridy and Bob Wheeler in October to "go over the master grid I want laid out."[105] In November, the crew returned to the large stone foundation to the west of the Smoke House, now identified by Robbins as the "site of the 19th-century stable."[106] Several days later, Robbins and Wheeler interviewed Mr. Arthur Miller, the engineer who worked at the 1940 excavations.[107] Based on this discussion, Robbins directed several men to work on a trench to locate a "stone dam" referred to by Miller as existing "just to the northerly side of the well to the front of the mill."[108] He hoped to "try to determine the

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[102] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," pp. 72-74.

[103] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 75.

[104] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 75.

[105] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 79.

[106] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 81.

[107] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 81; "Discussion Between Arthur Miller, Roland W. Robbins, and Robert Wheeler" Transcription of Audiograph recording dated November 7, 1957, Montclair, New Jersey, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[108] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 81.

surface that existed when the dam was first used...."[109] After several days of work, Robbins reported that he "found the ancient surface that is located to the westerly side of the base of the stone dam--actually the stone dam is resting upon the original surface, which appears to be a combination of muds and peat."[110] The stone dam feature was followed north toward the Castle, where he identified "the early surface," containing "evidence of fire, charcoal, bones, shells, nails, clay pipe pieces, metal, etc!"[111] By the end of November, Robbins had completed the testing in this area, cleaning the trench (sC4), taking elevations, and plotting and photographing the details.[112]

An early December snow forced the work to move indoors, where Robbins had his remaining crew wash and sort artifacts, and build an archaeological exhibit. Several days before Christmas, the weather broke and Robbins began testing to the north side of the mill pond.[113] The first trench, referred to as P-1 (for pond #1), contained the "early surface, as well as what appears to be the bottom of the pond when it extended here" (Figure 50).[114]

> As the year ended, Robbins met with Hank Fridy to discuss the master plan which he had made up. [We] also looked over the present

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[109] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 81.

[110] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 83.

[111] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 84.

[112] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 86.

[113] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 90.

[114] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 90; Roland W. Robbins, Field notes - "Pond (Northerly Shore) 12/19/57 to 12/31/57," Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

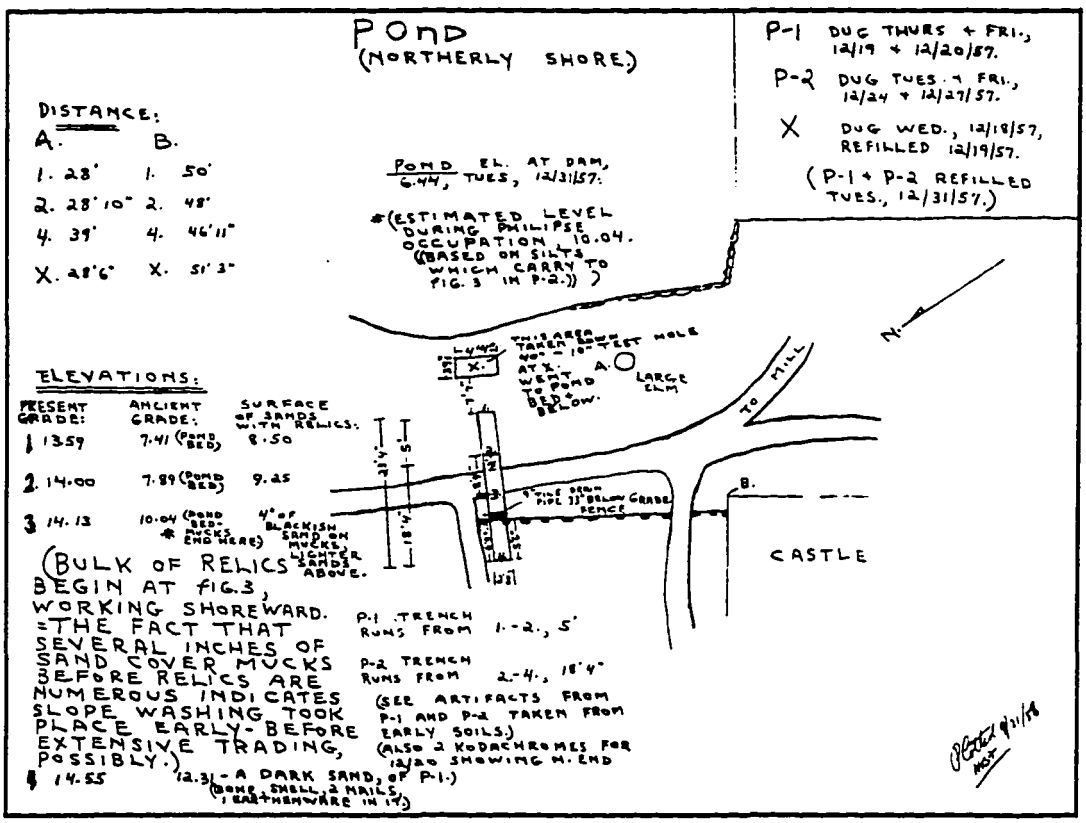

Figure 50. Plan of Pond Trenches 1 and 2, December 18-31, 1957.

> excavations in the plaza, etc. and decided on an enlargement of this area and the westerly section of the northerly shore of the pond using our grid. All work will be plotted on the grid.[115]

After meeting with Bob Wheeler on December 28, 1957, to outline "a tentative program for archaeology in 1958," extremely cold weather halted the excavation work.[116] With most of the odd jobs caught up, Robbins had his assistant Sue Colby and a couple of men wash and conserve artifacts while he completed his paperwork and attended to details concerning the archaeological exhibit.[117] In mid-February, Robbins left for a three-week vacation; during his absence, Sue Colby and several laborers continued to work on the artifacts. Robbins cut short his break because he "got fed up with the bad weather and the vacation I was on....," and returned to Tarrytown the last day of February 1958.[118] The weather improved enough that excavations could resume by the end of the first week of March. Robbins had several crew members work in the trenches on the south side of the Castle (sC5 and sC6), while he worked with Hank Fridy to lay out "the grid section between the castle and mill and along a section of the northerly side of the pond."[119] In addition to staking the area, Fridy also recorded the existing "grade in the grid area."[120] All future

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[115] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 92.

[116] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 92; Roland W. Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," Papers of Roland Wells Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[117] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 1-8.

[118] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 11.

[119] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 12-13.

[120] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 12-13.

excavations were recorded within this master grid consisting of 99 sections that measured 80 × 100 feet (Figure 51). These sections were then subdivided into 10-foot units, and then further into 5- and 2.5-foot divisions. When the excavation work resumed, the focus continued to be on the "stone dam" area south of the Castle (Unit MM-55 in Section 44), and "some grid work to the northerly side of the pond."[121] The testing to the north of the pond, Robbins noted, would encompass the land from the Castle to Bellwood Avenue and north to the barn, including "the old course of Bellwood Ave."[122]

By mid-April 1958, the weather stabilized and Robbins worked in various areas to clean up and repair various weather-related problems, such as studying the silted dock area and rebuilding the dam around the dock excavations.[123] The backhoe was also put back to work for "a lot of cleanup jobs and minor excavations."[124] Following the cleanup, excavations resumed in several areas. Robbins had the backhoe dig several trenches south of the mill pond in an effort to identify the original pond configuration. Each trench was carefully documented with plan and profile drawings.[125] He also laid out a series of test trenches in the northeastern portion of the property "from the river running up to the high land near

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[121] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 15-16.

[122] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 16.

[123] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 24.

[124] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 26.

[125] Hank Fridy and Roland W. Robbins, "Exploratory Trench South Side of Pond, August 18, 1960," Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

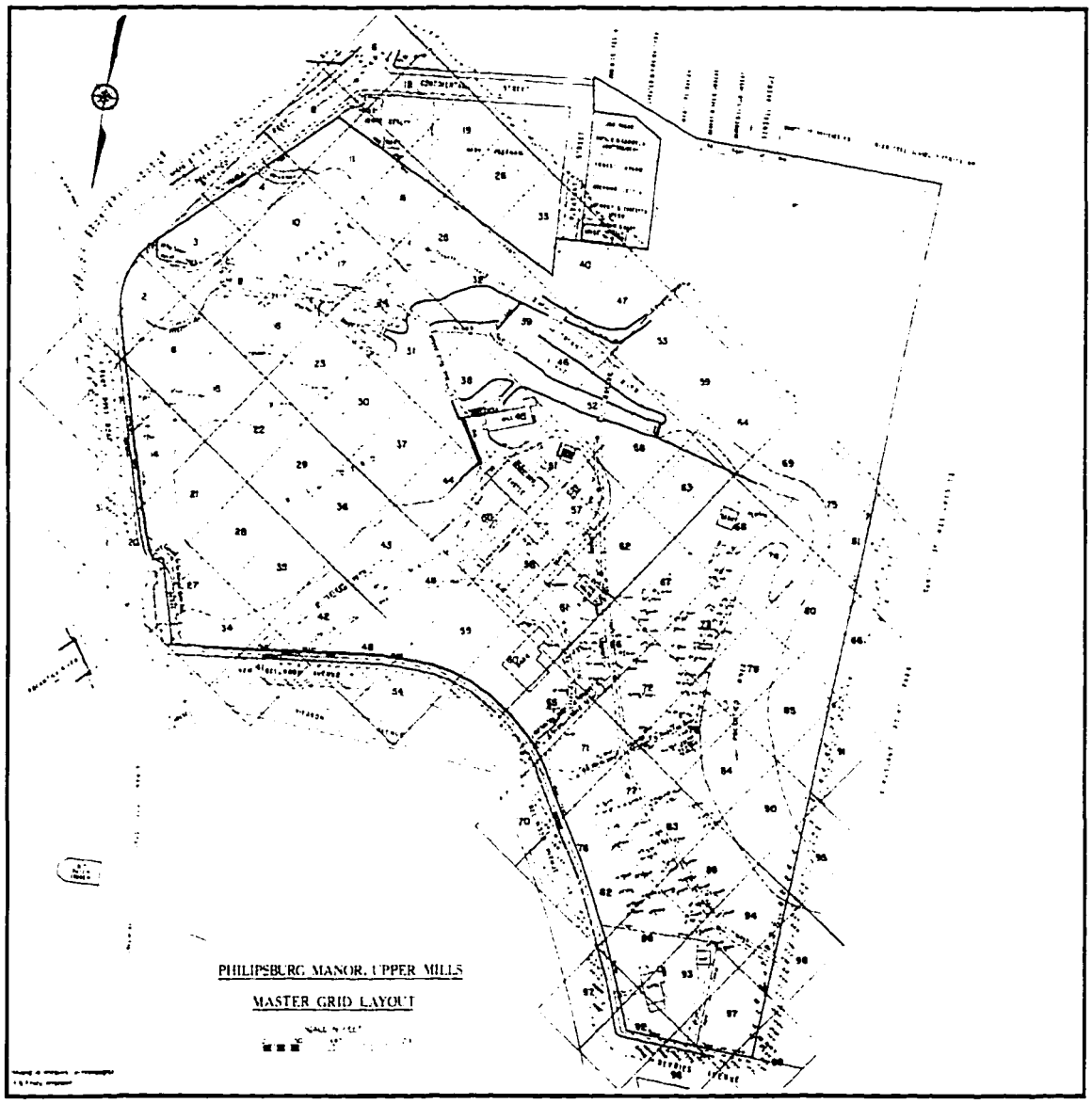

Figure 51. Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, master grid layout.

Bellwood Avenue....to determine the original contours."[126] These seven trenches were completed during the first week of May, and identified a twentieth-century roadbed "laid on the peat," and a nineteenth-century road with a stone bed that roughly followed the course of Bellwood Avenue.[127] Over the next several weeks, the crew uncovered the stone road bed, following it to the southeast through Sections 48, 55, 60, and 65; Robbins plotted this evidence with the help of engineer Hank Fridy.[128]

During early June, work continued along the stone-bedded road and in the trenches between the river and Bellwood Avenue. Excavations in Sections 71, 72, and 77 identified stone rubble that interested Robbins, so he focused his attention on this area for several days. This stone evidence was found near a brick foundation that he had identified during his 1956 probe survey. Because of its close association with the stone evidence, this structure was also excavated and found to be a twentieth-century greenhouse.[129] As work on the stone evidence expanded, Robbins concluded that the stones did not represent a foundation and were mixed with "relics...mostly 20th century--and junk."[130] Work also continued on several portions of the stone-bedded

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[126] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 27-28.

[127] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 28-29.

[128] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 29-32.

[129] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 35.

[130] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 37.

road, including the northernmost end in Section 82 where it ran under Bellwood Avenue and near the barn in Sections 60 and 65.[131]

In late June, Robbins and Herbie Bianchine began a series of trenches along the northern shore of the mill pond to "determine the original shoreline."[132] As each trench was completed, it was photographed, plotted, and backfilled. At the same time, Robbins had several workers begin to "dig test pits (5' square)" in Section 66.[133] In mid-July, the backhoe began excavations of Section 44/Area A in the vicinity of the shoreline trenches. Robbins noted that "many interesting relics are being found in the muds of the northerly side of the pond which were exposed with the Area A excavations."[134] Several weeks later he recorded that the backhoe would remove the fill down to about four feet and "the early surface and pond bottom will then be removed, and laid aside for sifting."[135] The artifacts recovered by the subsequent sifting were preliminarily examined by antiques expert Ben Ginsburg and Bob Wheeler, who said that there "was nothing as late as 1790--absolutely," and that "all the artifacts predated the Beekman's time [ca. 1785-1848]."[136] As work on Area A continued throughout August, Robbins and Hank Fridy plotted the evidence on the

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[131] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 37.

[132] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 39.

[133] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 43.

[134] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 43.

[135] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 46.

[136] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 49.

master plan.[137] Robbins also arranged with Fridy to prepare a plan and profile of the trenching along the pond's northern shore. Robbins's assistant Sue Colby left the project at the end of the month to pursue a career outside archaeology. Robbins interviewed several candidates and in early September hired Joan McAlear, a former hostess at the Castle.[138]

In early September, Robbins met with Bob Wheeler about extending the due date for his 1958 report. Wheeler suggested that it be prepared over the winter and that work continue in the area north of the Castle garden fence to the barn as well as in the area south of the Castle to the Smoke House. Wheeler asked that important finds "be given attention upon discovery," and that "minor finds would be referred to for later exploration."[139] Robbins began this "grid work" excavation by placing 2-foot test pits and trenches in Sections 49, 50, 56, 55, 60, and 61, north of the Castle and Sections 51 and 57 to the south (Figures 52 and 53). As work proceeded, Robbins and crew plotted the "information in the test trenches."[140] The field notes were subsequently transferred onto the master section plans by engineer Hank Fridy.[141] This testing continued throughout the remainder of the year, and identified the old bed of Bellwood Avenue, a twentieth-century Janis-period stone driveway, and

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[137] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 49.

[138] McAlear had worked at Philipse Castle until November 1957, when she left to take an airline job in New York City. Robbins noted, "The castle has lost most of its charm with the departure of Joan!" (Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 83).

[139] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 58-59.

[140] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 63.

[141] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 70.

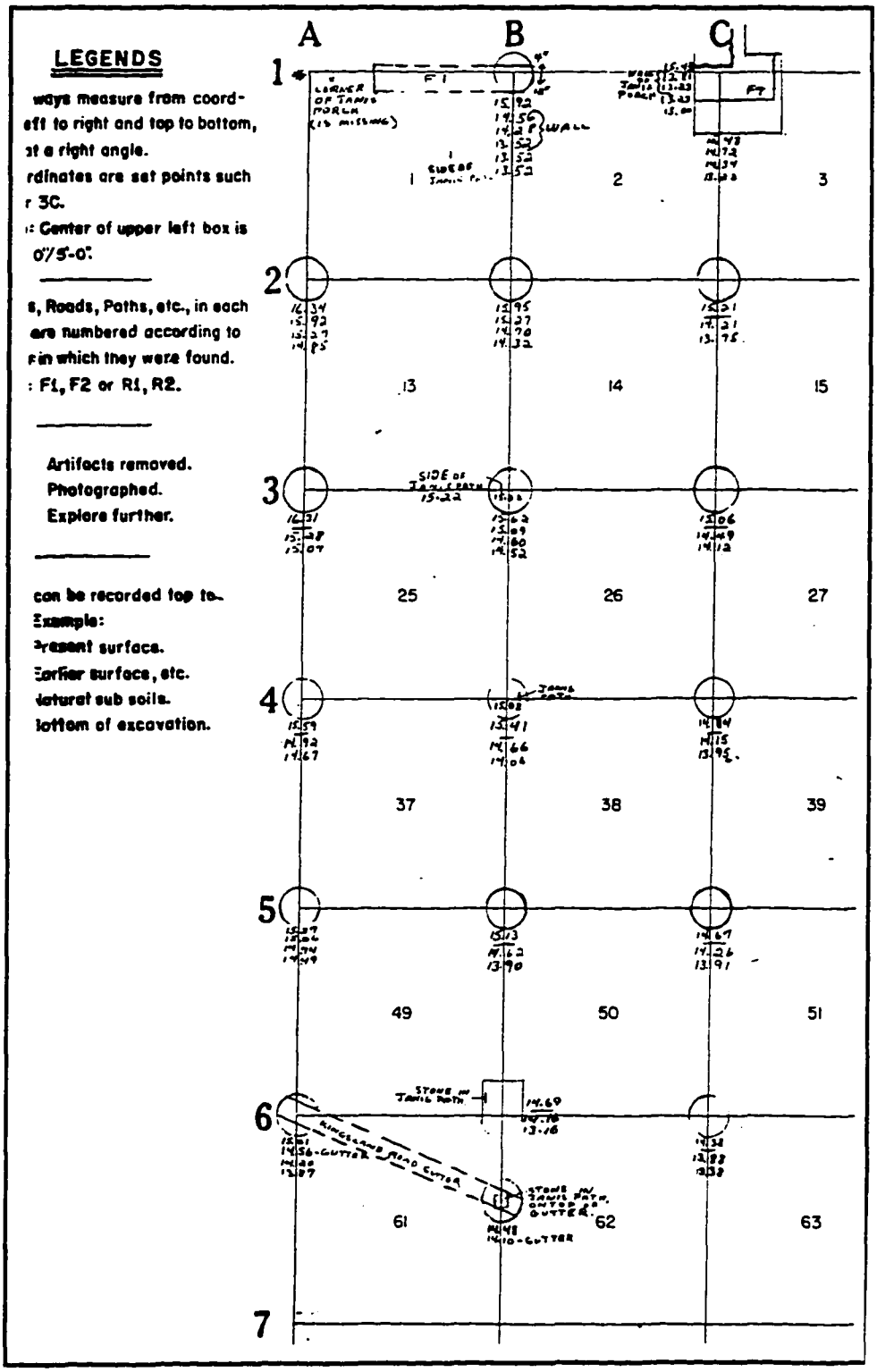

Figure 52. Section plan showing 2-foot test pits, 1958.

SECTION 56 LINE A FRI. SEPT. 26, 1958 LEGEND ARTIFACTS REMOVED F FOUNDATION
PHOTOGRAPHED R ROAD
" IN DETAIL P PATH
EXPLORE FURTHER

	PRESENT	EARLIER SURFACES	NATURAL	BOTTOM OF EXCAVATION	ARTIFACTS
1+0'/5'	15.90		15.06 Sand	12.10	Nearly void
2	15.86		14.37 sand	12.15	Nearly void, some fine pea stone 9" below grade.
+ 2+0'/5'	15.94	15.38 hard packed loam. Possible roadway or path.	14.71 sand	12.38	Nearly void.
+ 3	16.00	15.42 hard packed loam. Possible roadway or path.	14.90 sand.	13.68	Nearly void, small piece of coal noted at lower level.
3+0'/5'	16.05		14.98 sand	13.96	Nearly void, small pieces pea stone noted at bottom.
same treatment R 3+0'/9'3" to 4+0'/1'7" is possible side of sloping roadway.	16.10	15.44 road surface 15.06 road bottom	15.02 sand,gravel	13.96	Loamy soils below pat void. Rubble fill begins at westerly side of path. Large crushed stone, size of 2 walnuts.
4+0'/5'	16.20		15.15 coarse sand	14.32	From stone roadway to this point a 6" bed of rubble brick & plaster exists, resting on natural sand.

Figure 53. Field data from 2-foot test pits in Section 56, September 26, 1958.

an eighteenth-century stone foundation. This foundation, located in Section 49 at Unit AAA58, had two small sections and contained charcoal, plaster, and burned soils. The burned soils were removed separately and screened by the workmen, and found to contain large quantities of artifacts including "many very small bones."[142]

The weather in early 1959 was cold and snowy, so Robbins had the workmen clean artifacts while he worked with Hank Fridy on a "new grid system."[143] This system resulted in renumbering of the divisions of the sections, so that each subdivided 10-foot square had a single letter and number designation within the section, i.e., A2, and/or individual unit number, i.e., Section 10, Box 67 (Figure 54). After some corrections, Robbins had Fridy plot "the present location of the mill, canal, plaza, etc. on the new master plan....," and noted that "I want an accurate plan of what exists today and what we will later find beneath it."[144]

In March, workmen at last began dismantling the reconstructed mill building to allow for archaeological work beneath the structure.[145] By the end of the month, the mill beams had been removed and the foundation was being broken up. While the mill was being removed, Robbins and his men worked on the artifacts, field notes, and, when weather permitted, general outside cleanup and preparation for the new

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[142] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 78-82. Robbins noted that the screening was done with 1/8-inch mesh. The faunal specimens were sent to Dr. Leon A. Hausman for identification and analysis.

[143] Roland W. Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., pp. 1-6.

[144] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 9-11. Fridy delivered the new master grid plans with both numbered and unnumbered sections.

[145] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 15.

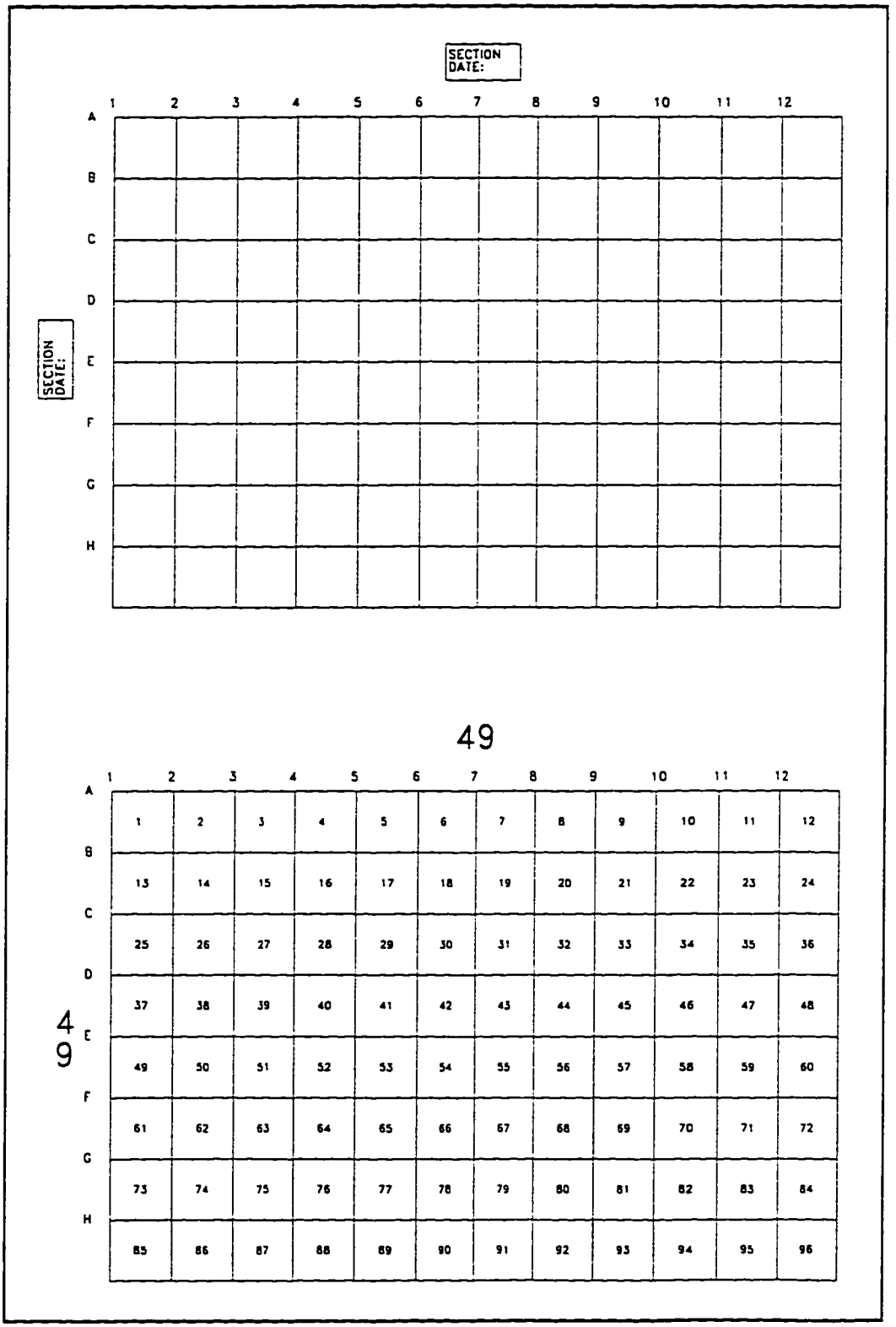

Figure 54. Revised grid section plan sheets.

field season. With the mill gone, Robbins immediately set to work on "taking the plaza area down, and removing the stone retaining walls that supported the site."[146] The soils were excavated to a depth of 5.5 to 6 feet below the grade. He recorded that "things will now really shape up at P.M.U.M!"[147] Working in Section 45, containing the reconstructed mill foundation, Robbins identified an "early grade... [containing]...18th century relics" under about 5 feet of sand fill (Figure 55).[148]

As he excavated in the vicinity of the mill and dock site during mid-June, Robbins found an earlier stone foundation over which the 1941 reconstruction was built.[149] To the south of this foundation, he located log evidence of docks or cribbing associated with the structure (Figure 56).[150] As the workmen continued to uncover this area, a stone wall appeared, parallel to the stone foundation. This, Robbins thought, was probably the raceway associated with the nineteenth-century mill structure. In early July, he had Hank Fridy plot the evidence to the south of the reconstructed mill, and the interior of the early stone foundation was excavated in sections during the second half of July.[151] Work to the north of the foundation discovered deep fill sequences, and to the south the workmen identified the

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[146] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 22.

[147] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 22.

[148] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 26.

[149] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 38-41.

[150] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 39.

[151] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 45.

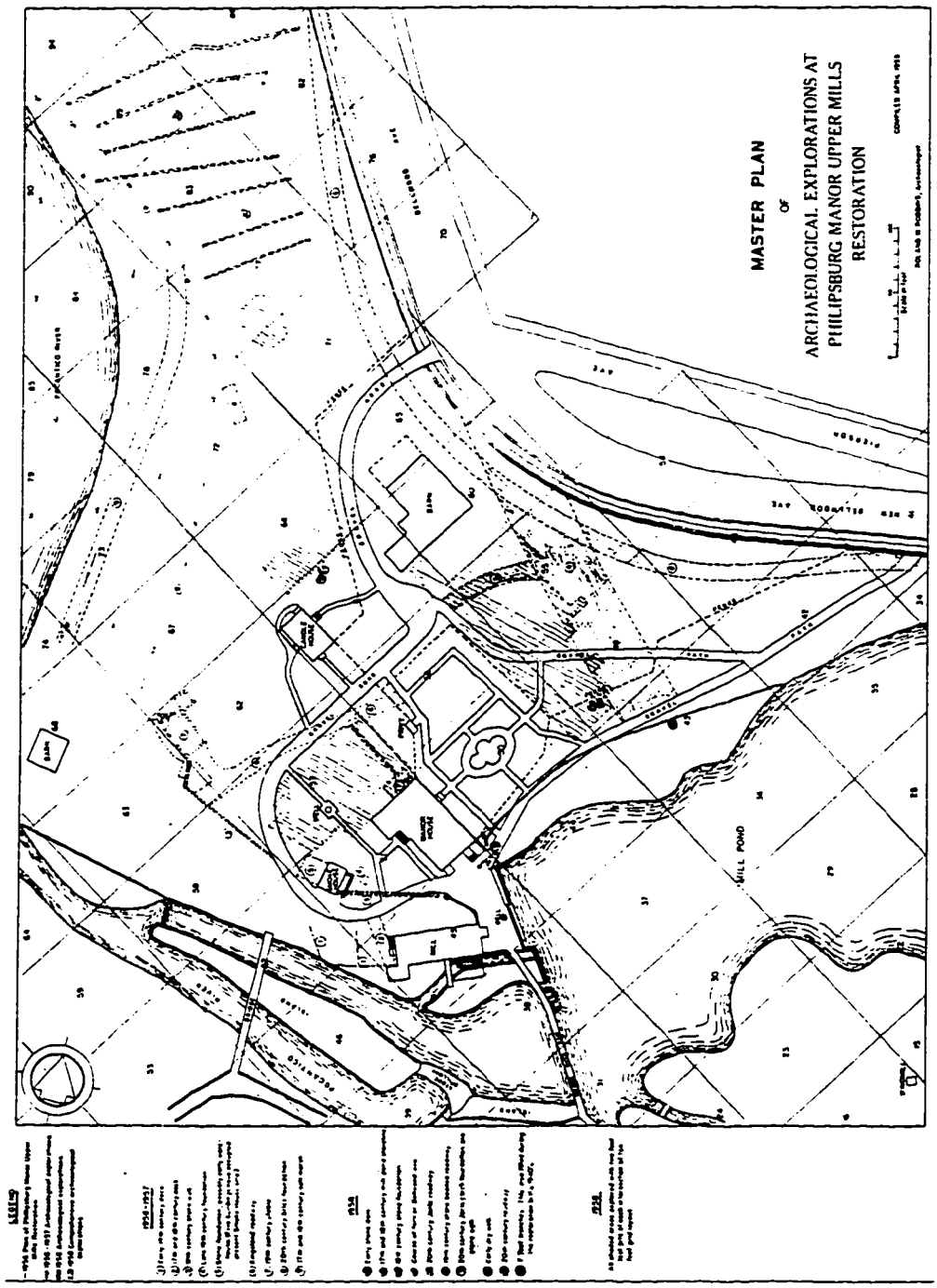

Figure 55. Master plan of archaeological explorations at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills Restoration, April 1959.

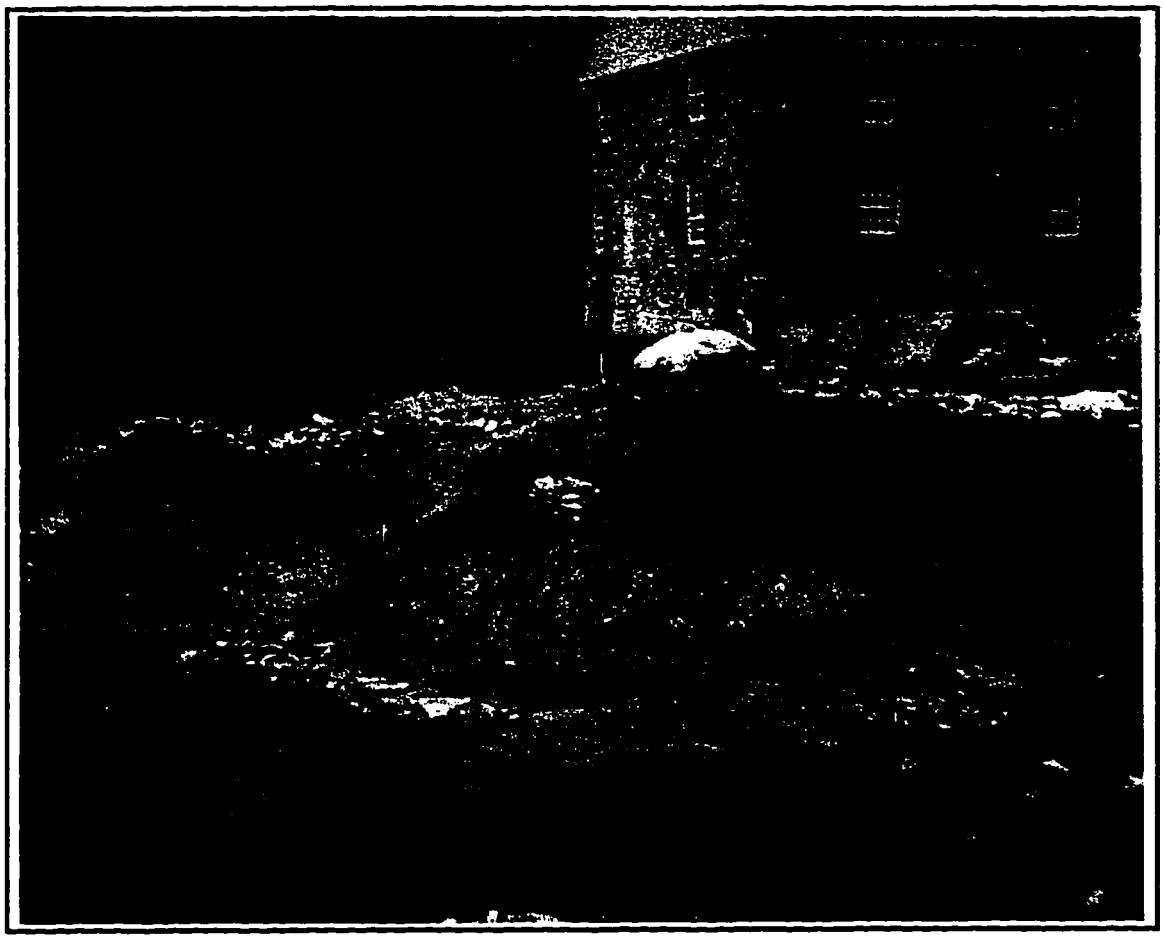

Figure 56. River yard excavations with log cribbing in foreground, manor house in background on right, 1960 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

nineteenth-century wheelpit.[152] Throughout August, excavations continued on the area surrounding the dismantled mill structure. Late in the month, Robbins discovered "two clusters of driven saplings to the southerly side of the nineteenth-century raceway stone wall."[153] To the south of this evidence, he located a series of large wooden sills, and just south of these "pieces of a waterwheel (or wheels) in the river...."[154]

In September 1959, the first of a series of flash floods struck the excavations, destroying the earthen dam and submerging the dock excavation area.[155] When work resumed, Robbins began to remove the stone walls of the nineteenth-century mill to study the area below. Under one of the walls "was a layer of about 2" of black mucks with artifacts, including a dozen or more brass pins. It was apparent," he noted, "that this area had been used for sometime before the wall was built over it."[156] Later in the month, as the soils were removed south and west of the dismantled mill, Robbins identified a possible sluiceway "extending into the logging and the large base sills that we have considered as having been associated with some sort of a dry dock."[157] This evidence was closely associated with a natural stone ledge running across the

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[152] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 55-57.

[153] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 61.

[154] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 62.

[155] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 64, 67. This dam retained the Pocantico River, and allowed excavation of low areas around the mill. Although the damage proved less that Robbins had expected, the cleanup work caused several weeks delay in the project.

[156] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 69.

[157] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 72.

river, and probably at one time part of a fall line. As the possible sluiceway was excavated, additional pieces of waterwheel and miscellaneous timbers were recovered. Robbins had surveyor Hank Friday and his assistant Henry Gernhardt tag each piece, plot their locations, and prepare measured drawings of each.[158]

Throughout October and into November, Robbins and his laborers removed the walls of the early mill to get to the log cribbing below. Robbins noted that "in taking down the s.w. section of the southerly wall of 45-F1 we found two more sections of large mill stones laid on the top of the early logs....They certainly had been doing lots of grist mill work before this foundation was constructed."[159] Several days later he commented that "it appears as though this area was all part of the early dock--in fact it ties in quite nicely with the early sills we found below Dock 2 in 1957."[160] After studying and cleaning off the wooden sill feature, Robbins had his assistants number, tag, measure, and plot all of the wooden artifacts. These were then removed, and the "excavations continued below them."[161] Work focused on these dock areas throughout December and into the new year, when weather allowed.

Snow and cold weather halted fieldwork in the middle of January 1960, so Robbins and crew moved indoors updating field notes and cleaning artifacts. Robbins also met with Bob Wheeler, who asked him to prepare a report for the 1959 season

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[158] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 78. Gernhardt was employed part time to prepare artifact drawings for the project. These drawings are contained in a series of files including "Water Wheel Pieces and Their Dimensions (Fall 1959)" and "Rubble Wood Found in Sluiceway Area (Fall 1959)."

[159] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 89.

[160] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 90.

[161] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 92.

and reviewed his plans for work during 1960. Wheeler had 7 areas that he wanted to focus on: the dock, the riveryard area, the northerly embankment of pond, the termination of the early dam on south side of stream, restoring the grade on north shore of the pond from the barn to the slave house, restoring grades to the northeast and northwest of the slave house, and restoring grades to the southwest of the slave house.[162] Robbins and Wheeler developed a budget to cover this plan, and Wheeler submitted it to the management committee. Although the weather continued to be cold and occasionally snowy, limited fieldwork resumed in late February in Section 44 along the northern shore of the pond and near the early stone dam at the southeast corner of the Manor House.[163] With his crew temporarily back in the field, Robbins spent several more days in his office putting "together some of the sequences of the mill removal and the excavations at 45-F1, etc."[164]

In early March, with the weather again cold and snowy, Robbins began writing his report for the 1959 excavations, while his crew worked on mending artifacts.[165] He finished the 1959 report during the last week of March, and had the backhoe resume work on the stone dam area, noting that "we shall try to get the spring work underway."[166] The season began by moving the backhoe into Section

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[162] Roland W. Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 9.

[163] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 13.

[164] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 15.

[165] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 18.

[166] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 23; Roland W. Robbins, "Report of the Archaeological Work Conducted for the Sleepy Hollow Restorations During 1959," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., 1960.

58, west of the Smoke House, to dig test trenches "for contour purposes."[167] Workers digging in the plaza area, near the stone dam, identified another early stone foundation in mid-April. Robbins also continued to "restore the early and sharp grade below the plaza that passes below the dam, etc," as well as the northerly embankment of the pond.[168] In June, he had a crew member dig a series of test pits "every 5' along the easterly wall of the manor house, seeking the bottom of the foundation and the width of the trench they dug when they waterproofed it during the earlier restoration."[169] Work also continued along the southern portion of the plaza and south of the mill in Section 38, where the series of stone walls were removed so that excavation of the early fill soils could continue.[170] As work in Section 38 proceeded, the remarkably intact wood cribbing of a series of early dams running under the later stone dam was discovered.

In late June, Robbins and his crew initiated the work of removing the stone dam that began at the southeastern end of the manor house and ran southeast.[171] As the excavation of the log sills continued, Robbins discovered that the timber evidence ran at least to the "southerly side of the island."[172] The month ended with heavy rains from Hurricane Brenda breaching the dam and causing the "flooding of all the

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[167] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 25.

[168] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 32-33.

[169] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 41.

[170] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 47-48.

[171] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 50.

[172] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 56.

major excavations." In order to get enough soil to repair the dam, Robbins moved the workers back to restoring the northerly embankment of the mill pond and used the excavated fill for rebuilding the dam.[173] By the first week of August, excavation resumed on the early dam timbers. As this work continued, Robbins shifted the backhoe to the south bank of the Pocantico River to seek "evidence of where the log dam terminated."[174] During the third week of August, heavy rains caused yet another flood of the excavations behind the temporary earthen dam.[175] Although the flooding was a serious setback, Robbins left on his scheduled two-week vacation the next day. With Robbins gone, the crew and backhoe first worked to repair the dam and clean up the damage caused by the flood waters.[176]

With Robbins's return from vacation after Labor Day, excavations once again shifted to high gear, focusing on the timber dam area. One week later, a storm associated with Hurricane Donna caused flash flooding of the Pocantico River and again breached the earthen dam and flooded the excavations. The waters and Robbins's anxiety ran high for several days, so he moved the workmen to the south bank of the mill pond to study its original configuration.[177] By late September, the debris of the latest flood had been removed and the waters had returned to normal,

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[173] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 61.

[174] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 63.

[175] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 66.

[176] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 66-70.

[177] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 72-73.

allowing resumption of work on the early timber dams.[178] After several days of digging on the southern end of the dam feature, Robbins "examined the log dams [*sic*] basic structure and found that the base sills were for the first log structure, they predated the base sills with diagonal timbers which rested upon them."[179] During the first week of October, he identified the southern end of the dam structure, and found several large mortises on 20-foot centers that he felt supported a bridge or building.[180]

During the second half of October, a small crew began testing to the east (garden end) and west of the manor house and worked on restoring the original grades.[181] Work also continued on the log dams and the old dock area throughout October and November. As the process of removing the "soils from the 17-18 century sills" advanced, Hank Fridy and Robbins measured and recorded the uncovered timbers and associated features.[182] After recording the more recent dam timbers, Robbins had the crew number and remove them to allow study of the earlier structure.[183] By Thanksgiving, all work was focused on the exploration of the "17-18 century docks and sills...and log dams" (Figure 57).[184]

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[178] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 77.

[179] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 79.

[180] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 82.

[181] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 86.

[182] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 92.

[183] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 95.

[184] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 96-97.

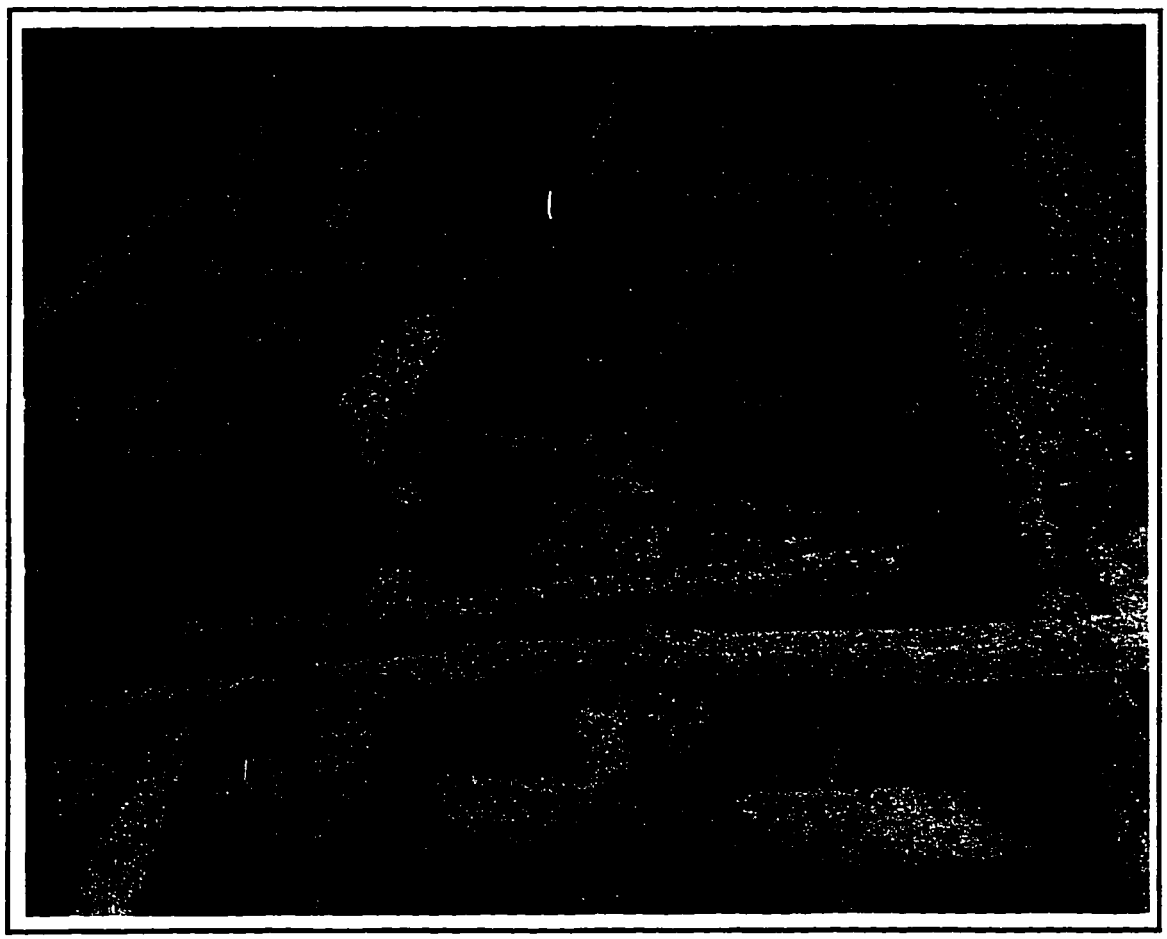

Figure 57. Excavation of dam cribbing, 1960 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

During the last week of the month, project architect Andrew Hepburn, Jr., met with Robbins and Wheeler to discuss additional archaeological work that Hepburn considered important for completing the restoration, including: (1) the seventeenth- to eighteenth-century docks and timbers, (2) the south side of bridge where the log dam tied in, (3) removal of fills on the east side of southern end of the log dam, (4) building up the earthen dam at the east side of the log dam in Section 31, and (5) excavating the portions of the log dam in Sections 31 and 38 covered by the temporary earthen dam (Figure 58).[185] The following day, Robbins, Hepburn, and Wheeler met with Dr. Cater to discuss Hepburn's recommendations. Although he was generally pleased with the outcome of the meeting, Robbins recorded that Cater showed

> ...his typical lack of knowledge of what has been done and what is going on such as: 'I didn't know that a 17-18 century dock was found below the 19 century docks'; and; 'I never knew that a mill was built where the restoration built their mill about 1839'; and 'I don't understand why they brought in all the broken artifacts you are finding.'"[186]

Cater seems to have been confused and misinformed about several important issues, Robbins reported, but finally approved the work. Although the machine excavation of the dam area resumed, the cold and snowy weather halted most of the hand excavations and the men moved inside to work on artifacts.[187]

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[185] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 98. Robbins worked with the firm of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn on several occasions, particularly the Saugus reconstruction (see Chapter 3).

[186] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 99.

[187] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 106.

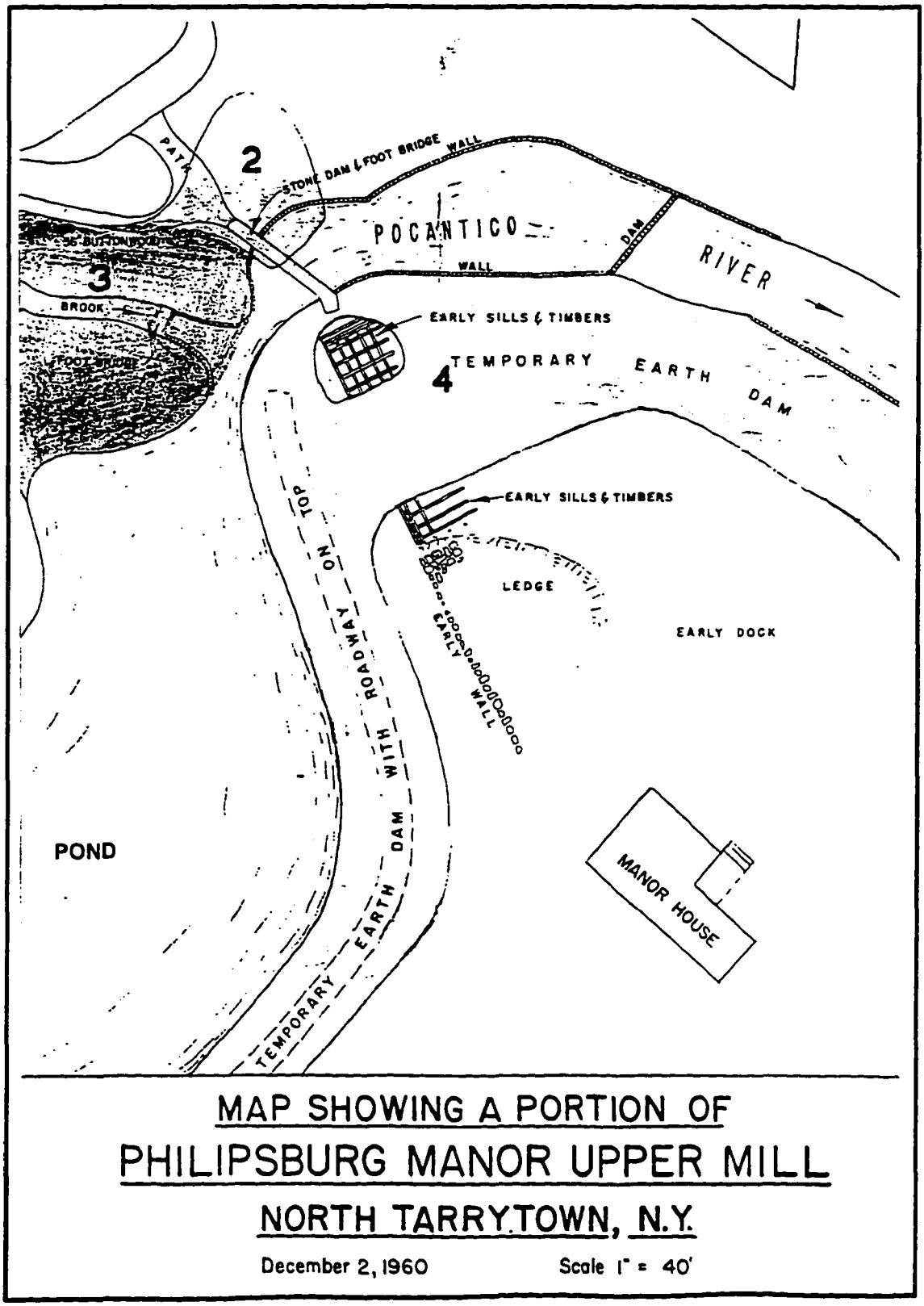

Figure 58. Map of a portion of Philipsburg Manor Upper Mill showing temporary dam and early dam cribbing.

The mechanical excavation in the dam areas continued sporadically throughout January 1961 as the weather allowed; Robbins regularly went into the field to "check levels and natural soil lines...."[188] The advent of extremely cold and snowy weather in late January and February again stopped mechanical excavations and forced the workmen to move inside, where they did odd jobs and cleaned artifacts. In late February, mechanical excavations resumed along the south bank of the mill pond at the southern end of the wooden dam.[189] The major work of removing the fill was completed in early March, and Robbins had the workmen grade the pond embankment by hand.[190] While working with the backhoe, Robbins identified another structure on the south bank of the pond to the "westerly side of the path to the restoration foot bridge over the stone dam."[191] The position of the building suggested that it might be the nineteenth-century silk mill illustrated on several historic maps.

After completing the regrading of the south bank of the mill pond, Robbins moved the heavy equipment north to relocate the temporary earthen dam in order to excavate the remainder of the early wooden dam below. While this machine work was underway, the laborers continued hand excavation of Section 57, west of the Manor House, "down to the earlier grade....seeking evidence of foundations and post molds."[192] During April and May, the workers also dug test pits in Sections 50 and

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[188] Roland W. Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 3.

[189] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 10.

[190] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 13.

[191] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 15.

[192] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," pp. 17-18, 30.

56 to guide the excavation and grading of this area.[193] When the earthen dam was relocated, the mechanical excavation focused on removal of the remainder of the stone dam along the south shore of the mill pond. The workmen, meanwhile, began to excavate the remaining log cribbing of the early dam.[194]

By early May 1961, excavation and restoration was underway in several areas, including the southern terminus of the early wooden dam and the northern pond embankment.[195] Throughout May and June, mechanical excavations focused on the east or upriver side of the early log or timber dams, and on the downriver side of the dam near the island.[196] In July, with work on the dam area almost complete, Robbins returned to study the seventeenth- to eighteenth-century timbers in the dock areas.[197] After meeting with the new director, Jack B. Collins, he noted that

> ...I will concentrate on the sluiceway timbered area, going all the way to the southerly end of what we have been referring to as the dry dock. I will take it apart and determine what it was like originally, as well as try and find out how changes were made.[198]

Dismantling of the dock area began immediately, with Robbins and Hank Fridy plotting and numbering each piece before removal.[199] Over the next several weeks, Robbins, Hepburn, Collins, and Wheeler, reviewed the information related to the

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[193] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," pp. 24, 30, 31.

[194] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 19.

[195] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 32.

[196] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 34.

[197] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 45.

[198] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 46.

[199] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 48.

dock and mill areas and "laid out a rough sketch of how we believe the early mill was set up, also how the Beekman mill was laid over the early stuff."[200] In early August, Robbins met with Wheeler and Collins to

> review the work left to be done. It was agreed that we shall finish digging out the sluiceway area, the workshop and the collapsed bridge to 1st dock....After that all excavations would terminate and all labor be laid off--and it was believed Bob and I should be together to write our reports so that we wouldn't have two different versions of what had been done.[201]

Robbins seemed pleased that Collins appreciated all of his work and the difficulties associated with the project, although he was saddened to have to tell his laborers and staff that their work was coming to an end.[202] The month of August was spent finishing the remaining areas and preparing to close down the excavations. Robbins met regularly with Collins and Wheeler to work on tentative layouts of the site, particularly during the Philipse tenure.[203] As the month ended, he recorded that they

> finish[ed] all the excavations: (At least all that they will permit being done.) Hank and I worked in the field plotting the ship basin, carpenter ship, etc. Men did odd jobs of cleaning up, etc. Bill Hennessy in this a.m. and spent part of the morning and part of this afternoon taking the final pictures of the archeological work.[204]

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[200] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 50.

[201] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 51.

[202] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 52.

[203] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 55.

[204] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 57.

On September 1, while packing his office, Robbins noted that

> I feel that we have done an excellent job with our work at PMUM. I hope the plans for the restoration will be as good, and the restoration itself will not suffer by too many concessions brought about by pressures from within, or from lack of ability to comprehend the material facts which we unearthed. I am glad that my excavations here have terminated: I will be happier when my report is written and I can leave and turn to other work!!![205]

The plan was for Wheeler and Robbins to produce an interim report within the first month, and then complete a more extensive final report. The first draft of the interim "Research-Archaeological Report" was completed in late September, and Robbins met with Collins and Wheeler to prepare an outline for the final archaeological report and discuss the timetable.[206] He notes that "Collins thought that the final report could probably be written in 6 weeks; Wheeler said two months; I said it probably would be nearer 3 months."[207]

During October, Robbins and Wheeler worked on revisions to the text of the interim report, and prepared a series of plans depicting the main periods of occupation and several reconstruction drawings. In late October, Robbins asked for leave to "take care of other commitments," promising Collins that he would be available if "there was anything they needed me for."[208] Collins and Wheeler had Robbins sign a letter that "contained 5 clauses stating the conditions under which I could get away until January 8th next. Whew! It makes me feel like I am on parole, not on a long overdue

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[205] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 58.

[206] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," pp. 59-63.

[207] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 63.

[208] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 67.

vacation!!"[209] Robbins never returned to finish the report, however, due to both the growing distrust between himself and the Sleepy Hollow Restorations management, and a dispute over his vacation pay that exemplifies the dynamics of his employment situation at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills.

In early November, after two weeks of vacation, Robbins received a check from Sleepy Hollow Restorations that didn't include vacation pay that he had anticipated. Clearly surprised, he called Wheeler, who reported that "Jack Collins said that consultants don't get vacation time."[210] Robbins reminded Wheeler of their initial arrangement of one month vacation per year, and Wheeler agreed that he should get his vacation but that "from this would be taken all [the] time that I took off for lectures." Robbins told Wheeler that "most of the lectures were on the PMUM and Sunnyside work and that they were public relations talks." He also reminded Wheeler that "I worked nights, weekends, and that I never put in for car or traveling expenses...." Robbins's entry in his daily log following the telephone conversation registers his disgust: "I have never felt so humiliated before in my life!!!!! I still can't believe it!!!!"[211] Not only had Robbins believed that he was not receiving an "ample tangible reward from the client's pocketbook," he was equally discouraged that he had been denied at least the "psychic reward of the clients's unqualified gratitude."[212]

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[209] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 68.

[210] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 68.

[211] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 68.

[212] Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, p. 102.

Robbins believed strongly that Sleepy Hollow Restorations intended to "do me out of my vacation time if they could."[213] A series of meetings between Wheeler, Collins, and Robbins during December 1961 failed to resolve the situation. Robbins noted of one meeting that "the conversation never got rough--which is unusual considering our individual temperaments."[214] He eventually discussed the problem with Arthur Kinoy, a Long Island attorney.[215] A string of letters, meetings, and phone conversations between the parties eventually resulted in an agreement to settle the vacation dispute out of court.[216] In the process of settling the vacation dispute, Collins wrote to Robbins that he would not be allowed to lecture on his work at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills without written permission from Sleepy Hollow Restorations.[217] This only added fuel to the fire: "By cutting off my talks," Robbins noted, "...he would be hurting my income considerably."[218] Robbins returned to the restoration a final time in April 1962 to review slides of the work with Bob Wheeler;

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[213] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 69.

[214] Roland W. Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations: Robbins' Vacation," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[215] Robbins and Kinoy had been corresponding for several months about an archaeological survey on Block Island.

[216] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations: Robbins' Vacation," pp. 2-9.

[217] Jack B. Collins to Roland W. Robbins, March 13, 1962, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Collins wrote to Robbins that neither his upcoming talk at White Plains or any other on his work at Philipsburg Manor "has been authorized in advance by Sleepy Hollow Restorations."

[218] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations: Robbins' Vacation," p. 8. Although Robbins was not paid for most of his lectures on PMUM while associated with Sleepy Hollow Restorations, he anticipated including PMUM in his lecture series after leaving the project.

Sleepy Hollow Restorations asked to borrow them to copy for their records.[219] The work, Robbins recorded, was "cordial and cooperative," and "Collins came in once or twice and we exchanged short pleasantries."[220] Robbins was not asked to return to complete his final report on the archaeological work.

Even after his stormy departure, Robbins did not give up on completing the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills report, periodically corresponding with the restoration staff about finishing the work. Even as late as 1965, he wrote that

> the situation at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills today provides the opportunity to prepare a creditable summation of the five years of major excavations which I had the privilege to supervise. If you deem this report would be beneficial to the Restoration's final record, I would be pleased to prepare it. My compensation for this work would be on the same basis for which I was retained originally.[221]

Director Dana Creel thanked Robbins for his letter, but reported that

> ...our staff and consultants are at work on the definitive Philipsburg Manor reports covering architecture, furnishings, and interpretation. Each of these major reports will contain all pertinent archaeological materials."[222]

As Robbins had feared, the archaeology had primarily been relegated to the role of footnotes in the historical and reconstruction records.

During his five years at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, Robbins found himself increasingly at odds with the management of Sleepy Hollow Restorations over

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[219] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations: Robbins' Vacation," p. 10.

[220] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations: Robbins' Vacation," p. 10.

[221] Roland W. Robbins to Dana S. Creel, February 5, 1965, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[222] Dana S. Creel to Roland W. Robbins, March 3, 1965, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

the direction of the archaeological investigations. Like his work at Saugus, Robbins quickly discovered that the decision-making process regarding the archaeological work was in the hands of historians and museum professionals who had little experience in or knowledge of the realities of archaeological research. Robbins's dispute with the staff over his vacation was really just the final skirmish in a conflict that had been brewing for several years.

Robbins's vacation battle illustrates a clear pattern in his long-term projects: he fell into conflicts with employers that eventually led to his termination or resignation. These conflicts often grew out of his self-definition as an independent consultant for museums and historical societies. Robbins sought intellectual, personal, and economic freedom; he did not want to be treated as an employee, subject to the power of others. At some level, however, he also coveted the advantages that accrued from a permanent position in an organization like Sleepy Hollow Restorations: an office, staff assistants, institutional authority, and benefits like vacation pay.[223] Assistant Sue Colby remembered Robbins's office in the tenant farmhouse, "It was his domain and you would never move anything."[224] However, Robbins was not willing to make the trade-offs that were necessary to maintain a position within organizations such as Sleepy Hollow Restorations.

Robbins had been self-employed for most of his working life, and wanted to maintain that autonomy. For instance, he treated the archaeological record as

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[223] Although it might appear ironic that Robbins, the consultant, fought over an employee benefit like vacation, he had negotiated paid vacation as part of his consulting agreement with Sleepy Hollow Restorations.

[224] Susan McKanna [née Colby], personal communication, 1991.

intellectual property; he should be allowed to manipulate it or present it to the public as he saw fit. Robbins demonstrated again and again that he would share the results of his work with his colleagues or the public, but he would not share the credit for his the work. Robbins's attempts to control the information he recovered became especially difficult when working within teams of researchers at major restorations like Saugus and Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills. His often tenuous position in the field, heightened by both the tremendously complicated archaeological site and public exposure of the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills project, raised the stakes and intensified Robbins's anxiety. Like many of his academic counterparts, he was temperamentally ill-suited to the teamwork required in these projects. Co-author Evan Jones noted that "he was interested in himself--not in the vain sense of having to have an audience--he had to do what he wanted to do as best he could and he found confidence in doing the thing successfully."[225]

Although his first year of work at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills was marked by cooperation and mutual respect from both historian Robert Wheeler and director Dr. Harold Cater, Robbins encountered detractors early in his tenure at the site. In December 1956, while working on a plan and budget for 1957 and 1958 excavations, Wheeler told Robbins that publicity director Jo Chamberlain was "trying to quash the archeological program."[226] Although neither Robbins or Wheeler seemed to

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[225] Evan Jones, personal communication, 1992.

[226] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 31.

understand Chamberlain's motives, they speculated that the archaeological program was "not bringing the kind of publicity he [Chamberlain] would like to have."[227]

Even with a skeptic in the ranks, the first major planning meeting for expanded archaeological explorations was an overwhelming success. Robbins's presentation met with the enthusiastic approval of those gathered, and they requested a complete outline and budget for a two-year archaeological program.[228] Robbins noted that "all in all it was most successful--and should make for a very significant and authentic restoration." Although Robbins had vowed after Saugus to "never take on any project which would entail more than three months [*sic*] time," he told Creel that he "would be quite willing to stay on--there is so much to work with, and its potential is most unusual and interesting."[229]

All went well for the first year or more of fieldwork; however, by the fall of 1958 an incident involving a chapter of *Hidden America* indicated that Robbins's generally positive relationship with the Sleepy Hollow Restorations staff had begun to deteriorate. The board initially insisted that the chapter on the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills site be removed from the book; however, they eventually compromised and allowed the chapter, but only with complete editorial oversight and final approval

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[227] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 31. Robbins later wrote about Chamberlain to *Hidden America* co-author Evan Jones that "we have a dead-head publicity man here, he has no imagination" (Roland W. Robbins to Evan Jones, April 7, 1957, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.).

[228] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," pp. 32-33.

[229] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 33.

of the material on the excavations.[230] Upon receiving the edited chapter from the SHR staff, Robbins exclaimed,

> They massacred it!...It sounds like a report--and that is what we didn't want it to sound like. They even tried to get Herbie to express himself differently--in academic language!...[It] dissolved my friendship with Wheeler.[231]

The chapter was eventually included in the book after several more rewrites, but the incident marked a turning point in Robbins's relationship with the SHR staff. He had come to realize that he did not have the freedom over his work that he sought; he was not a coequal professional colleague.

By the end of 1958, Robbins had become familiar with the internal staff tensions and personality problems at SHR. Although he was by his own admission no saint, Robbins found that he was increasingly drawn into the internal office politics of the organization. This was particularly disturbing because none of the parties, the board members, director Cater, or research department head Wheeler, had any real appreciation of the demands of his work and its difficulties. At Saugus, for instance, Robbins was frequently constrained by lack of access to portions of the property, resulting from lack of coordination between SHR staff.[232] In one case, Robbins discussed removing a tree with Wheeler, who agreed to its removal, but "wanted to wait a little while until Dr. Cater was in a better mood!"[233] Later in the project,

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[230] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 45, 67.

[231] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 67.

[232] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 69; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 45, 48.

[233] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 45.

Robbins voiced his concerns about the historians' lack of understanding for his work:

> Bob is never anxious to have us complete anything. He thinks because you know there is something at a certain place, you have all of the answers you need. YET HE WOULD BE THE FIRST TO THROW THE BLAME ON YOU ONCE HE IS TAKEN TO COUNT [*sic*]! I think that in his confusion he has made many promises which can't be kept, and in his dilemma is cutting many corners to cover him [*sic*] up.[234]

Project planning and budgeting was a constant problem for Robbins and the SHR staff due to both the depth and complexity of the features, and the lack of communication and understanding between the archaeologist and project sponsors. For instance, at a meeting in early 1959, Dr. Cater asked if the major excavations would be completed by December, and Robbins replied that it "depended on what they wanted done."[235] As he noted about one phase of the project,

> the work under, around and beyond the mill site was much more extensive and complex than I had expected, and that I couldn't put a time limit on it. I did say that I should finish this work this year...."[236]

Try as he might to accurately predict the time and effort involved with various sections of the work, Robbins was frequently surprised by new features, complex stratigraphy, and major weather problems that delayed the excavations.[237] These delays, most beyond the control of Robbins or anyone undertaking such a massive

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[234] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 81.

[235] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 16.

[236] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 52.

[237] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 64; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 60, 66, 72, 74-75.

project, were a constant source of irritation between Robbins, Wheeler, and the SHR administration.

The completion or termination date for the archaeological work was also a regular source of confusion and misunderstanding between Robbins, Wheeler, and the administration. The administration established several unrealistic completion dates without consultation with Robbins, and he was understandably annoyed. In a meeting with Wheeler, Robbins asked if the most recent date was fixed, because if so,

> I would give my time to finishing up work at the dock, river yard and sluiceway sites and the area to the southerly side of the manor house. That this work would be completed and written up before I tackled anything else--I did not want anything left undone.[238]

However, he recalled that Wheeler didn't have a firm termination date, but rather wanted to work with him to set a tentative schedule:

> He said that maybe we could sit down and go over the major sites to be explored and see if we could set a time schedule for each. I said that that made sense--but it would be impossible to set an accurate time for this work as the hidden elements played too large a part.[239]

Wheeler acknowledged this problem, but thought that it could be worked out by daily meetings with Robbins to exchange ideas "on our mutual problems" related to the "controversial aspects of the site."[240] Robbins "did not think much of Bob's sudden desire" to meet regularly, or his desire to meet with management experts, and noted that

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[238] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 2.

[239] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 2.

[240] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 2.

> this is the first time since I arrived here in September of 1956 that any attempt has been made to have conferences between the archaeological department and the historical department....I believe that the policy of a close working relationship between the archaeological-historical departments should have started in 1956....I advocated this at the beginning.[241]

In June 1960, Wheeler reported to Robbins that board member Setzer and director Cater had asked him if he thought that through "additional technical assistance...the major points of concern...[could] be completed by...[September 31, 1960]."[242] Robbins reminded Wheeler that he had been asking for additional assistance for several years, and repeated his request for a full-time archaeological draftsman "who could plot stuff when found as well as record original grades, etc." or a full-time resident engineer, "capable of doing a good job of laying out sites, drawing up evidence, etc."[243] Aggravated by what he perceived as additional pressure from management to finish the work in an unrealistic amount of time, Robbins told Wheeler that

> I couldn't but help get the feeling that somebody has got the idea that I haven't been pushing the work hard enough and that things that I have been suggesting for the last couple of years suddenly come out as the brilliant brainchild of some other person.[244]

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[241] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 3.

[242] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 44.

[243] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 44. Hank Fridy had not always been available when needed.

[244] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 45.

The extremely complicated archaeological work, combined with pressures from weather delays and management, took its toll on Robbins's health.[245] At the end of one particularly trying day, he wrote that "all in all this has been one bitch of a day. I felt lousy and everything went wrong!"[246] In late August, after another meeting with Wheeler on the schedule and completion date for the project, Robbins told Wheeler that he "was worn out and needed a vacation now."[247] Following his return from vacation, Robbins prepared a report on the damage caused by the recent floods. He recorded that Wheeler's response to his report was to ask "if there was anyway [*sic*] we could make up the time we lost because of the floods. At this point," Robbins wrote, "I literally blew up!...I emphatically told him that I have been right out straight with this work, doing everything I could to keep on a rigid tentative schedule--but to have him ask if I could pick the tempo up was nerve-wracking, and downright inconsiderate. There is just so much that I can do."[248] "I, and I alone," Robbins told him,

> have to inspect the bottom of trenches, excavations, etc....I said that my reputation stands on this job--or any job that I do in this field--and that I am not going to take any short cuts to satisfy anyone who may be

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[245] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 11, 52-53; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 65, 70, 76, 105. In 1958, Robbins reported that he had not been eating or sleeping well, and had been "very keyed up" (Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 53). In 1960, he noted that he was tired, worn out, and had frayed nerves.

[246] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 13.

[247] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 65.

[248] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 74-75.

> desperate because they made commitments they shouldn't have made.[249]

As the project progressed, another concern of Robbins's was the lack of contact that he had with restoration architects Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn. After a brief meeting with architects Conover Fitch and Andy Hepburn, Jr., in early 1960, Robbins did not report working with them again until the fall.[250] In October 1960, Robbins took Wheeler, Cater, and Andrew Hepburn on a short tour of the excavations. When they returned to the site the next day, however, he was not invited to join them. Although Wheeler told him that they were not "going over details," Robbins was very upset because he perceived that he had been bypassed. He told Wheeler that "he [Wheeler] was in no position to explain the details of my work and findings to Hepburn, or to anyone else for that matter."[251] Robbins ended up spending most of the afternoon with Hepburn, who he believed, "wants this job done right--with no short cuts being taken. HURRAH!" It appeared to Robbins that the SHR managers thought that they had all the information they needed about major portions of the log dam and dock sites; however, Hepburn had many questions that required additional archaeology before he could "submit any report for restoration."[252]

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[249] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 75.

[250] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 26.

[251] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 86.

[252] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 86-87, 99-100.

During the final year of the project, Robbins's anxiety level increased as pressure mounted to finish the archaeological investigations and begin the restoration.[253] Robbins's relationship with Bob Wheeler also continued to disintegrate as the tension increased. For instance, he noted that he was "brought up to date on Bob Wheeler's customary double-talking methods. It's a shame that he is so sick."[254] To Robbins's way of thinking, Wheeler was attempting to wrest control of the archaeological information from him. Wheeler, on the other hand, had been largely responsible for Robbins's position at the restoration and had, in a sense, sponsored him within the organization and community. The relationship between Robbins and Wheeler began with Robbins in the position of expert consulting archaeologist but was later transformed into one in which Robbins was an employee "under Wheeler's department." As their desire to complete the project and finish the restoration grew, the newly organized management team exerted more and more control over Robbins's expanding excavations. Wheeler was increasingly placed in a position of making decisions that directly affected Robbins's work and impacted his autonomy. This was particularly troublesome to Robbins because he knew that Wheeler had little knowledge about archaeological matters.

The extent of Robbins's problems with the SHR management team became clear when the new executive vice-president, Jack Collins, announced in April that "the archaeological work would have to be done by June 15, with a report submitted

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[253] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 1.

[254] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 15.

(complete) by August 1st."[255] Robbins felt that this was particularly bad management in that he had not even had the chance to talk with Collins about the project.[256] "It is apparent," he wrote, "that Collins believes my work is entirely under Wheeler's department and that it should go throw [*sic*] Wheeler. This would be agreeable to me--IF WHEELER WERE AN HONEST AND A CAPABLE PERSON."[257]

Although still disturbed about Collins's attitude toward his work, Robbins began to meet regularly with him and architect Hepburn beginning in June 1961. Hepburn requested copies of all of the archaeological plans to "get some idea of the general layout," and Robbins also provided many of Hennessey's black-and-white photos to supplement the drawings.[258] Although he participated in these planning meetings, Robbins was not always in agreement about interpretations or priorities for final investigations. For instance, he wrote that "Collins pointed out the priority of the 17-18th century timbers, of which I pointed out the priority of the dams, etc., as Hepburn had requested. We got to debating things and we both got into a huff, I probably the 'huffier.'"[259] While Robbins was excited by his current discoveries in the "ship basin" area near the mill, Collins, he recalled, was "more concerned with

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[255] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 22.

[256] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 27.

[257] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 28.

[258] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 40.

[259] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 44.

the mill site and its exact location."[260] Collins was, not unreasonably, trying to wrap up the excavations and get on with completing a reconstruction that could be opened to the public.

In early August, Collins, Wheeler, Hepburn, and Robbins began regular meetings to "work out information as to where the mill stood."[261] Having completed a rough layout of the mill, Wheeler and Collins met with Robbins on August 7 to detail a plan to finish several areas and terminate all excavations by the end of the month.[262] The meeting was, Robbins recorded, a good one: "Collins was very pleasant....and said that my work was outstanding."[263]

Although the last year of the project might give a different impression, Robbins truly enjoyed his work at the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills site. He was a social person, and became close friends with a very diverse group of people interested in the history of New York and the Hudson River Valley and intrigued by both Robbins and his work. In Tarrytown, Robbins gained access to a new, more refined social circle, one that included board members, company presidents, and the local elite. However, he never lost his interest in and devotion to his friends in Lincoln, and would move from a week-night party in Westchester to a small friendly gathering

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[260] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 50.

[261] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 50.

[262] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 51.

[263] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 51. Joe Butler, a curator at the time that Robbins left SHR, remembered the end of the excavations somewhat differently than reported by Robbins. "Robbins had to be fired and thrown off the property. He kept expanding the work and began to go well beyond the original scope" (Joseph Butler, personal communication, 1991).

in Lincoln with ease. *Hidden America* co-author Evan Jones remembered that he "never broke away from the group of friends that he had as a window washer...[and] in some ways he remained rather rough socially; he didn't have fancy academic terms for things archaeological."[264]

The project's spectacular press coverage and the regional attention that he received after the publication of *Hidden America* gave him a new confidence in himself and verified his professions as an expert. Robbins's natural sense of humor and his charismatic charm endeared him to co-workers, visitors, associates, and friends, many of whom remained close friends for life. Robbins always had an "outrageous sense of humor," Mrs. Robbins recollected. "He could tell a story on himself and get the entire room laughing."[265] "People were attracted to him...," she continued. "It wasn't that he was good-looking...but that he had a good look about him, sort of non-threatening...."[266] Joe Butler, former curator at Historic Hudson Valley, remembered that Robbins "had the power to hypnotize people with archaeology--like a fundamentalist preacher."[267] Butler also believed that Robbins was the type of person "that people either really liked or really disliked--there was no middle ground."[268]

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[264] Evan Jones, personal communication, 1992.

[265] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

[266] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

[267] Joseph Butler, personal communication, 1992.

[268] Joseph Butler, personal communication, 1992.

While working at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, Robbins rented a small apartment in Tarrytown during the week. Mrs. Robbins and the children visited whenever possible, and Roland returned to Lincoln almost every weekend. Geraldine and the girls would stay for extended periods over the summer and on school breaks, and then head for New York City to take in movies and shows or to shop. Robbins quickly made friends with co-workers and neighbors, including research director Bob Wheeler. Robbins and Wheeler would often get together for dinner, or "some beers" after a long day at the site, and shared a real interest in their work and a warm friendship. It was through his friendship with Wheeler that Robbins connected with many of the Sleepy Hollow Restorations board members and the higher echelons of Westchester society. It is ironic that Robbins's and Wheeler's friendship later deteriorated and eventually became as antagonistic as it had been supportive. During the early years at Tarrytown, Robbins and Wheeler regularly socialized with Robbins's assistant Joan McAlear. In March 1958, Robbins remarked in his log that "Gerry and I met Bob Wheeler and Joan McAlear in the Grand Central [Station] and we went to dinner. Then we went to see Auntie Mame. It was wonderful! Another excellent evening!"[269] Even when the pressure to complete the work had increased in 1960, Robbins continued to enjoy the company of his friends and colleagues at the site. However, Bob Wheeler was no longer one of the bunch:

> This evening Joan and I went to Jim Tait's for a cookout...It was wonderful! The weather was perfect....The Fridy's, the Dickey's, Jim, Gunther, Joan and I were there. After the picnic we went back to Jim's

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[269] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 12.

> house and had coffee, cake, and more drinks. Everyone had a swell time! Too bad Gerry couldn't have been there.[270]

With all of his other problems, Robbins enjoyed his time in Tarrytown. He loved the friends that he made, the dinner parties with directors and board members where he shared the latest slides of the excavations, the tennis and badminton games, and the work that he was doing at the excavations. Even in the face of adversity, Robbins remained thankful for his good fortune and retained an optimistic outlook about his work at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills.

Robbins's initial approach to the excavation of the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills site was one that combined a review of historical research, previous archaeology, and limited field survey. He began his work by reviewing "the early setup by Frederick Philipse and his descendants," particularly the available maps and plats.[271] He used plans from the 1940s restoration to identify areas with promising features and those that had been previously disturbed.[272] Robbins carefully reviewed materials related to the mill and dam site.[273] He and Wheeler put a great deal of effort into understanding the previous excavation and restoration work, conducting several interviews with Mr. Arthur Miller, the Rockefeller's engineer during the

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[270] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 42.

[271] Roland W. Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[272] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 8.

[273] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," pp. 1, 16; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 4.

project.[274] Robbins examined early photos and lithographs of the property to identify the changing physical layout of the mill and manor house complex, and turned to documentary materials when faced with specific archaeological and interpretive questions.[275]

A program of historical research was carried out concurrently with the archaeological investigations. The effort, coordinated by Research Department head Robert Wheeler, provided a constant flow of historical documents and information on the configuration of the property.[276] Although it appears that this was shared between Robbins and Wheeler early in the project, the cooperation between the archaeologist and historians apparently deteriorated over time. Robbins remarked in his 1961 daily log that historian Leo Hershkowitz "was the first historian on the project that had been up to see me and my work."[277] At a later meeting, "Hershkowitz told me that I had done a wonderful job. It made me feel good being in the presence of Wheeler who has never given me a word of appreciation for my work with this Goddam complicated mess."[278]

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[274] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 81; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 24. Robbins interviewed Miller in 1957 and 1961.

[275] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 80; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 33; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 48.

[276] Anonymous, "The Philipse Castle Land and Structures," Manuscript prepared by the Research Department, Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown, N.Y., 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[277] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 21.

[278] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 38.

Although the site was in every sense a "complicated mess," Robbins took a commonsense approach to surveying the property, informed by both the results of the previous archaeological excavations and ongoing historical research. In contrast to the "shallow" Shadwell and Alden sites, Robbins characterized the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills project, like Saugus, as a "deep" excavation. In the parlance of academic archaeologists, Robbins was distinguishing between plowzone and deeply buried, stratified sites. He approached each of these site types differently in terms of his excavation methods, and became convinced that the "deep" site could only be efficiently approached with the assistance of mechanical equipment. For instance, after establishing the stratigraphic sequences across the site, Robbins had the machine remove the "modern" nineteenth- and twentieth-century soils. He would leave a buffer or interface over the colonial strata or "contact surface" that was then removed by hand troweling and shoveling, and expose features like foundations. "Deep excavations," Robbins explained,

> can only be done with heavy equipment. But preceding that there is always a laborer with a shovel who is digging down to determine how much fill remains...and I'll investigate it and find that its a fill depth and we will shave it down to within a foot of the bottom of the trench....It's taken down very gradually with the various levels being analyzed as the excavations take place.[279]

His first survey effort at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills consisted of probe rod testing to relocate several previously identified foundations, and test trenching and "test holes" to identify cultural and natural features, assess the impact of previous

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[279] Roland W. Robbins, "Voice of America," Sidney Diamond, moder., audio tape of June 27, 1962, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

archaeology, and establish the stratigraphic sequence.[280] This initial three-month survey program was intended to assess the potential for finding significant new information about the early mill and mill pond and adjacent manor house, and to establish the value of a more extensive excavation. The information was transferred to a master plan showing the archaeological evidence for "the early waterway and river yards," and was used by the research staff to argue for a complete excavation and restoration of the site.[281]

As he enlarged the excavations in the second and third years, Robbins expanded his system of test trenches, test units, and small "spot checking holes" or shovel tests. He systematically investigated several areas of the property using a small unit testing method, consisting of systematically spaced 2-×-2-foot test units. This testing method, he said, allowed him to identify foundation or structural features, assess the stratigraphy, and guide his placement and excavation of larger units. Robbins illustrated the effectiveness of the systematic small unit survey approach versus linear test trenches in "A Preliminary Archaeological Survey Method" (Figure 59).[282]

Robbins excavated by natural strata and utilized vertical and horizontal controls by laying out a grid system over the entire site and establishing a datum for

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[280] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," pp. 1-9. Roland W. Robbins, "Field notes, "Bay trench M3, 10/3/56 to 10/31/56;" "2nd Dock Site at Mill (Section throw M3 Trench), 10/5/56;" Bay and River Course Tests (Section-Looking N.W.), 9/13/56," Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

[281] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 33.

[282] Roland W. Robbins, "A Preliminary Archaeological Survey Method," January 1959, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

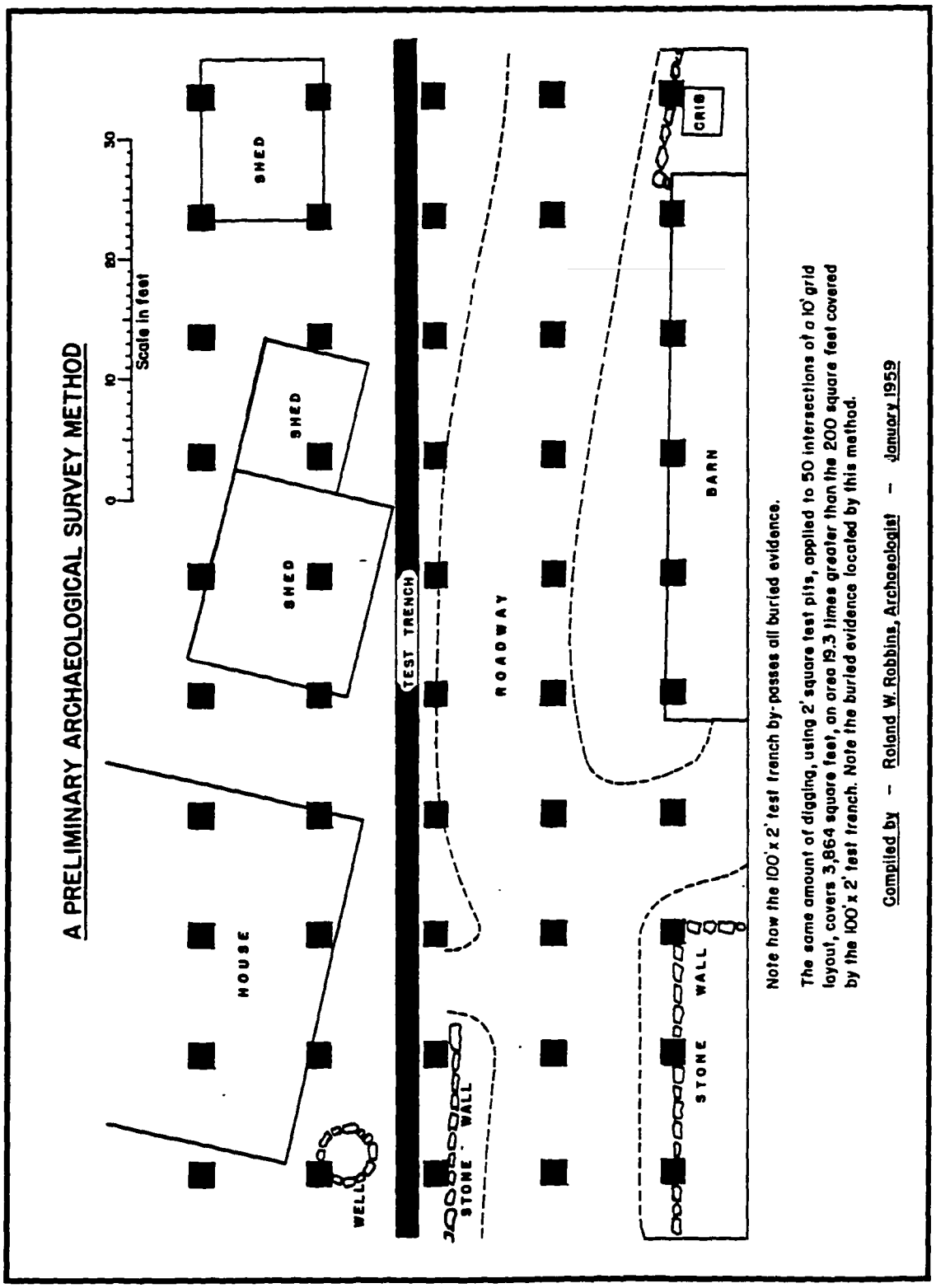

Figure 59. A preliminary archaeological survey method, January 1959.

elevations. Prior to the fall of 1957, Robbins's survey work consisted primarily of test trenches and units that were recorded in his field notes and plotted on the general plan of the restoration using simple triangulation methods (see Figures 45 and 49).[283] In the fall of 1957, Robbins worked with engineer Hank Fridy to "lay out a master grid" that consisted of 99 units or sections with numerical designations from 1 to 99, each measuring 80 × 120 feet.[284] The grid system was used for plotting all features, such as the dock area or later test trenches on the property, and even used to record individual artifacts.[285]

Robbins maintained limited vertical control over the site primarily by measuring with a transit from an established datum and digging spot checks to verify the stratigraphic profile. During the initial testing in 1956, he recorded that he dug a test hole in front of the mansion "to determine to what if any extent the area had been filled. Natural gravels were encountered beneath 23" of loamy soil.[286] The information was recorded in daily field notes and included elevations for the present surface and natural subsoils, as well as a description of "early surfaces" with artifacts.

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[283] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 7, 92.

[284] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 77.

[285] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 92; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 13, 25, 76; Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 67.

[286] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 6.

Robbins also recorded the soil types and general descriptions of the artifacts recovered.[287]

Most of Robbins's references to vertical position of soils and artifacts are related to several basic terms that he regularly used, including original grade, contact surface, and fills. Robbins also utilized the jargon of the profession that he acquired through his reading and from contacts with professional archaeologists, although he seems to have maintained and preferred his own colloquial terminology.[288] Mrs. Robbins remembers that he would develop his own commonsense term, such as "peek hole" for shovel test unit, and later gradually picked up the accepted professional term. The original grade represented the original ground surface during the period of interest, e.g., the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The location of this grade was often determined by the presence of buried A horizons, humus or loam layers, or by the type and period of overburden or fill.[289] Fills or fill soils were defined largely by their artifact content and relationship to modern site features. The "contact

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[287] Roland W. Robbins, "Fieldnotes - Tests near Tree Stump #1, Sheets #1-3, 12/7/56 to 12/11/56;" "River Yard Data on Soil Levels, 12/20/56," Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

[288] Robbins picked up the discipline's jargon from his regular contacts with J. C. Harrington, J. O. Brew, Maurice Robbins, and a host of other archaeologists including James Deetz. His library contained a wide range of archaeological sources [e.g., Wheeler, *Archaeology From the Earth*; C. W. Ceram, *Gods, Graves, and Scholars* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951); John L. Cotter and J. Paul Hudson, *New Discoveries at Jamestown* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957); J. C. Harrington, "Archaeology and Local History," *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History* II, no. 6 (1953)] that would also have provided new terms.

[289] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 38.

surface" was a buried living surface or grade that contained artifacts that dated to the period of interest.[290] At one area, Robbins explained that

> on the surface of the bed of stones there is a black contact surface 3"-6" deep. Many interesting artifacts were found on this contact surface, including coral and many clay pipe fragments. This may not be the earliest surface, but it appears to be the surface of an early development.[291]

The depth of surfaces or layers, either below ground surface or the datum, was recorded in Robbins's daily log and field notes, on artifact bags, and also on the various section plan sheets.[292] At Dock #2, Robbins recorded that the "mud had on its surface various artifacts....Yet artifacts were found below this level....At -6.84 I found a piece of leather...bones and stones...a piece of yellow slipware bowl.[293] In another instance, the backhoe removed fill soils, "going down about 4'. The early surface and pond bottom will then be removed, and laid aside for sifting."[294] Robbins's stratigraphic descriptions are very basic, but contain general information on the relationship of the layers and their individual makeups.[295] While excavating test units around the reconstructed mill, for instance, he noted that he found the "early

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[290] Geraldine Robbins suggested that "if he [Roland] was to dig to the contact surface it would mean to dig for the surface he was looking to "make contact with" (Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995).

[291] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 24

[292] Roland W. Robbins and Hank B. Fridy, "Plan of Section 43," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. A note on this plan indicates that "where two elevation are shown together, the higher elevation denotes PRESENT SURFACE and the lower elevation denotes EARLY SURFACE."

[293] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," pp. 48-49.

[294] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 46.

[295] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 26, 44.

grade in 45-76 & 77 [Section 45, Units 76 and 77]. It is beneath about 5' of sand fill. Contained 18th century relics. In 45-76 there was only about 1/2"-2" accumulation, below which was the natural ledge."[296]

Stratigraphic information was more precisely recorded during systematic grid testing conducted across the property in 1958 and 1959. These "2 ft. round test pits" were excavated at the intersections of 10-foot units within each section. The elevations recorded at each point provide the "present surface, earlier surface, etc., natural sub soils, and bottom of excavation."[297] The plan and profile drawings were supplemented by thorough field notes (see Figures 52 and 53).[298] The features, such as "Foundations, Roads, Paths, etc, in each SECTION [were] numbered according to the order in which they were found. EXAMPLE: F1, F2 or R1, R2."[299] Robbins also indicated on the section plans whether artifacts were removed, photographs taken, and whether the test warranted further exploration.[300]

The records from the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills dig indicate that Robbins clearly recognized soil changes and was able to read and interpret stratigraphic evidence with increasing precision, accurately describing fill sequences and identifying

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[296] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 26.

[297] Roland W. Robbins, "Section 57 Plan Sheet, November 1958," Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

[298] Roland W. Robbins, Field notes "Section 55 - YY Line, 9/26/58" and Typed field notes "Section 56 - Line A, 9/26/58," Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

[299] Robbins, "Section 57 Plan Sheet, November 1958." When features were identified, the 2-foot test holes were often expanded to cover the entire feature. The expanded units and features were plotted on the plan to scale, including top and bottom elevations when available.

[300] Robbins, "Section 57 Plan Sheet, November 1958."

features such as foundations, roadways, wells, and postholes.[301] On one occasion, he recorded that, upon suspecting that an early surface was actually deposited quite recently because of its juxtaposition to several utility lines, he decided to "run a trench across these lines. If they have a sand or gravel fill over them--then the rubble which is above them, and which covers the area we are excavating, was placed there after the lines were laid."[302] As mentioned above, Robbins used test units and trenches to "view" the stratigraphic profile. A typical description was recorded in his daily log in January 1957:

> This trench produced an early contact surface. The surface had several inches of loam, with much shell, bone, etc, artifacts, similar to what is found in M-1-1. Beneath the loam is a layer of man placed stone, however they are not laid level, but rather topsy-turvey....These stones are on the top of the sub soils.[303]

Robbins identified and recorded features in plan, as well as in profile. For example, working near the manor house he noted that they had identified "what appeared to be a post mold....The upright was at least 12" thick originally."[304] In addition to his descriptions and drawings, Robbins's photographs of the unit and trench profiles, usually with a stadia rod for scale, provide excellent records of the

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[301] It appears that at least by 1958, Robbins owned a copy of Sir Mortimer Wheeler's text, *Archaeology From the Earth*, that examines archaeological methodology. Published in 1954, Wheeler's book explicated his methods for precise stratigraphic control that practitioners like Ivor Noël Hume would also apply to historical archaeology at Colonial Williamsburg.

[302] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 38.

[303] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 7.

[304] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 64.

stratigraphy across the site. In many cases, the individual layers are marked to indicate soil type and description, such as fill, contact surface, or a specific feature.

Throughout the excavations at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, Robbins was meticulous about recording his work and discoveries. His plan drawings and field notes provide information on the excavation of each test trench and unit, including soils descriptions with depths, artifacts, and the location of features or disturbances. His daily log entries document regular record-keeping at the site. The field records kept by Robbins and his assistants were subsequently transferred onto formal section plans (Figure 60).[305] With regular use of the grid system, some level of horizontal and vertical control of artifacts and features was regularly recorded. Robbins made basic sketches of the excavations in his field notebook and daily log, and with the help of project engineer Hank Fridy completed precise plan maps of each excavated section, including features (Figures 61 and 62). The work at the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills project was also meticulously documented with Robbins's color slides and 16-mm film, and project photographer Bill Hennessey's black-and-white photographs. Like Hank Fridy, Hennessey worked on call, providing professional photographic documentation of the excavations. Robbins arranged to have Hennessey on site as each area or feature excavation was completed.[306]

Although the recording of profile and plan information is critical for interpreting the site, relating this data to the artifacts recovered is even more essential. Robbins explained that "as we go through the layers, the artifacts from each

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[305] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 14, 17.

[306] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," p. 30.

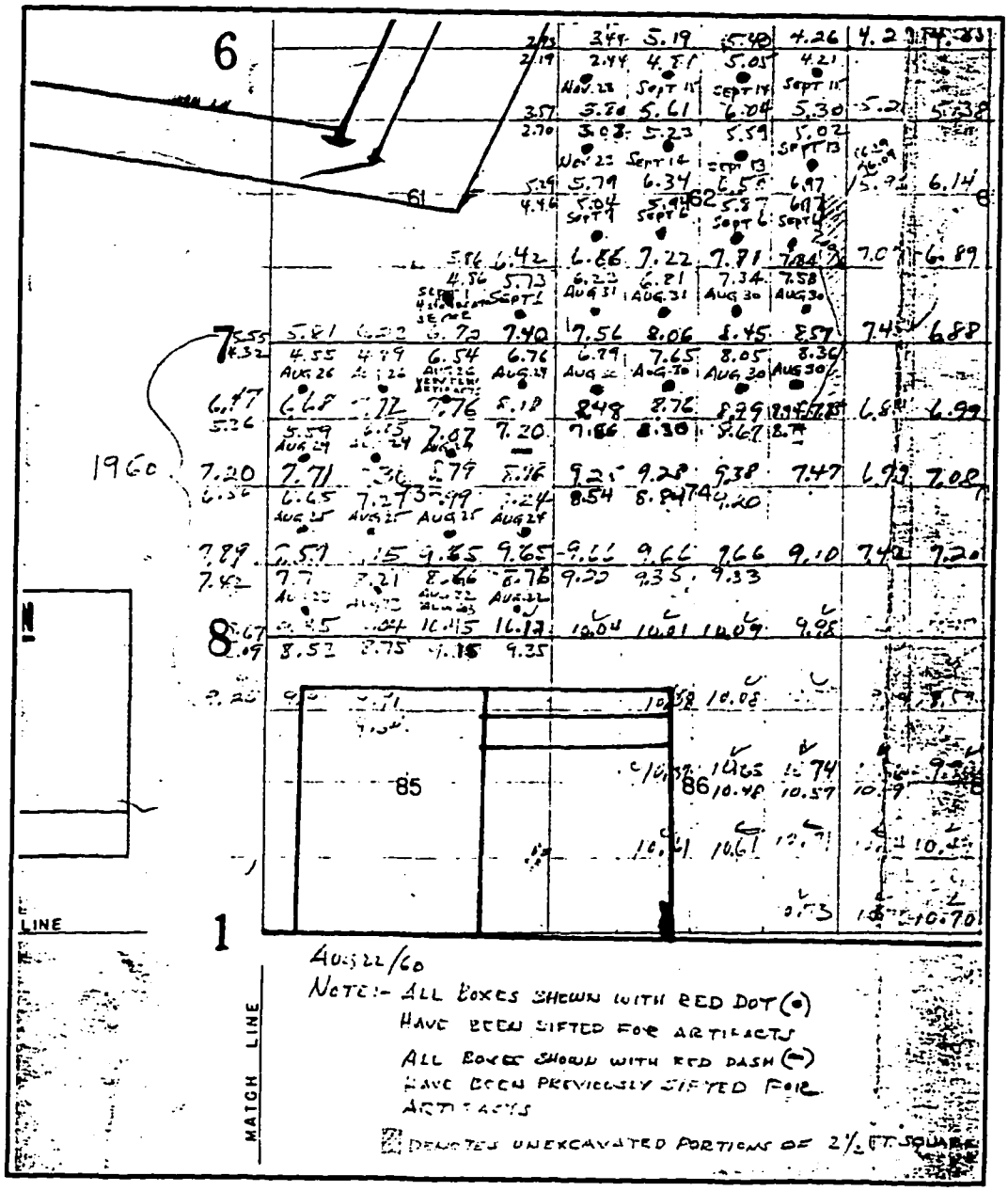

Figure 60. Field section plan showing 5-foot excavation units, 1960.

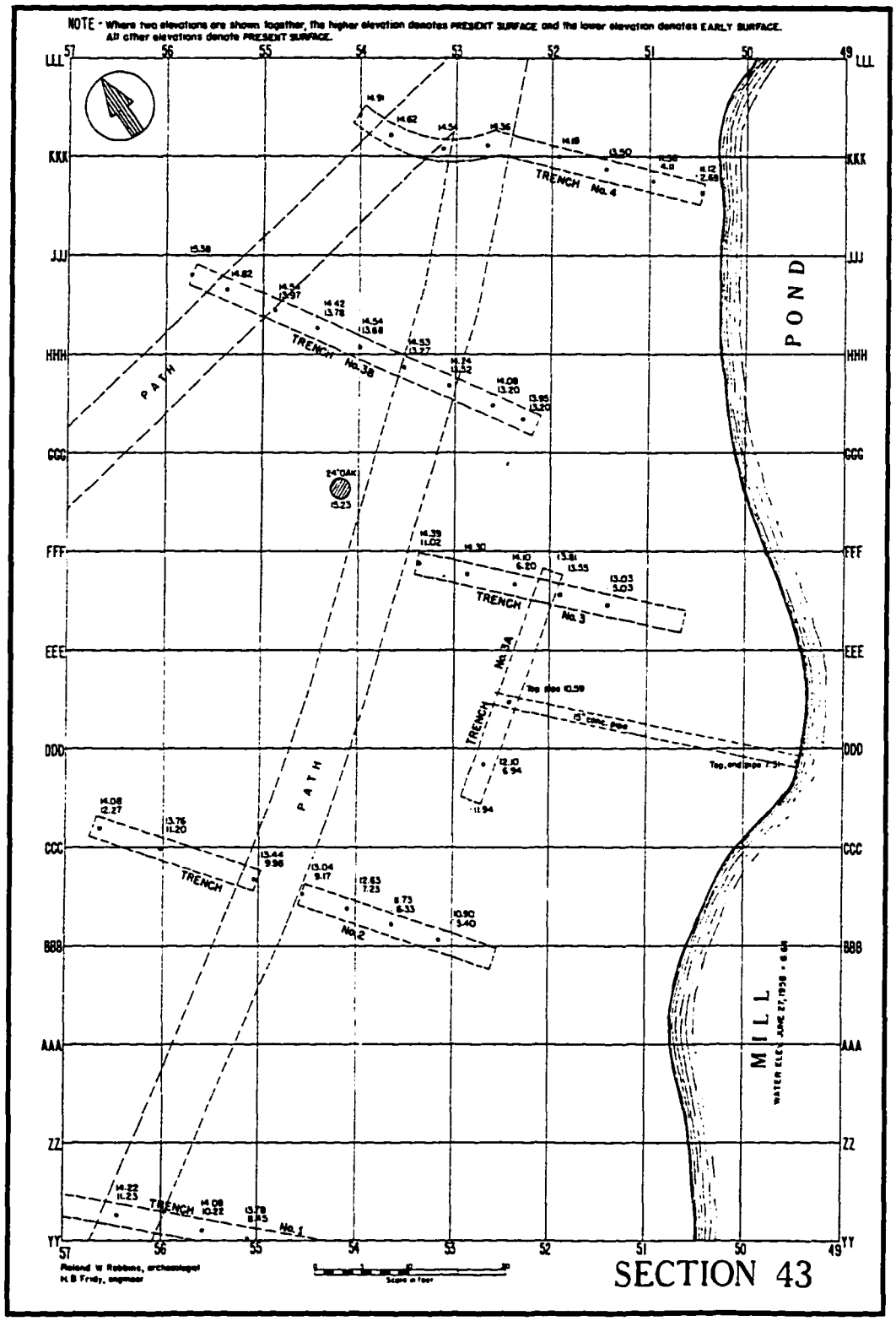

Figure 61. Plan of trenches in Section 43 drawn by Hank Fridy.

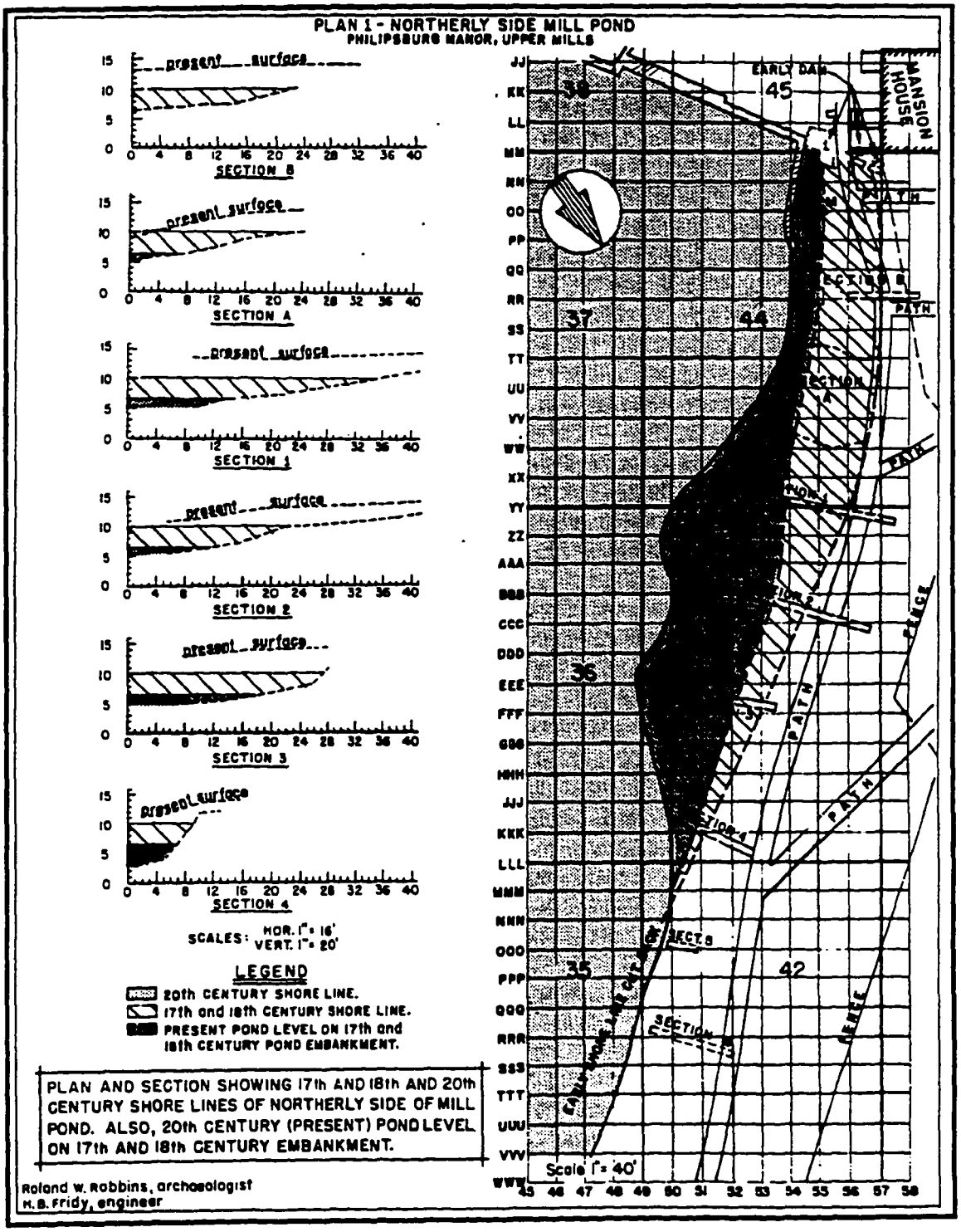

Figure 62. Plan 1, northerly side of mill pond drawn by Hank Fridy.

layer are carefully bagged--the soils from the various strata also have to be very carefully recorded."[307] Soil removed from excavation units at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills was generally hand-sorted for artifacts during excavation, and stockpiled for later screening by staff and volunteers.[308] Soils were raked and hand-sorted as well as passed through ¼-inch mesh screen to recover artifacts.[309] Artifacts recovered from the excavation were stored with limited horizontal and vertical provenience information. Robbins developed an artifact bag stamp to "record all pertinent data on the bag, all of which will be standardized."[310]

While the artifacts from Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills were never systematically analyzed as part of his work, Robbins's staff completely catalogued the finds and prepared artifact inventories and tables.[311] During the excavations, Robbins used artifacts to date the various levels and features, particularly to distinguish between the more modern fills and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century

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[307] Roland W. Robbins and Harvey Zorbaugh, "The Empire State." Educational television program presented by the Board of Education - Garden City, New York, February 24, 1960, audio tape. Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[308] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," pp. 13, 26, 73.

[309] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 78, 82, 85. Finer mesh screen (1/8 inch) was used to recover very small bones in areas with heavy bone concentrations.

[310] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 10, 13. The rubber stamp included the section, location (box or site), original grade and depth, photos (color slide or print or B&W), found by, date, bag #, and sections for additional information and contents.

[311] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 9; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 40-41, 76, 80.

"contact surfaces."[312] Throughout the fieldwork, he enlisted the help of experts for preliminary identification of the diagnostic artifacts, and had his assistants work on washing and numbering artifacts when no fieldwork was possible.[313]

Although the quality of Robbins's vertical information and control over the artifacts is problematic, he did store them with some level and/or feature data. For instance, in 1959 he recorded that his assistant helped him with "putting the artifacts from the various boxes and their levels in the 45-F1 area into cartons and numbering same...." This statement suggests that the artifacts from the Section 45, Foundation 1, area were excavated and stored within their horizontal grid boxes and by level.[314] This is further corroborated by notations from a meeting on the artifact cataloging work. Robbins wrote that "as for the transitions that took place in the 19th century mill, they will be referred to as levels and given Roman numerals for the different periods. The 19th century wheel pit will have a different level than the 19th century turbine pit, etc."[315] Although Robbins seemed to confuse the terminology of level and feature, the artifacts were marked and stored with specific horizontal and vertical references that related to the depositional sequences of the site.

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[312] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 48. For instance, one file folder contains a report on "Detected Pottery Marks" that lists the mark, its maker and date, and the provenience.

[313] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 47; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 48-49; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 3, 14; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 20, 52; "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 17. The artifact analysts included antique experts Ben and Cora Ginsburg (general/ceramics), Helen McKearin (glass), Lura Watkins (ceramics/general), and Smithsonian curator C. Malcolm Watkins (general).

[314] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 63.

[315] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 9.

The information contained on the artifact bag labels and catalog inventory cards also confirms both horizontal and vertical control of the artifacts. For instance, the artifact inventory card for Section 45, Foundation 1, Box 2, lists two levels. The card records that the second level, designated 45-F1 2-2, "began at el. -1.47 which was surface of mucks with peat and which were from 8-11" deep."[316] Although some proveniences do not have specific vertical information, these data can often be obtained by referring to the field notes and plans from the excavation. Feature fill was often recorded only with reference to the section and box number and feature name. However, the top and bottom elevations of the feature were recorded in the daily field records or on the plan drawing and can be linked to the artifacts.

Larger artifacts, such as log cribbing members and waterwheel parts, were marked with metal tags that had a general provenience, i.e., section and feature, and individual number or letter.[317] Each of these artifacts was also documented with photographs and recorded in the field notes, which provide plan drawings and elevations relative to the site datum (Figure 63).[318] The smaller artifacts were also documented through photographs, particularly the identifiable diagnostic artifacts.[319] Another unusual aspect of the archaeological program at the Philipsburg Manor Upper

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[316] Artifact inventory cards, Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

[317] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 89. Roland W. Robbins, Field notes - "Sections 45 and 51 (Below Utility Lines [M-1-1]), 7/29/59," Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

[318] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 93.

[319] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 93.

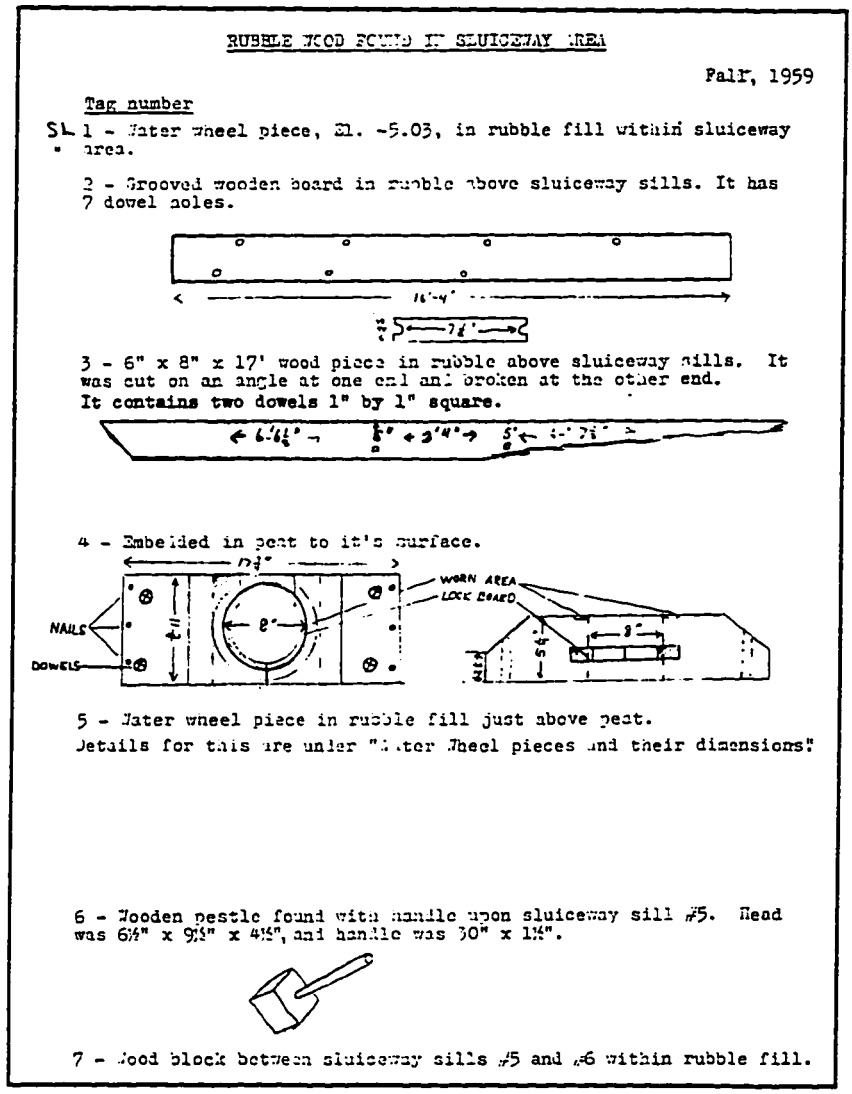

Figure 63. Sketches and notes on wood recovered in sluiceway area, fall 1959.

Mills site was Robbins's attention to artifact conservation issues ranging from the preservation of small metal remains to large structural pieces of wood.[320]

As at Saugus, Robbins also engaged in a range of special studies related to overall site interpretation, including faunal analysis, geoarchaeological work on the peat beds that underlay the pond and their relationship to sea level rise, and tree ring dating. Robbins's use of a faunal analyst to study the bones from several areas on the site is of particular interest, although it was not his first experience with this type of study. Robbins arranged to send the material to Dr. Leon A. Hausman, and over the next several years Hausman provided identification and analysis of faunal remains from several excavation areas on the property.[321] Dr. Hausman also assisted in examination and identification of seed remains, or macrofossils, removed from several "stratified soils" within the nineteenth-century mill foundation. Robbins reported that "a microscopic examination of these soils...showed that they contained fragments of pumpkin seeds. Also what may be seed-coats of rye and common wheat."[322]

Another interesting area of study at the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills site was investigation into sea level rise and the recent geology of the area. Robbins turned to his friend and former Saugus colleague Dr. Elso Barghoorn of the Harvard

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[320] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 67. Robbins spent a great deal of time and energy on developing conservation treatments for iron and wood while working at the Saugus Ironworks (see Chapter 3).

[321] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 66, 80, 78-85. Leon A. Hausman to Roland W. Robbins, January 23, 1959, Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y. Dr. Hausman was a retired zoology professor from Rutgers University.

[322] Robbins, "Report of the Archaeological Work Conducted For The Sleepy Hollow Restorations During 1959," p. XII.

Biological Laboratory in late 1956 and asked him to work on the "subsidence-submergence problem, the timbers, and the nature of the natural stones...." In April 1961, Robbins noted that Barghoorn and his assistant "took peat borings in the 17-18th century logs area. They went down 11' throw [*sic*] peat at both sites....He will check on this stuff and write me a report, also on the nature of the ledge."[323] He added that Barghoorn also took a sample of the wood from the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills site for a new conservation treatment. The results of these studies were important to Robbins, who was then struggling with interpretive issues relating to the juxtaposition of the lowest dock and dam cribbing and the peat deposit, as well as determining the original course of the river and mill stream.

Robbins also employed tree ring dating techniques for establishing the original contours of the site. The site contained many large, old trees that had to be removed prior to excavation and restoration of the original grade. In almost every case, he employed tree experts to determine the tree's age, and used this information to establish the temporal position of fill sequences, particularly around the manor house and mill pond.[324]

These special studies were important to Robbins, according to his former Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills assistant Susan McKanna (née Colby), because

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[323] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1961," p. 21.

[324] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 33. Richard R. Fenska to Roland W. Robbins, June 3, 1958, Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y. Fenska, of F.A. Bartlett Tree Expert Company and formerly professor of Forest Engineering at Syracuse University, took borings with a "Swedish Increment Borer" and provided Robbins with detailed reports of the findings and dates. The pencil-thin bore samples are still retained in Robbins's original files at Historic Hudson Valley.

"Robbins wanted people to accept his ideas but understood his limitations, particularly his lack of formal education. He compensated for this through verification with special analysis."[325] Regardless of his motivation for using studies like faunal analysis, they were exceptional in the field of historical archaeology during this period.

Robbins completed several yearly interim summaries of his excavations for the directors, the most detailed being his 1959 report. This report provided a summary of the dismantling of the reconstructed mill building and excavations beneath it.[326] Robbins pointed out that although the interpretation was "conjectural at this time, a number of pertinent facts have been determined," including information on the bed of the tidal Hudson and its relationship to the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills complex, and a series of plans interpreting the "developments that have taken place below the 20th century mill site since 1700."[327] The report consists largely of a "photographic account of excavations" at the site of the mill building, providing a chronological overview of the 1959 work. Each photo is captioned with a paragraph that describes the work illustrated.[328] A series of three "measured drawings of 17th & 18th century sill, log, and driven saplings found on the peat bed of the Hudson River,"

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[325] Sue McKanna (née Colby), personal communication, 1991.

[326] Robbins, "Report of the Archaeological Work Conducted For The Sleepy Hollow Restorations During 1959"; Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1960," pp. 18, 23-24.

[327] Robbins, "Report of the Archaeological Work Conducted For The Sleepy Hollow Restorations During 1959," p. 2.

[328] Robbins, "Report of the Archaeological Work Conducted For The Sleepy Hollow Restorations During 1959," pp. I-V.

including a plan of the excavated features, conjectural drawing of the features, and plan showing the location of waterwheel parts, mill building timbers, and wooden artifacts, provides specific data on this portion of the work.[329] Robbins also included conjectural sketches of the "docking area" and riveryard by artist Charles Overly, and a discussion of the artifacts from the riveryard that focuses on those materials that support Robbins's interpretation of ship repair.[330]

In addition to the shipyard data, Robbins also provided plans of Section 45, showing the evidence for the mills on the property in the twentieth century, ca. 1875, ca. 1840, and ca. 1700-1750 (Figures 64-67).[331] These plans are followed by a general discussion of the artifacts recovered in the vicinity of the mill buildings that provides gross counts and photographs of materials recovered from Section 44/Area A. Although this report does not contain details of the fieldwork, it provides an excellent summary of the excavations that Robbins was then completing and the initial results of the work.

Robbins's and Wheeler's draft interim report is largely descriptive and clearly intended as a brief summary of the work. In the introduction, the authors noted that

> this report will treat the things made by the earlier inhabitants such as structural foundations and remains, along with artifacts, including utensils, tools, and other objects of daily use. The nonartifact materials --the bones of the animals slaughtered for food, the plants grown or

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[329] Robbins, "Report of the Archaeological Work Conducted For The Sleepy Hollow Restorations During 1959," pp. VI-IX.

[330] Robbins, "Report of the Archaeological Work Conducted For The Sleepy Hollow Restorations During 1959," pp. XV-XVII.

[331] Robbins, "Report of the Archaeological Work Conducted For The Sleepy Hollow Restorations During 1959," pp. XVIII-XXII.

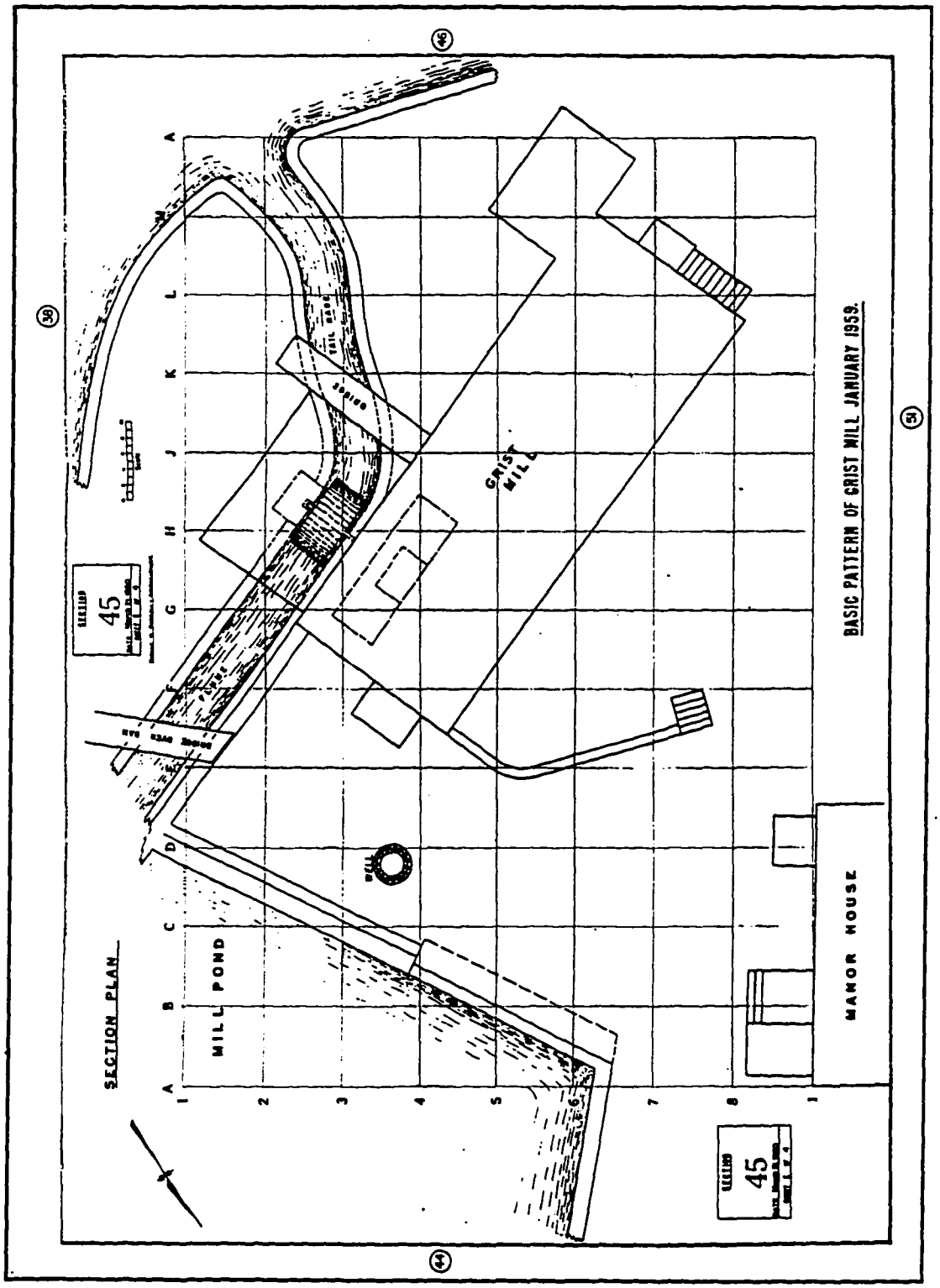

Figure 64. Basic pattern of grist mill, January 1959.

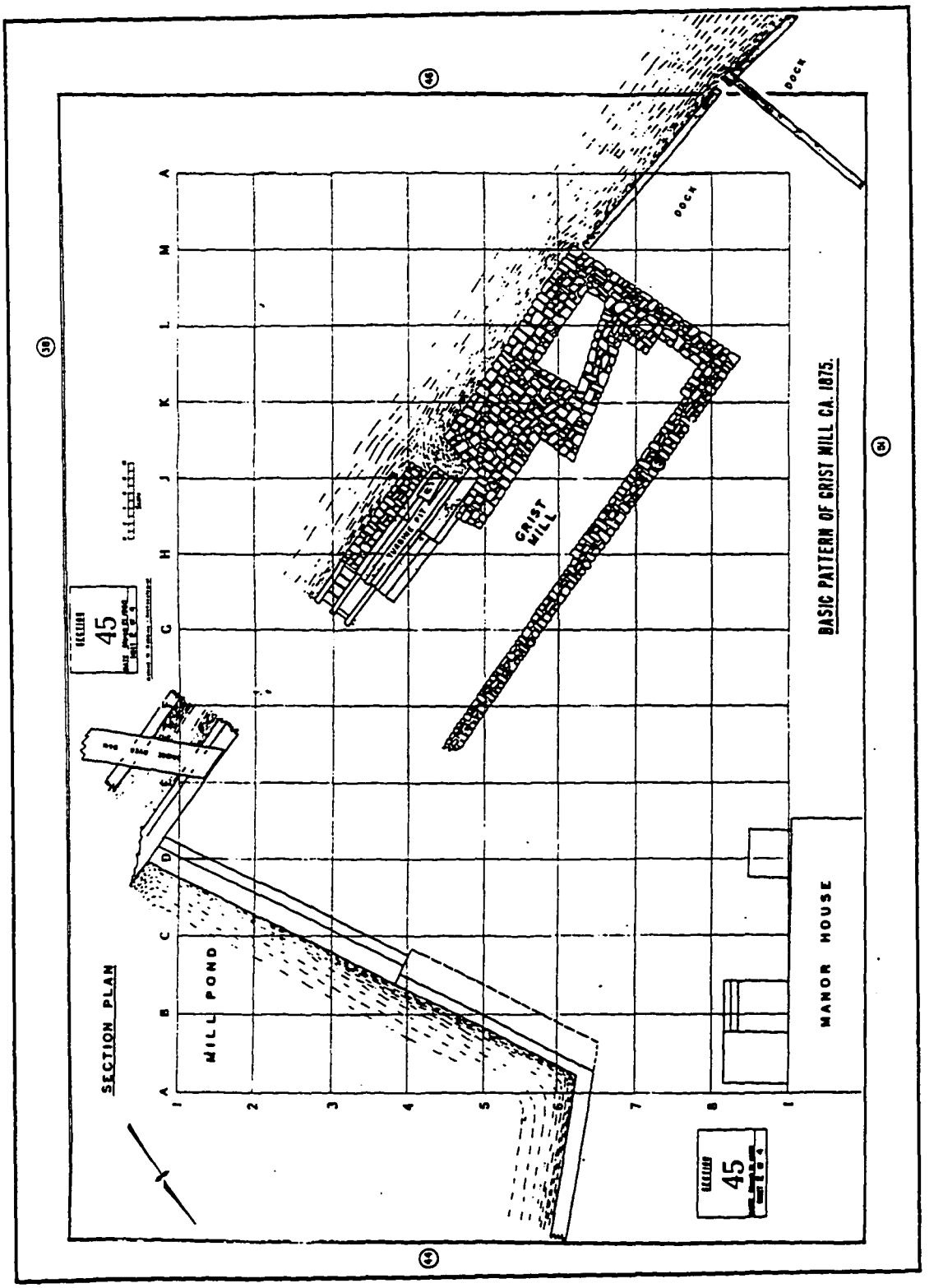

Figure 65. Basic pattern of grist mill, ca. 1875.

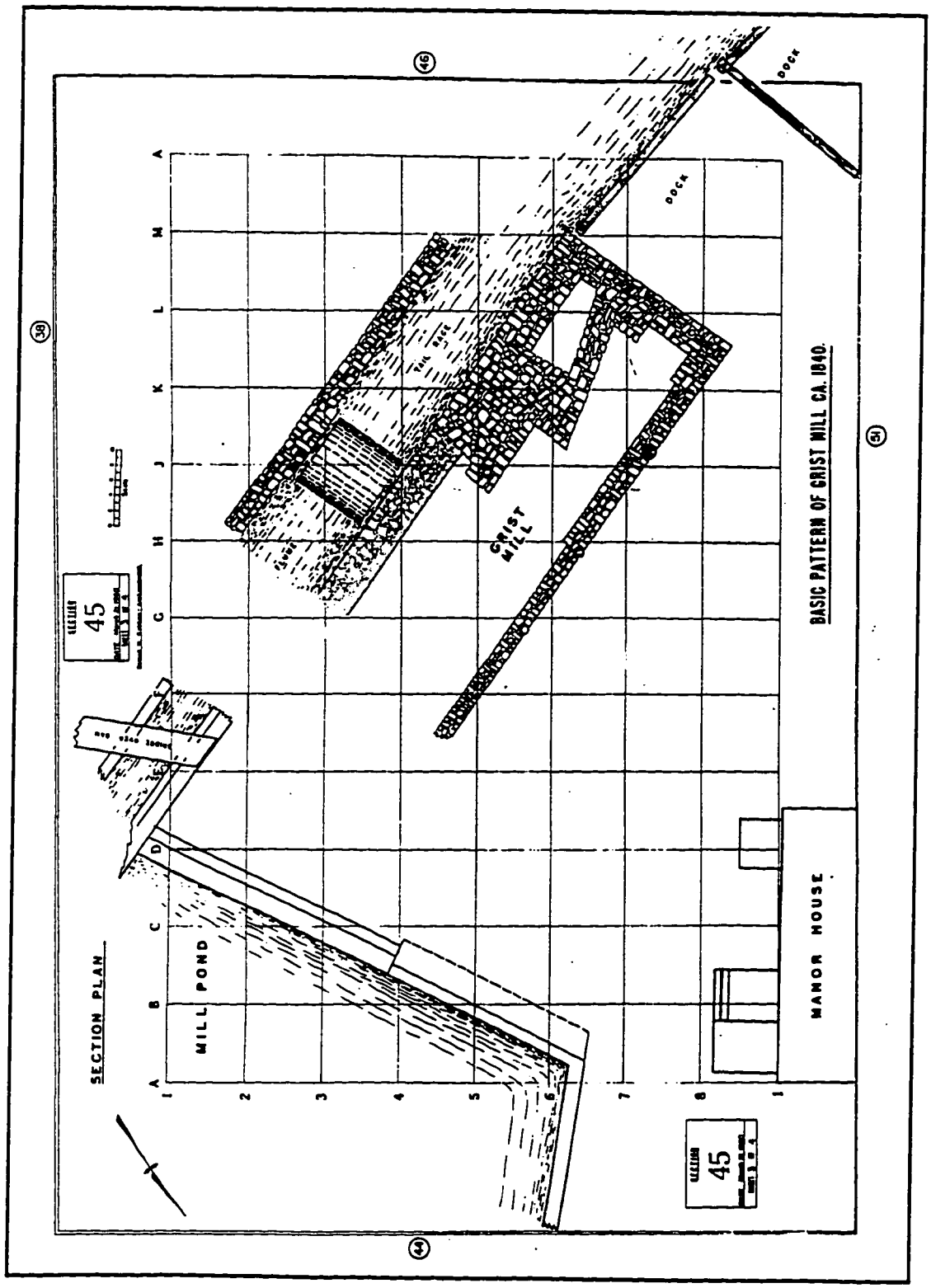

Figure 66. Basic pattern of grist mill, ca. 1840.

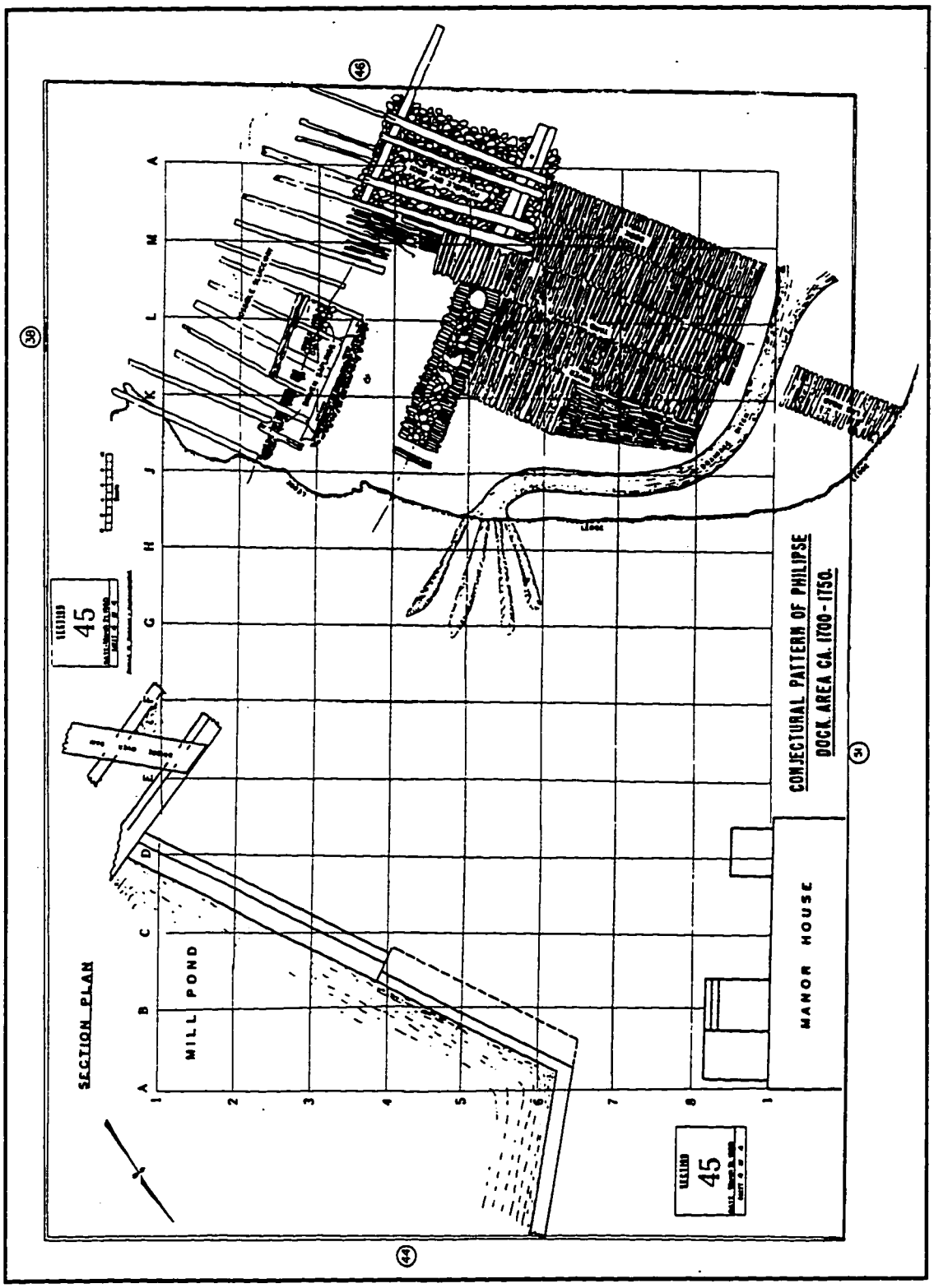

Figure 67. Conjectural pattern of Philipse Dock area, ca. 1700-1750.

> collected for food, hearth and fire remnants, all these will have an important role in the general interpretation of the archaeological materials.[332]

"Unlike other sciences," they wrote, "an archaeological experiment cannot be redone. Once completed, the notes and plans for the site stand as the permanent exhibit of the careful procedures practiced."[333] The 100+ page interim report includes introductory chapters on "The Nature of Archaeology," "The Topography of Philipsburg Manor, Upper Mills," and "The Grid System and its Application," and then focused on the excavated areas and features. These individual excavation summaries are organized by section and feature, and provide brief statements about the identified feature evidence illustrated with black-and-white photographs of the excavations and artifacts. An artifact inventory chart is included with each section and subdivided by feature.

Although Robbins did not write a final report on the project, he and Wheeler prepared an outline for it before he left on his final vacation.[334] It was to begin with a summary of the preliminary survey of the site, and an explanation of the grid system and topography of the area. This was to be followed with a general section on artifacts and then specific chapters on excavation areas and individual features, including the river area, mill, dam, mill pond, stone house, miscellaneous building

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[332] Roland W. Robbins and Robert Wheeler, "Over-All View of 17th Century River-Yard Complex at Philipsburg Manor, Upper Mills," Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y., p. 4.

[333] Robbins and Wheeler, "Over-All View of 17th Century River-Yard Complex," p. 4.

[334] Roland W. Robbins and Robert Wheeler, "First Draft of Outline for Final Archaeological Report for Philipsburg Manor, Upper Mills," n.d., Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

foundations, and roadways. A note at the end indicates that "the text [is] to be kept simple...much of the detail to be shown through sketches, photographs of the sites, and engineering drawings... [and] mention of artifacts to be made only as they indicate variety and period for each of the specific exploration areas and the dating conclusions that can be drawn from them."[335] The self-imposed limitations placed on the report, particularly the brief text and narrow use of the artifacts, are typical of Robbins's later reports.[336]

As the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills project unfolded, the restoration goals stifled Robbins's development of the archaeological research, a situation that ultimately contributed to his early departure. Despite Rockefeller's interest and the early "concern for authenticity and substantial attention to public relations," historian Michael Kammen wrote, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations did not achieve the immediate success that Williamsburg had enjoyed."[337] A new director, hired in 1955 to "professionalize and run the cluster of Tarrytown sites," introduced programs to "attract more visitors, and...reach Dutch as well as Dutch-American tourists."[338] The archaeology of Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills and conflicts with Roland Robbins were only two of the many concerns of the new staff. They regularly

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[335] Robbins and Wheeler, "First Draft of Outline for Final Archaeological Report."

[336] Wheeler went on to write the "Archaeological Report" on the site after Robbins's departure with the help of artifact cataloguer Paula Sampson. Robert Wheeler and Paula Sampson, "Archaeological Report - Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills," n.d. On file, Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y.

[337] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 550.

[338] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 550.

confronted a range of issues and faced the expectations of both their board of directors and benefactor John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Archaeological assistant Sue Colby remarked on the staff's special preparations for Rockefeller's visit to the site, remarking to an associate that

> our patron saint, John D., was here on Friday and half of the people here are still cleaning dirt off their foreheads from bending so low--but he seemed to like the place very much and was particularly impressed with the "dig-it-yourself" pile.[339]

The combination of these special programs and the successful public archaeology strategy still failed to improve attendance "as much as the Sleepy Hollow Restorations administrators had hoped," even with a 39.5 percent increase in 1957.[340] In hopes of reaching higher numbers of visitors, the Sleepy Hollow Restorations staff commissioned a visitor survey designed by a Madison Avenue public relations firm.[341] The results were not surprising; complaints included high admission prices, particularly for those in the "lower salary bracket," regimented tours, and problems with the souvenir shop. The staff's desires to keep the site open to visitors and finish the archaeology as soon as possible indirectly grew out of this study.[342]

Although the motivations and direction of the restoration staff hindered the needs of the archaeology, the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills excavations made many positive contributions. Robbins identified the changing layout of the mill complex and

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[339] Susan Colby to Carl Ginsburg, October 1957, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[340] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 550-51.

[341] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 550.

[342] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 550-51.

manor house over several hundred years, successfully dealt with difficult excavation conditions, experimented with new field techniques and studies, and launched a program that brought the story and excitement of the work to the public.

The Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills site remained open to the public during much of Robbins's excavations, and although this impacted the excavation schedule, it also provided an opportunity to experiment with presenting archaeology to the visitor. For instance, Robbins and his staff developed an archaeological exhibit, guided and self-guided tours of the excavations, and the popular dig-it-yourself screening program. The restoration also arranged for regular newspaper and radio stories on the work, and Robbins gave many public lectures that explained the excavations to business, civic, and educational organizations.

An outdoor "archaeological exhibit" was set up for visitors in March 1957 by Wheeler and Robbins.[343] Several months later, they interviewed a local school teacher for the position of summer guide for the archaeological project, and discussed the work "and the manner in which we want to present it to the visitors."[344] Although not involved in the digging, the guide would "assist us with our relic assorting and numbering, etc. when he is not busy...."[345]

During the winter of 1958, Robbins and his assistants worked on setting up a more formal archaeological exhibit in the basement of the manor house.[346] The

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[343] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 22.

[344] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 33.

[345] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 45.

[346] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 5.

exhibit was finished in the spring, when the New York City Archaeological Group visited the site. The visit included a tour of the grounds to see the "grid system, test trenches, and careful digging of strata..." as well as a stop at the "dig-it-yourself layout."[347] Back in the office, Robbins showed the group his mapping system and conservation techniques, and ended with a tour of the archaeological exhibit. He recorded with some satisfaction that "they were extremely impressed with the room and said that no other museum they had seen (in the restoration or reconstruction category) could compare with ours."[348]

The "Dig-It-Yourself" program seems to have been initiated sometime during the spring of 1957 and, although unfortunately named, was extremely popular and received a lot of media attention.[349] A feature article in the *New York Times* resort section reported that

> interest in this work has been mounting to such an extent that half of the 350 persons who visited the site on a recent day took a hand in the sifting and digging. For amateur archaeologists who want to come and make a day of it, there are picnic tables and drinking water on the grounds. Some visitors have become so interested that they have stayed for the weekend, renting rooms in a motel near by.[350]

Robbins explained the Dig-It-Yourself program in a letter responding to a complaint about his use of untrained visitors to dig on the site:

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[347] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 22.

[348] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 22.

[349] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 19.

[350] Merrill Folsom, "Dig It Yourself: Philipsburg Manor's Visitors Welcome to Lend Archaeologists a Hand," *New York Times*, September 8, 1957, Section 2, p. 26.

> But may I point out something which I'm afraid the newspapers have not made quite clear--the articles which have been printed often give the impression that visitors are allowed to dig directly on the site. We do not have sufficient time or labor to sift through all of the loose soils that are brought up from the various levels and sections; thus we have asked for help of the general public. All of the soils that are brought up by the mechanical shovels are taken to an area close to the actual site. There they are dumped, by level and location, for interested persons, like yourself, to "paw" through. The material that you will be finding will mainly substantiate the materials that we ourselves have found....[351]

As the program became more popular, new sifting benches with ¼-inch screen were designed and built for the visitors.[352] The excavated soils were piled by provenience, and the artifacts were bagged accordingly.[353] A popular feature of the program was that unusual and exciting finds were displayed in the museum with a label identifying the object and the name of the "finder." In many ways, the program was too successful. In late 1958, Robbins recorded that he counted "as many as 100 diggers at our dig-it-yourself soils at one time!"[354] The experiment was more popular than he had dreamed, and the growing number of daily participants took up more and more of his assistants' time. However, Robbins felt that for all of its work

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[351] Roland W. Robbins to Mrs. Beth Gonet, n.d., Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Robbins also reported that he had his laborers resift all of the "soils that the visitors had gone through." Kammen perpetuates the myth that Robbins allowed the public to dig on the site, writing that "amateur archaeologists were even permitted to 'dig' under controlled circumstances, a practice not allowed elsewhere and one that administrators at Colonial Williamsburg regarded as a highly problematic precedent" (Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 550-51).

[352] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 19.

[353] Visitors were not allowed to remove any artifacts, and were regularly monitored by one of Robbins's assistants. Provenience of the "Dig-It-Yourself" materials was identical with artifacts removed during the excavation.

[354] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," p. 74.

it was an important program. "It's a wonderful way to make history come alive to youngsters," he told a reporter. "They've been a big help to us, these diggers....I think maybe we've got a lot of children started in an interest both in archaeology and history."[355] A major portion of Robbins's contact with the public came through his lectures to community organizations that ranged from historical societies to schools. During his work at the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills site, Robbins gave over 140 public lectures on his archaeological explorations. Twenty-six of these talks were directly focused on the work at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, and were presented in and around the greater New York City area.[356] Many of these talks were given to special tour groups at the restoration.[357] Presented under various titles, including "Treasure Hunting in Americana," and "Hidden America," most of Robbins's lectures were overviews of his many projects with a special feature on the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills work.[358] These talks were typically presented to historical and cultural organizations and civic clubs across the region, who found Robbins an interesting and entertaining speaker. One museum director reported that Robbins's "work is characterized by scholarly accuracy and a Yankee common-sense approach. He relates

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[355] Cynthia Lowry, "Variation of Do-It-Yourself Turns Up In Archaeology, Project Works," *Danville Register*, October 2, 1958.

[356] Roland W. Robbins, "Lectures Notes, 1956-1961," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[357] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 33. In May 1957, Robbins noted that he presented six lectures in the basement of the mill to over 400 members of the New York Botanical Gardens.

[358] Roland W. Robbins, "Lectures Notes, 1956-1961," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Many of the lectures titled *Hidden America* were also promotions for Robbins's book of the same name.

the incidents with the enthusiasm of an explorer and illustrates the lecture with documentary and artistic color slides."[359]

Public exposure to Robbins's archaeological work received its largest boost from the publication of *Hidden America* in 1959.[360] Excavations at Shadwell and Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, as well as his earlier work at Saugus, formed the nucleus of the book. The idea was drawn from a series of newspaper and magazine articles on Robbins's work, particularly Evan Jones's "Pick and Shovel Historian."[361] In December of 1956, Robbins met with Henry Robbins (no relation) of Alfred A. Knopf to discuss writing a book about his archaeological work.[362] He notified Knopf in April 1957 that he "would get going on the book layout within the next two weeks or so."[363] The following week, Robbins met with writer and friend Evan Jones and inquired about his interest in "writing a book for me (for Knopf)."[364] Jones, then busy with a story on Robbins's work for *The New Yorker* and another for *Reader's Digest*, was not initially interested. By December of that

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[359] Donald S. Smith to Roland W. Robbins, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[360] Robbins and Jones, *Hidden America.*

[361] Jones, "Pick and Shovel Historian."

[362] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1956," p. 29. Knopf had contacted Robbins to write a book after seeing a *New York Times* article about his work (Henry Robbins to Roland W. Robbins, November 21, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.).

[363] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 27.

[364] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 29.

year, however, Jones and Robbins met with Knopf to go "over details for writing a 'Do It Yourself' book on archaeology."[365]

In March 1958, Robbins and Jones signed a contract with Knopf to write a book that they tentatively titled "Under This Earth." They met regularly over the next several months, Robbins providing his reports and daily logs from projects and Jones drafting the preliminary chapters. Things proceeded with little trouble until July, when, as discussed above, the Sleepy Hollow Restorations board insisted that the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills chapter be removed from the book. The board eventually compromised and allowed its inclusion with the stipulation that they retain complete editorial oversight.[366] Despite the setback, the project moved forward, and by October Jones submitted a draft manuscript to Henry Robbins at Knopf.

The finished book contained thirteen chapters, including Robbins's major digs at Walden Pond, Saugus Iron Works, Shadwell, and Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, as well as his thoughts on stone beehive structures, and a brief summary of Native American archaeology. Jones captured Robbins's conversational style, and wove it into the narrative with his own clear, concise prose.

The book went to galley proofs in June 1959, and was available for review in early September.[367] Robbins's initial disappointment with a "glaring error" in printing and the quality of some of the photographs was tempered by a "very generous testimonial from C. W. Ceram [author of the popular *Gods, Graves, and*

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[365] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1957," p. 87.

[366] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1958," pp. 45, 67.

[367] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," pp. 42, 64.

Scholars] about his interest in *Hidden America*!"[368] On the day of its release, Robbins wrote, "Here's wishing it good luck--with many sales!"[369] Robbins worked hard to publicize the book, attending signing (Figure 68), providing radio and television interviews (Figure 69), and working with the staff at Knopf on mailings to historical groups throughout the region.[370]

With sales of 7,000 to 10,000 copies, the book was only a modest publishing success. However, it is significant because it was the first popular book to be published on historical archaeology and set the style and tone of many books that followed.[371] General reviewers found *Hidden America* to be well written and illustrated, a "lively and entertaining" book.[372] According to one reviewer,

> there could not well be a better introduction to those hidden things in our past which are within reach of everyone...the contribution...[that Robbins and Jones] have made to public understanding and appreciation of archaeology is great."[373]

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[368] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 69.

[369] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 81. The book was released on October 19, 1959.

[370] Robbins, "Sleepy Hollow Restorations Daily Log - 1959," p. 84.

[371] Both Ivor Noël Hume's and James Deetz's books draw on literary devices first used by Robbins (*Here Lies Virginia* was published in 1963 (also by Knopf) and is stylistically similar to *Hidden America*).

[372] Raymond Holden, "Amateurs at Work," *New York Times Book Review*, October 25, 1969, p. 20.

[373] Holden, "Amateurs at Work," p. 20.

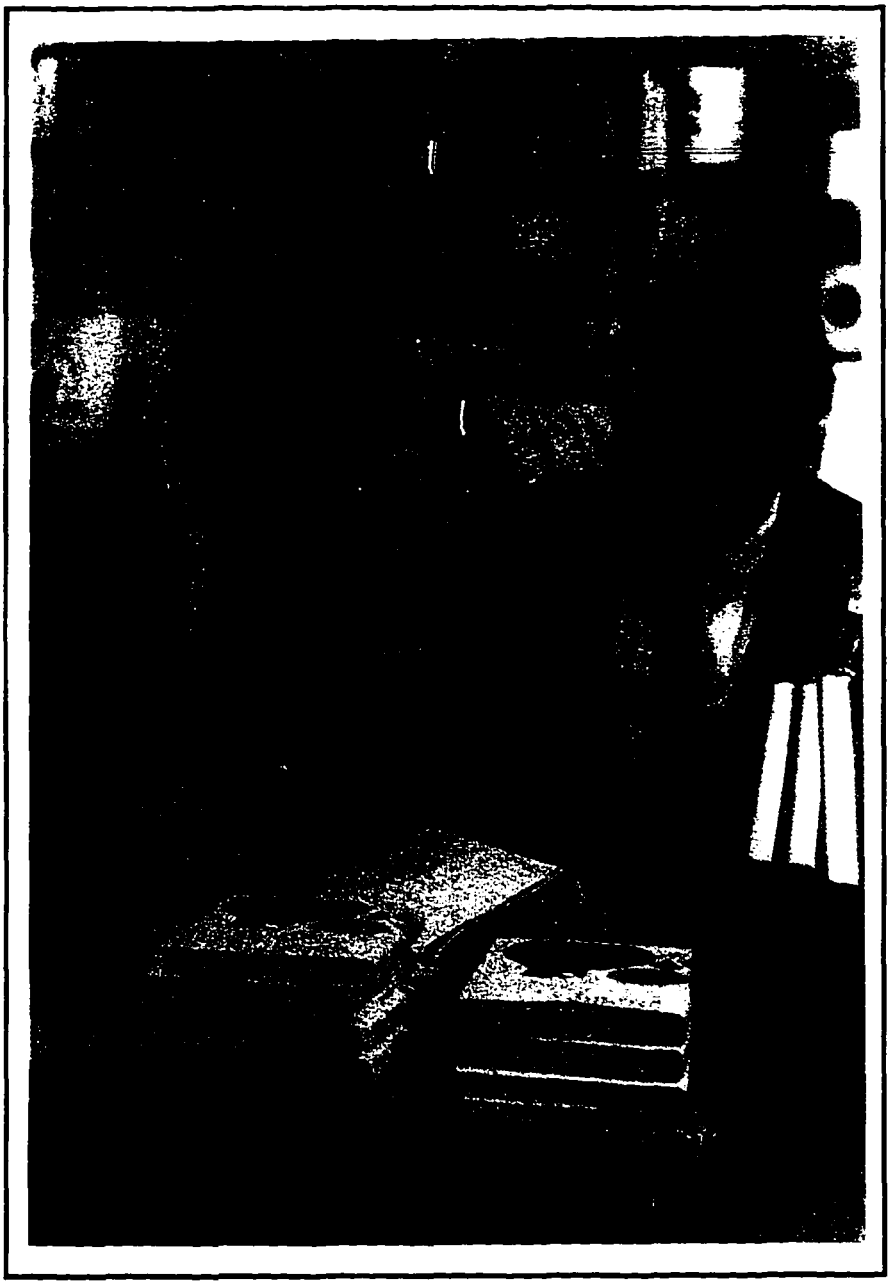

Figure 68. Robbins (left) and co-author Evan Jones sign copies of *Hidden America* at the Concord Bookstore, October 1959 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

Figure 69. Robbins appearing on television talk show, ca. 1961 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

Likewise, the several hundred letters to Robbins from the public were equally complimentary and positive.[374] Michael Cohn of the New York Archaeological Group wrote, "I want to congratulate you on your book...which, in my mind, fills an important void about the romance of archaeology in places within the reach and knowledge of the interested American."[375]

Reviews by professional archaeologists, however, were less positive, focusing on the controversial final chapters: "Dig It Yourself"; "Pipe Hunting, Potsherds, Arrowheads, and Artifacts"; and "A Future for the Past." For instance, John L. Cotter wrote that

> its failure is that while cautioning the layman not to dig recklessly, it also informs him that he, too, can become "an archaeologist" simply by following Mr. Robbins' example and instruction. Never mind the four years' undergraduate plus three years' graduate work and three or four seasons of field experience required of the academic professional.[376]

Cotter used the analogy of a "...corporation erecting a skyscraper...approached by an enthusiastic fellow with a set of plans under his arm who vowed he just loved engineering and drafting but had no professional training; he would," Cotter writes, "no doubt be sent packing." Cotter summarized Robbins's work as characterized by inquisitiveness, common sense and enterprise combined with hard work, but writes that, "we wish Mr. Robbins had simply said: Don't try to do any digging by yourself

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[374] Jimmy Magette to Roland W. Robbins, January 13, 1961. Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[375] Michael Cohn to Roland W. Robbins, October 22, 1959. Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[376] Cotter, "Review of *Hidden America*," pp. 221-22.

unless you are a trained archaeologist, or are working under the direction of one."[377]

Reviewer Lawrence Leder wrote that

> *Hidden America* has one main failing --it leaves the reader with the erroneous impression that archaeology is a simple thing, and that all the layman needs is a probe rod, a few other basic tools, and a mound or declivity into which he can dig in order to duplicate Mr. Robbins's achievements....Mr. Robbins does a disservice by overemphasizing the idea that he is self-educated without explaining the extent to which he has educated himself.[378]

He also thought that Robbins and Jones could have written in much more detail about Robbins's own digs, rather than filling "the second half of the volume with a popular account of what has been done by others...."[379] However, he adds that, "despite its faults, this book remains an invaluable commentary on a most important series of projects...."[380] Although the idea of playing off the successful "Dig-It-Yourself" program at the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills project came from Knopf editor Henry Robbins, Cotter and Leder were correct in asserting that Roland W. Robbins advocated the do-it-yourself approach for the public. "I tell them [schoolchildren]," he wrote, "there's no reason they can't have a dig in their own backyards."[381]

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[377] Cotter, "Review of *Hidden America*," p. 221-22.

[378] Lawrence H. Leder, "Book Review of *Hidden America*," *New York History*, April 1960, pp. 243-44. Leder worked as a historian at Philipsburg Manor for two years during Robbins's excavation project.

[379] Leder, "Book Review of *Hidden America*," pp. 243-44.

[380] Leder, "Book Review of *Hidden America*," pp. 243-44.

[381] Lowry, "Variation of Do-It-Yourself."

Although historical archaeology had witnessed major growth in the twenty years between the end of World War II and the publication of Robbins's *Hidden America*, the particularistic restoration approach linked to the historic preservation movement remained universally visible in the historical archaeology conducted in the United States. By the early 1960s, however, university-trained professionals like John Cotter, Edward Jelks, Charles Cleland, Charles Fairbanks, Bernard Fontana, and James Deetz, were engaged in the work of separating historical archaeology from its restoration-oriented beginnings and carving out a disciplined profession. These academicians were propelling historical archaeology into the university system, the principal institutional setting of American archaeology since World War I. These individuals became "leaders in the continual codification and improvement of standards of ethics for practicing professionals."[382] This process consisted largely of the transition to formal college-level training, as explained by Cotter in his review of *Hidden America*.[383] In this sense, it marked an inward focus on the part of the discipline that devalued public participation. Historian Burton Bledstein observed that, within the culture of professionalism, "the more technical and restricted the individual areas of investigation, the more justifiable it became to deny the public's right to know or understand the professional's mission."[384] The primary orientation of the academic professional, wrote historian Donald M. Scott, is not "the public-at-large;

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[382] Barber, "The Sociology of the Professions," p. 21.

[383] Cotter, "Review of Hidden America," p. 221-22.

[384] Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1976), p. 328.

indeed it [the academy] institutionalized a sense of an unbridgeable cognitive gap between professionals and nonprofessionals."[385] In order to professionalize and upgrade the discipline, practitioners had to focus on standardizing within and eliminating any outward appearances of amateur or unprofessional behavior. In this regard, it was Robbins's position as "a vociferous defender of the dig-it-yourself movement...," his lack of formal training, his entrepreneurial approach, and his use of mechanical equipment, that began the process of permanently destroying his relationship with academic archaeologists.[386]

The techniques and methodologies employed by Robbins at Saugus, and particularly Shadwell and the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, in many ways resemble those in general practice in the historical archaeological community during this period. Robbins developed his approach through his field experience and commonsense Yankee ingenuity, discussions with archaeological and museum colleagues, and his reading in the disciplinary literature. He used grid systems for horizontal control, probe and shovel testing for site survey, and increasingly refined artifact provenience controls. At a time when the academic practitioners were stressing technical precision and methodological refinement and standardization, however, Robbins was using heavy equipment for "deep excavations" as a commonsense way to "get the job done." Although his techniques for mechanical excavation were much more controlled than understood at the time, he was chastised

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[385] Scott, "The Professional That Vanished," pp. 27-28.

[386] Evan Jones, "Dig-It-Yourself Archaeologists," *New York Times Magazine* February 16, 1958, p. 48.

for his "crude" methods. Ironically, many of these methods were "introduced" into the profession with the advent of cultural resource management; the professional community slowly came to realize that, when used under the proper conditions, the backhoe and gradall could be effective tools.

Robbins's extremely detailed documentation of his work at Shadwell and Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills drew on his interest in observation and recording the world around him and often exceeds that quality of his professional academic colleagues. Perhaps most surprising was his early use of special analytical studies, such as radiocarbon and tree ring dating; soil, faunal, botanical, and materials analysis; and artifact conservation--techniques that became common practice in the "new archaeology" of the 1960s. These studies, while giving Robbins confidence when working with his more educated colleagues and validating his work in the face of increased pressure and skepticism from the academic community, placed him at the forefront of modern historical archaeology.

Roland Robbins was not an anthropological, or "scientific," archaeologist, at least in the current sense of the word. In fact, he preferred to think of himself, not unlike retired Colonial Williamsburg Foundation archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume, as "a historian who digs." "The Pick and Shovel Historian," he wrote, "has always been my favorite identification. After all, I am a historian who digs when the success of the subject necessitates my doing so."[387] Robbins's "intent was to make history come alive by digging it up, getting others involved...making something live again in

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[387] Robbins, "Roland Wells Robbins and the Saugus Iron Works," p. xiv.

people's imaginations."[388] In *Hidden America*, Robbins noted that "...I found that simple tools and the rudiments of a scientific approach, cautiously exercised, could ferret out history that had evaded others...."[389] He had already begun, however, to move toward the fringes of the developing discipline of historical archaeology. Increasingly faced with challenges from the academy, he grew more determined to practice his own brand of archaeology and restoration, embracing Thoreau's model of the practical intellectual, and practicing an intense brand of individualism.

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[388] Dodson, "The Man Who Found Thoreau," p. 116.

[389] Robbins and Jones, *Hidden America*, p. 11

CHAPTER V. HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY COMES OF AGE

While finishing the work at the Upper Mills, Robbins directed a small excavation at the John Alden House in Duxbury, Massachusetts, that brought him into what would become an ongoing struggle with the developing academic discipline of historical archaeology. By the early 1960s, when Robbins began the Alden House excavation, the archaeology of the Plymouth Colony and the Pilgrims had become the focus of university-trained archaeologist James Deetz. Robbins and Deetz initially maintained a cordial and cooperative relationship, exchanging information on their respective sites. Robbins later became angry when Deetz excluded him from excavations on other Plymouth-period sites.

By the mid-1960s, the discipline was slowly changing, with the particularlistic phase of historical archaeology giving way to scientifically minded archaeologists who argued that the discipline must sever its ties with the restoration preservationist movement if it was to advance.[1] Although a wide range of restoration-related work continued, many new research-oriented projects were begun both within the university and at larger institutional organizations like Colonial Williamsburg. Ivor Noël Hume continued to apply his knowledge of stratigraphic excavation and documentary research to sites in and around Williamsburg. A handful of student and academic

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[1] Brown, "A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England," p. 15.

archaeologists also began long-term research-oriented projects on historic-period sites. The graduate students who completed these projects were among the first group of researchers to focus their work on historical archaeology topics; their work resulted in the first wave of doctoral dissertations that addressed historic-period sites. As historical archaeology emerged, academic professionals began to slowly standardize their data recovery and analytical techniques, borrowing heavily from the New Archaeology.[2]

By the time that Robbins's publication on the Alden site was released in 1969, the discipline had organized under the umbrella of anthropology as a formal scholarly pursuit. The heightened professional rhetoric of the discipline, formalized in the founding of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 1967, becomes clear in a review of Robbins's Alden report published in the Society's new journal *Historical Archaeology*. Although reviewer Charles F. Hayes III found the report to be an important reference and starting point "for anybody conducting future work in southern New England," he noted "now that historical archaeology has reached a degree of maturity, it is to be hoped that such future reports will contain the results of the more sophisticated analysis methods that are currently being used."[3]

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[2] Willey and Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology*, p. 181. The New Archaeology embraced a reemergence of evolutionary concepts, the application of systems theory, the use of ecosystem models, and the application of computers. "The study of process, not the results preserved in the archaeological record, was the fundamental innovation of the New Archaeologists" (Patterson, "The Last Sixty Years," p. 19).

[3] Charles F. Hayes, III, "Review of *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress: Archaeological Excavations in Duxbury*." *Historical Archaeology* 5(1971):115.

Robbins's work at the John Alden House demonstrates thoughtful research and excavation techniques, although on a much smaller scale than either the Philipsburg Manor or Saugus projects. The Alden site was, like Shadwell, a "shallow" site and required, Robbins argued, a much different approach than the "deep" excavations at Philipsburg and Saugus.[4] The shallow, plowed "topsoils" at the Alden site, he reasoned, required careful hand excavation in order to extract the greatest amount of information. Precise horizontal and vertical excavation controls were demanded to recover the scant artifacts that made up these shallow sites, as well as to determine the spatial patterns of these materials.

In many ways, the Alden project marked a major watershed in Robbins's career, it represented his closest approach to the contemporary academic praxis in terms of methodology and analytical techniques. The work was representative of restoration-oriented historical archaeology projects across the region and country during the early 1960s. However, the late 1960s witnessed new changes and refinements in excavation and analytical techniques and incorporated a growing interest in research-oriented work. Although the Alden project was conducted in the restoration tradition, resulting in a "memorial" or site marker, its goals proved to be equally devoted to research issues. As time passed, however, Robbins's methods and approach did not keep up with the changing standards in archaeology. Even more damaging was his success as an independent practitioner, pitting him against

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[4] Roland W. Robbins to Evan Jones, audio tape, ca. 1958, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

academics who from the security of their university positions viewed his business practices as blatant, crude hucksterism.

Robbins responded to the academy's attack on the foundations of his career by returning to his mentor Thoreau, whose philosophy bolstered Robbins's identity as a self-reliant and independent Yankee. Robbins survived several periods of slack consulting work by concentrating on his successful lecturing engagements and developing projects such as his Walden Cabin kit or marketing the publishing rights to his collection of Herbert Gleason's photographs. These projects only served to exacerbate his relationship with the academic crowd; to their horror he was popularizing archaeology and trading on the literary cachet of Thoreau.

Robbins's projects during the second half of the decade, such as the Hancock-Clarke House, Strawbery Banke, and Oliver Mill, were short-term excavations conducted for local and regional historical museums and societies. This type of modest project became the norm during the final decades of Robbins's career. In practice, they reflect both his extensive experience in the field and the overall sophistication of the business aspects of his consulting work. Unlike Saugus and Philipsburg Manor, these projects allowed him to maintain control of the work and retain his freedom to practice as an independent professional consultant. Most importantly, these projects represent his candid, populist approach to archaeology; almost all had some type of public component, either through community involvement in a "dig-it-yourself" program, a field school, or site tours and volunteer opportunities.

As the decade began, Robbins initiated a project that demonstrates all of these elements.[5] The Alden House excavation, performed for the John Alden Kindred Family Association, was Robbins's first direct experience with a family or genealogical group (Figure 70). Although ancestor worship had become less fashionable before World War II, family associations maintained their viability during the postwar period through an increasing investment in the ideology of patriotism.[6] The leadership of these groups remained the province of primarily older, socially connected individuals, people who clung to historical myths and traditions in the face of a rapidly changing world. However, the family association was also heralded as a democratizing force; "it has brought genealogy and pedigrees and an escutcheon within the reach of the common man."[7] In the postwar period, family and genealogical associations became another vehicle for the aspiring middle class.

In late February or early March 1960, Robbins was contacted by Mr. Russell Edwards of the John Alden Kindred Family Association to secure his services in excavating the 1627 John Alden House in Duxbury, Massachusetts.[8] Robbins first visited the site on March 18, 1960 and, after a brief orientation by Edwards, began preliminary test "hole" excavations.[9] Six of these units were placed around the

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[5] Robbins was actually still working at PMUM while he completed the Alden House dig.

[6] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 494-96.

[7] Cedric Larson, 1938, quoted in Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 421.

[8] Roland W. Robbins to Mrs. Ernest Bailey, May 26, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[9] Roland W. Robbins, "John Alden - 1st House in Duxbury, Daily Log, 1960," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

Figure 70. Members of the Alden Kindred of America at annual meeting in Duxbury, 1960 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

existing stone monument, expanding out from the center. A small test trench, 13 × 30 inches, was placed in the middle of an area that produced brick fragments in the shovel tests.[10] This trench produced "considerable evidence of old bricks...in natural medium yellow sand..." from 3 to 23 inches below grade.[11] The initial testing indicated to Robbins that the 1627 house did not stand where "the stone marker stands today." The area in the vicinity of the test trench "may be more significant," he thought, "yet other than the unmortared brick fragments, there were no artifacts to indicate that this was the case."[12] Robbins's initial visit and testing impressed Russell Edwards, who wrote that, "after seeing the way you work, I am more convinced than ever that we should have you supervise the search for the old site."[13]

Encouraged by the results of his first visit, Robbins returned to the Alden site in mid-April for additional testing using his steel probe rod; "the probe testing began some 80 feet southeast of the stone marker, extending southerly 15 to 20 feet with occasional excavations to determine the nature of the soils and the artifacts they contain."[14] Finding few artifacts, he reversed his direction, "conducting the test in a northerly direction, and after making a few rod penetrations, each of which were

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[10] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 1.

[11] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 1.

[12] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 2.

[13] Russell Edwards to Roland W. Robbins, March 21, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Robbins often used his "preliminary surveys" as an opportunity to introduce his work to potential clients and demonstrate his abilities.

[14] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 3.

about 6 inches apart, I hit stone."[15] The rest of the day was spent isolating this feature, which proved to be a stone wall running east-west, and a parallel wall approximately 7 feet 6 inches to the north. Artifacts recovered from the "sifted" soil included bricks, 240 old nails, glass and cames from leaded windows, earthenware, clay pipe fragments, a gun flint, and a "1652 New England silver coin."[16] This evidence was found in the upper 22 inches of soil, overlay the "natural subsands."[17] Robbins wrote to Edwards several days later with some preliminary thoughts on the results of this work: "In thinking over the 2 walls that I located, I believe that they may be the foundations for an ell. If this is the case, and the Alden house faced south, then the main building must be either to the east or the west of the ell."[18]

In May 1960, Robbins returned to the Alden site to test his ideas. This additional work identified a "cellar hole" that extended to a depth of "more than 7 ft. below grade."[19] In preparation for a more complete excavation, Robbins and wife Geraldine, who occasionally "helped out when Roland needed a hand," laid out a grid system measuring 100 × 80 feet with pipes set "at coordinate points," and an arbitrary benchmark (elevation 15 feet) marked on the existing stone monument.[20]

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[15] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 3.

[16] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 3.

[17] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 3.

[18] Roland W. Robbins to Russell Edwards, April 19, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[19] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 3.

[20] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 3; Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1996. Mrs. Robbins had been helping Robbins on occasions when he was behind in his work, beginning with the Walden project. She recalled that "I enjoyed the digging very much,

Following this work, Russell Edwards requested that Robbins send an outline of his findings to Association president, Mrs. Ernest Bailey. In his letter, Robbins summarized the preliminary work and laid out his ideas about the site's research significance:

> the foundation for a 17th century building...is situated some 60 ft. southeasterly of the stone marker. Its northerly wall is 38 ft. in length....I located evidence of its cellar situated at the northwest corner....A fragment of the southerly foundation of this house was located. This indicated that the building was quite narrow, probably not over 13 to 14 ft. in width....The artifacts...are quite numerous, and all...are of the 17th century period.
>
> I hope that it will be possible for the organizations and the individuals interested in this project to carry out a complete historical and archaeological undertaking. This would mean a careful historical research study and a complete archaeological exploration. An interesting and comprehensive report which would include the history of the site and photographs of the progress of the archaeological work as well as an artist's conception of the site as it may have appeared during the 17th century should be compiled.[21]

In early July, Edwards contacted Robbins with the news that limited funds were available for the research project, and that he should arrange to begin the excavations as soon as possible.[22] In mid-July, Robbins staked out the grid over the 1627 house site area with Edwards's assistance, and Edwards and the volunteers began to excavate the eighteen 10-foot grid sections. The workers took the "top soils

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but we didn't work together a lot because he could be overwhelming at times--I would need some distance."

[21] Roland W. Robbins to Mrs. Ernest Bailey, May 26, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[22] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 4.

down 5 or 6 in."; artifacts from this level were stored using the designation of their 10-foot square on the master grid.[23]

During the weekend of July 29 to 31, 1960, Robbins and his assistant from Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, Joan McAlear, returned to the site to excavate the cellar feature. Although Robbins and McAlear battled heavy rains from Hurricane Brenda, they "...succeeded in getting most of the fill removed from the cellar hole."[24] The cellar was excavated as a separate unit from the 10-foot squares, and the soil removed in three arbitrary levels, CI, CII, and CIII. Working in "beautiful weather," Robbins and McAlear spent the next day cleaning and recording the cellar excavation. Robbins made arrangements for several volunteers to screen the soils "removed from levels CII & CIII in the cellar hole" over the next several weeks.[25] He wrote to Edwards several weeks later to inquire about the progress of the screening, reminding him that "it is imperative that we recover every artifact which these levels contain."[26]

In a letter report to Mrs. Bailey, Robbins noted that he had a chance to check several of the artifacts removed from the 6.5-foot-square cellar, and he found that

> one of them is a bronze pestle and another one is 1/2 of a cocks head hinge. In checking the 17th century artifacts uncovered at Jamestown, I

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[23] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 4; Roland W. Robbins and Evan Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress: Archaeological Excavations in Duxbury* (Plymouth: The Pilgrim Society, 1969), p. 46.

[24] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 4.

[25] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 5.

[26] Roland W. Robbins to Russell Edwards, August 2, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

> find a hinge and a pestle identical to ours. We also removed a pair of scissors, a small hammer head, a horseshoe and several other metal pieces and nails. We also found considerable earthenware. All of these artifacts appear to be of the 17th century period.[27]

He ended the letter by stressing the importance of the site and the need for a complete investigation:

> The more I see of the site, the more I realize its historical significance. I hope that your organization will find it financially possible to accept the recommendations which I made....There should be no "short-cuts" taken with a project of such unusual significance.[28]

Several weeks later, Russell wrote to Robbins that "we are all very much pleased with your work so far and I am sure will find no trouble getting funds to complete the work."[29] Robbins sent a brief progress report and detailed cost proposal to Mrs. Bailey, estimating that the work would cost between $3,500.00 and $4,000.00.[30] This would include "the archaeological work, photographs, sketches, Evan Jones's story about the site and its history, as well as pay for the labor and consulting fees involved."[31] He had, he wrote, "pared this down to the bone."[32]

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[27] Roland W. Robbins to Mrs. Ernest Bailey, August 1, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Robbins likely used several sources that were in his library, including John L. Cotter and J. Paul Hudson's, *New Discoveries at Jamestown* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957) and J. C. Harrington's *Glassmaking at Jamestown* (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1952).

[28] Robbins to Bailey, August 1, 1960.

[29] Edwards to Robbins, August 8, 1960.

[30] Russell Edwards to Roland W. Robbins, August 8, 1960; Roland W. Robbins to Mrs. Ernest Bailey, August 19, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[31] Robbins to Bailey, August 19, 1960.

[32] Robbins to Bailey, August 19, 1960.

Mrs. Bailey contacted Robbins in late August, telling him to proceed with the work, and that the Association would attempt to provide volunteer labor.[33]

When excavations resumed the weekend of September 17, 1960, Robbins and McAlear were joined by Robbins's wife Geraldine, and the trio began work along the north wall of the structure (Figure 71).[34] The area was gridded and the soils were removed from "2.5 ft. boxes," and screened for artifacts. This excavation of the interior of the house foundation was continued throughout the following week by Joan McAlear and several volunteers, and resumed by Robbins the following weekend.[35] Robbins noted that this work "...showed that the place was probably dismantled, even to the chimney base, which was located near the center and to the southerly side of the interior."[36]

The first weekend of October was used to focus on "cutting back the fill and the natural soils from the walls of the cellar so that their thickness, etc., could be determined."[37] The next weekend was spent mapping the foundation and cellar, recording their elevations, and taking "the interior and the area above and to the outside of the foundation down to natural sands."[38] The fieldwork was completed in mid-October when Robbins finished plotting the site and taking the final photographs.

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[33] Mrs. Ernest Bailey to Roland W. Robbins, August 30, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[34] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 6.

[35] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 6.

[36] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," pp. 6-7.

[37] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 7.

[38] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 7.

Figure 71. Excavation of the Alden house remains, 1960 (Geraldine Robbins excavates in foreground) (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

"We now have," he wrote, "the long job of cleaning and recording the artifacts and preparing a report, etc."[39] Writing to Mrs. Bailey shortly after finishing the work, Robbins reported that the site should be enclosed by "a snow fence, keeping people back from it," and he suggested that "thought be given to the rebuilding of the foundation and the cellar. To restore the house site (not the house itself) would create a very impressive monument which could be done at little expense."[40]

During the remaining months of 1960 and into early 1961, Robbins and artist Charles Overly worked to develop a plan for the restoration of the foundation, while assistant Joan McAlear completed the identification and cataloging of the artifacts.[41] In March 1961, Robbins traveled to Williamsburg, Virginia, to discuss the Alden artifacts with Ivor and Audrey Noël Hume of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and J. Paul Hudson at Jamestown.[42] Both, he wrote, "agreed that the finds were...all of the 17th-century period," and were helpful in identifying pieces with which

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[39] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 8.

[40] Roland W. Robbins to Mrs. Ernest Bailey, October 19, 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[41] Roland W. Robbins, "John Alden - 1st House in Duxbury, Daily Log, 1961," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., pp. 1, 3. Overly had previously prepared interpretive drawings for Robbins based on his work at the Saugus Iron Works.

[42] J. Paul Hudson to Roland W. Robbins, April 5, 1961, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Contains a brief summary report on the Alden artifacts, and limited information on the foundation sizes of Jamestown structures.

Robbins was not familiar.[43] The identification was also supplemented by a later visit from pottery expert Lura Watkins, who reviewed the ceramics from the site.[44]

In addition to recommending that a title search be completed for the property and engaging author Evan Jones to research and write a brief historical background on the house, Robbins also spent part of 1960 and 1961 considering the layout and form of the Alden house because he was troubled by its relatively narrow width.[45] For instance, he visited and measured similar archaeological examples, such as the Joseph and John Howland sites, and carefully measured the adjacent 1653 Alden House.[46] This work also led to one final field visit in the summer of 1962, during which Robbins "dug test pits and probe rodded [*sic*] the continuance of the easterly and the westerly foundation of the house," in search of foundation evidence from additions or ells that might have connected to the house.[47] Shovel tests were extended 25 feet north and south of the foundation on three transects, with the tests spaced 5 feet apart.[48] Robbins recorded that "probe rod testing was carried out every 4-6 inches

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[43] Robbins, "John Alden - 1961," p. 1.

[44] Roland W. Robbins, "John Alden - 1st House in Duxbury, Daily Log, 1963," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[45] Roland W. Robbins, "John Alden - 1st House in Duxbury, Daily Log, 1962," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., pp. 1, 2.

[46] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 8; "John Alden - 1961," p. 2. Robbins recorded that "the Joseph Howland site was a mess, everything turned over in a confused mess. I believe that the Plimouth Plantation diggers worked there this year."

[47] Robbins, "John Alden - 1962," p. 1.

[48] Field notes for the excavation record soil type and depth, and artifacts from each test pit.

between the test pits seeking additional footings and a chimney base."[49] "Nothing was found," he wrote, "which would indicate the house was any larger than the foundation unearthed in 1960 indicated."[50]

By July 1963, Robbins had completed the artifact catalog and analysis catalog and he returned the artifacts to the 1653 Alden House. These materials were individually marked and bagged by provenience and boxed by general excavation areas: i.e., the foundation units, the cellar excavation, and the plowzone from all other units.[51] In the fall of 1963, Robbins continued work on the analysis and report, returning to his earlier study of the details of the 1653 Alden House. He speculated that sections of this house might have been part of the original house. One section had the same 38-foot length, and "the long narrow section was added to the northerly [section] probably later - however, it could have been part of the original structure."[52] In November 1963, Robbins met with Rose Briggs, director of the Pilgrim Hall, to go over the plan that "...James Hall made of the Miles Standish site [53]which he excavated in Duxbury during 1856-57."[54] He wrote that

> a quick measurement of the upper foundation, which was probably the first, showed that it was about 53 ft. long and 16 ft. wide, it being a

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[49] Roland W. Robbins, "John Alden House, Supplemental Test Pits Field Notes," June 17, 1962, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[50] Robbins, "John Alden House, Supplemental Test Pits Field Notes."

[51] Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," pp. 2-3.

[52] Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," p. 4.

[53] Hall's excavation of the Standish site is considered one of the first historical archaeology projects in New England.

[54] Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," p. 5.

> long narrow building. Actually it's [*sic*] length was about 3 1/3 times it's [*sic*] width. This is quite interesting! The early Alden house was 38 ft. long and 10.5 ft. wide, it's [*sic*] length being slightly less than 3 2/3 times it's [*sic*] width. Were these early houses in the Duxbury, Marshfield area long, narrow buildings, and if so why? The main basic plan of the 1653 Alden house is about 38 ft. by 18-18.5 ft. This is a ratio of 2 to 1.[55]

Robbins met with Mrs. Robert Delano to review the results of the title search in January 1964.[56] With the title search and historical research complete, he set to work finishing the report on the site, submitting it to Mrs. Ernest Bailey in April. The 84-page report provides a complete summary of the project, photographic documentation of the dig and artifacts, and plan and profile drawings of the site.[57] Anxious for reaction to his work, Robbins called Mrs. Bailey in May, only to find out that she had not yet looked at the report: "When I think of the work and the time and the money I put into the John Alden report--and now to learn that no one has bothered to read it, I find it quite discouraging!!!!"[58]

During the next several years, Robbins remained busy with other projects and did little more than periodically check with Russell Edwards about the prospect of formally publishing the Alden report.[59] In July 1969, he heard from Edwards and

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[55] Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," pp. 5-6.

[56] Roland W. Robbins, "John Alden - 1st House in Duxbury, Daily Log, 1964," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., pp. 1-2.

[57] Roland W. Robbins and Evan Jones, "Pilgrim John Alden's First Home in Duxbury and Its Archaeological Excavation," March 1964, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[58] Robbins, "John Alden - 1964," p. 3.

[59] Robbins, "John Alden - 1966," p. 6. In 1969, Mrs. Howe indicated that she had wanted to publish the report, but complained that "...the past 3 years have been hectic" (Robbins, "John Alden - 1969," p. 1).

Larry Geller of the Pilgrim Society about publishing the results. With the financial support of Mrs. Helen Howe (formerly Bailey), the Pilgrim Society offered to sponsor the publication and handle its distribution.[60] Robbins and Geller had the first proofs completed by late August.[61] To the original typescript report, Robbins added an author's foreword and Geller prepared a brief introduction to the discipline of historical archaeology and Robbins's contributions to the field.[62] The report went to press in mid-September and was completed in late October 1969.[63]

Robbins's work at the John Alden House demonstrates some of his most precise field excavation techniques. His decisions to excavate at the Alden House were guided by the location of the historical monument and existing oral and documentary histories of the site.[64] Following the initial survey and location of structural evidence, Robbins worked with primary documentary evidence, such as maps and deeds, eventually initiating a property title search and historical background research on the Alden site.[65]

Robbins approached the problem of locating the Alden House site in his usual meticulous way. He excavated by natural strata and utilized systematic vertical and

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[60] Roland W. Robbins, "Larry Geller - Pilgrim Society Daily Log, 1969," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., pp. 1-3.

[61] Robbins, "Larry Geller - Pilgrim Society Daily Log, 1969," p. 4.

[62] Robbins, "Larry Geller - Pilgrim Society Daily Log, 1969," pp. 4-5.

[63] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*.

[64] Robbins, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, p. 10.

[65] Robbins, "John Alden - 1964," p. 1. The title research was delayed several times, causing Robbins to defer completion of the report.

horizontal controls, establishing a grid system over the entire site and excavating the units within. Robbins's initial survey to locate the site combined digging test "holes," small trenches, and extensive use of his probe rod.[66] The test holes allowed Robbins to assess the stratigraphy and guided his placement of the larger test trenches. This survey work indicated that the 1627 house did not stand where "the stone marker stands today." Additional probing and test hole excavation near a concentration of unmortared brick fragments provided the desired results, the discovery of the stone foundation of the structure. The information from these tests provided Robbins with stratigraphic information that guided the rest of the excavation. Robbins observed and utilized stratigraphic evidence, reading this data with increasing precision, accurately describing the soil sequence and identifying features.

Horizontal and vertical controls at the Alden site were among his most accurate. By 1960, Robbins's education had advanced through field excavation experience, visits to other sites, including Williamsburg, reading extensively on archaeology, and maintaining regular dialogues with practitioners like J. C. Harrington, Henry Hornblower II, and J. O. Brew. Robbins had come to define sites like Alden and Shadwell as "shallow" sites. They required, he argued, a much different approach from the "deep" excavations at Philipsburg and Saugus.[67] The shallow, plowed "topsoils" dictated careful hand excavation to obtain the greatest amount of data. Precise horizontal and vertical excavation controls, Robbins asserted,

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[66] Roland W. Robbins, "John Alden - 1st House in Duxbury, Daily Log, 1960," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[67] Robbins to Jones, audio tape, ca. 1958.

were demanded to recover the scant artifacts for this type of shallow site and to determine the patterns of these materials.

After the initial shovel test and probe survey and testing that identified the foundation and cellar, Robbins established a 100-×-80-foot grid across the area.[68] Vertical control of the soil sequence and artifacts was recorded with precision. Before excavation, Robbins and his assistant took elevations of the pre-excavation ground surface with the transit at "the coordinate points of the 18 10' grid sections which we will have the loam screened from next week...[taking] the top soils down 5 or 6 inches."[69] After removing the top soils or plowzone, Robbins excavated the cellar feature. A preliminary test suggested that the filling of "the cellar must have taken place at one time, there being no stratum to indicate the filling accumulated over a period of time."[70] Therefore, it was excavated in three arbitrary levels: two levels measuring 3 and 4 feet, respectively, and a third measuring 0.5 feet and representing the interface of the fill and natural sand subsoil.[71] Although the levels were relatively thick, Robbins was careful to piece plot "all artifacts found among the rubble" during excavation.[72]

As with the cellar, excavations of the rubble fill beneath the top soil and above the natural subsoils within and around the foundation were carefully controlled. The

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[68] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 3.

[69] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 4.

[70] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, p. 17.

[71] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 17-19.

[72] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 17, 61.

initial 10-foot blocks were divided into 2.5-foot units for increased horizontal control.[73] This also provided vertical control across the foundation area, separating the rubble level from the topsoil or plowzone. Artifacts within features in the subsoil, such as the possible chimney base depression, however, were not separated but stored as part of their respective 2.5-foot unit. Robbins also systematically shovel tested around the foundation at a 5-foot interval to verify the presence of other features.[74]

The plan drawings and field notes from the Alden House excavation provide detailed information on soils, artifacts, and the location of features or disturbances (Figures 72 and 73). The strict use of a grid provided excellent horizontal and vertical data. Robbins recorded basic sketches in his field notebook, photo logs, and daily log and completed precise mapping of features, including elevations using a transit.[75] He chronicled the site as the excavations progressed, noting one day that he "located the remains of the foundation and the cellar and got their elevations."[76] The fieldwork at

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[73] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, p. 24; Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 6.

[74] Robbins, "John Alden - 1962," p. 1; "John Alden House, Supplemental Test Pits - June 17, 1962," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. The scaled plan provides detailed information on the plowzone soil type and depth, subsoil type, and artifacts recovered for each of the thirty tests.

[75] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," pp. 4-5, 8; Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 60-63; Roland W. Robbins, "John Alden Duxbury House Excavations, Sat., April 16, 1960," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Robbins learned surveying and drafting principally by observing and working with his colleague John Bradford at Saugus; he improved his skills while working with Hank Fridy at PMUM. Robbins had obtained his own transit-level by the Alden dig and performed all of the surveying himself.

[76] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 7.

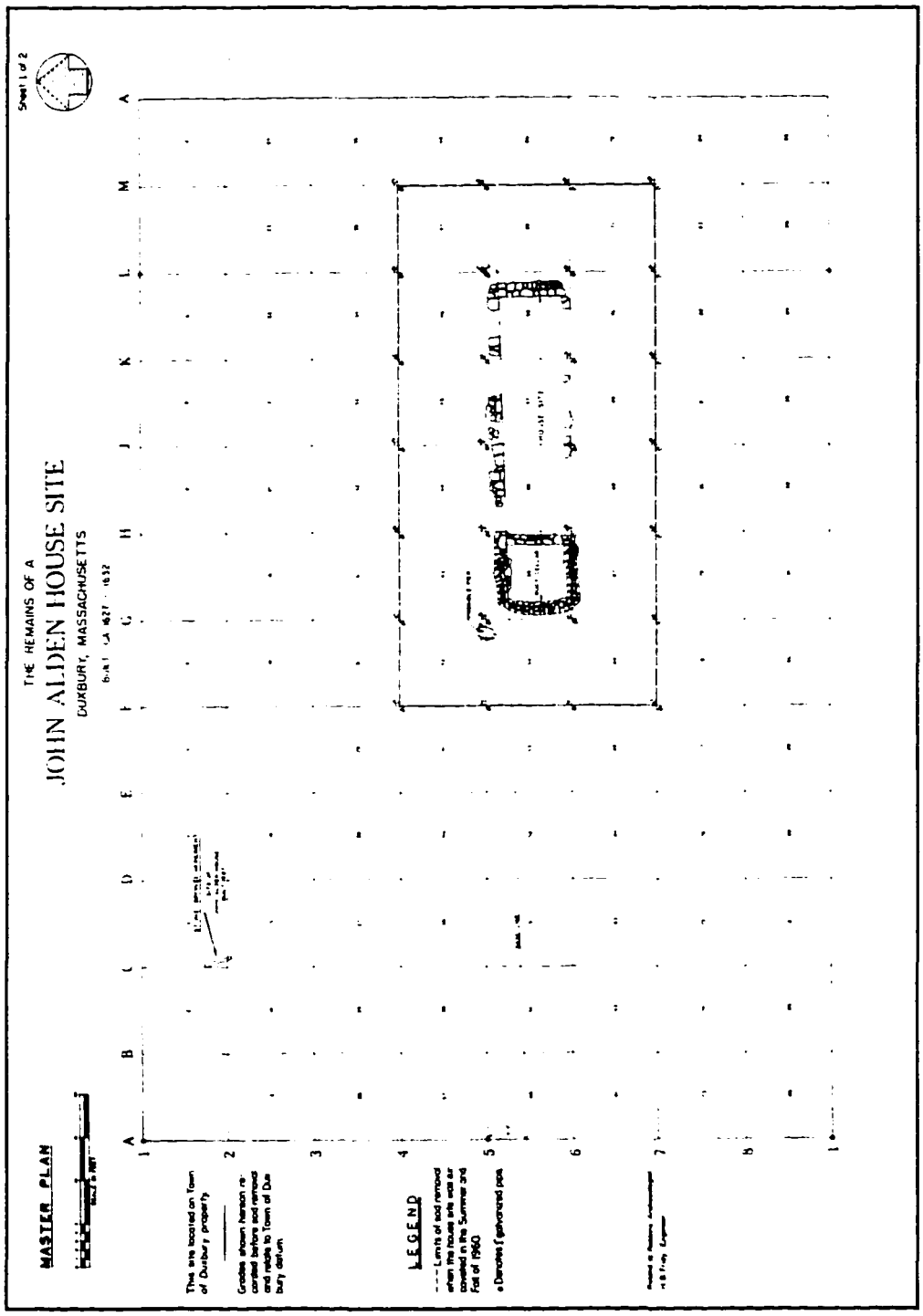

Figure 72. Plan of the Alden excavations showing project grid.

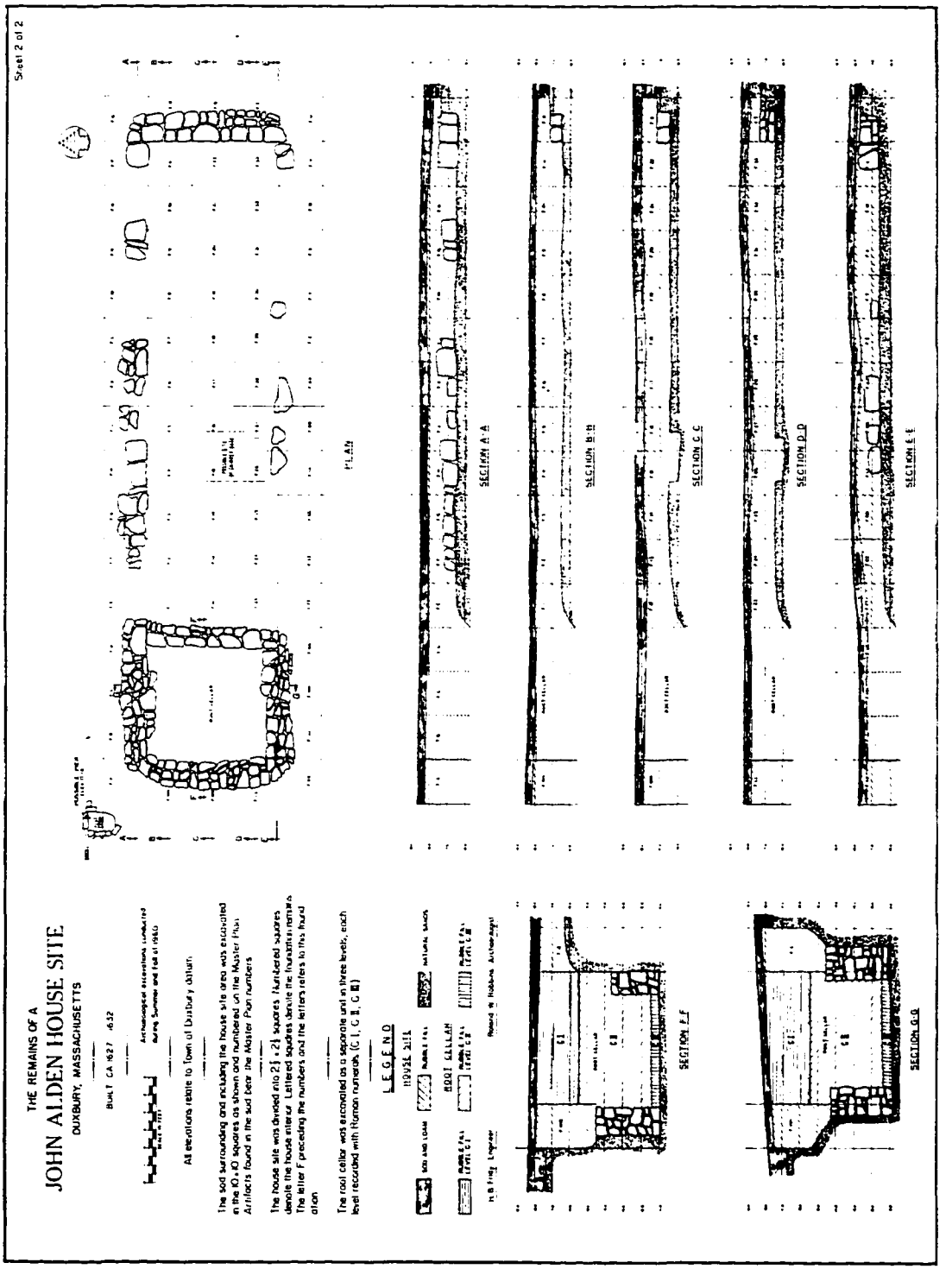

Figure 73. Detailed plan and profiles of the Alden excavations.

the Alden site was also meticulously documented with Robbins's black and white photographs and color slides.[77]

Soil removed from the "top soil" level (5-6 inches) of each 10-×-10-foot block was carefully hand-sorted and later screened as was soil from the smaller 2.5-foot units inside and outside the foundation.[78] Artifacts from the excavation were stored in the field bags with provenience information that provides specific horizontal and vertical locations.[79] The artifacts from the Alden House were analyzed much more systematically than at any of Robbins previous projects, and more thoroughly than at many restoration projects of the period. Robbins provided a complete discussion of the materials as well as an inventory and artifact table in his report, relying on artifacts for feature interpretation, dating, and site interpretation.[80]

Robbins again enlisted the help of several experts for artifact identification, including J. Paul Hudson at Jamestown, Ivor and Audrey Noël Hume at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Harold Peterson at the National Park Service in Washington, C. Malcolm Watkins at the Smithsonian, and Lura Watkins, a noted New England ceramics researcher.[81] These visits provided Robbins and McAlear

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[77] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," pp. 7-8.

[78] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, p. 24; Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," pp. 5, 7.

[79] Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," pp. 2-3.

[80] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 41-42, 50-55; "John Alden - 1963," p. 1. He also documented the diagnostic artifacts through close-up black-and-white photographs.

[81] Robbins, "John Alden - 1961," p. 1; Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," p. 1; Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 31, 33, 35.

with help in clearing up general identification problems and focused on specific diagnostic artifacts. Hudson wrote a brief summary of the artifacts by type, providing both overall impressions, specific identifications, and suggestions for additional study.[82] Working with these experts, Robbins completed a thorough analysis of diagnostic artifacts by class and type, using individual examples.[83]

Perhaps most important is his comparison of the Alden site artifacts with those from several contemporary sites: the Miles Standish home in Duxbury, Massachusetts, the John and Joseph Howland sites in Kingston, Massachusetts, and Jamestown, Virginia.[84] Of particular interest is a detailed analysis of the tobacco pipe stems using J. C. Harrington's dating method, and pipe bowls and marks using the work of researcher Adrian Oswald.[85] Robbins also combined the data from these

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[82] J. Paul Hudson to Roland W. Robbins, April 5, 1961, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[83] Robbins and McAlear labeled the diagnostic artifacts and those that were to be used for the exhibit with the provenience and then with a catalog number; i.e., C-II-17 designated a Charles I copper farthing recovered from Level II of the cellar. Each individually numbered artifact received a catalog card with a brief description of the artifact including references to identification by other experts, i.e., Paul Hudson, Ivor Noël Hume, or C. Malcolm Watkins, and crossmending information where applicable.

[84] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 36-39. Robbins used the original plan and artifacts from the 1856 excavation of the Standish House by James Hall, reports on the John Howland site by Sidney T. Strickland ("Excavations at Site of Home of Pilgrim John Howland, Rocky Nook;" *The Howlands in America*, Pilgrim John Howland Society Incorporated, pp. 26-30, compiled by William Howland, Detroit, 1939) and James Deetz ("The Howlands at Rocky Nook: An Archaeological and Historical Study," *Supplement to the Howland Quarterly* XXIV, no. 4 [1960]: 1-8), and a report on the Joseph Howland site by James Deetz ("Excavations at the Joseph Howland Site [C5], Rocky Nook, Kingston, Massachusetts, 1959: A Preliminary Report," *Supplement to the Howland Quarterly* XXIV, nos. 2-3 [1960]: 1-11). He also referenced John Cotter's *New Discoveries at Jamestown* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1957).

[85] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 36-39.

temporally related archaeological sites with research on several extant buildings and used the results in his interpretation of the John Alden site. He studied the nearby 1653 Alden House on several occasions during the project because of its obvious association with the earlier structure and the tradition that it contained all or part of the earlier house.[86] Robbins carefully examined the interior and exterior for clues to its origin and produced a measured floor plan of the building.[87] He considered the narrow width of the excavated Alden foundation problematic and used the 1653 house and the several contemporary archaeological sites for comparison.[88]

As with his previous projects, Robbins involved the public in the Alden dig through the use of volunteers, lectures, and exhibits. Volunteers from the Alden Kindred and local community assisted Robbins and McAlear in excavation, particularly with removing the plowzone layer and screening the excavated soils.[89]

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[86] Robbins, "John Alden - 1961," p. 2; Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," p. 4.

[87] Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," p. 4; Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 43, 48, 62.

[88] Robbins studied the plans and field notes from the 1856 James Hall excavation of the Miles Standish home in Duxbury, the excavations by Sidney Strickland (1939) and James Deetz (1960) at the John and Joseph Howland sites in Kingston, Massachusetts, and information on house sizes at Jamestown. Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," p. 8; Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," p. 5; Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 36-39. Robbins was able to obtain and study a copy of Sidney T. Strickland's "Excavations at Site of Home of Pilgrim John Howland, Rocky Nook," in *The Howlands in America*, compiled by William Howland, pp. 26-30, (Detroit: Pilgrim John Howland Society Incorporated, 1939). Hudson to Robbins, April 5, 1961, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[89] Robbins, "John Alden - 1960," pp. 4-6; Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, pp. 16-18. Massachusetts Historical Society archivist Peter Drummy remembered that he visited the site as a youngster growing up in Duxbury. The work fascinated him and he developed a lasting interest in historical archaeology, and is now working as a volunteer for a local excavation sponsored by Harvard University.

Robbins gave numerous local lectures on the Alden project and also quickly integrated his work at the Alden site into his regular lecture programs.[90] He also mounted a public exhibit on the dig in the 1653 Alden House, displaying many of the interesting and diagnostic artifacts along with maps and explanations of the work he had completed.[91] Later, Robbins loaned Alden materials, artifacts, and the report to Plimouth Plantation archaeologist James Deetz for a display on "early Pilgrim houses" at the annual Society for American Archaeology conference in 1965.[92]

The manuscript report, completed in 1964, is primarily descriptive with chapters on the excavations, including the survey to locate the foundation and complete excavation of the cellar and foundation, a short history of the site by Evan Jones, and an artifact analysis section. Robbins provided a preliminary interpretation of his findings that utilized the excavation results, artifacts, and his comparative studies of several other early house sites. To Robbins's credit, the report is illustrated with black-and-white photographs of the excavations and artifacts, and includes detailed plan and profile drawings of the excavations, a complete artifact inventory chart, and copies of selected field notes in the appendix.[93]

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[90] Robbins, "John Alden - 1961," p. 3; Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," p. 5.

[91] Robbins, "John Alden - 1963," p. 3.

[92] Robbins, "John Alden - 1965," pp. 4-5.

[93] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*. This manuscript report was edited and expanded in 1969 for publication by the Pilgrim Society.

Like his earlier Walden book, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress* is written in a conversational style and is organized chronologically.[94] It takes the reader through Robbins's approach to the problems and "controversies" encountered while investigating the site. However, unlike his earlier work and other reports of the period, Robbins provided a very thorough description of his work and its outcome. Reviewer Charles F. Hayes III wrote in *Historical Archaeology* that "the report is presented in a forthright descriptive manner with details of both artifactual and structural finds."[95] However, Hayes felt that the relationships "between artifacts and structural elements, though documented in charts, could have been coordinated to a greater degree in the text."[96] Robbins presented a preliminary interpretation of the findings in the report, but cautioned the reader that "the report is not intended to be the final word....It is a contribution to the repository of information...on the subject of the Pilgrims and where and how they lived."[97] Robbins's interpretation, particularly his reliance on comparative examples of temporally and architecturally similar sites, is certainly in keeping with, and perhaps exceeds, the standard types of analysis performed throughout the discipline from 1960-1964, particularly work within the restoration-preservation tradition.

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[94] Hayes, "Review of *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*," p. 115. Hayes called it "a somewhat personal account by one who has been involved in historical archaeology at several sites in eastern North America...."

[95] Hayes, "Review of *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*," p. 115.

[96] Hayes, "Review of *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*," p. 115.

[97] Robbins and Jones, *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*, p. 5.

The research-oriented archaeological excavations at the Alden site suffered from some of the problems that typically affected restoration projects of the period, the limited time and money available to complete the work. Hayes wrote in his review that

> the excavations were conducted under admittedly rushed conditions and with limited financial resources. With greater community support both this and other existing sites would benefit from an approach based on less overall pressure."[98]

Robbins initially lobbied for a full investigation with no "short-cuts," but proceeded with the initial investigation without a firm commitment to provide the time and money that he desired.[99] Although Hayes believed that the report would be an important reference and starting point "for anybody conducting future work in southern New England," it was, by its publication in 1969, dated.[100]

The decade of the 1960s witnessed the recognition of historical archaeology as a legitimate discipline within the larger fields of anthropology and archaeology. By the late 1960s, the discipline was slowly beginning to change as the particularlistic orientation of historical archaeology was questioned by scientifically minded archaeologists, who argued that "it is only by breaking free of the 'restoration preservationist movement' that historical archaeology can reach full maturity as an anthropological endeavor."[101] Although scores of new projects and publications

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[98] Hayes, "Review of *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*," p. 115.

[99] Robbins to Bailey, August 1, 1960.

[100] Hayes, "Review of *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress*," p. 115.

[101] Brown, "A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England," p. 15.

document the rise of this new specialty within the larger discipline of archaeology, the defining event of the period was the formation of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 1966. As it was for many emerging disciplines, the professional society played a key role for historical archaeology, establishing communication between practitioners, promoting national visibility through its new journal, enhancing the status of practitioners, and validating the discipline's pursuit of legitimacy.[102]

Although a complete summary of the changes in the discipline from 1960 to 1970 is beyond the scope of this work, a discussion of selected projects and trends will provide a context for understanding Robbins's work. Schuyler has noted that historical archaeology in the eastern United States during this period was marked by a continuation of restoration-preservation projects at both a local and regional level and within the East's many national monuments and parks. In 1965, for example, J. C. Harrington reopened his excavation at the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site on Roanoke Island when maintenance work turned up interesting fragments of brick and tiles. Searching for evidence of the settlement, Harrington "combined detailed historical research with laboratory analysis in an impressive bit of detective work."[103]

Harrington's *Archaeology and the Historical Society* (1965) is a fascinating example of his efforts to bring archaeology into more standard usage in history and to

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[102] Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, pp. 96, 303.

[103] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 138.

provide guidance to small museum organizations interested in pursuing archaeological research.[104] In the preface, he wrote that

> with the increasing interest...in the preservation and interpretation of historic sites and structures, historical societies are becoming more and more involved in historic sites archaeology. It is hoped that this manual will help societies and other historic organizations meet this growing responsibility.[105]

The book advises local historical societies engaged in restoration or preservation projects on "when to call on archaeology" and what to do "before the excavation starts," "during the dig," and "after the dig."[106] A central problem for the local historical society in the mid-1960s was to locate a qualified archaeologist. "It is not easy to dig up an archaeologist," Harrington wrote.

> One thing that nearly always comes as a surprise is to find that there are no freelance archaeologists. Unlike engineers and architects, it is harder to find an available archaeologist than a Chaucerian scholar.[107]

The few archaeologists interested in historic-sites research and available for consulting were housed almost exclusively within departments of anthropology and primarily devoted to teaching and to their own projects. By the late 1960s, several schools, including the University of Pennsylvania, offered limited training in historical

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[104] J. C. Harrington, *Archaeology and the Historical Society* (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1965).

[105] Harrington, *Archaeology and the Historical Society*, p. 4.

[106] Harrington, *Archaeology and the Historical Society*, p. 5.

[107] Harrington, *Archaeology and the Historical Society*, p. 35. This statement is interesting because Harrington was well aware of Robbins's archaeological "freelancing" and recommended him to several groups looking for help, including the Thomas Jefferson Birthplace Memorial Park Commission. It is unclear whether Harrington's opinion of Robbins and his work had changed over time, or more likely, whether he was simply generalizing about the lack of consultants at the national level.

archaeology within their departments of anthropology, and were increasingly called on to investigate historic sites as a result of federal and state preservation and antiquities legislation.[108]

Throughout the decade, excavations at larger private historic sites such as Williamsburg or Sturbridge Village expanded in scope. For example, archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume carried out extensive investigations at Williamsburg and performed laboratory analysis on the huge artifact assemblages that resulted.[109] Although none of these Williamsburg excavations was ever published in a site report format, Noël Hume produced a popular account of the Williamsburg excavations in 1963, and several brief artifact analyses and site summaries in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

His *Here Lies Virginia* is a popular presentation of his work at Williamsburg as well as that of other researchers at sites like Roanoke, Jamestown, or Green Springs.[110] Like much of Robbins's work, the writing style is popular and conversational, presenting Virginia's colonial past with a mixture of history, archaeology, and intrigue. For instance, Noël Hume wrote, "...because they are dangerous and dark, and were once believed to have been the homes of water spirits, wells still retain a curious popular fascination."[111] Noël Hume's booklets in the

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[108] Marley R. Brown III, personal communication, 1995.

[109] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 139.

[110] Noël Hume, *Here Lies Virginia.*

[111] Ivor Noël Hume, *The Wells of Williamsburg: Colonial Time Capsules* (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1969), p. 5.

Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series contain short, lively presentations on specific Williamsburg sites or artifact types.[112]

In the late 1960s, Noël Hume published two books on historical archaeology that have become classics in the discipline. *Historical Archaeology* (1968) is a field manual that "contains a wide range of useful suggestions, [but] is essentially aimed at amateur archaeologists."[113] Noël Hume's book was the first field manual to deal exclusively with historical archaeology; the last chapters of Robbins's *Hidden America*, "Dig-it-Yourself," "Underground Photography," and "Pipe Hunting, Potsherds, Arrowsheads, and Artifacts," are interesting precursors to this text. *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (1969) provided a much needed summary description of the material culture of the colonial period.[114] Using documentary sources, materials excavated from Williamsburg, and museum collections, Noël Hume presented identification and dating information on forty-three categories of artifacts found on Colonial-period sites.[115]

In the mid-1960s, Noël Hume also reported on several sites that he investigated in the Williamsburg area. From 1960 to 1961, he excavated several

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[112] Ivor Noël Hume, *Glass in Colonial Williamsburg's Archaeological Collections* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1969); *Pottery and Porcelain in Colonial Williamsburg's Archaeological Collections* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1969); *Williamsburg Cabinetmakers: The Archaeological Evidence* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1969); *James Geddy and Sons: Colonial Craftsmen* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1969); *The Wells of Williamsburg*.

[113] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 141; Noël Hume, *Historical Archaeology*.

[114] Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969).

[115] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*.

colonial foundations and refuse pits at Tutter's Neck, a parcel of land located adjacent to Williamsburg.[116] The excavation, or more aptly rescue project, identified two buildings, a main house and kitchen structure, dating to the first half of the eighteenth century. The project report, *Excavations at Tutter's Neck, James City County, Virginia*, provides a thorough discussion of the project background, an in-depth discussion of historical research on the parcel, explanation of the excavated features, and an illustrated presentation of the artifacts.[117] Noël Hume presented a great deal of data in the report, including a site plan and profile through one pit feature, but unlike Robbins's Alden report it does not contain a complete listing of the artifacts nor complete stratigraphic documentation for each feature. Although Hume's writing style is a bit more technical in this report than in *Here Lies Virginia*, his trademark conversational manner and detective story approach are clearly evident.

In 1962, Noël Hume investigated an early site along the York River at Clay Bank in Gloucester County.[118] The work included the excavation of a chimney foundation and cellar that contained an assemblage of late seventeenth-century artifacts. Using local volunteers, Noël Hume excavated several test trenches through the cellar feature and then opened a larger area.[119] "Each excavated area," he wrote, "was given an identifying letter and each stratum a number. Thus an artifact

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[116] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 139.

[117] Ivor Noël Hume, "Excavations at Tutter's Neck, James City County, Virginia," *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology* 53 (1966): 29-72.

[118] Ivor Noël Hume, "Excavations at Clay Bank, Gloucester County, Virginia," *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology* 52 (1966): 1-28.

[119] Noël Hume, "Excavations at Clay Bank," pp. 10-11.

marked 'B2' was found in the archaeological area that contained the chimney and was recovered from the top stratum of sandy loam and clay."[120]

Like his report on Tutter's Neck, *Excavations at Clay Bank in Gloucester County, Virginia, 1962-1963* presents the results of the excavation with a particular focus on the artifact assemblage.[121] The historical background is brief and drawn from secondary sources because the county's early records are nonexistent. The discussion of the excavation methods is also brief, but provides a good summary of the techniques used. Noël Hume listed all of the stratigraphic layers within the site, but did not illustrate the individual unit profiles.[122] The artifact discussion is the most detailed section of the report, providing descriptions, drawings, and photographs of the materials. The cellar excavation was important, Noël Hume summarized, because it provided "a valuable group of closely dated artifacts."[123]

Several years later, Noël Hume joined forces with Smithsonian curator C. Malcolm Watkins, one of Robbins's early associates, to investigate stoneware and earthenware pottery that had been turning up on Virginia sites, particularly in the Williamsburg and Yorktown areas.[124] Although this project did not entail any traditional excavations, Hume and Watkins dug through the early documents and sifted through local ceramic collections. Their work resulted in a joint publication,

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[120] Noël Hume, "Excavations at Clay Bank," p. 11.

[121] Noël Hume, "Excavations at Clay Bank."

[122] Noël Hume, "Excavations at Clay Bank," pp. 11-12.

[123] Noël Hume, "Excavations at Clay Bank," p. 14.

[124] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 140.

The "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, that utilized historical and artifactual research for developing a site context, and "clearly demonstrated that a major local industry ...operated in Virginia from ca. 1720 to 1745."[125]

Noël Hume and Watkins's thesis was confirmed in 1967 with the accidental discovery of a waster dump that was part of the William Rogers pottery factory.[126] In what is an excellent example of the increasing research orientation of the discipline by end of the decade and a demonstration of the advances in field techniques, archaeologist Norman Barka of the College of William and Mary began a decade-long study of the site in 1970.[127] He quickly identified the kiln complex and completely excavated the feature using extremely precise field techniques. Each of the parts of the kiln was removed as a separate feature and the layers within each were removed individually. Within the firebox, Barka noted, "nineteen strata could be discerned on the basis of color, texture, and content."[128] Barka's preliminary report provides detailed descriptive data on the excavation of the kiln and an initial summary of the

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[125] C. Malcolm Watkins and Ivor Noël Hume, "The 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown," *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology* 54(1967):73-112.

[126] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 141.

[127] Norman F. Barka, "The Kiln and Ceramics of the 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown: A Preliminary Report," in *Ceramics in America*, ed. Ian M.G. Quimby, pp. 291-318 (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1973). Barka worked under contract with the National Park Service.

[128] Barka, "The Kiln and Ceramics of the 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown," p. 298.

types of ceramic ware produced at the site, complete with detailed descriptions, measurements, and profile drawings of each of the basic forms.[129]

While work in the Northeast generally continued in the restoration tradition, new trends were in evidence between 1960 and 1970.[130] Although academic archaeologists continued to work under contract at historic sites, "they also initiated similar projects as a major focus of their own research."[131] For instance, archaeologists James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen began an important study of gravestones in 1963. Dethlefsen had noticed that the early gravestones in Massachusetts "showed a succession of distinctive styles that seemed to be closely tied down chronologically."[132] The study, the first historical archaeology project funded by the National Science Foundation, dealt with making archaeological inferences with a tightly controlled body of data, looking at stylistic evolution, and testing the assumptions of archaeological seriation using precisely dated historic materials.[133] Deetz also continued analytical work on previously excavated sites in the vicinity of Plimouth Plantation. In his study of ceramics recovered at these sites, which dated from 1635 to 1830, he argued that they reflected the development of three successive

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[129] Barka, "The Kiln and Ceramics of the 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown;" Norman F. Barka, Edward Ayres, and Christine Sheridan, *The "Poor Potter" of Yorktown: A Study of a Colonial Pottery Factory*, Yorktown Research Series no. 5, (Williamsburg, Va.: College of William and Mary, Department of Anthropology, 1984).

[130] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 141.

[131] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 142.

[132] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 142.

[133] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 142-143.

and different cultural systems that he called Stuart Yeoman, Anglo-American, and Georgian.[134]

Apparently unaware of Roland W. Robbins's previous work at the Saugus Iron Works, Dover Iron Works, Winthrop Blast Furnace, or Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, or perhaps unwilling to credit it as legitimate, Schuyler reports that industrial sites also "drew attention, for the first time, between 1960 and 1970."[135] University of Pennsylvania archaeologist Vincent P. Foley's work at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Schuyler argued, presents an excellent example of the increasingly anthropological focus of industrial projects during this period. Beginning in 1964, Foley excavated the tannery and waterworks of this eighteenth-century Moravian settlement for Historic Bethlehem, a local preservation group.[136] Although primarily a restoration project within the older tradition, Schuyler notes that Foley focused "not only on the processes of industrialization but also many social and cultural problems."[137]

Daniel Ingersoll's investigation of Puddle Dock at Strawbery Banke, Inc., in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was largely free of the restoration influence. Ingersoll carried out a carefully controlled excavation of one small section of the dock area in

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[134] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 143; James Deetz, "Ceramics from Plymouth, 1635-1835," in *Ceramics in America*, ed. Ian M.C. Quimby, pp. 15-40 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1973).

[135] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 143.

[136] Robbins completed several small test excavations at the Brothers House in 1958-1959 for Historic Bethlehem, Inc.

[137] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 144.

1968, across from the area tested by Roland W. Robbins in 1966.[138] The project, supported by the National Science Foundation, formed the basis for Ingersoll's doctoral dissertation, *Settlement Archaeology at Puddle Dock.*[139] Schuyler notes that some early nineteenth-century structural remains were found, but most "of the strata that contained artifacts were late 19th to early 20th century in date."[140] Ingersoll's excavation techniques were very precise, with excellent stratigraphic control. During the first season he produced a detailed cross-section of the waterway and its fill, and in the second season, tested a bulkhead or wharf found at the end of the preceding year's work. Horizontal control was maintained using a 5-foot grid system. Excavation proceeded vertically, dividing layers using visible natural soil strata and designating cultural features. "To determine stratigraphy," Ingersoll noted, "squares were excavated just peripheral to the master sequence squares."[141] Ingersoll provided excellent descriptions of stratigraphy, dating, and features, and focused a great deal of attention on the artifact analysis. According to Schuyler, the dissertation provides a "basic source on 19th-century material culture and its transformation under industrialization."[142]

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[138] Schuyler briefly mentioned Robbins's work at Strawbery Banke and described him as a "famous amateur archaeologist."

[139] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 145.

[140] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 145.

[141] Daniel W. Ingersoll, Jr. *Settlement Archaeology at Puddle Dock* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1971), pp. 15-16.

[142] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 145-146.

A pattern of research that mixed traditional restoration work with anthropologically oriented research projects can also be seen in the Midwest during this period.[143] Between 1960 and 1965, Jacob L. Grimm, a self-trained archaeologist, carried out major excavations within Fort Ligonier, "outlining its major internal features and the palisade."[144] Working outside the fort, Grimm uncovered a filled stream bed with large quantities of well-preserved colonial refuse. Grimm's report presents a detailed artifact description, but provides little analysis or interpretation of the cultural context. Schuyler notes that "the excavator's lack of an anthropological background determined that the monograph would be limited to description," presuming that only training as an anthropologist would yield a legitimate outcome.[145]

Another midwestern project, Arnold Pilling's work in the city of Detroit, provides a contrast to Grimm's work in Pennsylvania. His work between 1959 and 1967 focused on nineteenth-century Detroit, including the sites of British Fort Lernoult and Fort Pontchartrain and "resulted in one of the first examples of 'urban archaeology'" in America.[146] The work at Fort Pontchartrain identified an undisturbed "importer's dump," used between 1827 and 1830. Pilling's report provided the "first adequate description of such material in an archaeological context

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[143] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 146.

[144] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 147.

[145] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 147-148.

[146] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 148.

in America."[147] Likewise, David S. Brose's work at a dump site associated with Fort Mackinac in northern Michigan is another project that took a more anthropological approach to analysis and interpretation of artifacts. In his 1967 report, *The Custer Road Dump Site: An Exercise in Victorian Archaeology*, Brose presented a full description of the artifacts and then applied this data to questions of cultural patterning such as diet, social structure, and the impact of industrialization.[148]

Work in the southeastern United States continued largely in the older restoration tradition and focused on military and Spanish settlement sites.[149] The 1960 excavation of what was reported to be the oldest domestic house site in St. Augustine by a group of anthropologists, including John Griffin, was firmly within the restoration tradition. Sponsored by the St. Augustine Historical Society, the project marked the growing involvement of anthropologists in historical archaeology in the southeast.[150] However, the report was entirely descriptive and gave little attention to the artifact assemblage. Like Robbins, the authors reported that they "would not attempt to give a full report of the artifacts recovered. It will only concern

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[147] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 149; Arnold R. Pilling, "Skyscraper Archaeologist: The Urban Archaeologist in Detroit," *Detroit Historical Society Bulletin* 23, no. 8 (1967): 4-8; "Nineteenth Century Glazed Ceramics in Michigan and Elsewhere, Part I," *Coffinberry New Bulletin* 14, no. 5 (1967): 49-56; "Nineteenth Century Glazed Ceramics in Michigan and Elsewhere, Part II," *Coffinberry New Bulletin* 14, no. 6 (1967): 60-70.

[148] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 149; David S. Brose, "The Custer Road Dump Site: An Exercise in Victorian Archaeology," *The Michigan Archaeologist* 13, no. 2 (1967): 37-128.

[149] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 151.

[150] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 152.

itself with the ceramics, which are of distinct aid in dating, and a few other items which indicate something of construction."[151]

Schuyler points to Stanley South's work at Brunswick Town as an important example of the integration of anthropological research with reconstruction. In 1958, South became the staff archaeologist at Brunswick Town State Historic Site, an English settlement in coastal North Carolina that was occupied from 1726 to 1775. Largely undisturbed by later development, the site was selected for a "total Williamsburg style restoration."[152] A professional photographer with a master's degree in anthropology, South focused on the Brunswick Town site with research interests and goals that were much broader than the specific needs for restoration. South wrote that

> interpreting this ruin has proved to be an excellent example of the type of research the historic site archaeologist often finds himself involved in when he makes an interesting discovery. So often the traditional research into written references produces little which has bearing on the problem at hand, and the archaeologist must resort to archaeological techniques of analysis for interpreting the data, or to common sense interpretation, or, as with the smokehouse, the help of various people in distant places to complete the interpretation. Regardless of the varying sources he may utilize, the archaeologist has the responsibility, not only of properly recovering the data from the ground, but analyzing and interpreting it to its fullest meaning within the context of the culture he is studying.[153]

South, a skilled field technician, was very meticulous in his excavations, carefully screening and proveniencing the artifacts. This meticulous spatial control of the

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[151] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 152.

[152] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 153.

[153] Stanley South, 1964, quoted in Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 154.

material allowed him to use the artifacts in new ways: for example, to identify room functions within a building and to compare functional attributes between structures and even sites. In the late 1960s, South used his interest in artifacts as sources of cultural and chronological data and the comparative collections from many sites to develop a site dating formula, or mean ceramic date, that was "based on the comparative frequency of various pottery types in relation to known manufacture dates."[154]

The period from 1960 to the early 1970s was one of change and reorientation within historical archaeology. The number of practitioners grew from an unorganized handful of individuals in 1960 to a fledgling subdiscipline boasting more than 400 members by 1970. During this period, more and more individuals were working within departments of anthropology, resulting in a "fairly complete anthropologization of historic-sites archaeology" by 1970.[155] "The reason for this growth is clear," Schuyler explains, "as interest in historic sites grew and recognition of the contribution archaeology could make also grew, government and private agencies had to turn to anthropologists as they constituted almost the only source for new historic-sites archaeologists."[156] The movement to link historical archaeology with anthropology on both theoretical and technical levels was underway, but according to Schuyler, "most archaeologists working on historic sites could be anthropologists and

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[154] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 156.

[155] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 181.

[156] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 181.

yet not truly historical archaeologists."[157] Contracting for short-term historic sites projects committed to restoration and preservation goals, "allowed anthropologists to be very non-anthropological about digging historic sites; they acted like and indeed were technicians serving other, especially restoration, interest[s]."[158]

The establishment of historical archaeology as a separate discipline or sub-discipline did not occur until the formal organization of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 1967. Although an anthropological orientation had been established by the early 1970s, the long association between the field and the restoration-preservation movement was still very evident and in some areas, particularly the Northeast, continued to dominate the scene.

The increasing anthropological and scientific orientation brought many changes to the practice of historical archaeology. The new scientific approach to archaeology introduced in the early 1960s can be said to have masked the subjective nature of much research by presenting empirical data as indisputable "facts." These results reinforced the notion that scientific archaeology, practiced and perhaps exclusively understood by trained professionals, was the only correct technique for studying the material past. Robbins's methodological approach to excavation and his active campaign for public involvement in archaeology conflicted with that of academics primarily concerned with professionalizing their discipline. Archaeologist Christopher Tilley has criticized his colleagues for this approach, stating that "asserting professionalism, establishing codes of ethics, talking about responsibilities, promoting

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[157] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 182.

[158] Schuyler, *Anthropological Perspectives*, p. 182.

science, and so on, do nothing to lessen public alienation from the past. In fact, they only exacerbate the situation."[159] Robbins personally witnessed this public alienation and became troubled by the way in which academic archaeologists considered the past, at least the buried past, to be their exclusive territory.

The academic community's establishment of formal professional standards beginning in the mid-1960s slowly resulted in restricted access to the discipline. Robbins found himself increasingly excluded by the middle class academicians; he did not fulfill the norms of their world. These professionals were repulsed by his excavation techniques, populist approach to the discipline, crass business techniques, and origins as a manual laborer. Robbins's class origins and work history as a manual laborer were antithetical to this group who prided themselves on working with their minds, not their hands. Robbins was too quick to jump into the excavation with the "workmen" and wield a shovel; as Floyd Johnson remembered, "he just went in there and worked as hard as any of the people that we hired to do the digging."[160] Robbins's standing and self-promotion as the "Pick and Shovel Historian," a commonsense Yankee working man, lowered his status in the eyes of his more polished academic rivals. He reacted to his exclusion in a number of ways, particularly by intensifying his identification with Henry D. Thoreau. Robbins's career, after all, was also a personal pursuit devoted to maintaining both a livelihood and a respectable place in the community. In this way, he saw his quest for a

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[159] Christopher Tilley, "Archaeology as Socio-political Action in the Present," In *Critical Traditions in Contemporary Archaeology*, ed. Valerie Pinsky and Alison Wylie, pp. 104-116 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 107.

[160] Floyd Johnson, personal communication, 1995.

legitimate place in society as like that of Thoreau, who struggled to find a suitable means of living within his world. Thoreau's extreme individualism and self-reliance was attractive to Robbins, and he both benefited and suffered by it.[161]

In a general sense, the postwar era was an age of anxiety, Kammen notes, one that caused people to "think wistfully about individualism, self-reliance, and other verities associated with the colonial period and the early republic."[162] The postwar period also witnessed a heightened desire on the part of Americans for membership in the growing middle class.[163] However, "the fear of falling," wrote Bledstein, "knawed away at every climber, and this fear--ubiquitous in the middle class--was often the source of a general anxiety within individuals which no amount of monetary security, public honors, or personal confidence seemed to eliminate."[164] Robbins's personal anxieties over and struggles for middle-class status and economic independence that took root in the depression, and his snubbing by the upper middle-class academic establishment compelled him to reject the professional "community of the competent" and embrace a philosophy of individualism, one that grew stronger throughout his life. "The middle-class person," argued Bledstein, "was not merely self-reliant, he was absorbed in his own egotism."[165] *Hidden America* co-author Evan Jones characterized Robbins as a "terrible individualist--terrible in the other

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[161] Robert Dickens, *Thoreau: The Complete Individualist* (New York: Exposition Press, 1974.

[162] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, p. 537.

[163] Hatch, "Introduction," pp. 4-5.

[164] Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, p. 106.

[165] Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, p. 27.

sense. Robbie just didn't care about what other people were doing. I don't mean that he was insensitive or rude. He just wanted to do his thing and follow his interests."[166] His individualistic approach and lack of formal education helped him to focus extraordinary energy on investigating historic sites. He was unhindered by the conventions and constraints of formal education, and also by what people thought: "It may have made him better because he was not hung up on all the extraneous problems that we [professionals] often are...."[167] Yet even Robbins sought to professionalize, writing in 1964 that, "I am developing a new and more serious format for my talks, and they go over much better!"[168]

In his eulogy of Robbins, friend Thomas Blanding noted Robbins's intense interest in Thoreau and their kindred spirit:

> I think that Roland not only enjoyed Thoreau, and admired him, but believed him--and believed in him. They both had the courage of their convictions, besides many other traits in common....They were Yankees through and through--their characters grew out of that tradition....[169]

Robbins found many things about Thoreau appealing. Quick to pick up on Thoreau's curiosity about the past, he borrowed a Thoreau quote for an early promotional flyer that states, "nothing so restores and humanizes antiquity and makes

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[166] Evan Jones, personal communication, 1992.

[167] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[168] Roland W. Robbins, "Lecture Folder - 1964," January 29, 1964. Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[169] Thomas Blanding, "Eulogy for Roland Wells Robbins," Read at Memorial Service, Trinitarian Congregational Church, Concord Massachusetts, March 21, 1987. Blanding is an independant Thoreau scholar.

it blithe as the discovery of some natural sympathy between it and the present."[170]

Robbins and Thoreau had much in common. For example, in "The Bean Fields," Thoreau noted his interest in past cultures:

> I disturbed the ashes of unchronicled nations who in primeval years lived under these heavens, and their small implements of war and hunting...and also bits of pottery and glass brought hither by the recent cultivators of the soil.[171]

In "Former Inhabitants," Thoreau was intrigued with the settlers of Walden Woods and the remains of their dwellings, and in a sense foretold the condition of his own cabin some 100 years later:

> Now only a dent in the earth marks the site of these dwellings, with buried cellar stones...some pitch pine or gnarled oak occupies what was the chimney nook, and a sweet-scented black-birch, perhaps waves where the door-stone was.[172]

Thoreau also had a decidedly negative view of higher education. After spending the day listening to Thoreau's negative comments about education and educational institutions, a visitor recalled that

> Emerson pleaded always for the college....This aroused the wrath of Thoreau, who would not allow any good to the college course....When the curriculum at Cambridge was alluded to, and Emerson casually remarked that most of the branches of learning were taught there,...Thoreau...replied "Yes indeed, all the branches and none of the roots."[173]

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[170] Henry David Thoreau, December 14, 1841, quoted in *The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau* ed. Bradford Torrey and Francis Allen (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), vol. 1, p. 294.

[171] Van Doren Stern, *The Annotated Walden*, p. 289.

[172] Van Doren Stern, *The Annotated Walden*, pp. 386-87.

[173] John Albee, 1852, quoted in Richardson, *Emerson: The Mind on Fire*, pp. 281-82.

Having been only moderately successful with his published writings, Thoreau entered the lecture circuit in the late 1840s, both promoting his work and helping to pay the bills.[174] Robbins also supplemented his income by lecturing, and, along with radio and television interviews, it acted to reinforce his self-esteem and establish his reputation as a historic-sites archaeologist. He was an accomplished lecturer, speaking to women's clubs, college audiences, school children, and corporate presidents. Between 1945 and 1980, he presented approximately 700 lectures to an estimated 75,000 people, who, it appears, found him an engaging and interesting speaker (Figure 74).[175]

Robbins's lecturing career began in 1945 with requests for him to speak about his discovery of the Thoreau cabin at Walden Pond. Quickly finding his voice for this type of public presentation, Robbins formalized his *Discovery at Walden* slide lecture, and prepared a brochure to advertise it to interested parties.[176] He wrote that the lecture was "a vivid, humorous, and entertaining account by a New England Yankee of his unusual experiences and the amazing coincidences that accompanied his work at Walden...."[177] Of this early lecture, Thoreau scholar Walter Harding wrote,

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[174] Walter Harding, *The Days of Henry Thoreau: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 142-43, 412-20.

[175] Roland W. Robbins, "Lecture Folders - 1945-1980," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. These figures are drawn from Robbins's meticulous lecture notes. Attendance figures are probably very accurate; family members and colleagues remember him taking regular head counts at lectures (Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995).

[176] Roland W. Robbins, *Discovery at Walden: A Lecture*, Brochure, ca. 1946, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[177] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden: A Lecture*.

Figure 74. Robbins lecturing in early 1950s (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

> You have admirably succeeded in walking that hair-line of satisfying the most meticulous scholar and at the same time using a human approach which will arouse the interest of the man in the street who knows no more about Thoreau than that he was a fixture in the annals of American literature."[178]

Robbins's presentation of the Walden excavation placed him within view of the area's historical and patriotic societies and museums. These individuals and groups were intrigued about the possibility of excavating historic properties and found Robbins's New England Yankee persona and confident demeanor attractive.

Robbins's success with his Walden presentation prompted him to prepare two additional lectures based on previous projects: his research on the Minute Man Statue in Concord and his rural poetry and verse of Vermont. With his work at the Saugus Iron Works in 1948, Robbins added another lecture and proclaimed himself a "Poet, Author, Photographer, and Lecturer of the New England Scene." Robbins began to advertise his lectures in *Yankee Magazine*, and quickly realized that lecturing could provide a significant income, particularly during periods when he was not actively digging. The excavations at Saugus, well publicized in the local and regional press, brought new demands for his lecturing skills. In his brochure to promote the Saugus lecture, "Uncovering the Ruins of American's First Iron Works," Robbins identified himself as a colonial archaeologist for the first time.

Robbins's lecturing decreased during his work on the five-year Saugus project.[179] With his resignation from Saugus, he resumed a busy lecture schedule that provided a primary source of income and publicized his availability for new

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[178] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden: A Lecture.*

[179] Robbins, "Lecture Folders - 1945-1980."

projects.[180] Although he used other formats to reach potential clients, his lecture contacts either directly or indirectly provided many job prospects. As the years passed, Robbins's lecture brochures became increasingly sophisticated, with new lecture offerings and testimonials from his satisfied sponsors and audiences (Figure 75). Following publication of the 1955 *Collier's Magazine* article "Pick and Shovel Historian," he began to designate himself as the "Pick and Shovel" historian. Searching for ways to expand his lecture business, Robbins also began to advertise his lectures in the publications and programs of civic organizations like the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs in 1954, and expanded direct advertisements in magazines like *Yankee*.[181] In 1955, he contacted several local lecture bureaus, including Redpath Lyceum, Flora Frame, Open Forum Speakers Bureau, and A.H. Handley Management of Boston, that marketed speakers to area clubs, businesses, and schools.[182] These agencies soon began distributing Robbins's publicity circulars throughout the New England region.[183]

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[180] Robbins, "Lecture Folders - 1945-1980." Robbins's fee for lectures, typically forty five- to sixty-minute programs, increased from $50 plus expenses early in his career to $150 plus expenses as he became more popular. Robbins gave scores of "complementary lectures" throughout his career. His widow Geraldine remarked that he "felt an obligation to do certain lectures...it was like giving [something] back" to the community (Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992).

[181] Roland W. Robbins to Mrs. Addison Simmons, January 28, 1954, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass; "Advertisement," *Yankee Magazine*, November 1962, p. 139.

[182] Robbins, "Lecture Folder - 1955." The Redpath Lyceum was founded in 1868 by James Redpath. Redpath had published some of Thoreau's early essays, and Emerson used the Redpath Lyceum Bureau to manage his bookings (Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, p. 81; Harding, *The Days of Henry Thoreau*, p. 422; Richardson, *The Mind on Fire*, pp. 418-19).

[183] A. H. Handley to Roland W. Robbins, March 8, 1955, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

ROLAND ROBBINS

Saugus Ironworks Restoration

Excavator

PILGRIM JOHN ALDEN'S HOME
Circa 1627
DUXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

SAUGUS IRONWORKS 1646
America's First Successful Ironworks
SAUGUS, MASS.

SLEEPY HOLLOW RESTORATIONS
Dutch trading post on the Hudson 1683
TARRYTOWN, N. Y.

COLONIAL CROWN POINT
1731-1783
LAKE CHAMPLAIN, N. Y.

SHADWELL 1737-1770
Birthplace of Thomas Jefferson
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

STERLING FURNACE
Producer of iron for the chain spanning the Hudson at West Point 1778-1783
TUXEDO, N.Y.

DUPONT'S EARLY POWDER ROLLING MILLS 1822-1824
WILMINGTON, DEL.

THOREAU'S WALDEN POND
CABIN SITE
1845-1847

Thoreau at Walden

The "Pick and Shovel" Historian

PRESENTS
HIS COLORFUL
AND ENTERTAINING
ILLUSTRATED LECTURES

Hidden America

Highlights of Robbins' most important digs and discoveries and restorations. You will be fascinated and excited as you review the unbelievable adventures that unearthed the ruins of America's early way of life.

The Road to Ruins and Restorations

More than 3 centuries of American Living. This is a special treat where the club sponsoring a Robbins' Lecture can choose the subjects which appeal to them most. The Road to Ruins and Restorations includes any three of the following subjects: Pilgrim John Alden's Home in Duxbury *circa* 1627; Thomas Jefferson's Birthplace; Thoreau's Cabin At Walden Pond; The 1646 Saugus Ironworks; The 1644 John Winthrop, Jr., Ironworks; Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills, a 17-18 century Dutch Settlement at Tarrytown, New York; Colonial Crown Point, Lake Champlain, New York; Sterling Furnace and DuPont's Early Mills.

Yankee Country

A rare treat of New England yarns and humor. Superb color scenes, including many illustrations of rural life through the four seasons of the year, also dramatic upside down reflections. And featuring the Strange Tale Of Human Hibernation In Vermont.

Co-Author of HIDDEN AMERICA, Roland Robbins is subject of countless articles in national magazines and newspapers. Has made many appearances on TV and Radio, before college audiences, at all types of clubs, historical societies, luncheons, dinners and conventions.

Robbins has been called back for lectures by the same organizations as many as four and five times — so great is his audience appeal.

Lecturer - Author - Photographer - Historian - Archaeologist

Figure 75. Robbins's promotional brochure, ca. 1962.

Robbins was very busy on the lecture circuit during the mid-1950s, but cut back during the five-year Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills project in North Tarrytown, New York.[184] With a demanding schedule and regular income, he could be much more selective in his appearances. As Robbins's career progressed, he was able to list an increasingly impressive resumé of excavated sites on his lecture brochures, and after 1959 draw on the success of his book *Hidden America*. Although he limited his speaking engagements while at Philipsburg Manor, Robbins began a long collaboration with the Ann Lewis Program Service of Rosyln, New York. Upon leaving Philipsburg Manor in 1962, Robbins immediately worked with the Lewis agency to increase his lecture bookings, receiving a listing in the 1962-1963 program guide for a lecture titled "Discovering America with Pick and Shovel."[185] Another brochure, *The "A" Book*, was targeted at school assembly programs. Robbins reported that these

> illustrated talks are tailor made for each school....Are your students studying American literature? They would want something on Thoreau. America's industrial development? There's a world of valuable material in Mr. Robbins's storehouse of facts and illustrations. Are they studying the cultures? He will talk about the Pilgrims, the Dutch. See the buried ruins of America's past being discovered and restored. See old history reborn and new history being made in these superior educational lectures.[186]

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[184] Robbins, "Lecture Folders - 1945-1980."

[185] Ann Lewis, "Annual Listing 1962-1963," Ann Lewis Program Service, Roslyn, New York, n.d.

[186] Ann Lewis, *The A Book* (Roslyn, N.Y.: Ann Lewis Program Service, n.d.); Roland W. Robbins to Ann Lewis Program Service, October 15, 1962, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

Lecturing benefited Robbins in several ways: it supplemented his income on a regular basis and was an excellent publicity vehicle to network with groups and organizations in search of a trained historic-sites archaeologist. As J. C. Harrington said in 1965, "it is harder to find an available [historical] archaeologist than a Chaucerian scholar."[187]

Approximately 246 (35.5%) of Robbins's lectures were sponsored by historical and patriotic societies, 348 (50.3%) by clubs and organizations, and 98 (14.2%) by schools and colleges (Figure 76).[188] The vast majority of these lectures came during periods between his major excavations. For instance, between the end of the Saugus project and the beginning of the Philipsburg Manor work, a span of four years (1953-1957), Robbins presented 120 (17.3%) lectures and earned approximately $4,600.00. In the five years after leaving Philipsburg Manor, a slower period for his consulting business, Robbins gave 223 lectures and collected approximately $12,500.00. Over the life of his career, he earned in excess of $33,000.00 from lecturing; the most productive was 1965 with 59 lectures that earned him $3,267.00.[189]

The benefits of Robbins's lecturing were far from his alone. Thousands of men, women, and children laughed and learned with Robbins, often getting their first introduction to historical archaeology. Robbins addressed a wide range of organizations from local clubs, schools, and historical societies to regional historical and archaeological conferences. For instance, he spoke on the Saugus Iron Works

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[187] Harrington, *Archeology and the Historical Society*, p. 35.

[188] Robbins, "Lecture Folders - 1945-1980."

[189] Robbins, "Lecture Folders - 1945-1980."

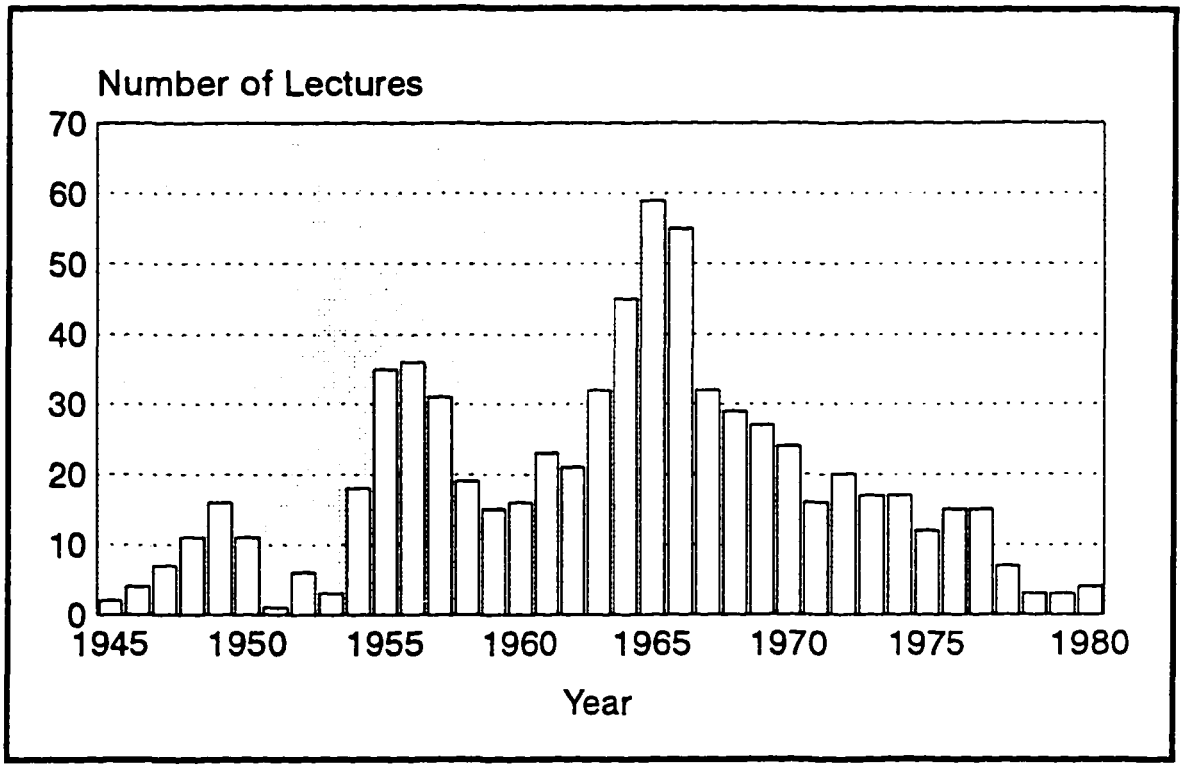

Figure 76. Number of Robbins's public lectures by year.

Restoration at the State Museum of New Jersey as part of their exhibit, *New Jersey Iron, 1674-1850*; on his work at the Philipsburg Manor site to a conference, *The Tradition of the American Home: The Influence of the Dutch*, at the New Jersey Historical Society; the *First Annual Meeting of the American Association of State and Local History* at Sturbridge Village; and the *Second and Third Annual Symposium on Historic Sites Archaeology* held at Bear Mountain Park, New York. Donald Smith, Director of the New York Museum Association, wrote that Robbins "tells an excellent story of the fascinating and painstaking job he has done in archaeology. His work is characterized by scholarly accuracy and a Yankee common-sense approach."[190] *Hidden America* co-author Evan Jones observed of one lecture that the audience was "with him all the time...it was very professional. He came across as a polished public speaker."[191]

The vast majority of Robbins's lectures were directly related to his excavations of historic sites, however, his *Yankee Country* lectures proved extremely popular with clubs and organizations.[192] This presentation was based on his rural Vermont poetry and verse, and billed as "an intimate, homespun blending of New England life and countryside into a colorful and humorous hour," and a "rare treat of New England yarns and humor."[193] The lectures were based around Robbins's scenic photography

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[190] Donald S. Smith to Roland W. Robbins, April 4, 1956, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[191] Evan Jones, personal communication, 1992.

[192] Robbins, "Lecture Folders - 1945-1980." Robbins gave 547 historic-sites lectures and 147 *Yankee County* lectures.

[193] Roland W. Robbins, "Lecture Brochures," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

from his many projects around New England and tailored to the audience, but it was his style and delivery that charmed and fascinated his audiences, whether they were from a small local club or large regional historical society. The president of the Camera Club of New York City wrote that "we had an unexpected treat in Roland Robbins's color slide show. He covered logically, wittily, and completely the rural life in New England."[194]

Despite his lecturing successes in both the public and professional spheres, Robbins was uncertain about his relationship with professional archaeologists from the very beginning. This uncertainty was often masked in his Thoreauvian attitude of individualism, stubbornness, and irascibility. Robbins wrote that

> I have probably come as close as any of my contemporaries to meeting and visiting with Henry David Thoreau in person. Maybe I did it the hard way. But then I did it my way. And by doing it my way I found a contentment suitable for my way of life.[195]

His initial success was due, in part, to both the youthful nature and the preservation orientation of historical archaeology. He had been, as he said, in the right place at the right time.

Although Robbins continued to excavate archaeological sites into the 1980s, his projects became smaller in scope and the demand less frequent. By 1964, he noted that "the last 3 years have been very poor in my professional business of historical research. If I had known 3 years ago what I know today, I would have turned to some

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[194] Roland W. Robbins, "Lecture Brochure," ca. 1960, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[195] Robbins, *Discovery at Walden*, p. 60.

other work."[196] Robbins's lack of success, however, did not stop him from continuing to pursue new projects. With archaeological opportunities sparse, he supported himself primarily by lecturing and increased his attention to Thoreau, becoming president of the Thoreau Society in 1964. He also tried several interesting entrepreneurial projects during this period, including the Thoreau-Walden Cabin kit, which only further alienated him from the academy. Borrowing once more from Thoreau, Robbins noted in the brochure that,

> if it is your wish to "live deliberately"--to make a place in your life to house your dreams, your privacy, or your own personal life style...then the Thoreau Walden-Cabin is your happy answer....[197]

"The Thoreau-Walden Cabin," he wrote to prospective buyers, "has its origins in the cabin built in the woods at Walden Pond by Henry David Thoreau in 1845. Rediscovered in 1945 and reconstructed by Roland Wells Robbins, the Cabin is now available to the discriminating buyer."[198] The kit included all of the wooden elements for the frame, plans, and instructions for assembly. The framing members were numbered and pre-jointed "for setting up the Cabin with maximum efficiency."[199] Robbins sold the complete frame unit and left the exterior siding, roofing, and interior finish to the individual (Figure 77).

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[196] Roland W. Robbins to Lucy Moran, Redpath Lyceum Bureau, December 17, 1964, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[197] Roland Wells Robbins, "The Thoreau-Walden Cabin" Brochure printed by House of Thoreau, Concord, Mass., Papers of Roland Wells Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[198] Robbins, "The Thoreau-Walden Cabin."

[199] Robbins, "The Thoreau-Walden Cabin."

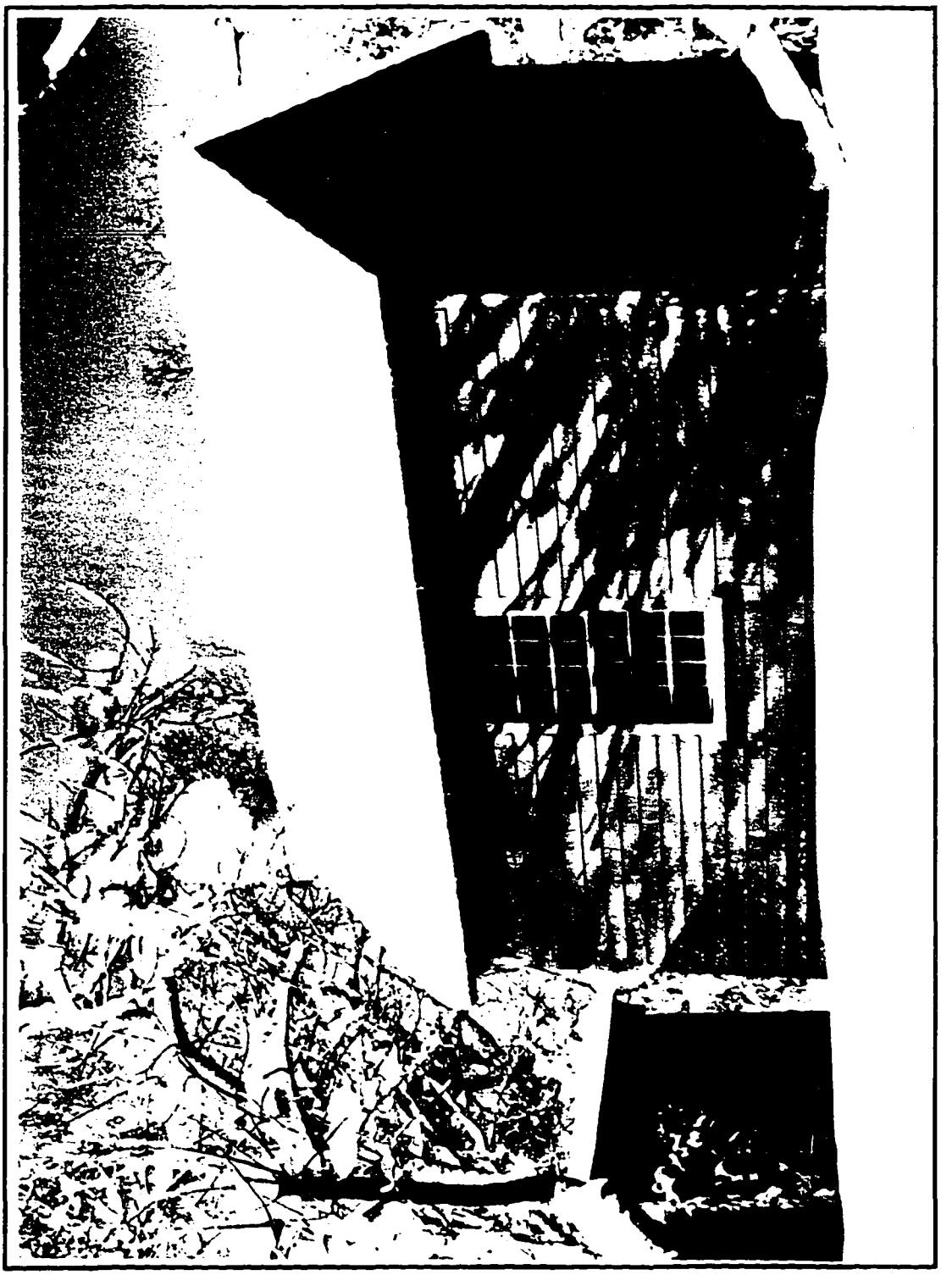

Figure 77. First Thoreau Walden Cabin located at Robbins's home (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

The idea for the kit grew out of suggestions from the many visitors to the first replica cabin that Robbins built in his backyard in 1964 (Figure 78).[200] During the late 1960s and 1970s, visitors were drawn to Robbins's replica cabin to worship Thoreau and spend the night in a reproduction of his forest home, and Robbins found that many of the pilgrims wanted a cabin of their own. He quickly prepared an informational brochure with pictures of his replica cabin and a site plan of the Walden Pond excavation site. Although he had many requests for information, Robbins sold few kits.[201]

While the press and public responded enthusiastically to the initial cabin kit idea in 1964, several academic members of the Thoreau Society thought it an "insipid, blatant, commercialized venture" and quipped that Robbins might also make "polyethylene Walden ponds for pseudo-rustics...and...sell small dashboard statues of Thoreau himself."[202] Although they derided his cabin kit venture, the academic

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[200] Robbins got the idea for the first replica from a visitor, who looked out the back window at the small stable in their yard and remarked, "Oh, you have built your own Walden Cabin out back" (Walter Harding, personal communication, 1992).

[201] Roland W. Robbins to Walter Harding, April 20, 1964, Papers of Walter Harding, Geneseo, N.Y. Robbins reported that he had received seventy-two inquires from an ad placed in *Yankee Magazine*. In 1980, Robbins renewed his cabin project, hoping that sales would boost his declining income and help provide for his retirement years. Although he received hundreds of inquiries from articles in *Country Living*, *The New York Times*, and *Yankee Magazine*, Robbins found that they did not turn into orders.

[202] Timothy Clemmer and Jack Troy to Walter Harding, June 19, 1964, Papers of Walter Harding, Geneseo, N.Y. Mrs. Robbins reported that Roland offered Troy and Clemmer an opportunity to discuss their feelings about the cabin replica at the Thoreau Society meeting, and asked that they reserve judgement until they saw the replica at his house. Troy came to the house and apologized for the letter and both he and Clemmer became close friends of Robbins. Troy invited Robbins to Juniata College to lecture in 1976, and visited Roland several days before he died. He left behind a moving hand-written eulogy (Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1994).

Figure 78. Robbins's backyard, office with Thoreau Cabin addition (right), stable (left), and original Thoreau Cabin (above office), fall 1984 (Photo by Barbara Darwin, courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

purists had welcomed his first cabin reproduction. Walter Harding remembered that "Roland offered it to visiting scholars and enthusiasts to sleep over...and I brought my National Endowment for the Humanities seminar students to the cabin replica each year."[203] It is ironic that as Robbins attempted to respond to his increasing exclusion from archaeology by identifying with Thoreau, he once again came into conflict with academics, this time those involved in professionalizing the Thoreau Society. Thomas Blanding identified with the irony, remarking:

> It almost seemed that you were describing through the example of Roland what many of us now feel is happening in the field of Thoreau studies, and maybe in some ways in the world in general, this polarity of intellectualism that looks down its nose at popularization, and visa-versa, the distrust of intellectualism by some.[204]

Blanding believed that Robbins's replica(s) allowed people to "experience this house that actually symbolized Thoreau--not just stepping into the house, but stepping into the symbol, stepping into Thoreau's life."[205] "For me," he reflected, "this came to overshadow any sense of commercialism in the venture."[206] Yet, if Robbins was commercializing his connection with Thoreau, he was little different from the professors of English who scorned him, professionals who secured tenure and a guaranteed living by virtue of their writing about Thoreau. Although the professors would say that they were pursuing literature and knowledge as ends in themselves, their competition for endowed chairs or distinguished professorships and negotiations

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[203] Walter Harding, personal communication, 1992.

[204] Thomas Blanding, personal communication, 1993.

[205] Thomas Blanding, personal communication, 1993.

[206] Thomas Blanding, personal communication, 1993.

for royalties and fees for editing and introducing Thoreau's work are themselves forms of exploitative self-interest.

The Walden Cabin enterprise was only one of Robbins's ventures during this period of slower archaeological consulting work. He also focused his attention on marketing his collection of Herbert Gleason's photographs. Beginning in 1899, Gleason visited and photographed national parks in the United States and Canada, as well as gardens and estates in the northeast. Gleason's deep interest in Thoreau began when he was commissioned by Houghton Mifflin Company to illustrate a 1906 volume of Thoreau's writings.[207] His enthusiasm for Thoreau continued after this project, and he took hundreds of photographs of "Thoreau country."[208]

Robbins first used the Gleason photographs of Walden while trying to document the cabin's original setting. At this time, the 5-×-7-inch glass plate negatives were owned by a photography studio in Boston. When the studio had to relocate, the owner offered the collection of over 6,000 negatives to Robbins for a reasonable sum. Aware of the importance of the collection, particularly the Thoreau-related material (over 1,200 negatives), Robbins purchased it and moved it to his Lincoln home in 1947. Mrs. Robbins recalled that her husband spent hours cataloging and organizing the collection whenever his consulting business was slow.[209] This work paid off in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the flourishing interest in Thoreau that grew out of the environmental movement. Robbins was very successful

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[207] Robbins, "On the Photographs of Herbert Wendell Gleason," p. ix.

[208] Robbins, "On the Photographs of Herbert Wendell Gleason," p. ix.

[209] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

at marketing the publication rights for the photographs to companies preparing new illustrated edition's of many of Thoreau's works.[210]

Although he maintained a busy schedule of lectures and special projects, such as the Gleason photographs and Walden Cabin kits, Robbins continued to work hard at unearthing new consulting work. In October of 1964, the nearby Lexington Historical Society inquired about studying the "possibility of locating the Hancock-Clarke House" in Lexington, Massachusetts.[211] Robbins was asked to prepare an estimate to identify and archaeologically excavate the original foundations of the building. The house had been moved from its original site just prior to the turn of the century, yet members of the Society "had different ideas as to where the house had once stood."[212] He visited the site in October 1964, and began limited tests in order to determine the viability of a full-scale dig.[213] Robbins completed several test holes, one that showed evidence of a deep (3.5 feet) loamy fill, and then set to work with his probe rod to locate the foundations. He quickly identified a stone foundation wall, located the southeast corner of the house foundation, and obtained stratigraphic information for preparing an estimate to dig the site.[214] Robbins noted that

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[210] Joseph J. Moldenhauer, ed., *The Illustrated Maine Woods* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); Thea Wheelwright, *Thoreau's Cape Cod: With the Early Photographs of Herbert W. Gleason* (Bare, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1971).

[211] Roland W. Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1964," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[212] Roland W. Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1964," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[213] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1964," p. 1.

[214] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1964," p. 1.

> because of the natural subsoils, which are within 8"-12" of the surface, it is apparent that the 18" to 23" of soils which cover the remains of the foundation that was uncovered are fill soils....The foundation was taken down below grade up to 2', and the area brought to the old grade with loamy soils.[215]

Aware of the Society's extremely limited funds, Robbins prepared an estimate of $2,990.00, including "all the labor and the mechanical equipment for the project, the tools used, a set of before and after photographs of the site, and preparation of a final report...."[216] The Society was to provide labor to screen the soil and curate the artifacts from the dig. Robbins ended the proposal letter by explaining the fee:

> Normally the cost of excavating a 17th century, or Colonial period site, would involve several times this expenditure. But because the Hancock-Clark house was not moved from its original site until nearly the 20th century, the soils that now fill the cellars and cover the foundations do not warrant the slow and expensive work of removal by gradation.[217]

Indecision within the Society as to whether to move the house or not, along with financial concerns, delayed the start of the project until the fall of 1965.[218] Robbins and the society signed a contract to begin the work on November 10, 1965,

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[215] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1964," p. 2.

[216] Roland W. Robbins to Ellison F. Beckwith, January 28, 1965, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.; Roland W. Robbins, "Notes on estimating dated 10/24/64, 1/22/65, and 1/28/65," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Robbins used the limited field information gathered in the fall of 1964 along with dimensions of the house to calculate the area and amount of material to be excavated. This data was compared to the size and cost of excavations at the Alden House in order to arrive at a price for the Hancock-Clarke project.

[217] Robbins to Beckwith, January 28, 1965.

[218] Roland W. Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., pp. 2-3.

and he immediately set to work.[219] He first contacted the town engineer to obtain survey monument data and then laid out stakes for his master grid plan and recorded the elevations across the site prior to excavation.[220] After relocating the previously identified foundation, Robbins stripped "the area of its loam, which averaged 6"-8" in depth," using a backhoe.[221] Over the next few days, Robbins and his crew began to "clean out the rubble and soils that filled the cellar" of the 1698 house (designated 6-F1 for grid Section 6, Foundation 1) with a backhoe and shovels (Figure 79).[222] Robbins recorded that "the bottom of the cellar was sand and gravel, over which was a layer of coal ash. The artifacts that were found were mostly of the late 19th-century period."[223] The plowzone overburden and fill removed from the cellar were separately stockpiled on the property for later screening.[224]

After completing the 1698 house cellar, the workers moved on to removing the fill from the adjacent 1734 house cellar.[225] A sump drain or dry well was identified along the west wall of the 1734 house cellar (designated 6-F2), and a possible brick

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[219] Agreement Between Roland Wells Robbins and Lexington Historical Society, November 10, 1965, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[220] Roland W. Robbins, "Hancock Clarke House, Master Grid, Surface Elevations Before Excavations," February 1966, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.; "Field Notes - Grades, November 15-16, 1965," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[221] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 4.

[222] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 4.

[223] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 4.

[224] Roland W. Robbins, "Location of Excavated Loam, Fill Soils, Stones, Brick, Tile Pipes and the Transplanted Bushes and Trees," February 1966, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[225] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 5.

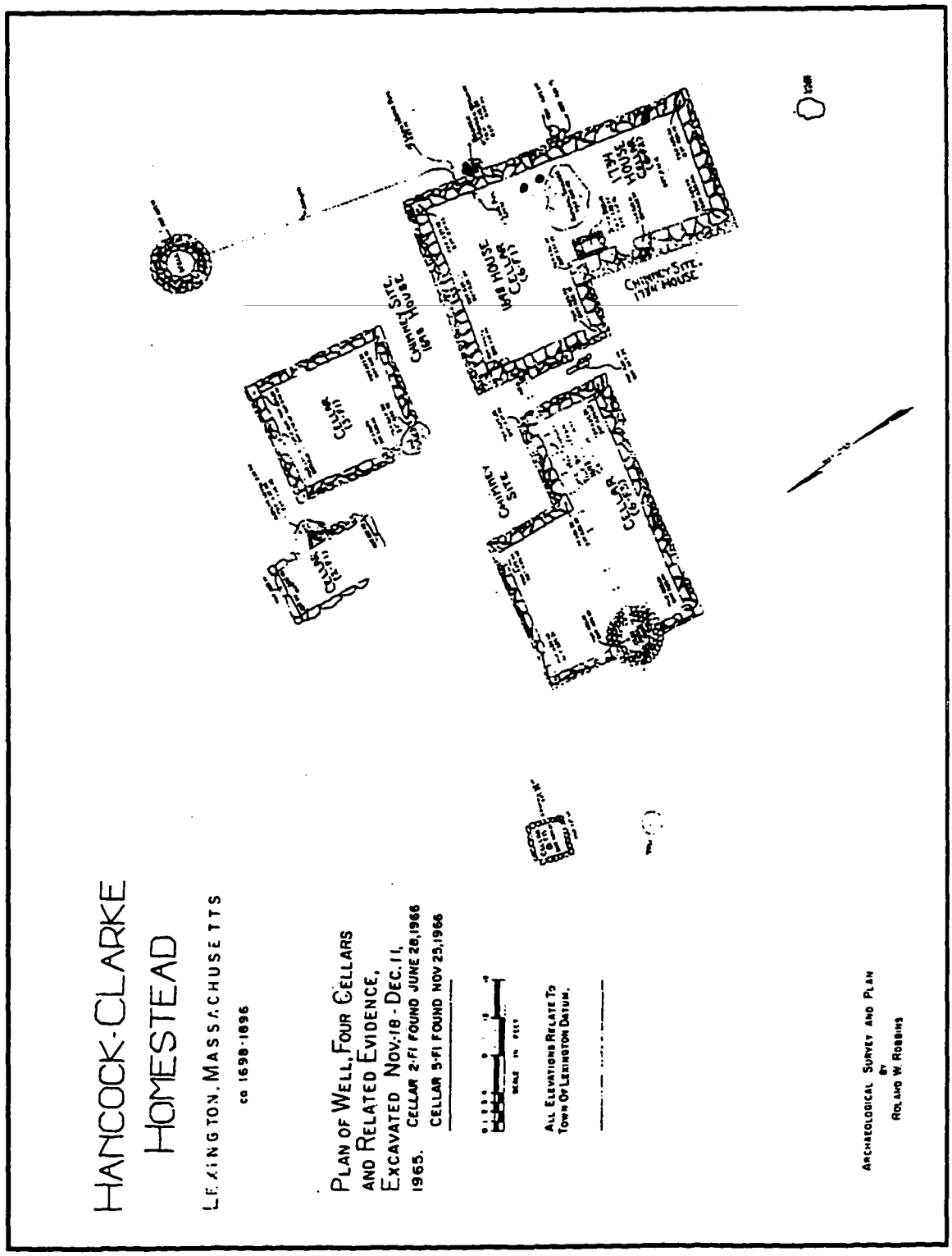

Figure 79. Plan of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead excavations, 1966.

chimney was found outside the west cellar wall. Robbins noted that the cellar was filled "with coal and coal ashes and contained bones, nails, a bone handled knife, a small bottle, glass etc. All of this stuff looked of the late 19th century...."[226] The materials from the 1734 cellar were placed in another pile for later screening.

Several days later, Robbins and crew located a well to the northeast of the cellars, and a third cellar foundation (designated 6-F3) several feet west of the 1698 cellar.[227] He noted that this cellar was apparently "older than the 1698 cellar, being dry laid and the artifacts being older than those yet found."[228] Excavation of this cellar was begun almost immediately; however, the well was not excavated. While working on the final excavations north of the 1698 cellar, Robbins located yet another cellar (designated 3-F1). This feature measured 13 × 16 feet, and the artifacts appeared to be exclusively eighteenth century.[229] The new cellar, Robbins hypothesized, "must have been associated with the 1698 house. It abuts the northerly side of the 1698 site. It quite likely is the cellar for the early house (1698), and was below a wing of the house."[230] Over the next week or so, Robbins and crew finished excavating these two newly discovered cellars. Excavations at the site were

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[226] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 5.

[227] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 6.

[228] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 6.

[229] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 7.

[230] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 7.

completed during the second week of December, and final measurements and drawings were finished on December 18, 1965.[231]

Throughout the month of January 1966, Robbins met with the committee members and volunteers to discuss the results of the investigations and begin processing the many artifacts recovered during excavation. The volunteers washed, labeled, photographed, and mended the artifacts recovered from the two early cellars (6-F3 and 3-F1).[232] Over the following month and a half, Robbins worked with the volunteers on the artifacts and in preparing the final site report that he delivered to the Society in mid-March.[233]

During April 1966, Robbins designed a dig-it-yourself screening area to finish sifting the cellar fill soils for artifacts. He also extended the grid (Section 4) behind the barn in order to test the area prior to using it for storing backdirt from the screening. Robbins, his crew, and volunteers worked on these 2-foot test units across the Section 4 grid over the next several months. In mid-April, the dig-it-yourself program was begun and volunteers from the community screened the remaining cellar fill soils for artifacts. Robbins noted that the program was a "tremendous success" (Figure 80).[234]

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[231] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," pp. 8-9.

[232] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1966," pp. 9-11.

[233] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1966," pp. 11-12.

[234] Roland W. Robbins, "Survey's at Hancock-Clarke Homestead - 1966," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass, p. 1.

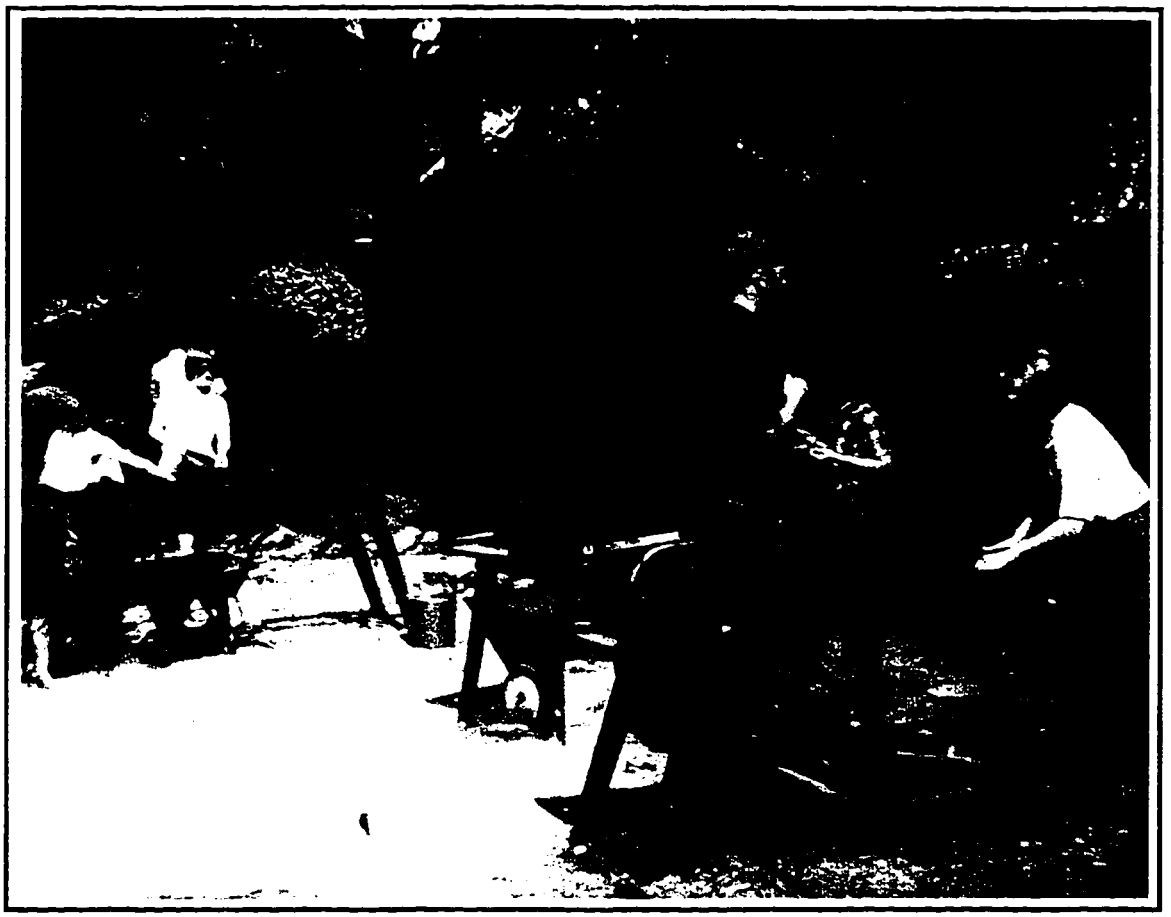

Figure 80. Dig-it-yourself volunteers sifting soil at Hancock-Clarke excavations, 1965 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

In June, Robbins renewed his excavations at the site, concentrating in Section 2, north and west of cellars 6-F3 and 3-F1.[235] Using his probe rod and several small test units, he identified another small stone-lined cellar (2-F1) several feet west of cellar 3-F1. The fill from this new cellar was removed using a backhoe and shovels, and Robbins plotted the feature.[236] Although the dig-it-yourself screening program continued throughout the summer, Robbins did not return to the excavations again until November. At this time, he checked the site planned for the new museum building, and probed in Section 5, west of cellar 6-F3. He quickly identified another stone-lined cellar that measured about 3 × 4 feet, approximately 12 feet west of the northwest corner of cellar 6-F3.[237] Robbins hand-excavated the cellar the next day, and noted that "it appears to have been a narrow cooling cellar...about 7½' in depth ....The fills were mostly clay-sand with stones. The few artifacts found were of a late 19th-century period, it would seem."[238]

In early December, Robbins discovered that the committee of the historical society was undecided about proceeding with any further work. He had been working without a formal agreement because his original contract had been completed in 1965. He believed that there was additional archaeological work to be done prior to development of the site; however, the committee did not want to proceed with any new work beyond removing the remaining soils, grading around several of the cellars,

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[235] Robbins, "Survey's at Hancock-Clarke Homestead - 1966," p. 1.

[236] Robbins, "Survey's at Hancock-Clarke Homestead - 1966," p. 1.

[237] Robbins, "Survey's at Hancock-Clarke Homestead - 1966," p. 2.

[238] Robbins, "Survey's at Hancock-Clarke Homestead - 1966," p. 2.

and some testing at the tentative site of the new museum building.[239] The soil removal and grading were completed within the first few days of December, and the testing for the site of the new museum was finished in mid-December.[240]

In 1969, members of the Society approached Robbins to investigate the well that he had identified in 1965. Hand excavation of the feature began on November 23, 1969, and Robbins noted that it

> had been filled with stones from the foundation of the house when it was moved across the street in 1896 it would appear, based on the concrete on some of the stones and some of the brick evidence removed from the fill in the well.[241]

The removal of the fill proceeded to a depth of 10.5 feet, where water was encountered. Several probe rod tests indicated that "at least another 4.5' of fill existed in the well below the water line."[242] A clamshell bucket rig was engaged to excavate the remainder of the well below the water level; however, the well's narrow 32- to 35-inch diameter proved troublesome. Robbins recorded that the "bucket brought up sand and 19th-century artifacts and pulled out the lead pipe....The artifacts from the bottom were late 19th century."[243]

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[239] Robbins, "Surveys at Hancock-Clarke Homestead - 1966," p. 3. The issue of recommending additional work exposed Robbins, as it does current cultural resource management archaeologists, to questions about self-interest and conflict of interest.

[240] Robbins, "Surveys at Hancock-Clarke Homestead - 1966," pp. 4-5; "Surveys at Hancock-Clarke Homestead - 1967," p. 1. In early 1967, Robbins revised the plan of the foundations to include the work completed during 1966, and prepared an updated Master Plan with the new preliminary survey data.

[241] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1969," p. 1.

[242] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1969," p. 1.

[243] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1969," p. 2. Following the completion of the excavation, Robbins prepared a plan of the well excavation.

Robbins's work at the Hancock-Clarke House demonstrates his approach to excavation, which valued foundations over artifacts, and it illustrates some of the problems inherent in working with small historical societies. Robbins's decisions about the excavations at the Hancock-Clarke House were initially influenced by the very specific goals of the Lexington Historical Society, related to locating and excavating the foundations in advance of moving the house back to its original site (Figure 81). An early example of historic preservation at the local level, the house had been purchased by the Society in 1896 and moved from its original location to a site across the street under the threat of demolition.

As with earlier projects, Robbins utilized documentary materials to develop a history of the house and property and to identify sources, such as pre-move photographs, that would be useful for interpreting the results of the excavation. He used secondary sources about the house and primary sources such as diaries and illustrations. Robbins approached the problem of locating and excavating the Hancock-Clarke House site in his usual meticulous way. He began with a judgmental survey to locate the foundations that combined digging test "holes," small trenches, and extensive use of his probe rod. The test holes allowed Robbins to assess the site's stratigraphy and guided his placement of larger test trenches. The larger units located portions of the foundation wall and guided the eventual stripping of the topsoil.[244]

Horizontal controls at the Hancock-Clark site were maintained using a grid, but vertical controls were generally lacking. After the initial survey and testing that identified the cellars, Robbins established a grid oriented to the property lines that

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[244] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1964," pp. 1-2.

Figure 81. Lexington Historical Society board members visit the Hancock-Clarke excavations (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

was divided into 120-×-80-foot sections, and further into 10-foot units.[245] Features, such as the cellars, identified during the excavation were recorded using the section number, and type and sequence of feature.[246] The features and test units were mapped within the grid based on triangulation from grid stakes.[247]

Vertical control of the soil sequence and artifacts was much less precise, Robbins explained, because the house had been moved and the cellar filled in the very late nineteenth century.[248] This had been confirmed in his mind by the initial testing of the property, which revealed "natural subsoils...within 8"-12" of the surface." It was apparent, he wrote, "that the 18" to 23" of soils which cover the remains of the foundation that was uncovered are fill soils....The foundation was taken down below grade up to 2', and the area brought to the old grade with loamy soils."[249] Robbins was convinced that the original foundations had been damaged and refilled during the 1896 move. Before excavation, he and his assistant took elevations of the pre-excavation ground surface using a transit.[250] The top soil, approximately 8 inches,

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[245] Roland W. Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead*, 1966, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., pp. 5-7; "Hancock-Clarke House, Master Grid, Surface Elevations Before Excavations," February 1966.

[246] 6-F1 represented Foundation 1 within Section 6

[247] Roland W. Robbins, Field Notes - 11/26/65, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[248] Robbins to Beckwith, January 28, 1965. Robbins's approach to the site was also clearly restricted by the project's limited budget.

[249] Roland W. Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1964," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 2.

[250] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead*, p. 7. All elevations were tied into the Town of Lexington datum.

was removed using a backhoe, and stockpiled for later screening. At this point, Robbins excavated the individual cellar features using a backhoe and shovels to remove the late nineteenth-century fill. The soils from the individual cellars were stockpiled for later screening; artifacts recovered during excavation were saved and provenienced by cellar number, i.e., 6-F1.

Robbins appears to have dug a test into each cellar prior to machine excavation to determine the depth, but no mention is made of assessing the stratigraphy. This is curious because in his earlier work at the Alden site Robbins excavated the cellar fill in arbitrary levels even though he thought that it was a single fill episode. The only vertical measurements recorded for the five cellars are the elevation of the ground surface, top of cellar wall, and floor of cellar. Removal of the 6- to 8-inch topsoil layer helped to segregate the modern disturbances and intrusions from the cellar fill; however, the use of a backhoe and lack of stratigraphic excavation limited the vertical control over artifact mixing between layers.

The plan drawings and field notes from the Hancock-Clarke House excavation provide basic information on soils, artifacts, and the location of features or disturbances. For instance, the field notes for the cellar excavations record the elevations of the ground surface, top of cellar wall, and floor of cellar, and discuss the types and dates of artifacts in a general way.[251] The use of a grid provided horizontal control for mapping; however, Robbins did not excavate by the grid boxes or units or use them to provenience the artifacts. He recorded basic sketches in his

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[251] Roland W. Robbins, "Field Notes - 12/13/66," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.; "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," pp. 4, 7.

field notes, photo logs, and daily log, and completed mapping of features including elevations using a transit.[252] Like all of Robbins's projects, the fieldwork at the Hancock-Clarke House was meticulously documented with Robbins's black-and-white and color photographs and color slides, and with a series of black-and-white images taken by professional photographer Robert Wild before and after the excavation (Figure 82).[253]

Soil removed from the "top soil" by the backhoe was hand-sorted and then piled for later screening by volunteer laborers. Soil from excavation of the cellars was also hand-sorted and screened. Artifacts from the excavation were stored in the field bags with provenience information that provided very general horizontal and vertical location: i.e., the grid section and cellar number. Volunteers washed, sorted, and catalogued the artifacts from the Hancock-Clarke House site.[254] Robbins provided very little artifactual information in his report for several reasons: he wrote the report while the artifact processing was still under way; neither he nor the Society expected to find many early artifacts because of the suspected late nineteenth-century filling of the cellars; his contract stated that the Lexington Historical Society would be responsible for the artifact work; and as was often typical of restoration projects, the

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[252] Roland W. Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke Homestead - Plan of Well, Four Cellars, and Related Evidence," November 18 - December 11, 1965. Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.; "Hancock-Clarke Homestead - Plan of Well, Four Cellars, and Related Evidence," November 18 - December 11, 1965, and June 28 and November 25, 1966, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass; Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," pp. 8-9.

[253] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead.*

[254] Although Robbins set up the system and worked with the group on some occasions, he was not regularly available for advice to supervise the work.

Figure 82. Final photograph of Hancock-Clarke house cellar excavations (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

artifacts were simply not as important as the foundations or "ruins." Although he did not complete an analysis of the materials, Robbins enlisted the help of several experts, including Paula Sampson Preston, registrar at Old Sturbridge Village, for initial identification and analysis of artifacts. These visits provided Robbins with a general sense of the identification and dates of the diagnostic artifacts.[255]

Like his previous projects, Robbins involved the public in the Hancock-Clarke House dig through the use of volunteer labor from the Lexington Historical Society and the community. An "artifact sub-committee" was formed by the Society, and engaged the help of 32 volunteers to sort and catalog the artifacts excavated during the fieldwork. This group then formed the core of the dig-it-yourself program, similar to the set-up at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills.[256] This program did not involve excavation or digging on the site as the name implies, but rather utilized volunteers to screen the backdirt fill that had been stored by provenience during the excavations. Three wooden screen sifters were set up, and the public was allowed to screen and

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[255] Archaeologist Vernon Baker was later employed to analyze the materials for the Society, and applied the ceramic collection to Stanley South's dating formula (Vernon G. Baker, "South's Ceramic Dating Formula: An Application and Addition," *The Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 8, no. 2 (1975):12-17. Several years later, archaeology student Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh used the Hancock-Clarke materials in a study of the nature of ideo-cultural variation and change in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Massachusetts Bay Colony (Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh, "Ideo-Cultural Variation and Change in Massachusetts Bay Colony," in *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*, vol. 11, ed. Stanley South, pp. 169-235. (Columbia: The Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Univeristy of South Carolina, 1976).

[256] Charles H. Cole, "Interim Report of the Artifacts Sub-Committee," n.d., Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

sort the dirt for an hour at a time.[257] At Hancock-Clarke, the participants were given a bucket to fill from the backdirt pile and a paper bag for the artifacts. The individual's name, address, date, and artifact provenience were printed on the bags and recorded by the registrars. Robbins's sentiments about the value of public involvement in archaeology emerge in his 1966 report:

> Community participation in this business of recovering our buried American heritage is one way that a person can personally come in contact with, and feel, the very past itself. I have advocated this policy for many years. And the Lexington Historical Society is making it really work.[258]

As mentioned above, Robbins went to work on the analysis of excavation results within several weeks of completing the fieldwork, and finished his manuscript report in 1966. The report is primarily descriptive and includes a brief review of the site history, a discussion of the master grid and datum, presentations on the excavation of the 1896 cellars, foundation, and well, description of cellars 6-F3 and 3-F1, a brief presentation on artifacts recovered from cellars 6-F3 and 3-F1, summary of the results, and recommendations for the site.[259] Robbins noted that the purpose of the short history of the site was to

> create a simple setting from which the excavation of the site can begin....there is no need of digging in the wrong place when one is seeking buried evidence of the past....and having available knowledge

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[257] Cole, "Interim Report of the Artifacts Sub-Committee," p. 1. The time was cut to fifteen minutes if lines developed. A training session was held for the volunteer supervisors who ran the screen area and those who registered the finds.

[258] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead*, p. 34.

[259] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead.*

> of the subject enhances considerably one's chances of knowing where and what to probe and dig for.[260]

Unlike the Alden report, the Hancock-Clarke report provides little specific excavation data for the cellars, particularly 6-F3 and 3-F1, regarding stratigraphy, horizontal and vertical relationships between features, and even about the features themselves. For instance, Robbins mentioned the location of several chimney bases outside the main cellars but provided no measurements or details about these features; nor do they appear on the master plans except as vague references. Similarly, Robbins recognized that the cesspool and pipe that cut cellar 6-F3 indicated that the cellar had been "filled in for many years before this drainage system was installed," but he did not attempt to date this intrusion or relate it to the 6-F1/6-F2 cellars where the pipe originated.[261]

The artifact discussion provides a cursory look at the materials recovered from the two newly discovered cellars, including a basic list of types and discussion of the ceramics based on an examination by several experts.[262] The preliminary conclusions of these experts was that the ceramics were all of a pre-1760 date. This finding was supported by Robbins's pipe stem and bowl dating as well as the identification and description of diagnostic wine bottle fragments.[263] However, unlike the Alden report, no artifact inventory is provided, nor does Robbins present

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[260] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead*, pp. 2-3.

[261] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead*, p. 20.

[262] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead*, pp. 22-24.

[263] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead*, p. 23.

data for the pipestem dating or photographs of the diagnostic artifacts.[264]

While the report is primarily descriptive, Robbins provides some thoughts on interpretation and interpretive questions raised by the work, including the sequence of buildings related to the cellars, and the relationship of the cellars to the 1698 and 1734 portions of the Hancock-Clarke House. However, the answer to many of these issues lay in the unexcavated areas around the foundations and in the artifact assemblages removed from the cellars. Although Robbins mentioned early in his report that the "house and its relation to Hancock Street was well documented with photographs and post cards," rather surprisingly, he does not present any of these images in the report or use them to settle on the configuration of the house as related to the excavated cellars.[265]

The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead is, like many of his earlier reports, written in a conversational style and organized chronologically. It takes the reader through Robbins's approach to the problems and "controversies" encountered while investigating the site. Typical of other restoration-oriented reports of the period, the Hancock-Clarke report is descriptive, with little attention to artifacts or site interpretation. Unlike the earlier Alden report, the

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[264] The lack of an inventory is not surprising in that Robbins completed his report before the volunteers had processed the entire artifact collection.

[265] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead*, p. 1. Historical researcher E. B. Worthen, Jr., provided suggestions to Robbins about the possible interpretation of the site based on his knowledge of the site history. Robbins mentioned in his daily log that he had trouble obtaining good copies of the historic photographs.

Hancock-Clarke report is almost exclusively conversational, containing very little specific data.[266]

Robbins's management of this project was typical of his arrangements with local historical societies and other associations. The project was controlled by a written agreement with the Society that detailed the expectations of both parties. For $2,990.00, Robbins was to excavate the original foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House "archaeologically in a careful and professional manner so that the excavation shall preserve all pertinent evidence dating before the twentieth century."[267] Robbins was to provide the labor, materials, tools and equipment, engineering, photography, insurance, and all other associated expenses, and prepare a final report. The soils were to be screened by the Society; however, no mention was made of cleaning and cataloging the excavated materials.

Robbins's records of the Hancock-Clarke excavation contain complete documentation of the business aspects of the project. These materials include daily records of backhoe operation, time logs for the laborers, itemized expense accounts with original receipts, and invoices to the Society. Robbins prepared a balance sheet for the project at the end of 1965 that lists expenditures of $1,378.40 for backhoe ($1,100.00), labor, and equipment and supplies, payments from the Society of $1,800.00, and a balance of $421.60. The balance sheet for 1966 indicates that Robbins paid himself out of the $1,190.00 that remained from the original contract

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[266] Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead.*

[267] "Agreement by and between the Lexington Historical Society and Roland Wells Robbins," dated November 10, 1965, signed by Ruth Morey and Roland Wells Robbins, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

funds. His 1966 gross income from the project was $1,445.00, including $255.00 in consulting fees for work after completion of the initial contract. After subtracting expenses of $248.74 for labor and materials, his net income was $1,196.26. Thus approximately 40% of the project cost went to Robbins's salary and 37% to the backhoe and operator.[268]

The restoration and contract-oriented nature of the Hancock-Clarke project influenced the archaeological research design, particularly in terms of the limited time and money available to Robbins to complete the work. Both the Lexington Historical Society and Robbins went into the project with the very specific goal of locating and excavating the cellars of the house that had been moved in 1896. The Society hoped to eventually relocate the house on its original site.[269] The discovery of the additional cellars (6-F3 and 3-F1) as unexpected and surprised both parties. Although Robbins felt that he had provided extra service by excavating the newly discovered cellars, he did not have adequate time or money to prepare for and execute the work. This resulted in the excavation of these newly discovered cellars (6-F3 and 3-F1) using the same techniques that he had determined adequate for the 1896 house site cellars (6-F1 and 6-F2). Although he reasoned that the new cellars had been

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[268] This ratio of salary to total cost is below the typical ratio for a labor-intensive business like archaeology (a typical ratio is ıpproximately 60%). The amount of Robbins's billable time invested was responsible for his salary/fee representing the largest salary/wage expense. Robbins's rate on this job was far less than his standard rate of $100/day ($100/day would result in only full twelve days on the project). His records indicate that he actually worked on the project approximately twenty-five days.

[269] The society voted to return the house to the original site in 1974.

abandoned and filled prior to the nineteenth century, Robbins did not excavate the fill in these cellars with stratigraphic controls.

Robbins was already working on arrangements for his next job while completing the Hancock-Clarke project, a situation that was typical for him and for consultants in general. In 1963, shortly after he completed a preliminary survey at the Governor John Wentworth Farm in Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, Robbins began corresponding with senior staff members at Strawbery Banke in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. During his work at the Wentworth Farm site, Robbins had heard of Strawbery Banke's upcoming restoration project and immediately sought to get involved.[270] While Strawbery Banke was not initially interested in archaeological research, this first contact led to a series of letters and meetings between Robbins and Strawbery Banke's executive vice-president, Carl A. Johnson. In correspondence exchanged over the next two years, Robbins recounted his experience in the field of historic-sites archaeology and provided copies of his books and reports from other sites as evidence of his qualifications and previous successes in the field.

In 1965, the museum's first season open to the public, Johnson wrote to Robbins that "we might be able to work together on some archaeological research in Strawbery Banke next year."[271] The museum, he explained, had been invited to participate in a joint research program, and "one aspect...will be archaeological

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[270] Roland W. Robbins to Dorothy M. Vaughan, February 12, 1963, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[271] Carl A. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, October 21, 1965, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

investigations of the compound, with emphasis on old Puddle Dock."[272] Robbins was delighted to get the news and wrote to Johnson that he had recalled a "tingling of excitement when you took me on a tour of Strawbery Banke in the summer of 1963."[273] Later that fall, Johnson wrote to Robbins that a "dig" in the "Puddle Dock" area would be undertaken in 1966, and requested a meeting to discuss the "possibilities for such an investigation."[274]

In December 1965, Robbins and Johnson, along with Professors Jones and Marston of the University of New Hampshire's (UNH) department of History, met to discuss the Puddle Dock project. The research program that Johnson had previously referred to, turned out to be a joint program in colonial archaeology in conjunction with the Department of History at UNH.[275] The Puddle Dock work was to be a summer field school experience for undergraduate and graduate students with interests in colonial history, to give them "first hand knowledge of colonial site archaeology."[276] After a long discussion, at which it was revealed that only $2,000 was available for the work, it was agreed that Robbins would begin in April and

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[272] Johnson to Robbins, October 21, 1965.

[273] Roland W. Robbins to Carl A. Johnson, October 23, 1965, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[274] Carl A. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, November 19, 1965, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[275] Agreement Between Strawbery Banke, Inc, and The Department of History, University of New Hampshire, April 1966, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[276] Ann Marie Nielsen, "Puddle Dock Dig - An Adventure in Colonial Site Archaeology," *The New Hampshire Alumnus* XLII, no. 8 (1966): 12-13.

excavate small sections of the dock making "maximum use...of volunteer workers."[277] One-half of the funds was allocated for mechanical equipment and the other half for Robbins's services.[278] For this princely sum, Robbins was to "plan and guide the performance of the excavation and the recording of significant data, supervise the progression of the work, and give lectures (on site) on the methods and yield of excavation."[279] In March, he visited Strawbery Banke for a final planning meeting, agreeing to start in April and handle the work on "dates most convenient for my schedule."[280] However, Robbins was very concerned about expectations for his participation, commenting after the meeting that the "good professor still talked as though I was expected to be there during the [entire] summer to direct students."[281]

Robbins began the excavations to locate the dock on April 7, 1966, trenching with a backhoe and quickly identifying log cribbing (Figure 83).[282] The following

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[277] Agreement Between Strawbery Banke, Inc, and The Department of History, University of New Hampshire, April 1966, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[278] Roland W. Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1965," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[279] Agreement Between Strawbery Banke, Inc, and The Department of History, University of New Hampshire, April 1966, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. It appears that Robbins had made some commitments about the work before he realized that the funds were extremely limited. However, he often performed this type of preliminary survey work as a way of building business relationships with the hope of future work if the project expanded. Robbins also seemed to be very interested in working with the college students; he had dreamed of founding a "College of Archaeology" since the late-1950s (Roland W. Robbins and Evan Jones, "Big Joe Program," Taped Interview, WABC, November 22, 1959).

[280] Roland W. Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[281] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 1.

[282] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 1.

Figure 83. Backhoe excavation at Puddle Dock, Strawbery Banke, Inc., 1966 (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

day, he set out a baseline and recorded the grade within his excavation section. Later in the day, he located the "southerly end of the log cribbing, defining the outer end of a wharf [or pier]."[283] Robbins next opened a trench to follow the pier as far west as Atkinson Street, "which was as far as I tested."[284] Here he noted that the pier that he had been following was tied into a wharf "of a different construction, indicating that one must have been an extension of the other."[285] Robbins next excavated in front of the pier to determine the bottom of the vertical planking, and "to see if it could be determined what kind of fill the wharf [pier] had been built upon, if any."[286]

When work resumed the following Monday, the day that UNH students began participating in the dig, Robbins set up his master grid system, plotting the baseline that he had previously marked using building H24 and a large tree as "permanent points to measure from," and establishing three sections, each measuring 120 × 80 feet.[287] He also plotted the test trenches in Section 39 as well as a suspected privy feature, and began to number all features, such as foundations, roadways, bulkheads, and wharfs, in the order in which they were found.[288] Throughout the week, excavation was focused primarily in Section 39, with Robbins testing "for the log

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[283] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 1.

[284] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 2.

[285] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 2.

[286] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 2.

[287] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 3.

[288] For instance, W1 = the first wharf found.

cribbing for 39-W1 [Sec. 39, Wharf #1] near the old shore."[289] This wharf, he now believed, was "the pier that shows in the 1813 map," and his fieldwork sought to better define the entire feature.[290]

On April 21, Professor Jones and his history students joined in the work for the first full day.[291] A typical day was later described by graduate student Ann Marie Nielsen:

> They [students] arrive at Strawbery Banke [and] Mr. Robbins conducts them on a tour of the site, explaining the techniques he uses to expose history hidden in the earth. He describes what has been unearthed to date, and then puts the students to work scraping the timbers of the wharves, and sifting the rubble for artifacts.[292]

During the first week of May, Robbins found 39-W2, a wharf "running east-west, somewhat parallel with Charles Street."[293] He continued to work on Features 39-W1 and 39-W2, and at the end of the week ran tests "to determine natural soils, etc, below the easterly end of 39-W2, near where it abuts 39-W1."[294] After cleaning the logs that made up the features, Robbins did a "fairly good job of rough grading the place," because the money for more backhoe work had run out, and funds for his services were almost exhausted.[295] He met with Johnson and discussed the future of

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[289] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 3.

[290] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 3.

[291] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 3.

[292] Nielsen, "Puddle Dock Dig." p. 13.

[293] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 4.

[294] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 4.

[295] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 4.

the dig, indicating that funds remained for him to come back several times during the summer for "more field trips for the university."[296] During this period, he envisioned that 39-W1 could be dug out, 39-W2 excavated to the height of the bulkhead, and the entire site recorded and cleaned up.

Although Robbins returned to the site several times throughout the summer, it was primarily to conduct lectures and lead groups, such as "In Service Teachers," through the excavations.[297] Jan Herman of the history department, one of the most devoted students in the program, apparently continued to excavate during the summer. Robbins noted that "I spent considerable time with him showing how he could go about excavating a foundation...also explained several of the different ways one could plot sites, etc."[298] Robbins lectured several more times to students in the UNH history program, but did not return to the site for the final excavations. After a hiatus of almost a year, during which he worked primarily on the Katahdin Ironworks for the Maine State Park and Recreation Commission, he returned to Strawbery Banke to plot the previously uncovered evidence and develop a master grid plan for the property.[299] He recorded that "Norman and I do our best to plot the old dock timbers, and bulkhead I unearthed a year ago...but the water was over them and was

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[296] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 4.

[297] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 5.

[298] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 5.

[299] Roland W. Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Section Plan 39," December 24, 1967; "Strawbery Banke Restoration, Master Grid Plan," December 20, 1967; Roland W. Robbins to Carl A. Johnson, December 28, 1967, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

frozen, so we had to guesstimate [*sic*] the exact locations."[300] The master plan and section plan drawings were completed in December 1967, and copies forwarded to Strawbery Banke, ending Robbins's involvement with the project.

Robbins contacted Carl Johnson in February 1968, hoping to arrange to continue his previous work at Puddle Dock.[301] However, Johnson informed him that the archaeological work at Strawbery Banke would be continued in 1968 by Daniel W. Ingersoll, Jr., a graduate student from Harvard University.[302] The "Harvard graduate and three students...," Robbins reported, will "dig about 100' west of my dock excavations...."[303]

In 1972, Robbins once again wrote to Strawbery Banke, hoping to interest them in a more extensive excavation of Puddle Dock. His letter was answered by Curator James L. Garvin, who had worked with him during his previous excavations at Strawbery Banke.[304] Garvin judiciously wrote that Robbins's work, as well as that by others, had "convinced us that there is a vast body of material awaiting discovery at Puddle Dock, and that this material should not be disturbed until we can afford to excavate very carefully."[305] Unfortunately, he told Robbins, the cost in

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[300] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1967," p. 1.

[301] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1968," p. 1.

[302] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1968," p. 1.

[303] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1968," p. 1.

[304] James L. Garvin to Roland W. Robbins, January 31, 1972, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[305] James L. Garvin to Roland W. Robbins, January 31, 1972, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

time and money was more than was available, and, therefore, "we have decided to discontinue all work on the site until we're prepared for a proper program."[306] Although he continued to correspond with Garvin, Robbins did not renew his efforts to excavate at Puddle Dock.

The Strawbery Banke project was from the start a very particularistic project in terms of the archaeology. The archaeological goals of the project were simple and straightforward: locating and excavating small portions of Puddle Dock. The educational nature of the project was, at least in concept, more exceptional. This was especially true at a time when restoration needs were still responsible for most historical archaeology projects. The project also marked the first time that Robbins was formally invited to participate in an academic project and teach college students. Although his comments regarding the UNH professors, such as his reference to the "good professor," suggest his long-term suspicions of and resentment for academics, Robbins actually got along reasonably well with the UNH staff. Robbins was particularly perplexed over their demands on his time given his very small fee. Working from the security of a tenured position in the university, the faculty members appear to have had little idea about the realities of surviving as a consultant.

Although a very small project in terms of time and budget, Robbins's work at Strawbery Banke demonstrates the typical approach that he had developed for a preliminary survey of a "deep" site. Robbins's decisions about where to excavate at Puddle Dock were guided primarily by the desires of the Strawbery Banke staff, and

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[306] James L. Garvin to Roland W. Robbins, January 31, 1972, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

his review of documentary information on area, particularly early maps of Portsmouth showing Puddle Dock.[307]

Robbins approached the problem of locating and excavating at Puddle Dock in his usual commonsense way. He used a backhoe to identify the log wharf cribbing, and then dug a series of test trenches to identify the horizontal extent of the wharf area.[308] After identifying the cribbing, Robbins established a grid across the site that was divided into 80-×-120-foot sections that were then subdivided into ninety-six 10-foot units. Robbins plotted the initial trenches after setting out the grid, and used the grid for horizontal control of features, test units, and artifacts across the site. Prindle described Robbins's excavation work in a 1967 report, writing that

> the operation consisted of uncovering a long section of what appeared to be a bulkhead of heavy timbers and planks, evidently constructed in two different periods, portions of one or two docks, and many glass bottles, fragments of Chinaware and part of a ship's timber. Tons of earth were moved and piled to one side. It was difficult to determine just what artifacts come from the earth fill, or from the original surface.[309]

Although Robbins's notes indicate that he clearly recognized soil changes and was able to read this evidence, he provided little in the way of accurate descriptions of the stratigraphic sequence that he was excavating at Puddle Dock. Instead, he concentrated almost exclusively on the large structural features, the wharf cribbing and piling. He established a site datum for recording vertical data and provided

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[307] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1965," p. 1; "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," pp. 1, 3.

[308] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 1.

[309] Prindle quoted in Ingersoll, *Settlement Archaeology at Puddle Dock*, p. 5.

elevations for the features and excavation depths, but did not apply this vertical control to artifacts. Vertical control of the soil sequence was limited to the basic recording of elevations for the ground surface prior to excavation and identification of major soil changes such as the "peat" and "blue clay" layers that underlay the log cribbing evidence.[310]

The plan drawings and field notes from the Puddle Dock excavation provide basic information on the location of wharf features, but little on artifact location within the features or soil profile (Figure 84). The use of a grid system provided some horizontal references for recording features and artifacts. Robbins recorded basic sketches in his field notebook, photo logs, and daily log, and completed mapping of features, including elevations, using a transit. The fieldwork at Puddle Dock was also documented with his black-and-white photographs and color slides (Figure 85).[311]

It appears that modern "fill soils," approximately 3 feet deep, were removed from around the features with a bulldozer and backhoe.[312] The areas around the features were then excavated using the backhoe and shovels, and the soils piled to the side for screening by students in the UNH history department program.[313] The "thousands of artifacts" recovered from these excavations have unfortunately been lost

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[310] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," pp. 1, 4.; Roland W. Robbins, "Profile of 39-W2, Friday, May 6, 1966," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[311] Although he provided no detailed soil profile drawings, Robbins documented the stratigraphy in numerous color slides, usually with a stadia rod for scale.

[312] Robbins, "Strawbery Banke, Inc. Daily Log, 1966," p. 2.

[313] Nielsen, "Puddle Dock Dig," p. 13.

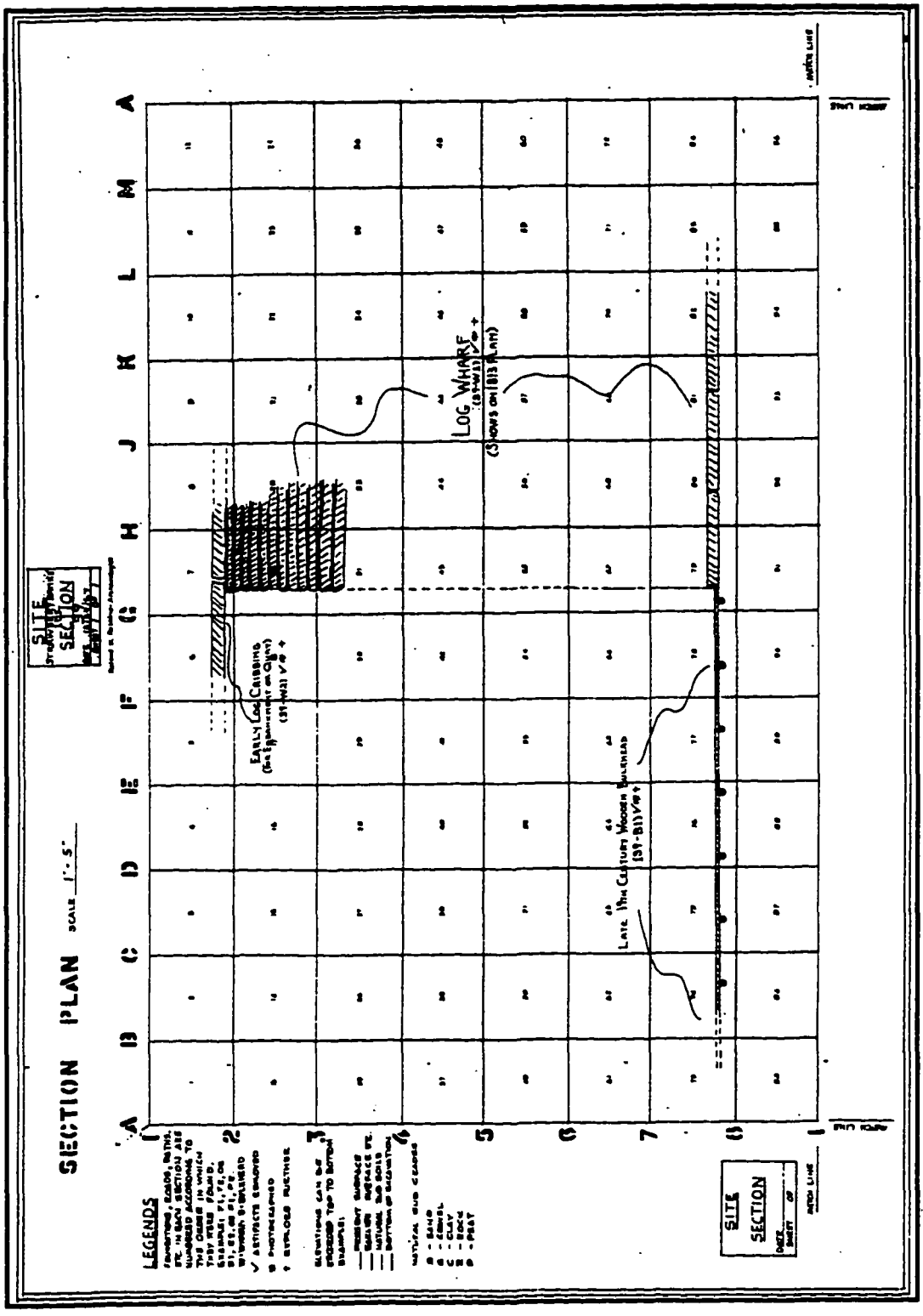

Figure 84. Plan of Section 39, showing wharf features, 1967.

Figure 85. Robbins studying and recording wooden wharf features at Puddle Dock (Courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

by Strawbery Banke, making it impossible to directly assess their provenience information.[314] Archaeologist Daniel W. Ingersoll, Jr., reported that

> the extensive excavation by Robbins produced thousands of artifacts, but, unfortunately, only square provenience was given to the artifacts; vertical provenience either artificial or stratigraphic, was apparently not assigned. It has been Mr. Robbins's practice in the past to use power equipment to get down to older deposits after the stratigraphic sequence is discovered by test trenching and this may have been the case here since a backhoe was used. Therefore, much of the material removed by machine may not have been given vertical provenience because it was not regarded as old enough.[315]

Ingersoll was correct in his assessment of Robbins's use of power equipment to remove "modern," nineteenth- and twentieth-century fill. His speculation about vertical provenience of artifacts is also likely correct; Robbins typically did not record any artifacts from these types of upper fill deposits. Artifacts provenienced with horizontal information would typically be from the contact layer or early surface that Robbins sought.[316] In the case of the wharf and pier structures at Puddle Dock, these artifacts likely came out of the "peat layer" below the modern fill and above the "blue clay" that Robbins identified as natural subsoil.[317] It is also possible that Robbins was not as systematic about saving artifacts as at other projects because he viewed the Puddle Dock excavations as a very preliminary look at the wharf structure, and anticipated more extensive excavations in the future. In this sense, the

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[314] Ingersoll, *Settlement Archaeology at Puddle Dock*, p. 15.

[315] Ingersoll, *Settlement Archaeology at Puddle Dock*, p. 15.

[316] This was the case in deep excavations at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills (see Chapter 4).

[317] Robbins, "Profile of 39-W2, Friday, May 6, 1966." However, this is impossible to determine without the original artifact assemblage.

artifacts from this initial excavation work were a bonus to Robbins, a phrase that he used on many occasions, and a legacy from the early years of the restoration-preservation tradition.[318]

As with his previous projects, Robbins involved the public in the Puddle Dock dig through the use of volunteer labor from the Strawbery Banke organization, students from the UNH Department of History, and the community, and with lectures and exhibition of the artifacts. The involvement of college students, particularly from a history department, was still relatively unusual. In fact, Dr. William R. Jones, the chairman of the UNH Department of History, called the program "an experimental venture in historical site archaeology," the goal of which was to "encourage and enrich graduate and undergraduate studies in colonial site archaeology as part of an expanded program in American History."[319] "We hope," he added, that "the program can be expanded to include a program in colonial architectural history."[320] The use of the project to train students in archaeological methodology is problematic because of Robbins's general neglect of vertical artifact provenience. Robbins's notes indicate that he discussed the stratigraphy of the site, but probably dismissed the

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[318] On several occasions, however, Robbins also explained that artifacts should not be sought in and of themselves, and only provided a bonus if they were recovered in the context of features.

[319] Nielsen, "Puddle Dock Dig," p. 12.

[320] Nielsen, "Puddle Dock Dig," p. 12.

upper fill materials and artifacts as unimportant, focusing on the "contact surface" and the artifacts that it contained.[321]

The restoration and educational nature of the Puddle Dock project propelled the archaeological research, particularly in terms of the limited time and money available to Robbins to complete the work. Robbins's work was initially commended by both the staff of Strawbery Banke and the UNH Department of History. After the initial phase of the project, Carl Johnson wrote that

> your accomplishments in the excavation of Strawbery Banke's Puddle Dock have far exceeded our expectations. All associated with the Joint Archaeological Research Program fully appreciate your forceful and tenacious application, with a minimum of assistance, toward the early success of the program. We are happy that you were able to take the leadership of the program and we look forward to the continuation of the work into the next phase.[322]

However, it is apparent from the 1967 report by Prindle and subsequent comments by Garvin that the quality of Robbins's work was soon thought to be less than acceptable by the Strawbery Banke staff. This is particularly evident in comments by Ingersoll and in Garvin's carefully worded reply to Robbins's 1972 inquiry about additional excavations.[323]

Robbins's approaches to archaeological research and excavation did not improve with respect to the increasingly rigorous standards of the professional

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[321] Therefore, the students may have missed one of the major foundations of archaeological fieldwork, the importance of the entire stratigraphic profile and relationship of artifactual materials.

[322] Carl A. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, April 22, 1966, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[323] Ingersoll, *Settlement Archaeology at Puddle Dock*, pp. 5, 15; Garvin to Robbins, January 31, 1972.

community; in fact, they may have deteriorated with his increasing alienation by the academic community, and his growing desire to separate himself and his work from that of the academy. This spiral of alienation by academic archaeologists only served to heighten Robbins's self-doubts and insecurities. The late 1960s were certainly a very confusing time for Robbins, a period filled with mixed messages. He was well aware of negative comments about his work and qualifications from within the academic archaeological community, yet still received positive feedback from some archaeological professionals and clients. For instance, in addition to receiving positive comments on his work at Strawbery Banke, Robbins was invited to be the guest speaker at the Second Annual Symposium on Historic Site Archaeology in the Northeast Region, held at Bear Mountain, New York, in 1966. The organizer wrote that

> it is the unanimous opinion of all at the Cantonment that if you could do so [lecture] our second meeting would be a tremendous success. We tentatively plan to have as the theme of this symposium: *Historic Site Archaeology Today: Its Importance and Problems*, a subject I feel you are eminently qualified to discuss.[324]

Following his lecture, the organizer wrote to thank Robbins "for [your] excellent talk and help at the symposium held at the New Windsor Cantonment and Bear Mountain. Needless to say your talk was a tremendous success. We could not have had a better finish to what I believe was a good meeting."[325]

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[324] John H. Meade to Roland W. Robbins, January 13, 1967, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[325] John H. Meade to Roland W. Robbins, April 11, 1967, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

It is clear from Robbins's writing that he was concerned about his standing in the discipline because of his lack of formal education. He often, like Thoreau, reflected on the value of being self-educated and having a native New England commonsense understanding of the world. In fact, he saved several newspaper stories about people who had succeeded without a formal education.[326] In the article, "Now Hear This: But Lincoln Kept Trying," Robbins underlined several revealing passages, indicating his self-doubts and concern about his lack of education. "Did you know that Abraham Lincoln was a failure at everything he tried until he was well past the age of 40?" wrote columnist Bert Bacharach.[327] Robbins also highlighted Bacharach's comment that "Thomas Edison had only three months of schooling in his entire life, and Henry Ford had less than a 6th grade education!"[328] An editorial published in the *Concord Journal* in 1965 is even more emphatic about the ability to succeed without an education.[329] Author Ed McCaffrey wrote that

> schooling, particularly at the college level and the graduate school plane, has become an American obsession which may one day return to haunt us. Secondly, the word drop-out has taken on the connotations of a dirty word, used chiefly to describe quickly and easily the problem adolescent.[330]

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[326] Roland W. Robbins, File marked "Education: Successful People who had Limited Formal Education," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[327] Bert Bacharach, "Now Hear This: But Lincoln Kept Trying." *American Journal*, Week of November 1-4, 1960.

[328] Bacharach, "Now Hear This: But Lincoln Kept Trying."

[329] The July 1 publication date of this editorial coincides with the Annual Meeting of the Thoreau Society, held each year over the July 4 weekend, perhaps explaining the writers subject of succeeding without a college education.

[330] Ed McCaffrey, "The Monsignor Said it Rather Well," *The Concord Journal*, July 1, 1965, p. 2a.

McCaffrey went on to quote remarks by the Right Reverend Rev. George W. Casey of Lexington, who meditated on the definition of higher education as the only basis of learning and essential to success:

> This impression [that there is no place other than college to learn anything] is wrong, and proven so by the long tradition of success in America on the part of self-taught men...who came along before our present system of college and graduate schools was elaborated or who, for one reason or another, couldn't take advantage of the schools that were available....Undoubtedly most of the successful men of our history who did not do so, would have gone to college if they had the time and the opportunity...[however], they wouldn't have gone to just any old college and just to go through it. They would have been too smart to waste the time.....In most professions and in some big businesses degrees are *sine qua non*...and there is no other way than going to school and getting one....But with the libraries, correspondence courses, newspapers even, seminars, etc., now available a man can get all the information he needs and sharpen his wits as well as the next without ever putting his foot in college. And in many instances he would be just as well off if he didn't.[331]

As he endeavored to come to terms with his lack of education and its relationship to his place within the specialty of historical archaeology, Robbins faced a growing distance between himself and professional academic archaeologists. As this gulf widened, Robbins began to refer to himself using alternative titles, such as restorer, explorer, and historic-site consultant, and to locate his projects within the framework of what he called "American Heritage Studies, covering ecology, environmental awareness, and history."[332] "As a historic-site consultant," he wrote, "archaeology is only one of my tools. Interpretation and faithful presentation,

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[331] Rt. Rev. George W. Casey quoted in McCaffrey, "The Monsignor Said it Rather Well."

[332] Roland W. Robbins to E. Gilbert Barker, August 29, 1971, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

restoration, or reconstruction are vitally involved."[333] Within this context, archaeology became more narrowly focused for Robbins. Increasingly at odds with the evolving techniques of excavation and standardization of the professional archaeological community, he focused his energies on what he saw to be the larger project of creating "American Heritage" sites or parks from the ruins and remains that had been recovered through his archaeological and historical investigations.

Robbins's emphasis on heritage connected with a general trend, a "heritage syndrome" according to Kammen, that began in the 1950s and has lasted in one form or another until the present. In a world of change and discontinuity, "a sense of permanence and timelessness carried enormous appeal."[334] The past, Lowenthal writes, is crucial for our sense of identity; "to know what we were confirms that we are."[335] This perception of self-continuity "depends wholly on memory," and "history extends and elaborates memory by interpreting relics" and written records.[336] Relics, like the ruins and artifacts unearthed by Robbins, "trigger recollection, which history affirms and extends backward in time.[337] Sociologist

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[333] Roland W. Robbins to Joseph A. Masi, November 13, 1968, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 16.

[334] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 538-44.

[335] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 197.

[336] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, pp. 197, 210.

[337] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, pp. 197, 210.

Dean MacCannell suggests that "restored remnants...are [also] reminders of our break with the past and with tradition."[338]

The delivery of a national heritage or collective memory became "vastly easier and more comfortable" with the success of printed media like *American Heritage* magazine, the enormous impact of television, and increased mobility brought about by the automobile.[339] "Tradition had been made readily available to the mobile middle class."[340] Robbins understood the appeal of physical manifestations of the past and eagerly sought to deliver them to the public; the discipline of historical archaeology, he thought, was simply headed in the wrong direction. Robbins's split from and bitterness toward the academy is apparent in a 1971 letter to architect E. Gilbert Barker, an architect and planner who worked with him at the Crown Point park site in New York: "It would seem to me, Gil, from many years of close association with it, the term Historic Sites, has earned a standing of much misunderstanding and misuse. It has been placed on a pedestal above the reach of the man in the street, about whom it is all about!"[341] The academic community was directing its energies at developing standardized educational requirements and a foundation of method and theory, closing off access and effectively eliminating and devaluing both practitioners like Robbins and the input of the public at large.

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[338] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989), p. 83.

[339] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 538-44.

[340] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, pp. 538-44.

[341] Robbins to Barker, August 29, 1971.

Robbins's increasing emphasis on the relationship between site restoration and the landscape and environmental aspects of historic sites can be seen in his multi-year project at the Oliver Mill Park Restoration in Middleborough, Massachusetts. In his report on these excavations, Robbins played off of Thoreau's statement that "in wilderness is the preservation of the world."[342] The wilderness, Robbins argued, preserves abandoned communities.[343] "The site," Robbins continued, "is obliterated and reclaimed by nature's octopus-like spread of snarled vegetation and brush and reforestation."[344] The ruins of Peter Oliver's colonial mills, he thought, provided an "excellent example of the natural elements reclaiming that which man had borrowed from nature."[345]

The Oliver Mill project provided Robbins with an opportunity to put history within the reach of the common man, "whom it is all about."[346] At the dedication of Oliver Mill Park during the town's tercentenary celebration, Robbins noted that the occasion was a "tribute to the citizens of Middleborough for their vision and the desire to reestablish the physical features of the colonial times, so that they would serve as a constant reminder of their heritage."[347] It was relatively easy to get people to talk about the history of the community, he thought, but this project

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[342] Henry D. Thoreau, quoted in Roland W. Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, December 1969, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 8.

[343] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 8.

[344] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 8.

[345] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 8.

[346] Robbins to Barker, August 29, 1971.

[347] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 1.

represented a more "lasting physical accomplishment."[348] The tangible reminders of the past represented by the Oliver Mill ruins, Robbins told the crowd, would remain after the spirit of the celebration had "dwindled with the reality of the present" and after people had settled "back to the normal level of their everyday way-of-life."[349]

The project also demonstrates the difficulties and frustrations that Robbins regularly confronted as a consultant, particularly funding problems and the lack of understanding typical of well-meaning citizens' committees and municipal agencies. Many people would have simply walked away from the on-again, off-again nature of the Oliver Mill Park project. Robbins often complained about the problems affecting the archaeology and wrote long angry letters to the offending individuals and organizations. However, he rarely abandoned a project; if he started a job he wanted to see it though. He would later write of the Oliver Mill Park project that "my interest in all of my projects is a close personal interest in their success. And my interest in the Oliver Mill Park Restoration didn't end with my final pay day...."[350]

The Oliver Mill project is significant because it exposes the shaky foundation of Robbins's position in historical archaeology by the late 1960s. One the one hand, he applied his commonsense approach and experience to excavations and dismissed the need for academic credentials. On that basis, the park managers later hired a stonemason to complete a portion of the archaeological work. On the other hand, when the stonemason proved inadequate, the park hired a university-based

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[348] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 2.

[349] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 2.

[350] Roland W. Robbins to Joseph Masi, November 13, 1968, p. 3.

archaeologist, who lacked Robbins's practical experience with old mill sites. Poised between the ordinary craftsman and the impractical academic, Robbins was drawn into regular skirmishes to defend and justify his position.

Beginning in the summer of 1967, Robbins explored the area of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Oliver Mill site complex and began preliminary excavations. Using a 1784 inventory of the estate of Judge Peter Oliver, he was able to identify that the complex had consisted of a grist mill, saw mill, bolting mill, cider mill, and large forge and slitting mill.[351] Robbins began the work of clearing the site of dense vegetation and trees in June 1967.[352] Over the next few weeks, he searched for and located many stone foundations and walls using his probe rod and shovel. Mechanical equipment, a backhoe and front-end loader, was used to remove the overburden to within several inches of the top of the features. This mechanical work was guided by a series of hand-excavated tests used to determine the soil sequence and the depth of the foundations and "contact surface." The remaining soil within and around the "ruins" was then excavated by hand using shovels and trowels.[353]

Robbins's first task was to complete excavation of the heavily silted downstream side of the mill foundations, thus allowing the water of the Nemasket River to drain away from the excavations. With the drainage improved, he was able to begin excavation of the building and raceway features that he had initially located. During the summer, Robbins identified and excavated the stone foundations of a

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[351] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 3.

[352] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 10.

[353] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, pp. 10-18.

nineteenth-century saw mill and the raceway that supplied its waterwheel.[354] Robbins also located and began preliminary excavation on the eighteenth-century refinery-forge complex that resulted in the discovery of a brick and stone hearth, and three raceways associated with the iron works complex. The raceway (#1) that supplied the waterwheel for the "refinery-forge's tilthammer" was extremely well-preserved. Excavation of this feature uncovered remains of the wood flooring within the raceway and wheelpit, the upright timbers of the wheelpit sides, the wooden chute that funneled water into the undershot waterwheel, and a large sill that supported one end of the waterwheel.[355]

In September, Robbins was invited to meet with the park commissioners and members of the Oliver Mill Park Coordinating Committee to explain his preliminary findings and outline archaeological work for the fall of 1967. According to Robbins, the members "expressed pleasure in the progress that had been accomplished during the previous three months."[356] After Robbins's presentation, the group adjourned to the office of park superintendent Joseph Masi to review the project's budget. "Here it was learned," Robbins noted, that

> there was an outstanding bill for $3,000 for work done before my field work was undertaken....[and] it was voted that my project would terminate the next day so that any money remaining in the program's

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[354] While investigating this raceway (#4), Robbins uncovered a completely intact wooden waterwheel shaft.

[355] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, pp. 10-18.

[356] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968, pp. 1-2.

> budget could be applied to the outstanding $3,000 bill which had suddenly made its appearance."[357]

Although he was caught completely off guard, Robbins immediately made preparations to comply with the request and terminate work the end of the following day. However, the next day he recorded that

> upon returning from lunch I was startled to find the equipment, the workmen, and the tools were out of the excavations and were preparing to leave the project....I was informed that Joseph Masi had been there...and had told the men that he had been instructed by the Park Commissioners to terminate the field work at noon.[358]

Robbins left the site in a state of confusion, he wrote, but was later assured by committee members that "money from other sources would soon be made available."[359] He immediately sent a brief summary of the work to Mr. Masi, emphasizing the importance of completing the excavations before the winter to avoid damage to the site, to allow for proper completion of the preliminary study, and to begin interpretation of the site to the public.[360]

In November, Robbins made a presentation to the coordinating committee to review the previous work and discuss the future development of the site. The committee requested that Robbins prepare recommendations and estimates for additional excavation and restoration during 1968, and in December he sent a

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[357] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968, p. 2.

[358] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968, p. 2.

[359] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968, p. 2.

[360] Roland W. Robbins to Joseph A. Masi, September 23, 1967. Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

proposal and cost estimate for a two-year program.[361] This work would complete the first phase of the restoration in time for the town's three-hundredth anniversary in 1969. The budget of approximately $30,000.00 included $3,490.00 for completion of the initial excavations, $5,885.00 for work around the sawmill and dredging of the mill pond, $3,980.00 for excavation of a 200-foot section of Spring Street and restoring the early surface and embankment, and $2,500.00 for completing the master plan, engineering work, and cataloguing of all artifacts. The remainder of the estimated cost was for masonry work to restore the site's stone features.[362]

Robbins next received a letter from Mr. Masi containing a copy of the 1968 budget approved by the park commissioners and Board of Selectmen.[363] Although Robbins was pleased that the budget contained some funds to complete the excavations, he was very concerned that it did not contain funds for artifact cataloging nor mapping and report preparation. Robbins attended several committee meetings over the next few months but received little satisfaction; at one meeting it was suggested that the archeological appropriation be used to rebuild the dam, and at another that the Committee should delay the project until they could obtain outside funding.[364] In June, he attended a meeting where he learned that his recommendations of December 6, 1967, had never been distributed to the

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[361] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968, p. 2.

[362] Roland W. Robbins to Joseph A. Masi, December 6, 1967, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[363] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968, p. 8.

[364] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968, pp. 9-10.

commissioners. After reviewing the situation, the committee agreed to proceed immediately with masonry work to stabilize the ruins, and to have Robbins complete the outstanding archaeological investigations in late October or November. In early September 1968, Robbins had a tense meeting with Masi, the stonemason, and several board members regarding his schedule for starting the work. His workload would not allow him to start soon enough to satisfy the Oliver Mill representatives and avoid delaying the stonemason. Therefore, the coordinating committee voted to "have the stonemason continue his work, with or without the presence of Mr. Robbins, and that the stonemason excavate the present raceways not excavated so that he can complete the work contracted by him this year."[365]

Robbins was furious and proceeded to write a seventeen-page letter to Masi detailing the sources of the project's problems and delays.[366] Of the decision to have the stonemason excavate the raceways, he fumed,

> in my twenty years as a consultant for historical restorations I have never encountered such a travesty of irresponsible restoration. Permitting the stonemason to archaeologically excavate the original Peter Oliver mill raceways is as ludicrous as engaging a nurse to perform an intricate surgical operation.[367]

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[365] Joe Masi to Roland W. Robbins, October 1, 1968, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. The superintendent also requested that Robbins turn over all of his plans, notes, maps, and papers on the project. Robbins replied that because the site plans and maps were all in draft stages, due to the abrupt termination of the original fieldwork, they were of little use without additional field information and drafting. He would be happy, he told Masi, to provide copies of his color slides and a detailed log for $425, the cost of reproduction and annotation.

[366] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968.

[367] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968, p. 16.

Just prior to sending his voluminous letter, Robbins learned that the Committee had engaged another archaeologist, Richard Humphrey of Plimouth Plantation, Inc., to complete the excavation. Aware of the problems that would result from introducing a new player into the chaos, Robbins wrote to Masi that "I can appreciate the unfortunate position in which you have placed another archaeologist by subjecting him to the confused mess...[your] irresponsible decisions have brought about."[368] Robbins simultaneously wrote to Humphrey to offer his assistance. "A refinery-forge was a complex operation" he concluded, "however there are shortcuts that can be followed when excavating such a site. This comes only with experience. Good luck with your work. Do let me know if I can be of any assistance."[369]

For whatever reason, the arrangement with Humphrey did not work out; perhaps Masi was surprised that the academically trained Humphrey worked even more slowly than Robbins. In his daily log for April 6, 1969, Robbins wrote that

> Bob Candee said that Joe Masi had a falling out with the archaeologist...from Plimouth Plantation and Brown University...and he fired him. Ain't that something!! Apparently the guy wasn't sure of himself and this work (this I can believe). In any event there was a falling out and little more was done than the digging of a few test holes.

Robbins's persistent and tenacious crusade to properly, as he saw it, finish the project finally paid off. In the spring of 1969, town manager Anders Martenson, asked him to consider returning to Oliver Mill Park and requested an outline of the remaining work and costs. Robbins prepared detailed estimates over several days and sent a

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[368] Robbins to Masi, November 13, 1968, p. 16.

[369] Roland W. Robbins to Richard Humphrey, November 12, 1968, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

formal work schedule and budget on April 9, 1969, that called for completion of the work at the site of the refinery-forge and old dam; repair and preservation of stonework at the southern end of the dam, the raceways, the foundation of the refinery-forge, and the stone foundation on the southern embankment; repair and preservation of the raceway boards and timbers; excavation and restoration of the south side of the mill pond; removal of soils washed into the site area; grading and seeding of the embankments; preparation of plan drawings of the site and ruins; recording of the artifacts; and preparation of a report.[370] The cost for this work, including equipment, masonry work, labor, tools, photography, engineering, insurance, and consulting fees, came to $21,275.00.

Between April and July 1969, Robbins and his crew finished the archaeological and restoration projects outlined in his contract, including the investigation of the refinery-forge that identified the wooden fulcrum for the tilthammer and the wooden anvil base that were preserved in-place. Following the final excavation of the raceways, the original woodwork was left intact and relined with new wood flooring and siding. The remains of a wooden waterwheel with a 12-foot diameter were also discovered during excavations of the waterwheel pit in Raceway #3. After careful excavation and recording, the remaining wooden parts were removed for study and storage. Finally, as the excavations were completed, the

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[370] Roland W. Robbins to Anders Martenson, April 9, 1969, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

stonemason worked to restore the foundations and walls, and the laborers completed the grading and landscaping in preparation for the dedication (Figure 86).[371]

On August 3, 1969, the Oliver Mill Park Restoration was dedicated as part of a nine-day commemoration celebrating the town's 300th anniversary. In Robbins's dedicatory address, he thanked the people of Middleborough for their support of the project, and took the opportunity to remind them that "this is only the beginning. Much more remains to be done!"[372] With the additional work of excavating and preserving the ruins of the sawmill, slitting mill, old dam, and ruins that survive on the north side of the river, Robbins pitched, Middleborough would have "a unique, unmatched Colonial Industrial Restoration."[373]

The Oliver Mill Park Restoration project was from the start a completely restoration-oriented project in terms of the archaeology. The archaeological goals were straightforward, locating and excavating the major structural ruins of the mill complex to allow for partial restoration and interpretation of the complex. Although initially a very small project in terms of the scope of work, time, and budget, Oliver Mill Park demonstrates Robbins's typical approach to this type of site. His decisions about where to excavate at Oliver Mill were guided by his walkover/probe survey of the site, his review of documentary information on the complex, particularly the

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[371] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, pp. 10-26.

[372] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 5.

[373] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 5. Robbins opened himself up to charges of conflicting interests.

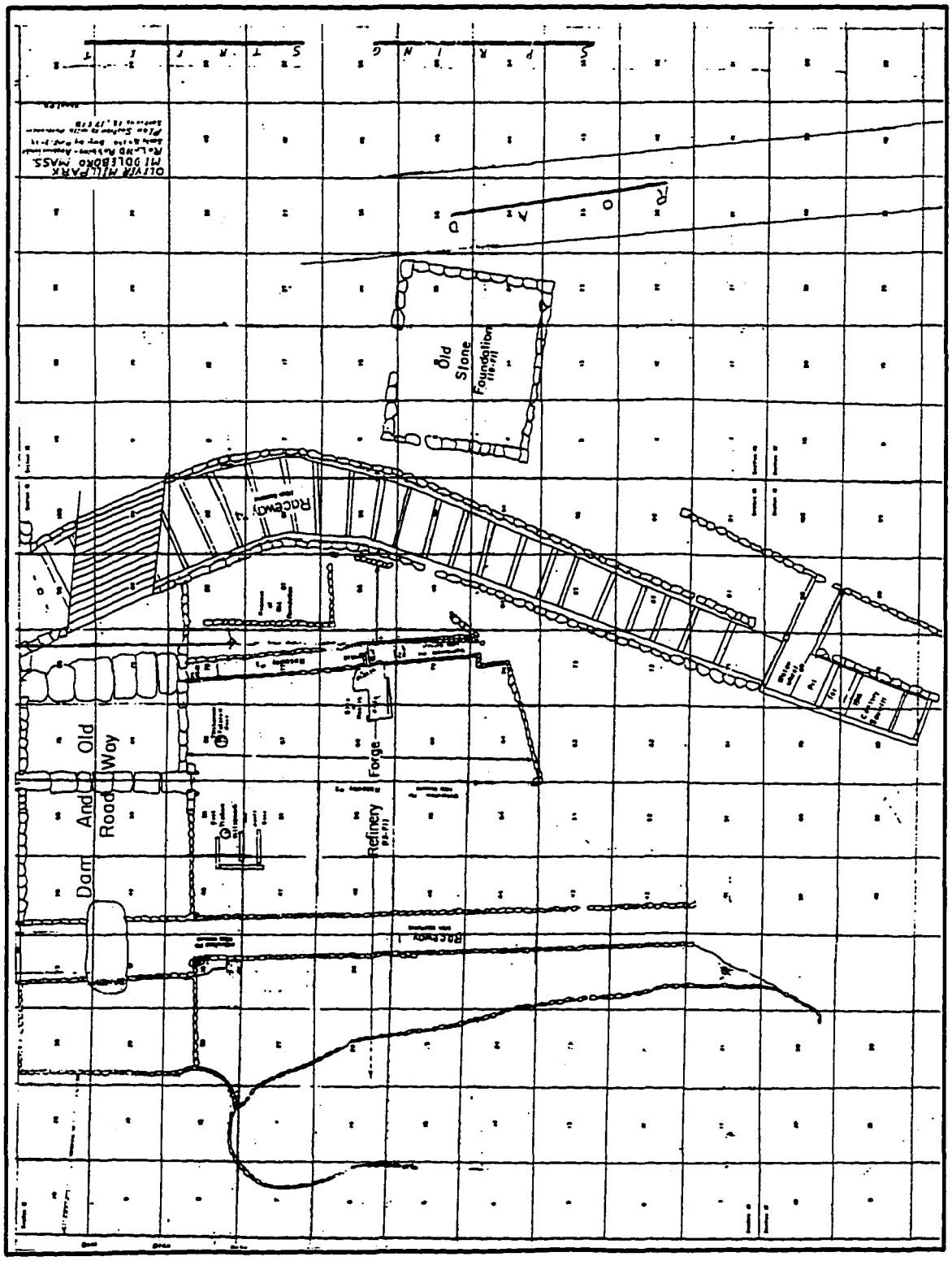

Figure 86. Plan of excavations at Oliver Mill Park, 1969.

inventory of Judge Peter Oliver, and by the desires of the coordinating committee and park superintendent.

Robbins approached the problem of locating and excavating at Oliver Mill in his usual methodical way, using a probe rod and surface investigation to identify the principal features. He then established a master grid across the site consisting of twenty sections, each measuring 100 feet square. Features such as foundations were provenienced and numbered by section, i.e., 18-F1 represented Section 18, Foundation #1, and 13-34-R1 was the fill from Raceway #1 within Section 13, Box 34.[374] Robbins used the grid for horizontal control of features and artifacts across the site.

Although Robbins's notes indicate that he clearly utilized stratigraphic information, he provided few descriptions of the soil sequence that he was excavating at Oliver Mill. Instead, he concentrated almost exclusively on investigating the large structural features, the stone mill foundation, raceways, and dam. He established a site datum for recording vertical data and provided elevations for the features and excavation depths, but did not consistently apply vertical control to artifacts. Vertical control of the soil sequence was typically limited to the basic recording of elevations for the ground surface prior to excavation and identification of major soil changes. Therefore, artifact provenience was primarily delineated through horizontal units and feature designations.

As was typical of the pre-1960 period in historical archaeology, artifacts remained for Robbins largely peripheral to structural remains. "The discovery of

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[374] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, pp. 10, 31-32.

artifacts at Historic-Sites excavations," he wrote in the Oliver Mill Park report, "can be called archaeological bonuses. They contribute additional knowledge of the site and its past activities."[375] However, Robbins also recognized the larger importance of material remains and their location within the site, writing later in the report that

> while the identity of old foundations of homes, mills, and settlements can be recognized often during the early stages of an excavation, the artifacts found during the work will give a comprehensive insight into the cultural or industrial activities of the early times. With this in mind, it is important that the location of newly found artifacts should be recorded.[376]

The artifacts from the Oliver Mill Park excavation were identified only through horizontal provenience information. Given Robbins's standard technique of removing the overburden to uncover the contact surfaces, foundations, features, and subsoil, it is likely that these artifacts retain some clues about their vertical position.[377] For instance, soils removed from 13-65 are from Section 13, Box 65, and probably represent an early contact surface below the overburden. Features were vertically separated from the "contact layers" that covered them using designations such as 13-R2, or Section 13, Raceway 2. Although not as accurate as the grid specific information for horizontal locations, the use of this system and the photo-

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[375] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 31.

[376] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 31.

[377] Roland W. Robbins, "Artifacts Stored Over Police Station, O.M.P.R," Recorded Monday and Tuesday, January 12 and 13, 1970, and Friday, January 16, 1970, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Robbins stored the artifacts in their bags with provenience information. The materials recovered in 1969 were stored in the attic of the town's police station; Robbins submitted a floorplan of the storage area showing the position of the artifact bags and oversize artifacts.

documentation could support some reanalysis of the vertical character of the site, along with its features and artifacts.

The plan drawings and field notes from the Oliver Mill Park excavation provide basic information on the location of major features. The strict use of a grid system provided good horizontal data for recording features and artifacts on the plan drawings. Robbins recorded basic sketches in his field notebook, photo logs, and daily log and completed mapping of features, including elevations, using a transit. The fieldwork at Oliver Mill was also documented with Robbins's black-and-white photographs and color slides.

The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report provides a good example of the type of site report that became standard for Robbins by the late 1960s, particularly for this sort of project. The presentation of the Oliver Mill report is organized around his photographs; the title of the third chapter reads "A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words." In it, he explained that "the exploration and excavation, and the repairing and preserving of buried ruins usually consist of details too puzzling for any understanding by those not participating in the work."[378] Before the camera, Robbins related, "we had to depend on the contemporary records and writings for an enduring picture of the early times. But the advent of the camera has changed all of this." Therefore, he concluded, "the story of the Oliver Mill Park Restoration can be told more vividly, understandably, and quickly...[using] color photographic sequences...to carry the reader through the field work."[379] The report that followed

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[378] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 9.

[379] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 9.

is primarily a series of color photographs of the archaeological and restoration work at Oliver Mill Park that begins with images taken before the work started and ends with views of the completed first phase of the restoration and the dedication ceremony. As with many other reports, Robbins annotated each photograph with a brief caption and date, and arranged the images by excavation area/section or feature.

This approach to excavation reports, using sequences of photographs in place of extensive text, allowed Robbins to summarize relatively quickly his work in a concise manner that was immediately understandable to his clients. Although Robbins illustrated all of his reports with extensive photographs, this photo record approach was typically used for preliminary project reports. He found this report format to be a commonsense solution to several problems. Although writing did not come easily, he had a great interest in and talent for photography. In his justification for the photo record approach, he ended by stating that "it has been said that a picture is worth a thousand words. It can also be said that in some instances there are no words that can describe a picture."[380] Although archaeological excavation is a very visual process, Robbins was clearly much more comfortable communicating and presenting his work through photographs than through words. The academic world of archaeology, however, would never countenance the use of photographs in place of text in their standard descriptive monograph. It also seems likely that, for Robbins the businessman, this format was more acceptable in terms of budgeting costs. The costs involved in photographic reproduction and captioning could be estimated more accurately than could the time to report on the work through detailed textual

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[380] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, p. 9.

description, and the lower costs were certainly acceptable to his small clients who were primarily interested in the physical results of the project.

In addition to the annotated photographic documentation of the project, the Oliver Mill Park report contains a short introduction to the work that includes Robbins's dedicatory speech, an introduction to the excavation with an explanation of the pictorial record strategy, a section on recommendations, and an artifact discussion that explains his excavation and provenience system and contains a brief inventory of the 1967 and 1969 artifacts. The artifact inventory identifies excavated materials by provenience, providing artifact counts and general categories such as nails, wine bottles, stoneware, etc. Many of the larger wooden and iron industrial artifacts are further described using measurements and weights, e.g., "1 casting sprue, 5 7/8" long" or "iron bar 13 1/2" × 2 1/2" × 1."[381]

The restoration nature of the Oliver Mill Park project influenced the archaeological research. Limitations of time and money, combined with Robbins's own focus on the creation of physical monuments to the past, resulted in an approach that was at odds with the prevailing methodological approach of historical archaeology. At Oliver Mill Park, Robbins recovered and restored the mill complex, gathering a great deal of valuable archaeological data in the process. Although he ignored the potential usefulness of the overburden or "modern fill layers," removing it with no controls, Robbins carefully focused on the site features and their related artifacts. His methods of data collection and manipulation, informed largely by a commonsense approach, did not meet the increasingly rigorous standards of the

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[381] Robbins, *The Oliver Mill Park Restoration: A Report*, pp. 33-37.

period. As with other restoration-oriented projects of the period, his application of the data to larger anthropological and historical issues was entirely lacking.

The essence of his projects was creating a tangible past--constructing foundations--one directed toward physical display and interpretation. In this sense, Robbins was engaged in a process of crafting usable and marketable history, one that brought together his own interest in the past, his yearning for stability and personal foundations in the rapidly changing world of the mid-twentieth century, and his belief in the power of the past to educate.

The thirteen-year period between Robbins's Philipsburg Manor excavations and the completion of his work at Oliver Mill Park witnessed many changes within the discipline of historical archaeology. As he began the Philipsburg Manor project in 1956, Robbins was still a figure of some prominence within historical archaeology in the Northeast, particularly in the public's eye, and one of only a handful of pioneers practicing the craft. His work in New York was made highly visible through coverage in the press and broadcast news, and the 1959 publication of his *Hidden America* marked the first widely disseminated volume on American historical archaeology. The extremely visual nature of the Philipsburg Manor excavations, both structurally and artifactually, combined with Robbins's charismatic personality and his unqualified enthusiasm for his subject, created the perfect situation for engaging the public and disseminating the potential importance of historical archaeology. It was a period that valued the presentation and enhancement of physical evidence as reminders of the past, particularly as suburban development increasingly infringed on the cultural

landscape, and as the Cold War caused Americans to think about their democratic social system and seek to defend its values.

By 1970, however, Robbins had been completely eclipsed by the academic profession. Having reached an age when most academics and professionals would have retired and turned their work over to the next generation, Robbins continued to vigorously pursue his chosen career with an overpowering degree of independence that only further alienated him from the profession. In a very revealing statement, Evan Jones commented that by late 1960s Robbins

> had done his thing and he didn't know it. He helped to stimulate the discipline but once the thing got rolling the academic attitude was bound to prevail, and more and more people were made to feel that it was a legitimate pursuit, so they went to it as students--whereas they wouldn't have when Roland was beginning.[382]

For the college-educated Jones, the academy was unquestionably bound to prevail; the pursuit of historical archaeology would not be legitimate in the public's eye until it became taught within a university. Paul Heberling recalls that "academic archaeologists were particularly brutal toward him, taking a superior attitude and disparaging him--not only what he did, but what he wrote...."[383] Although he desperately sought approval and praise for his life's work, Robbins was continuously placed in the position of defending his participation in historical archaeology in light of his outdated field and analytical techniques, his business tactics, and his encouragement of direct public involvement in archaeology.

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[382] Evan Jones, personal communication, 1992.

[383] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

CHAPTER VI. "A THOREAU YANKEE" MEETS THE ACADEMY

By the early 1970s, historical archaeology was established within the sanctuary of the university system and boasted an increasingly anthropological orientation. However, the long association between the field and the restoration-preservation movement was still very evident, particularly in New England. Following the founding of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 1968 and the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, archaeological excavations of historic sites expanded exponentially, as did the literature of the field. Throughout the decade, the discipline struggled to define itself as a viable profession, generating and enforcing new standards for practice and developing new educational requirements of admittance.

Although Robbins participated in several cultural resource management projects during the period and was able to capitalize on the interest in historic sites generated by the nation's bicentennial, he found himself increasingly marginalized by professional academic archaeologists who considered his lack of education and excavation standards unacceptable and his populist views alarming. At the beginning of the decade, his work at the Hancock-Clarke House was bluntly criticized by university-based archaeologists James Deetz and Charles Tremer. Several years later, he was declared unqualified to conduct archaeological investigations based on the

standards and guidelines of the National Park Service. At the 1977 Dublin Seminar on historical archaeology, he was humiliated by professionals who cruelly dismissed his excavations and publications and made fun of his folksy, unsophisticated demeanor.

In the early 1980s, major health problems forced Robbins to admit to himself that his career was coming to its end. He increasingly sought recognition for his contributions to the discipline. Robbins believed strongly that he had not been given proper credit by academic professionals for his many pioneering efforts in contract archaeology, public archaeology, and at industrial and domestic sites throughout the Northeast. Evan Jones observed, "I really don't think that he was able to appreciate the fact that he had done a hell of a lot just by being what he was, and to hell with what the academic judgement was."[1]

University-based historical archaeologists struggled to create their professional caste or "community of the competent" throughout the 1970s and 1980s. As late as 1976, the pleas of founding members of the Society for Historical Archaeology could still be heard urging that "we must professionalize our organization!"[2] Historical archaeology went through a series of stages and processes typical of emerging professions. In the early stages of a developing discipline, the membership of the group is very diverse; members are not "homogeneous with respect to the amount of knowledge and community orientation they possess."[3] This was certainly true as

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[1] Evan Jones, personal communication, 1992.

[2] Edward Jelks, 1976, quoted in Stanley South, "Strange Fruit: Historic Archaeology, 1972-1977," *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (1993): 16.

[3] Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of Professions," p. 22.

historical archaeology sought to define itself in the first few decades of its existence. Leaders, generally the older and more elite members of a group, typically work to strengthen community orientation by "constructing and publishing codes of ethics."[4] As seen in historical archaeology, these individuals work to establish or strengthen a professional organization that provides "self-control, socialization, and education of members, communications with the public, and the defense of professional interest[s]."[5] New disciplines also quickly attempt to make connections with universities to gain legitimacy, and will conduct public information campaigns to explain their professional services and the professional standards that they maintain.[6]

Emerging professions have long sought to "locate the center of their authority within university schools," particularly if they already have a marginal connection there.[7] "By defining its functions comprehensively and constantly expanding its clientele," Bledstein asserts, "the American university...serve[d] to enhance the public's image of a unified professional authority in the society."[8] The university also became the principal force to lobby for membership standards, uniform procedures, and consistent terminologies.[9] Beginning with John Cotter's courses in the mid-

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[4] Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of Professions," p. 23.

[5] Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of Professions," p. 23.

[6] Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of Professions," p. 24.

[7] Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, p. 325; Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions," p. 20.

[8] Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, p. 325.

[9] Members need to demonstrate a command of the language of the profession, to know and use the proper terminology or jargon. This scholarly shorthand is important for clear communication between members of a discipline or profession and serves to differentiate

1950s, historical archaeology has attempted to establish its center of authority in the university within departments of anthropology. However, anthropology's initial rejection of historical archaeology resulted in a period of indecision, when practitioners questioned the proper disciplinary orientation, resulting in the inclusion of historical archaeology in both history and American civilization/studies departments.[10] By the 1970s, historical archaeologists were settling into anthropology departments around the country, and membership in the Society for Historical Archaeology had exceeded 300. However, the discipline had yet to gain the full respect in American archaeology at large and persisted in its focus on restoration and preservation projects.

Perhaps the state of historical archaeology's emerging "community of the competent" can best be summarized by an account of the 1971 Annual Meeting of the Society in Tallahassee, Florida, as told by archaeologist Kathleen Deagan. The meeting hotel for the conference was being shared with the entourage of presidential candidate George Wallace, Deagan relates, and,

> confused reporters interviewed Wallace supporters and archaeologists alike, and Stan South was so compelling that they aired his interview on Tallahassee TV. Jim Deetz and Marley Brown, with matching long pony tails, went skinny dipping in the hotel pool--which fortunately was not aired on TV, and a long series of other even more colorful events took place throughout the meeting. As a graduate student at the time, I

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them from nonmembers, whether the general public or amateur practitioners.

[10] Robbins's excavations at Strawbery Banke were completed as part of an undergraduate teaching program that was organized by the History Department at the University of New Hampshire.

was thrilled by the whole thing and said "sign me up for historical archaeology!"[11]

By the end of the decade, changes were under way: the journal *Historical Archaeology* contained fewer descriptive artifact studies and site reports, and the particularistic research of the restoration and preservation tradition was slowly displaced by an orientation that favored anthropological theory and scientific certainty. Theoretical questions of cultural process and pattern were being asked of the excavated materials in what were designed to be "controlled experiments;" the search was on for broad cultural rules and laws.

Although it is beyond the scope of the present work to summarize this vast body of work in any detail, historical archaeology in the United States slowly altered both its methodological and theoretical approaches. A review of the articles published in *Historical Archaeology* reflects an increasing concern, during the 1970s and 1980s, with producing specific research designs, standardizing field techniques, and improving the quality of professional reporting.[12]

The movement to more anthropologically-oriented research in historical archaeology was at first, however, glacial. This was particularly true for New England, where, even with the example of the pioneering work of Deetz and Dethlefson, archaeologists continued to allow "their sites to be selected for them by organizations committed to the preservation and restoration of historic buildings and

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[11] Kathleen Deagan, "Retrospective on the Society for Historical Archaeology, 1977-1982." *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (1993):19.

[12] South, "Strange Fruit: Historic Archaeology," pp. 15-16.

sites."[13] In addition to the 1970s excavations at Plimouth Plantation to reproduce the Pilgrim Village, archaeologists employed by this organization also worked at other sites in the region, including the Quaker Meeting House in Newport, Rhode Island, the Wellfleet Whaling Station on Cape Cod, a seventeenth-century domestic site in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and the Old Jail Site in Barnstable, Massachusetts.[14] Old Sturbridge Village added an archaeologist to its staff in the mid-1970s, and began excavations and research projects at the Asa Knight General Store site in Dummerston, Vermont, and the Stratton Tavern in Northfield, Massachusetts.

Three other New England museums also engaged in historical archaeology projects during this period. In the late 1970s, archaeologist Steven Pendery completed an excavation at Strawbery Banke as part of the investigation of the Marshall Pottery site along Puddle Dock. Using the work as a case study, Pendry sought to define "some specific interrelationships between the settlement patterns and the economic and social development of an urban sub-community."[15] At Historic Deerfield, Brooke Blades excavated a privy in the backyard of the Williams House in 1976, and attempted to look at "specific patterns of cultural behavior...suggested by the deposition of artifacts."[16] The Pemaquid Restoration in Maine depended almost

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[13] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 4.

[14] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 7.

[15] Steven R. Pendery, "Urban Process in Portsmouth, New Hampshire: An Archaeological Perspective," in *New England Historical Archaeology*, ed. Peter Benes, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, vol. 2, pp. 24-35 (Boston: Boston University, 1977), p. 24.

[16] Brooke S. Blades, "Doctor Williams' Privy: Cultural Behavior as Reflected in Artifact Deposition at the Dr. Thomas Williams House, Deerfield, Massachusetts," in *New England Historical Archaeology*, ed. Peter Benes, The Dublin Seminar for New England

exclusively on archaeological research for the study and exhibition of its seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century settlement.[17] This site, directed by Helen Camp from 1965 to 1975, represents one of the few extensively excavated seventeenth-century settlements in New England.[18]

During the 1970s, historical archaeology was also underway at many smaller historic sites across New England, including the Fairbanks Homestead in Dedham, Massachusetts, the Peake House in Medfield, Massachusetts, and the Golden Ball Tavern in Weston, Massachusetts.[19] The Bicentennial celebration provided a "favorable climate and practical opportunities for certain kinds of archaeological research," particularly in New England.[20] Town Bicentennial commissions worked with local historical societies and local governments, sponsoring excavations at sites such as the Palmer's River Meeting House in Rehobeth, Connecticut, the Ebenezer Grosvenor Homestead in Pomfret, Connecticut, the Phineas Wetherbee Farmstead in Boxborough, Massachusetts, and the Richards Grant project in Dover, Massachusetts, a cooperative venture between Boston University and the Dover Historical Society.[21]

Folklife Annual Proceedings, vol. 2, pp. 56-63 (Boston University, 1977), p. 56.

[17] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 8.

[18] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 8.

[19] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 9.

[20] Bert Salwen "Has Historical Archaeology Survived the Bicentennial?: An Inquiry into the Development of Historical Archaeology in the United States," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 12(1983):6.

[21] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 9.

Local historical societies also supported archaeological investigations at many New England sites, including the Greene-Bowen House in Warwick, Rhode Island, the Anthony House in Edgartown, Rhode Island, and Forts Shirley and Pelham in western Massachusetts.[22] Museums devoted to the history of African Americans also began to employ historical archaeology during this period. The Museum of Afro American History in Roxbury, Massachusetts, sponsored excavations at the African Meeting House on Beacon Hill and the Dillaway Thomas House in Roxbury, and in 1975 the Parting Ways Museum of Afro-American Ethnohistory began its archaeological project in Plymouth, Massachusetts.[23] This project, directed by James Deetz, sought to investigate the site of a community of African Americans in the hopes that West African cultural survivals could be distinguished in the material remains.[24]

In addition to the archaeological projects conducted through local and regional historical societies, commissions, and house museums, the federal government funded archaeology in New England through the National Park Service. These projects included excavations of several domestic sites within the Minuteman National Historic Site in Lexington, Massachusetts, the excavation of the Wellfleet Tavern on Cape Cod National Seashore, and investigations at the Salem Maritime National Historic Site in 1973.[25] The work at Salem, contracted to Brown University, included excavation of

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[22] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 9.

[23] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, pp. 9-10.

[24] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 10.

[25] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 10.

the late seventeenth-century Narbonne House and the Central Wharf.[26] At Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site, the Park Service also conducted an evaluation of the archaeological work performed in the late 1940s and early 1950s by Roland Robbins, and conducted new test excavations around the restored iron works.[27]

Many other archaeological projects were completed with funding provided by the National Park Service's "Survey and Planning" and "Acquisition and Development" grant programs, including work at Fort Adams in Newport, Rhode Island, the Conanicut Battery in Jamestown, Rhode Island, Fort Phoenix in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, Fort Griswold in Groton, Connecticut, and the previously mentioned Marshall Pottery site in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.[28] Between 1975 and 1978, the Park Service also funded the almost complete excavation of the New England Glassworks in Temple, New Hampshire, directed by David Starbuck and Frederick Gorman of Boston University. The New England Glassworks is one of the few industrial sites in New England during this period to receive such thorough archaeological treatment.[29] Employing computer-aided analysis of artifacts, the project produced insights "regarding the factory's technological efficiency and the lifeways of its immigrant workers."[30]

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[26] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 10.

[27] Brown, "An Evaluation of Roland Wells Robbins Archaeology."

[28] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 11.

[29] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, pp. 11-12.

[30] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 12.

Although the discipline was changing, it was not until the mid-1980s that historical archaeology began to shed "its famous place and famous person styles of research and its historical particularism," and practitioners began to address "broader humanistic and scientific goals."[31] University-based archaeologists perceived that this trend would bring progress and advancement to the practice of historical archaeology; by the mid-1980s, they exulted in an "apparent maturation in the discipline's intellectual, physical, and emotional well-being."[32] Although members of the profession began to establish a smooth, seamless veneer for the discipline, historical archaeology was far from unified in either its theory or methodology. Archaeologist William Adams boasted that earlier "shouting matches and temper tantrums" had disappeared and been replaced with new theoretical developments, alliances with history, and increased "confidence and certain knowledge" in its research directions.[33] However, as late as 1993, Adams admitted that "historical archaeology is basically at the sophomore level; we think we know far more than we do, and we try to appear far wiser than we really are."[34] For an emerging and marginal discipline, appearance was everything.

The mid-1980s witnessed the realization by many historical archaeologists that neither the exclusive use of the humanistic or scientific approaches "adequately

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[31] William Hampton Adams, "Historical Archaeology Strove for Maturity in the Mid-1980s," *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (1993): 29.

[32] Adams, "Historical Archaeology Strove for Maturity in the Mid-1980s," p. 23.

[33] Adams, "Historical Archaeology Strove for Maturity in the Mid-1980s," p. 23.

[34] Adams, "Historical Archaeology Strove for Maturity in the Mid-1980s," pp. 30-31.

addressed their research needs." Archaeological data, they found, could not be entirely scientific, because of the fundamental human agency of free will.[35] However, archaeological data could be collected and studied, and reports written, in a scientific manner, to allow comparison of the materials and sites.[36] Researchers attempting to address social and cultural behaviors needed systematically collected and reported scientific evidence in order to draw inferences from groups of excavated sites. During the 1980s, historical archaeologists began to study their excavated sites and materials within dynamic cultural systems, such as households and neighborhoods. Sites were no longer exclusively chosen by historical societies and museum staff interested in restoration; archaeologists began to formulate research designs and prepare reports and essays that addressed issues such as cultural interaction, social control, racial dynamics, economic participation, and political manipulation. For a brief moment, when universities were prospering and government contracts were ample, historical archaeology sought the luxury of purely theoretically driven research. However, they could not long remain innocent of the demands of commerce and fund-raising.

In its anguished struggle to standardize and professionalize, the discipline rejected many of the earlier practitioners and their "amateurish" ways. Leaders and members of emerging disciplines like historical archaeology, particularly those within universities, engage in some conflict with "elements both inside and outside their

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[35] Adams, "Historical Archaeology Strove for Maturity in the Mid-1980s," p. 29.

[36] Adams, "Historical Archaeology Strove for Maturity in the Mid-1980s," p. 29.

occupational group."[37] Professionals make claims to certain levels of technical performance and certain standards, and may be forced "to label those outsiders who fall short of these levels and standards as "charlatans."[38] These new organizations must also monitor their own ranks, establishing levels of competency and often creating special licensing regulations. Less "professional members of the emerging profession resist these innovations, sometimes violently."[39] The discipline of historical archaeology labored hard during the 1970s and 1980s to separate itself from what it considered the unscientific and unprofessional restoration and preservation focus of its founders and also from the marginal practitioners that hung on.

The long struggle by historical archaeology to define itself and its membership spanned the lifetime of Roland Wells Robbins (see Figure 42). From the early 1960s onward, Robbins felt the rejection of professionals over and over again, as they tightened their ranks and sought to strengthen both their internal and external control over the discipline. These practitioners were attempting to distinguish the value of their training and education from Robbins's commonsense work experience and Yankee ingenuity. As early as 1869, Harvard's president Charles W. Eliot wrote that ignoring specialized training for the professionals, particularly those in leadership positions, was a "national danger":

> The vulgar conceit that a Yankee can turn his hand to anything we insensibly carry into high places, where it is preposterous and criminal. We are accustomed to seeing men leap from farm or shop to court-

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[37] Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions," p. 24.

[38] Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions," p. 24.

[39] Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions," p. 24.

> room or pulpit, and we half believe that common men can safely use the seven-league boots of genius.[40]

As the profession united within the confines and strictures of the academy, Robbins became bitter and resentful and would often disparage professional archaeologists.[41] By the end of the decade, the professionals looked down on Robbins and his work, and their criticism became more frequent and more odious.

In 1970, Robbins's autonomy to practice his craft and ability to earn a living were directly challenged by university-trained archaeologists. This confrontation developed out of his participation in the planning of a project to investigate Plymouth-period sites in Duxbury, Massachusetts. The 350th Anniversary Committee of the town of Duxbury wanted Robbins to "do a preliminary study of the old mill sites and submit estimates."[42] The committee was considering a physical reproduction of one of the sites as their anniversary project.

Several weeks later, Robbins reported that "they want Larry [Geller] and me to prepare about a 3-page outline of our recommendation....they seem quite set on doing something about an old mill site for next year."[43] In mid-October, Robbins and Geller made a field inspection of several mill and dam sites in the Duxbury area. Interest focused on what Geller reported was the "1st Pilgrim Mill" at the Holmes

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[40] Charles W. Eliot, 1869, quoted in Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, p. 323.

[41] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[42] Roland W. Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1969," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., pp. 3-4. Pilgrim Society director Larry Geller was a member of the committee and Robbins's collaborator on the Alden report. Geller recommended Robbins to the committee.

[43] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1969," p. 7.

Dam.[44] Some very preliminary research indicated that Stephen Dean may have built and operated a corn mill at the Holmes dam before 1632. The committee was very interested in this site, and Geller called Robbins to inform him that "things are moving fast."[45] Robbins arranged with artist Charles Overly to prepare a sketch of the site, and visited the site again himself to take color slides; these would be used at a meeting to "to sell the town on the idea of making the site available for restoration purposes...."[46]

After several weeks of work, however, Robbins and Geller concluded that they couldn't "continue working for nothing...." Robbins wrote that

> we must do a preliminary survey at the site. This would include select clearing and test digging in the dam to see if it occupies the site of an earlier dam, etc. This survey would cost $5,000.00...and would precede archaeological study there.[47]

Robbins was not present for the town meeting, but Geller called the next day to tell him that it "...went very well, the townspeople seemed quite impressed."[48] Geller contacted Robbins several weeks later to say that he had heard nothing and Robbins confidently replied that "as we did the research and I suggested the idea, took the pictures and had Overly draw...a sketch of the site, I expect they will come to us when they are ready to move."[49]

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[44] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1969," p. 9.

[45] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1969," p. 11.

[46] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1969," p. 13.

[47] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1969," p. 13.

[48] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1969," p. 13.

[49] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1969," p. 14.

In mid-February 1970, the committee requested that Geller and Robbins prepare a brief statement about the survey and its costs.[50] Robbins recommended a preliminary survey to identify the site of "Stephen Dean's early 1620s corn mill."[51] The study, Robbins continued, would consist of

> selected clearing...at the dam....archaeological tests...to determine if the existing dam is built upon the site and remnants of an earlier dam, or dams. A study of the deeds and records tracing the...mill to its origin and site....a report on this survey which would include a plan recording the areas tested and photographs of this work.[52]

He estimated the total cost of this work at $5,000, and also recommended additional work if "the preliminary survey revealed that evidence and remnants of Stephen Dean's corn mill survives."[53] This subsequent work, estimated to cost at least $25,000, would include the full excavation of the site of the corn mill, exploration of the existing dam and the area downstream, and "removal of soil coverage over the early dam and the stabilizing and repairing of minor defects in its construction...it would not include any major reconstruction of the early dam, its raceways, nor its gates or spillways."[54] Robbins also included an estimate for the

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[50] Roland W. Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1970," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 4.

[51] Roland W. Robbins to Larry D. Geller, February 25, 1970, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[52] Robbins to Geller, February 25, 1970, p. 1.

[53] Robbins to Geller, February 25, 1970, p. 1-2.

[54] Robbins to Geller, February 25, 1970, p. 2.

reconstruction of the mill, but explained that it would depend "...upon the results of the preliminary survey and the archaeological explorations."[55]

The proposal was forwarded to the 350th-Anniversary Committee, who forwarded it to the Town Meeting for approval. Although the finance committee approved the $5,000 for the preliminary survey, there were concerns that the reconstructed mill would conflict with a commercial grist mill operation in town. The proposal was then placed on the agenda for a vote at the next town meeting. Robbins called Geller the day after the meeting and found that the meeting had been rescheduled for the following week. However, Geller had received a call from Plimouth Plantation archaeologist James Deetz, who had "...found out about the plans for the preliminary survey at the site...[and] was all upset...said they never had a mill before 1630s, and didn't think Larry's research was thorough enough."[56] Robbins recorded in his log that

> he [Deetz] said that they (Plimouth Plantation) will do the dig free. He also said that my *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress* didn't tell anything new (sour grapes). Larry [Geller], to say the least, was all put out by Town Politics and Plimouth Plantation.[57]

Several days later, Robbins called Geller to inquire about the status of presenting the proposal to the Town Meeting only to find out that "Deetz has been on the phone telling 'the right persons' that Plimouth Plantation will excavate the mill site for free. Naturally the town will not pay to have it excavated if they can get it

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[55] Robbins to Geller, February 25, 1970, p. 2.

[56] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1970," p. 5.

[57] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1970," p. 5.

done for free!"[58] Geller told him that the Town Moderator had said that they would likely withdraw the funding request. Robbins told Geller that

> ...this was a most unfortunate situation. Deetz and his bunch have never excavated a mill site (and the one they were engaged to do some work on fired them after their first work as being most incompetent in this field). I said that in view of the fact the 350th Anniversary Committee was in charge of the project (of which I conceived the idea) I thought it only fair that they invite both Deetz and I to discuss with them our individual experiences in the field of excavating mill sites, particularly along rivers and tidewater ways....AND OUR TALKS SHOULD BE ILLUSTRATED WITH PICTURES OF OUR WORK!!!!!!![59]

Robbins couldn't match Deetz's educational qualifications but he could challenge him to a duel of sorts. They could settle this dispute in the democratic arena of the town meeting, Robbins thought, based on experience. Robbins's total disgust with the situation is evident in his comment that "THE DISHONESTY OF MANKIND SURFACES AGAIN!!!"[60] The following day Robbins reported a conversation with Geller:

> The essence of it was they [the 350th Anniversary Committee] have withdrawn the request for $5000 for a preliminary archaeological survey....This will prevent the Plimouth Plantation boys from getting up and saying they will do it for nothing."[61]

Although Geller mentioned the possibility of the Department of Conservation taking over the project, Robbins remained skeptical. "All this," he noted, "is too local and

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[58] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1970," p. 6.

[59] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1970," p. 6.

[60] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1970," p. 6.

[61] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1970," p. 6.

complicated, let alone petty, for me to get further involved until they come to some agreement (if they ever do!)."[62]

Robbins's relationship with academic archaeologists continued to deteriorate as the decade unfolded. He found himself increasingly at odds with the world of university-based archaeology and its aspirations to professionalize its approaches and methods from the safety of their institutions. His sense of detachment from the discipline became crystal clear in 1973, when he received copies of reviews on his 1965-1966 work at Hancock-Clarke prepared by university-affiliated professionals. The first of these reviews was prepared by Charles W. Tremer, an archaeologist at Muhlenberg College, in 1971.[63] Tremer began his review of the Hancock-Clarke project by defining the differences between amateurs and professionals. It was "indeed unfortunate," he wrote, "that a professional archaeologist was not consulted or employed to direct the excavations of so important a site."[64] Although amateur archaeologists like Robbins made meaningful contributions to the discipline, Tremer noted that "amateurs are just that--amateurs."[65] "The amateur archaeologists," he continued in a stream of professional jargon,

> rarely have the formal training and theoretical conceptualization to appreciate the archaeological problem, and the methods that must be

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[62] Robbins, "Larry Geller-Pilgrim Society, 1970," p. 6.

[63] Charles W. Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House: Recommendations for Future Plans of Same," 1971, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., n.p. Tremer had evidently been working on a site in Minuteman National Historical Park at the time that he was asked to prepare this report. Robbins did not receive a copy of the report until 1973.

[64] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

[65] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

> employed in order to extract the fullest possible knowledge from the artifactual and structural remains. The unfortunate result is usually that a site excavated in this manner--lacking valid methods and conceptualization of the archaeological problem as seen by the professional archaeologist--gives little knowledge toward explaining the problems at hand. And more important is that the excavation techniques that have been erroneously employed cause the destruction of parts of the site and loss of knowledge that then cannot be recovered.[66]

This scenario, Tremer reported, prevailed at the Hancock-Clarke site, where "the excavations conducted in 1965-1966 by Mr. Robbins reflect no appreciation or understanding of the archaeological problem at hand, but rather the crude clearing of the stone foundations."[67] The basic problems with Robbins's approach and excavation techniques were "the use of a back-hoe and the ignoring of any possible vertical stratigraphy present in the foundation fill [which] has prevented any possible analysis that might have answered the questions present."[68] The usefulness of the artifacts had been lost, Tremer reported, "due to the lack of sufficient records being kept as to location, provenience, and so on."[69] Robbins's report, he wrote, "cannot be considered an archaeological report. It is a description of various procedures of probing and digging."[70] Furthermore, the report "does not conceptualize the archaeological problem, and synthesize the artifactual and structural remains found in any way that would help explain or clarify the historical sequence at the H-C site."[71]

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[66] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

[67] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

[68] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

[69] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

[70] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

[71] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

Although Mr. Tremer wrote that he, as a professional archaeologist, "did not want to disparage the ambitious efforts of Mr. Robbins..., it must be recognized that the previous excavations have fallen far short of acceptance, and at times prove to be destructive to the valid reconstruction of the historical sequence of the H-C house."[72] Tremer next presented "possible alternative programs, including returning the house to the site, stabilizing the foundations, and developing the entire area, which could be undertaken by the Historical Society in relationship to the site."[73] However, these options related only to stabilization and interpretation of the site to the public, not to solutions for conceptualizing "...the archaeological problem" or synthesizing "the artifactual and structural remains...."[74]

In the other review, archaeologist James Deetz of Plimouth Plantation agreed with Tremer about the quality of Robbins's work, but offered positive suggestions regarding the situation.[75] These consisted of extracting as much useful information from Robbins's work as was possible, and using additional fieldwork to help clarify some of the problems and questions that still existed. According to Deetz, the problems with Robbins's work were related to "inadequate excavation procedures and virtually non-existent analytical work following the completion of the field exercise."[76] However, Deetz notes, "since the site cannot be re-done in another way,

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[72] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

[73] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

[74] Tremer, "A Brief Analysis of the Foundations of the Hancock-Clarke House," n.p.

[75] James Deetz, "Summary Report: Conference of October 15, 1973, Hancock-Clarke House, Lexington, Mass," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[76] Deetz, "Summary Report," p. 1.

the most reasonable course is to work as efficiently as possible with that which is available."[77] Deetz argued that Robbins's excavation techniques precluded any type of vertical stratigraphic control within the cellar fill. Based on the techniques of recovery and a brief review of the artifacts, he believed that it would be quite difficult to resolve the problems of temporal and functional relationships between the four cellars. He noted that "it is absolutely standard and proper procedure in excavating cellars to remove them by hand, using trowels, and controlling this excavation in some type of vertical sections."[78] Prior to the complete excavation, Deetz continued, a small test excavation is made to "determine the extent and nature of the layering...the results...are used as a guide for the subsequent removal of the cellar fill."[79] "Removal of untested fill," he cautioned, "particularly with power shovels, is in the worst tradition of "Williamsburg" archaeology of the 1930's, to put it mildly."[80]

It is apparent that Deetz either did not have all of Robbins's documentation or did not use it in this assessment of the project.[81] For instance, Robbins dug small tests along the walls in several of the cellars to determine the nature and depth of the

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[77] Deetz, "Summary Report," p. 2.

[78] Deetz, "Summary Report," p. 2.

[79] Deetz, "Summary Report," pp. 2-3.

[80] Deetz, "Summary Report," p. 3.

[81] It is unclear whether Deetz or Tremer were aware of the Society's goals to identify foundations or the limited budget that Robbins had available to him.

fill, but only recorded this information in his daily log and photo logs.[82] Photographs of the work also indicate that, even when working with power equipment, Robbins would establish a trench cut through the feature and then excavate using the profile as a guide. In the case of the first two cellars, historical research suggested that they had been filled in 1896 when the house was moved, and this was confirmed by the artifacts; therefore, Robbins felt justified in removing them as a single context.[83]

Deetz noted that questions remained concerning non-excavated or partially excavated features such as the chimneys. He also explained that the house may have been bigger than the cellars, sitting on footers or piers, a point also considered by Robbins.[84] The remaining questions, Deetz summarized, could be answered by careful study of the artifacts and additional excavation around the house to identify features that were not excavated or only partially excavated by Robbins. Excavation of the chimneys might provide a reliable terminus post quem for the construction of the cellar and structure, and reexcavation of the cellars would be worthwhile if Robbins had not reached the bottom.[85] Deetz felt that the analysis of the artifact collection and reexcavation of the cellars might be all that was necessary to answer

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[82] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1964," pp. 1-2; "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 4.

[83] Robbins, "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1964," pp. 1-2; "Hancock-Clarke House Site Daily Log - 1965," p. 4. Although late nineteenth-century sites are now considered to have potential research value, historical archaeologists of the 1960 and 1970s generally disregarded them altogether.

[84] Deetz, "Summary Report," p. 3; Robbins, *The Archaeological Excavations of the Hancock-Clarke Homestead*, pp. 25-31.

[85] Deetz, "Summary Report," p. 4.

the temporal and functional questions necessary for moving the house back to its original site.[86]

Although Robbins did not record his reaction to these negative commentaries on his work when he received them in November 1973, they evidently elicited a heated dispute within the Lexington Historical Society. Charles H. Cole, II, a local architect and board member of the Society, wrote an angry letter to Roland B. Greeley, president of the Society.[87] Cole noted that the Tremer report was "extremely critical in every way of the work of the archaeologist...."[88] "I would like to know who authorized such a study," he wrote:

> ...I can't help but feel that it was a most unethical procedure. As a professional architect, I know it would be very unethical in my profession to do such a thing without notifying the original professional hired.[89]

Cole noted that the Deetz report on stabilizing the ruins "digresses into criticism of the original exploration...," although the comments were relatively mild.[90] The real issue for Cole was the original contract between the Society and Robbins, and from his point of view "the Society, for their $3,000, got far more than their money's

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[86] Deetz, "Summary Report," p. 6. Deetz's student Vernon G. Baker analyzed the ceramics from Hancock-Clarke in 1975 (Baker, "South's Ceramic Dating Formula").

[87] Charles H. Cole, II to Roland B. Greeley, December 4, 1973, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[88] Cole to Greeley, December 4, 1973.

[89] Cole to Greeley, December 4, 1973. Cole's attitude demonstrates the ethical standards of a more organized profession.

[90] Cole to Greeley, December 4, 1973.

worth."[91] "If they wanted an Indian culture unearthed of 2000 or more years, or the Hancock-Clarke house site excavated in that manner, they should have been prepared to pay ten times as much, --and believe me, what they did pay was all they could afford at the time."[92] Cole ended the letter by requesting an apology to Robbins for "extremely unethical conduct." "Furthermore," he wrote, "if anyone knows how to preserve existing excavated historical sites your original archaeologist can do it better than most. You have only to inspect his restoration of foundations in the Fort Ticonderoga area to know that!"

While Robbins certainly resented the comments of Tremer and Deetz, he didn't voice his opinion at the time. However, the episode undeniably had the effect of making him more wary of practitioners in the developing discipline of historical archaeology, and no doubt reinforced the view within the professional community that this type of project was to be expected in the work of "amateurs" like Robbins. Once again he had been reminded of his shortcomings by professional archaeologists. The result was to bring out Robbins's populism, his representation of himself as the "Pick and Shovel Historian," the self-educated everyman with common sense and a healthy respect for the past.[93] Scorning their attempted control, he pressed forward with his own brand of archaeological research.

The dismissal of Robbins's work by Tremer and Deetz resembles a long-term trend in American archaeology to focus criticism on methodology rather than content.

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[91] Cole to Greeley, December 4, 1973.

[92] Cole to Greeley, December 4, 1973.

[93] Robert A. Gross, personal communication, 1996.

"How colleagues did something became more important than what they did or why they did it," writes archaeologist Thomas Patterson.[94] Yet, these reviews also depict the growing intellectual differences between the "amateur" Robbins and the new university "professionals." In the spirit of his generation, Robbins searched for foundations. His essential assumption was that a culture could be deduced from and inspired to return to its origins. By contrast, the next generation of researchers embraced an anthropological conception of culture, which could envision that earlier Americans had a world view and way of life radically different from our own. For instance, Deetz's *In Small Things Forgotten* put historical archaeology firmly in the service of cultural history and advanced the field of material culture studies.[95]

Paradoxically, in developing his picture of the changing world view of early Americans, Deetz drew on Robbins's work at the John Alden house.[96] While in one sense their work was worlds apart, in another sense Deetz imitated Robbins. He drew on the literary devices pioneered by Robbins, including writing with a popular style and surrounding the text with the romance of archaeology. Deetz exploited the drama of uncovering the past and, like Robbins, even interjected the rhetoric of controversy with a discussion of the "The Valley of the Moon" and "Mystery Hill" sites.[97] Both the title and the introduction are reminiscent of Robbins's *Hidden America*: they

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[94] Patterson, "The Last Sixty Years," p. 14.

[95] Robert A. Gross, personal communication, 1995; Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*.

[96] Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, pp. 96-97.

[97] Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, pp. 30-31. Mystery Hill has, according to Deetz, "been the center of controversy for years."

imply that the historical archaeologist recovers the neglected and the obscure, showing the hidden significance in the artifacts below ground.[98]

Robbins persisted in his search for foundations throughout the 1970s. He continued his work for small historical societies, Bicentennial committees, and municipalities, and supplemented these projects with contracts conducted under the recently enacted federal preservation legislation. Although cultural resource management (CRM) had its formal beginnings in the Antiquities Act of 1906, it was not until the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in 1969 that a solid foundation had been laid for the protection of these resources. The National Historic Preservation Act established the National Register of Historic Places, and Section 106 required federal agencies to consider the effect of their projects on properties listed on the National Register. NEPA was the first comprehensive federal policy dealing with land use and resource planning, and required that environmental, historical, and cultural values be weighed against the economic and technological benefits of any proposed federally funded projects, or those requiring federal licenses or permits. The passage of Executive Order 11593 in 1973, tied these two pieces of legislation together and extended their interpretation to include properties that were eligible for nomination to the National Register.[99]

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[98] Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, pp. 4-6.

[99] Michael B. Schiffer and George J. Gumerman, eds., *Conservation Archaeology: A Guide for Cultural Resource Management Studies* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 3-8.

The passage of this legislation precipitated a dramatic upsurge in the demand for contracted archaeological services. By 1980, a survey of the membership of the Society for Historical Archaeology indicated that over half of the members worked within a "federally-mandated historic preservation framework."[100] The fundamental legislative changes that affected archaeology and the influence of the Bicentennial on archaeologically related projects are also reflected in the growth of membership in this professional organization: from approximately 300 in 1970 to 700 in 1974, and over 1400 by 1980.[101] While the Bicentennial celebration was, according to archaeologist Bert Salwen, an "attractive and interesting, but transitory," phenomenon, the establishment of a strong national preservation program brought major lasting change to the practice of archaeology.[102]

The rapid growth in contract archaeology quickly outdistanced the discipline's ability to manage issues such as personnel and quality standards. The combination of new contract projects and the demand created by the Bicentennial for archaeological excavations at small historical museums and municipal properties quickly depleted the already meager contingent of archaeologists qualified and/or interested in performing historical excavations. University-based research organizations, like Deetz's research center at Brown University, were simply unable or unwilling to take on many of these small jobs.[103]

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[100] Salwen, "Has Historical Archaeology Survived the Bicentennial?," p. 5.

[101] Salwen, "Has Historical Archaeology Survived the Bicentennial?," p. 5.

[102] Salwen, "Has Historical Archaeology Survived the Bicentennial?," p. 6.

[103] Marley R. Brown III, personal communication, 1995.

Robbins, already familiar with the world of consulting and contracts, successfully competed for these projects, particularly those from the small museums and Bicentennial committees. He was less successful with cultural resource management projects because the academic community began to tighten the standards of research as federal agencies began to issue more specific guidelines. At the same time, the major archaeological organizations, such as the Society for American Archaeology, recommended certification of professionals and began to craft minimal standards and codes of ethics for archaeological research.[104] Willey and Sabloff reported in 1974 that "the profession already is trying to cope with the mundane problems of setting standards for the fulfilling of contracts and the elimination of shoddy fieldwork and reporting."[105]

In the early 1970s, Robbins met the discipline's new standards head on when officials of the National Park Service rejected his qualifications as an archaeologist. The difficulty began when Robbins presented a lecture to the Historic Wethersfield Foundation in Wethersfield, Connecticut. Following the lecture, William J. Morris, Director of the Connecticut Historical Commission, approached Robbins and indicated that he was interested in acquiring his services as a consultant for the Commission. Because the work in question was federally funded, Morris submitted Robbins's name and resumé to the Keeper of the National Register for standard review. On June 15, 1970, Morris wrote to Robbins to inform him that the Keeper stated that his

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[104] Schiffer and Gumerman, *Conservation Archaeology*, pp. 9-11.

[105] Willey and Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology*, p. 262.

"qualifications did not meet their [National Register] criteria."[106] The matter was referred to the National Park Service, who concluded that Robbins did not have certain "academic credits to qualify for government work." Morris added that "it seems that on occasion you have committed the cardinal sin of utilizing mechanical equipment which apparently cannot be tolerated under any circumstances."[107] Morris noted that "I want you to know that my opinion of you and your work has not changed one iota...."[108]

Although Robbins wrote to Morris that "I was delighted to learn that the National Park Service refused to accept my qualifications...," he was clearly outraged by this complete rejection of everything that he had worked for during his long career.[109] He quickly wrote to Senator Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts for help in clearing his name. In his letter to the senator, Robbins detailed his long career, especially his work at the Saugus Iron Works, which had become part of the National Park Service only a year earlier. Robbins explained the problems that the Connecticut Historical Commission had encountered with the Keeper of the National Register and the National Park Service, and defended his previous work and use of mechanical equipment, noting that he had several magazine articles with photographs showing

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[106] William J. Morris to Roland W. Robbins, June 15, 1970; Roland W. Robbins to Senator Edward W. Brooke, August 6, 1970, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 3.

[107] Robbins to Brooke, August 6, 1970, p. 3; Morris to Robbins, June 15, 1970.

[108] Morris to Robbins, June 15, 1970.

[109] Roland W. Robbins to William J. Morris, July 7, 1970, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

that Park Service archaeologists also used heavy equipment. He cited his work at Saugus, where he learned to

> use the appropriate tools and equipment, mechanical or otherwise, to accomplish the job that had to be done. This included excavations that couldn't hope to be achieved with shovels and trowels alone.
>
> THERE WOULD BE NO NATIONAL PARK TODAY AT THE SAUGUS IRON WORKS RESTORATION IF I HAD NEGLECTED TO USE MECHANICAL EQUIPMENT THERE WHEN IT WAS NEEDED AND WHERE IT WAS NEEDED! THE MASSIVE EXCAVATIONS THAT UNEARTHED THE ENTIRE BASIC PLAN AND RUINS OF THE ANCIENT SAUGUS IRON WORKS WERE COMPLETELY SUCCESSFUL ONLY BECAUSE OF THE PROPER USE OF MECHANICAL EQUIPMENT AND HAND TOOLS![110]

Robbins closed his long letter to Brooke by noting that "there is something terribly wrong with their system [National Park Service] when a person who has excelled in his professional business finds that he cannot assist his government with his talents because of some bureaucratic pitfall."[111]

Senator Brooke responded to Robbins's letter in August of the same year indicating that he had asked the Park Service for a "complete report" on the situation.[112] Having received no answer from Brooke, Robbins inquired in September 1970 and again in February 1971.[113] In April, Senator Brooke forwarded

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[110] Robbins to Brooke, August 6, 1970, p. 4.

[111] Robbins to Brooke, August 6, 1970, p. 4.

[112] Senator Edward W. Brooke to Roland W. Robbins, August 25, 1970, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[113] Roland W. Robbins to Senator Edward W. Brooke, September 29, 1970, and February 6, 1971, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

a reply from the Park Service, but noted to Robbins that "it seems to me that the Park Service has not completely answered your questions."[114]

The Park Service reply from Acting Director Raymond L. Freeman is, as Brooke hints, a classic bureaucratic evasion of the question. In fact, it is nothing more than a description of the process for designation of the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.[115] Morris wrote to Robbins that, "having seen a copy of Mr. Freeman's reply to Senator Brooke, I most heartily agree [with the senator] that it was evasive to the point of being childish."[116] In May 1971, Robbins wrote to Senator Brooke in reply to Freeman's letter:

> Mr. Freeman evaded answering specific questions that for the past year I have endeavored to find answers for. The questions pertain to why a citizen with my vast and most successful experience as a consultant on Colonial and Early American Landmarks and Their Restoration cannot be engaged on projects that are receiving Federal subsidies.[117]

He ended his letter by asserting that "my twenty-three years of outstanding achievement in the field of Historical Restoration work does not qualify me for

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[114] Raymond L. Freeman to Senator Edward W. Brooke, April 15, 1971; Senator Edward W. Brooke to Roland W. Robbins, April 18, 1971, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[115] Raymond L. Freeman to Senator Edward W. Brooke, April 15, 1971, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[116] William J. Morris to Roland W. Robbins, April 30, 1971, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[117] Roland W. Robbins to Senator Edward W. Brooke, May 26, 1971, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

acceptance to the National Register, according to the National Park Service. I want a specific answer to this decision."[118]

In July 1971, Senator Brooke forwarded another reply from Acting Director Freeman.[119] Freeman explained that

> Mr. Robbins indicates that State and municipalities may not engage him and receive Government assistance. The National Park Service has not, nor could it, set any condition which would prohibit State and local authorities from employing Mr. Robbins.[120]

While this answer seems to have satisfied Robbins, it still avoids the primary question of professional qualifications required by the Keeper of the National Register and the National Park Service for federal projects under historic preservation legislation.

Between 1971 and 1980, Robbins completed only five CRM projects within the framework of the Section 106 requirements. He obtained these selected projects through his network of contacts in New England archaeology and preservation, for example, Dr. Maurice Robbins (no relation) of the Massachusetts Historical Commission and William J. Morris of the Connecticut Historical Commission.[121] In 1971, he completed a survey of the Tufts Street Meter Building parcel in Boston, conducted for the U.S. Coast Guard. During 1972 and 1973, Robbins undertook a preliminary survey and excavation project for the Connecticut Department of Transportation in West Hartford. As part of the environmental impact assessment for

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[118] Robbins to Brooke, May 26, 1971, p. 2.

[119] Raymond L. Freeman to Senator Edward W. Brooke, July 8, 1971, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[120] Freeman to Brooke, July 8, 1971.

[121] These agencies were responsible for review of Section 106 projects.

the construction of Interstate 291, Robbins performed a walkover survey and limited testing on a Revolutionary War encampment at Avon Mountain. The same year, he also worked on a preliminary survey project at the location of Fort Stamford for the City of Stamford. With his attention focused on projects that were generated by interest in the Bicentennial celebration, Robbins pursued no CRM-related work in the mid-1970s. When his Bicentennial projects waned, Robbins picked up several more Section 106 investigations. In 1977, he was engaged by Tibbetts Engineering Corp. to perform a survey for the proposed Cape Ann Industrial Park in Gloucester, Massachusetts. In 1978, he performed a similar survey for the proposed Lakeville Industrial Park, in Lakeville, Massachusetts. For each of these projects, Robbins prepared a short report for review by the SHPO's office.

Robbins's report for his 1972 project in West Hartford, "A Revolutionary War Encampment," is a typical example of his CRM-related studies. His introductory chapter presents his 1960 visit to the site and discusses the 1972 survey. In 1960, he had recorded in his notes that "there are 30 or more of these (round stone ruins), as well as a spring or man-made cistern...."[122] The 1972 survey consisted of a visual reconnaissance of the site area, "conducted without the advantage of any clearing...."[123] During this walkover survey, Robbins marked the individual stone ruin "sites" using wooden stakes, identifying over 174 sites and observing that at least

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[122] Roland W. Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment East of M.D.C. Reservoir 6, West Hartford, Connecticut: A Preliminary Site Survey*, 1972, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[123] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, pp. 2-3.

30 additional sites were not staked because "the time allotted for the field work had exceeded expectation."[124]

In the next chapter, "A Major Encampment," Robbins described the site conditions and his attempts to obtain historical documentation, and offered his interpretation of the complex. He noted that "along with the more than 200 low, stone sites that were observed here are nearly as many rectangular pits and ditches dug into the earth and scattered through the camp area."[125] The pit features, he continued, were "similar to what can be found at Fort Ticonderoga and at Fort Crown Point in upper New York."[126] Robbins noted that he plotted all of the features on the "Plan of the Preliminary Site Survey," and queried the Connecticut Historical Society for historical documentation on the camp. Although the director reported that they had been unsuccessful in finding any documentation on the site, he provided Robbins with several indirect references to the encampment. He used this information to suggest that the site was likely the camp of the Continental Army under the command of Major General Israel Putnam. The general's headquarters at Redding, he noted in comparison, also contained "a number of the low, hearthlike stone foundations similar to what are found at the Avon Mountain camp site."[127] In summary, he reported that,

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[124] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 2.

[125] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 3.

[126] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 3.

[127] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, pp. 3-5.

> the Preliminary Site Survey raises the question as to the kind of shelter the low, round stone ruins and hearths originally serviced. If the encampment did not consist of many huts with chimneys, were there leantos? Or tents? What were they? An archaeological study of the encampment could answer some of the questions the site poses. It could also throw light on how active the encampment may have been, whether it was activated over a period of several years, or was of a brief duration.[128]

In his chapter on artifacts, Robbins explained that, because the survey was conducted during the winter when the ground was frozen, "no attempt was made to seek out artifacts."[129] However, Robbins sought out the small collection of a local "Revolutionary War buff," and included brief descriptions of three miliary artifacts found at the site.[130] With the permission of the collector, Robbins sent the materials to the SHPO at the Connecticut Historical Commission.

In his concluding chapter, Robbins relates the site and its boundaries to the "approximate slope line of the proposed new Highway I-291."[131] The highway crossed the northwest tip of the Revolutionary War encampment, he noted, and Sites #12, #13, #14, and #15 were contained within "the proposed highway corridor."[132] Robbins briefly described each site, and noted that only Site #12 could "be directly associated with the encampment."[133] His recommendation was that the

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[128] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 5.

[129] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 7.

[130] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 7. The collector, Frank Kravic, visited the site with Robbins and was able to identify when and where each artifact had been recovered. Robbins tied the locations of the materials to his site plan.

[131] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 8.

[132] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 8.

[133] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 8.

> new highway I-291 shows but a negligible infringement upon the Revolutionary War Encampment. Site #12 would be taken. The identity of Sites #13 and #14 are questionable. Site #15 can be preserved in the slope of the new embankment.[134]

Following the conclusions, Robbins presented three pages of "pictorial comments," which are annotated like the photographs in the Oliver Mill report.

The Section 106 process was still in its infancy during the I-291 project, particularly in Connecticut. Although both Section 106 and NEPA had been enacted by 1972, Executive Order 11593 had not yet been issued. This seems to explain the exclusive focus on this important, previously identified archaeological site. There is no formal response from the SHPO's office on Robbins's report. The project was eventually dropped and the road never constructed; however, the site was later placed on the National Register.[135] The nomination was based on both Robbins's initial survey findings and additional work by the Connecticut Archaeological Survey. "In general," summarized archaeologist David A. Poirier, "Connecticut Archaeological Survey's investigation yielded little substantive information that had not already been documented by Robbins."[136]

In the years immediately preceding the nation's Bicentennial, Robbins was engaged to work on six separate archaeological excavations that grew out of the local

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[134] Robbins, *A Revolutionary War Encampment*, p. 8.

[135] David Poirier, personal communication, 1995.

[136] Frederick W. Warner, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form for Revolutionary War Campsite, West Hartford, Connecticut," (1975) Connecticut Archaeological Survey, Hartford); David A. Poirier, "Conservation Archaeology: The Perspective of Historical Archaeology in Connecticut," Ph.D. diss., The University of Connecticut, 1984, p. 30.

communities' desires to commemorate the event. In 1974 and 1976, Robbins excavated at the Gov. Moses Gill Mansion in Princeton, Massachusetts. Performed for the Princeton Bicentennial Committee, the project was a small survey that involved excavations to identify and mark the location of the house site. Robbins also worked on the Moore Memorial State Park project in Paxton, Massachusetts, performing excavation and restoration work on an early mill. Begun in 1974 for the Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources, the project was continued in 1976 as a Bicentennial project for The Friends of the Mill Village, Inc. In 1975 and 1976, he returned to the Oliver Mill Park Restoration in Middleborough, Massachusetts. Robbins began work on the site, a complex of industrial or mill structures in 1967, returned in 1969, and again from 1971 to 1973. In 1975, he performed additional excavation and restoration work on a set of features that had been identified during the previous work but had never been restored. Robbins also completed a preliminary survey to locate and mark the site of the Lexington Meeting House for the Lexington Bicentennial Committee during 1975. The final two Bicentennial ventures were an excavation and restoration project at the Rogers-Sheldon East Bridgewater Iron Works and a survey of the Clinton Blast Furnace. The Rogers-Sheldon East Bridgewater Iron Works project was sponsored by the East Bridgewater Bicentennial Committee in 1975, and consisted of identifying and partially restoring the foundations of several original iron works structures. The Clinton Blast Furnace project was a preliminary survey performed for the Newark Watershed Conservation and Development Corp., which entailed little more than a walkover survey of the property with selected shovel testing to identify potential archaeological remains. These projects all had small

budgets with generally very limited goals. In almost every case, they were directed primarily at locating and marking or partially restoring significant sites within the community as physical reminders of the past.

Robbins remained busy with lectures and seminars up through the Bicentennial, and participated in several university programs (see Figure 76). In December 1968, he traveled to San Angelo, Texas, to present a series of lectures at Angelo State College, and in the bicentennial year was invited to Juniata State College in Juniata, Pennsylvania, as Lecturer-in-Residence (Figure 87). Robbins was recommended for this endowed visiting scholar program by faculty member Jack Troy, a long-time Thoreau Society member and acquaintance of Robbins. During his stay at Juniata, Robbins presented three public slide lectures and met with students and faculty. Troy also introduced Robbins to Paul Heberling, an archaeologist in the school's Anthropology Department, and the two became fast friends. Heberling remembers that the faculty loved Robbins's lectures; however, "the students were a bit jaded."[137] Roland had an "intense interest and enthusiasm for everything he did," and it soon wore off on Heberling.[138] He remembers being fascinated by their trips to local sites, particularly iron works. Robbins, he recalled, would just walk around and point out where the industrial features would be found; "he has such an astute, alert awareness of iron complexes that he immediately would recognize what he

[137] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[138] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

Figure 87. Roland W. Robbins in 1976 (Photograph by Keith Martin, courtesy of Geraldine Robbins).

had."[139] "I don't think," Heberling continued, "that he had any peer in the details and understanding of iron works."[140] Although Heberling couldn't evaluate Robbins's impact on the students, he stated emphatically that "Roland was individually responsible for a change in interest [from prehistoric to historical archaeology] on my part."[141]

Spurred by the nation's birthday celebration, the 1970s also witnessed the rise of a new public history movement, and Robbins soon found himself to be a natural proponent. He was a popularizer with a long-term interest in bringing historical archaeology to the masses, and in helping them to dig sites themselves. In *Old Glory: A Pictorial Report on the Grass Roots History Movement and the First Hometown History Primer*, editor James Robert noted that there was

> a new breed of archaeologist out digging up the past, cataloguing everything they find, and then struggling to put these ancient clues together. They aren't professionals--they're just ordinary curious people--secretaries, truck drivers, students....who are coming out in ever-increasing numbers to work alongside professional archaeologists.[142]

Robert described the extensive volunteer training program and opportunities available through the Arkansas Archaeology Survey, and noted that "prehistoric archaeology requires a certain amount of experience and expertise....Purely Historic Archaeology

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[139] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992. Heberling later excavated the Greenwood Furnace and found Robbins's predictions to be extremely accurate.

[140] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[141] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[142] James Robert, ed., "People's Archaeology," in *Old Glory: A Pictorial Report on the Grass Roots History Movement and the First Hometown History Primer* (New York: Warner Paperback, 1973), p. 103.

--such as Roland Robbins is involved in--is something you can do yourself, right now."[143] Robbins, Robert continued,

> is not a popular man among elitist archaeologists. Not only do they consider him personally unqualified to be carrying out archaeological research, but the fact that he dares advocate that others follow his example and begin digging up American history too - well, that's dreadful....He stresses his belief that history under the ground belongs to every American, and anyone has a right to do first-hand research (if he obtains permission from the landowner). Of course, Robbins insists that amateur archaeologists fulfill their responsibilities to society, too--orderly, careful work; complete cataloging; excavation for the sake of knowledge and not to collect trinkets.[144]

Although Robbins stressed the democratization of archaeology, he also stressed the absolute necessity of careful fieldwork and proper recording. To some extent, Robbins imagined that a commonsense application of excavation techniques and the ability to meticulously record and document the work came as easily to everyone as it did to him. As *Hidden America* reviewers Cotter and Leder noted, in this sense he undervalued his skills and overstressed his extensive self-education. "Mr. Robbins does a disservice," Leder commented, "by overemphasizing the idea that he is self-educated without explaining the extent to which he has educated himself."[145] Robbins's focus on self-education derived from both a long-term pride in his accomplishments and an insecurity about his lack of formal education. His push for others to follow his road, to become archaeologists themselves, is not surprising. This

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[143] Robert, ed., "People's Archaeology," p. 104.

[144] Robert, ed., "People's Archaeology," p. 104.

[145] Leder, "Book Review of *Hidden America*," pp. 243-244.

approach was another way for him to validate his own work and fulfill his "quest for credentials of merit."[146] *Hidden America* co-author Evan Jones observed that

> if any professionals would have treated Robbie as an equal and worked with him, they would have found him cooperative and charming. He hated to be condescended to by professionals, either archaeologists or historians and made to think that he was just a digger....Robbie was very intelligent--he was much smarter than most of them gave him credit for.[147]

Robbins was determined to make his own way and bemoaned in 1971 that

> the thing that has screwed up progress in the Historic Sites field is the name itself, and the limitation of the training and the lack of vision found in the 'professionals' in this field. Very little will ever be accomplished in the Historic Sites sciences until it, and the people administering its present policies mature. This may be a long time in the making. And I don't plan to wait around until the field 'grows up'."[148]

By the end of the decade, Robbins was both ignored and mocked by the professional community while presenting his work at the seminar *Historical Archaeology in New England.*[149] He was initially invited to participate by the seminar organizer Peter Benes. After accepting the invitation, he received a letter from program chairman Marley R. Brown III, who thanked Robbins for his offer to present a lecture titled "The Future of Historical Archaeology in New England." It sounds, Brown noted "like it will be extremely interesting and should provide the

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[146] Hatch, "Introduction," p. 5. Hatch argues that this quest has "become a central organizing principal in our society."

[147] Evan Jones, personal communication, 1992.

[148] Roland W. Robbins to E. Gilbert Barker, August 29, 1971, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[149] "New England Historical Archaeology," The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, organized by Peter Benes and Marley R. Brown III, Dublin School, Dublin, New Hampshire, June 25-26, 1977.

basis for an enlightening discussion."[150] This clearly surprised Robbins, and he wrote back that "an error has been made in listing my talk as 'The Future of Historical Archaeology in New England,' a subject I would not venture to intrude upon." Robbins went on to inform Brown that his illustrated talk was titled "History Recycled." "It will demonstrate how old industrial sites, deserted years ago and reclaimed by nature and wildness, are found, excavated, repaired and rehabilitated for recreational and park purposes."[151]

Robbins traveled to the Dublin School several days prior to the seminar to set up his exhibit of color photographs. During this visit, he met with Peter Benes and donated 100 autographed copies of his book *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress* and 50 copies of *The Story of the Minute Man*. Robbins noted in his journal that "these are to be sold, with all money going into their [Dublin Seminar] fund."[152] While the others were at lunch, Robbins edited his talk, pathetically noting that "I wasn't invited to eat, [but] Peter did bring me back a cup of coffee."[153]

The lecture was for Robbins the supreme embarrassment. He lamented in his journal for 1977 that

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[150] Marley R. Brown III to Roland W. Robbins, May 18, 1977, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Brown remembered that he was against inviting Robbins to speak. At the time, he recalled that "I thought that anyone who was not a trained or schooled archaeologist, like Robbins, was a pot hunter" (Marley R. Brown III, personal communication, 1995).

[151] Roland W. Robbins to Marley R. Brown III, June 7, 1977, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[152] Roland W. Robbins, "Daily Journal for Dublin Seminar, 1977," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

[153] Robbins, "Dublin Seminar," p. 1.

MY TALK WAS A DISMAL FAILURE!!!

I must say that I was not in good speaking form...and I got no encouragement from the audience, and I was aware of snickering and distracting [sic] and unattentiveness [sic]....To say the least a rude and brainwashed audience! Their whole movement appears to have a propaganda basis that discounts my life work....Work that most of them could never achieve, even if they want to follow in my footsteps!!!

No one talked to me after the meeting....Looked through me as though I wasn't present! No one mentioned my exhibit, nor offered to help dismantle it, or carry it out in the pouring rain!!

To say the least, I found myself in a most embarrassing position I can ever recall that would be associated with my professional work!!!

Well, I had to find out...and I did. I shall simply travel my way alone with any future programming I undertake. I can't believe that they could look at clearly defined major projects showing the highlights of the before-during and after results and not be responsive!!...[154]

Program chairman Marley Brown has quite a different recollection of Robbins's presentation. He really enjoyed hearing Robbins's talk: "I was very impressed with Roland's lecture, it was extremely well done, both a good presentation and excellent use of slides."[155] "His lecture was on par with most of the seminar's papers and his archaeology was better than most of the non-academic archaeologists on the program." While Brown didn't specifically remember any negative comments or "snickering," he acknowledged that it was certainly very possible.[156] The younger graduate students in the audience, Brown continued, particularly those that had worked with Jim Deetz, could have had a negative opinion of Robbins. Deetz was

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[154] Robbins, "Dublin Seminar," p. 1.

[155] Marley R. Brown III, personal communication, 1995.

[156] Marley R. Brown III, personal communication, 1995.

vocal about his contempt for Robbins and his work, and harbored a general disregard for contract archaeology. Brown conjectured that Robbins's consulting work created ill will among the professionals; "we were doing this work for free as Deetz's students and Robbins was working right down the road and getting paid for it."[157] It is not just ironic, but significant, that although Deetz worked from the security of the university, many of his graduate students--those who scorned Robbins's hucksterism, that is, his self-promotion of archaeology as a business--were later employed in contract archaeology or cultural resource management.[158] They were compelled to practice contract archaeology because of underlying economic and political circumstances. As these university-trained archaeologists slowly began to embrace cultural resource management as a legitimate pursuit, they faced many of the same conditions that Robbins had encountered during his 30-year career, including institutional constraints, monetary pressures, and lack of standing within the discipline.[159] In this sense, Robbins's career has much to say to the archaeologists of today who work in an environment of retrenchment in higher education and disappearing funding for the humanities.[160]

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[157] Marley R. Brown III, personal communication, 1995.

[158] In recent years, faced with a lack of university and government positions for their students, the academy has had to adopt cultural resource management as a legitimate approach to archaeological research. However, the Society for American Archaeology did not establish a standing committee on cultural resource management until 1994, and with a few exceptions universities have just begun to offer courses on CRM.

[159] Robert A. Gross, personal communication, 1996.

[160] Estimates of archaeologists employed in CRM range from 30% to 70%. Polls by the SAA and SHA suggest the lower to middle end of the range; however, they principally reflect membership roles in these societies (Julie Zimmer, Richard Wilk and Ann Pyburn, "A Survey of Attitudes and Values in Archaeological Practice," *SAA Bulletin* 13, no. 5

Having repeatedly suffered dismissals by professional archaeologists, Robbins became bitter. He perceived academics as hypocrites; they were actively engaging in the business of archaeology and began employing many of the methods, such as excavation with heavy equipment, for which he had earlier been criticized. He frequently noted that he accomplished a task in a much simpler fashion than many "professional colleagues" with all of their scientific techniques and tools. In a 1985 interview, he anxiously noted that academic archaeologists are "the most insecure people I ever encountered....they have to have a committee agree before sticking a spade in the ground. The man who works alone, Thoreau used to say, can leave today."[161] For Robbins, the archaeologists had, in Thoreau's words, "become the tools of their tools."[162] He saw them as afraid to vacate the safety of the classroom, using "improved means to an unimproved end...."[163] Robbins rebelled against the control that the scientific archaeological community exerted on his ability to earn a living and share his study of the past with the public. In the face of repeated disapproval and criticism, he continued to work on smaller projects generated through the enthusiasm of the Bicentennial celebration and based on his local reputation with historical societies and museums.

[1995]: 10). The high costs of membership exclude many practicing archaeologists (B.A. and M.A.), particularly those in entry-level positions.

[161] Dodson, "The Man Who Found Thoreau," p. 116.

[162] Krutch, *Thoreau: Walden and Other Writings*, p. 132.

[163] Krutch, *Thoreau: Walden and Other Writings*, p. 144.

The Munroe Tavern excavation, performed for the Lexington Historical Society in the mid-1980s, is a very interesting example of the relationship that Robbins maintained with local historical societies and museums in the last years of his career. It had been less than ten years since members of the Society had hired professional, university-based archaeologists Charles W. Tremer and James Deetz to review Robbins's work at their Hancock-Clarke House property. His reemployment by the Society as a consultant for the Munroe Tavern project is particularly interesting in light of the extremely negative assessment by these reviewers. It points out both the confidence that the Society members had in Robbins and his ability to adequately complete their project, and their disregard for the opinion of professional archaeologists. Of equal importance is the generally small budget of local historical societies, and their inability to pay the high costs of professional archaeologists; Robbins's charges had remained relatively unaffected by inflation.

The Munroe project began in the spring of 1982, when the Lexington Historical Society sought Robbins's services to locate the site of the Masonic Hall, a late eighteenth-century addition to the Munroe Tavern structure. Robbins contacted Society member Dan Fenn in April and reported that "to do the master plan and locate the filled in cellar on it would cost $1,800-$1,900."[164] In June, Fenn indicated that the committee had met and voted to have the 74-year-old Robbins "do the Master Grid Plan and the survey to locate [the] size of the cellar for the Munroe

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[164] Roland W. Robbins, "Munroe Tavern Notes - 1982," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 1.

Tavern...."[165] Although Robbins received the notice-to-proceed in June, he had still not started the work in September when he received a call from the president of the Society. He had, he said, been very busy and was waiting for cooler weather, but would start the work soon.[166]

Several days later, Robbins visited the Lexington Town Hall to locate a survey benchmark in the Munroe Tavern area. The following day, he created a grid system for the entire property that "consisted of 9 sections, each 120' in length and 80' in width."[167] Robbins first laid out Section 6, "the area where all the preliminary testing would be taking place," and then using his transit to record the surface elevations at 10-foot intervals across the site.[168] Robbins subsequently probed the area with his test rod and found that "after the test rod had penetrated through 18" of rich loam I sensed the deeper level consisted of a rubble."[169] This finding prompted him to "open up a small peek-hole to see what the sub area consisted of."[170] Beneath the loam soil was 4 feet of cellar fill containing fieldstones and artifacts. Working with assistant Leroy Haxton, Robbins excavated a portion of the cellar fill,

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[165] Robbins, "Munroe Tavern Notes - 1982," p. 2.

[166] Robbins, "Munroe Tavern Notes - 1982," p. 2.

[167] Roland W. Robbins, *Munroe Tavern, Lexington, Massachusetts: A Preliminary Search for the Site of its Masonic Hall*, 1984, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass., p. 9.

[168] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 9; Roland W. Robbins, "Surface Elevations in Section 6, March 1994," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[169] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 9.

[170] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 9.

which contained huge "split-face stones used in the cellar walls."[171] Robbins noted that the cellar, designated 6-C1 (Section 6, Cellar 1) was "20'4" in length and 12'4" in width. The depth of the cellar was about 6' below surface" (Figure 88).[172]

Robbins's initial historical investigations indicated that the building over the cellar had measured 60 feet in length and between 20 and 30 feet in width.[173] Therefore, after finding the cellar he set out to identify the building's foundation. Robbins crisscrossed the area with his probe rod, but found no evidence of footings or piers. About 15 feet west of the cellar, he found a stone-bedded path or roadway, about 8 feet wide and 12 inches below the ground surface, that ran from the back of the tavern structure. To the west of Cellar 6-C1 and in line with its northern wall, Robbins's probing identified stone fill that when uncovered proved to be another much smaller cellar, designated 6-C2. The "sand, trash, and rubble" was removed from this cellar in three levels, although Robbins noted that "none...constituted a strata."[174] Robbins and his assistant confirmed this when crossmended fragments of a single mug came from each of the three levels. Cellar 6-C2 measured 9 feet long × 6 feet wide and extended about 3.5 feet below the ground surface. The artifacts from the cellar fill suggested to Robbins that it dated prior to the 1790 construction of the Masonic Hall addition. A "16" square wooden upright" was found in line with both cellars and 9 feet west of Cellar 6-C2. Robbins hypothesized that this post may have

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[171] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 11.

[172] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 12.

[173] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, pp. 5-8.

[174] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 19.

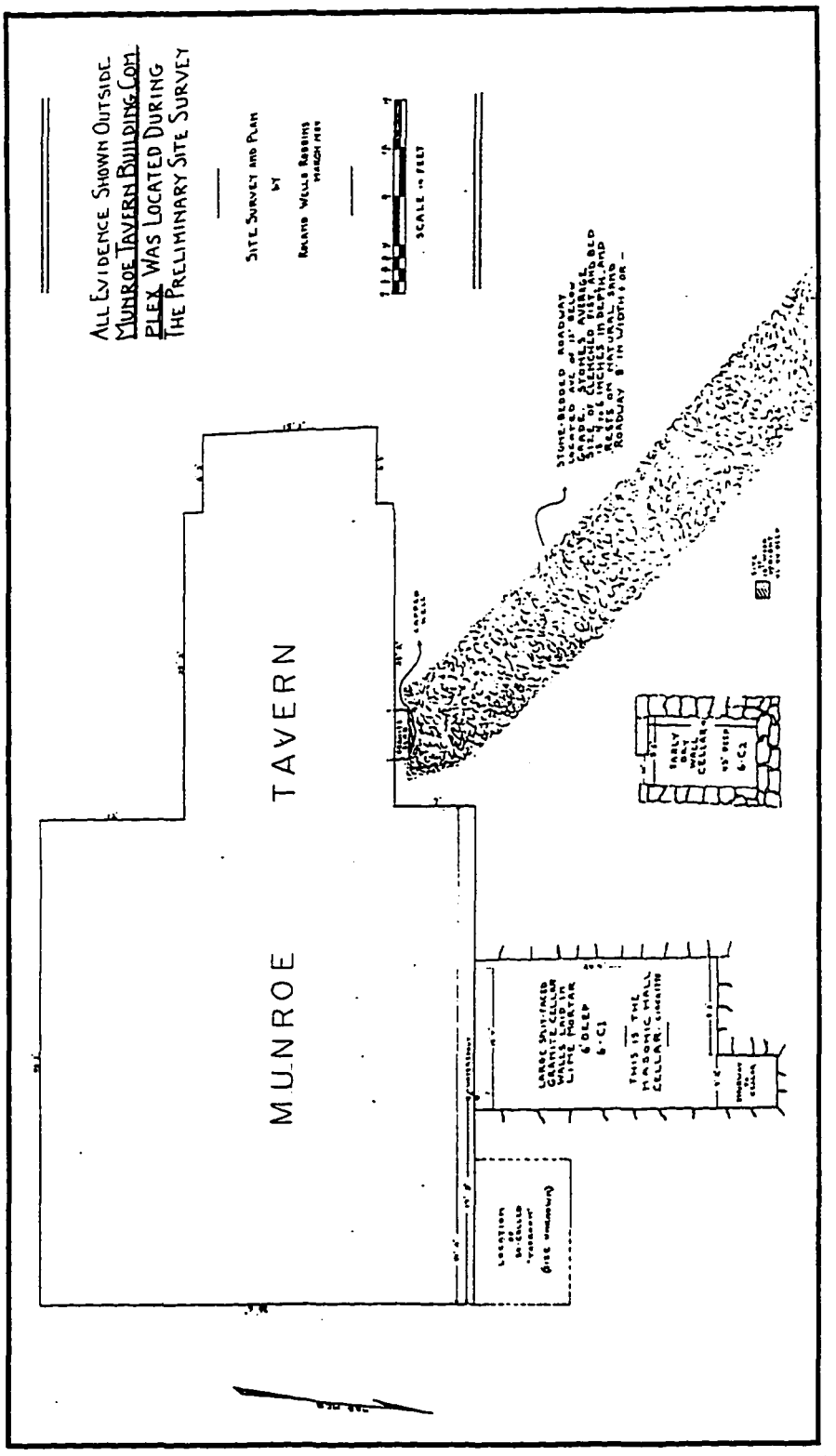

Figure 88. Plan of Munroe Tavern excavations, 1984.

supported the northern wall of the Masonic Hall building, allowing for a width of about 24 feet.[175]

The Munroe Tavern project was from the start a completely restoration-oriented project in terms of the archaeology. The archaeological goals were very limited, locating and testing the below-ground ruins of the Masonic Hall addition to the structure. This final field project by Robbins was very small in terms of the scope of work, time, and budget, and represents his typical approach to this type of small site survey project. His decisions about where to excavate at Munroe Tavern, like most of his sites, were guided by his review of documentary information on the complex, particularly early accounts of the hall and an 1859 "stereopticon" photograph of the tavern and Masonic Hall, and his walkover/probe survey of the property.

Robbins approached the problem of identifying and excavating the structure in his usual methodical way, utilizing a probe rod and surface investigation to identify the principal features after narrowing their location using historical documents. He then established a master grid across the site with 120-×-80-foot sections. Features such as cellars were provenienced and numbered by section; i.e., 6-C1 represented Section 6, Cellar #1. Robbins used the grid for general horizontal control of features across the site; however, artifacts were collected only within features.

Although Robbins's notes indicate that he clearly recognized soil changes, he provided only general descriptions of the stratigraphic sequence that he was excavating at Munroe Tavern, i.e., his record of the soils within Cellar 6-C2. Instead,

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[175] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 23.

he concentrated almost exclusively on investigating the major structural features, the two cellars, wooden post, and path or roadway. He established a site datum for recording vertical data and provided elevations for the features and excavation depths, but did not consistently apply vertical control to artifacts. Vertical control of the soil sequence was limited to the basic recording of elevations for the ground surface prior to excavation and identification of major soil changes. Therefore, artifact provenience was primarily delineated through horizontal fill units and feature designations.

As was typical of the pre-1960 period in historical archaeology, artifacts had remained for Robbins largely peripheral to structural remains. The artifacts from the smaller cellar at the Munroe Tavern excavation were identified with both horizontal and vertical provenience information, dividing the fill into three arbitrary levels. Robbins stored the artifacts in their bags with provenience information. The artifacts were not completely inventoried and analyzed as part of the project; they are only very briefly mentioned in the report, specifically those from the smaller 6-C2 cellar.

The plan drawings and field notes from the Munroe Tavern excavation, providing basic information on the location of major features, are more general than many of Robbins's larger projects; however, they are typical of his preliminary site survey projects. He recorded basic sketches in his field notebook, photo logs, and daily log, and completed mapping of features, including elevations, using a transit. The fieldwork at Munroe Tavern was also documented with Robbins's black-and-white photographs and color slides.

Robbins's report on the work, *Munroe Tavern, Lexington, Massachusetts: A Preliminary Search for the Site of the Masonic Hall*, is much more textual than most

of his reports. It provides an interesting contrast to the Oliver Mill report and its series of sequential color photographs of the excavation and restoration. However, like most of his reports, *Munroe Tavern* is written in Robbins's trademark conversational style. The introduction points out the irony of his having lived within a few miles of the site for over 50 years and not having ever visited the structure, particularly given his work at the nearby Hancock-Clarke House. He had, he told the reader, actually spent a great deal of time in the Lexington area. "During the years following the Great Depression," he wrote, "I worked for Mary Brigham [owner of the Hancock-Clarke House], washing windows and changing screens and storm windows...."[176] Of his type of work, he writes,

> Unless the historian is prepared to return to "his drafting board" and make changes (that can be to their embarrassment on occasion) following an archaeological study of their subject that produces new pieces of the puzzle to ponder, they can never hope to record a purer history as defined by the only means we have to better understand history many years after "his story" was performed.[177]

Robbins was also attuned to the comparative value of the Munroe Tavern and Hancock-Clarke House, both built in the 1690s. "It will be interesting," he noted, "to compare notes for the two archaeological studies of these famous Lexington homesteads....such findings could be more than just coincidental. They could indicate a trend that was taking place during a period in colonial times."[178]

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[176] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 1.

[177] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 4.

[178] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 4.

The report contains a summary of the historical data available on the Munroe Tavern site that relates to the Masonic Hall structure; this is followed by six short chapters describing the actual fieldwork results. These chapters are very brief, but, when combined with the site plan included in the report, provide the basic excavation data. In "Two Ell Shaped Houses and Two Small Cellars," Robbins presented his comparative analysis of the Hancock-Clarke and Munroe Tavern sites, drawing on both historical documents and archaeological data. He concludes that "it may be coincidental, but the sequence of the expansion of the early dwellings at both the Hancock-Clarke homestead and the Munroe Tavern is similar."[179] The report ends with a series of recommendations for complete excavation of the 6-C1 cellar. Robbins pointed out the importance of looking at the interface of this cellar and the cellar beneath the tavern, and suggested that the 6-C2 cellar stonework should be restored to ground level and possibly used as a "garden featuring colonial herbs."[180] Robbins also recommended locating a lean-to structure shown in the 1859 photograph, and that the Society obtain a quality enlargement of this photo for both visitors and later researchers. "In this regard," he admonished the Society,

> I would hope that future historical researchers and students will be successful in having my archival material, if pertinent to their study, made readily available to them. This report--with its studied details, plans and many photographs--will have been in vain unless it is accessible to all those seeking its contents.[181]

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[179] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 29.

[180] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 37.

[181] Robbins, *Munroe Tavern*, p. 37.

As at most of his previous projects, the restoration goals of the Munroe Tavern investigation guided the archaeological excavations, particularly in terms of the limited scope of work and time available to Robbins to complete the work. These limitations, a result of his and his client's focus on the creation of physical monuments to the past, resulted in an approach that was at odds with the standard methodological approach of historical archaeology by the early 1980s. At Munroe Tavern, Robbins identified the principal features associated with the complex, and gathered important archaeological data in the process. Although he ignored the potential usefulness of the overburden or "modern fill layers," removing it with little control, Robbins focused more carefully on the site features and their related artifacts. His methods of data collection and manipulation, informed largely by a commonsense approach, did not meet the basic professional standards of the period.

When Robbins's health began to decline in the summer of 1982, he felt the urge to make a pilgrimage to sites that he had excavated during his career. For most of his life, Robbins had remained generally positive and philosophical about his career. However, as he grew older, he began to worry that his lifetime of archaeological research had amounted to very little. Mrs. Robbins recalled that they initially visited several small sites, stopping only briefly. "When we got to Sleepy Hollow [Philipsburg Manor]," she continued, "he did go around quite a bit more [but was disturbed that nobody recognized him]. He was really quite depressed after that. I think he had begun to have a feeling that he had worked so hard and this was all he got--it wasn't satisfying to him."[182] During his slow recovery from major heart

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[182] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

surgery in the fall of 1982, Robbins began to focus on organizing and ordering his immense collection of personal papers and photographic materials. He also launched new projects such as a second printing of his book of poetry. Robbins had hoped to sell his personal papers and slides to a major repository both to protect them and help provide for his family when he died. Although he wrote dozens of letters and found institutions that would accept the collection as a donation, none would buy it.[183] Christina Joyce, a local artist who helped Robbins with the second edition of his poetry, remembered that

> he was aware of the fact that his life was drawing to a close, and I got the feeling that he wanted to communicate to a younger person who didn't know anything about his past--to show me all the things he had done--I think that he wanted to be appreciated by a person of the next generation.[184]

Joyce recalled that during the project Robbins was "operating on two levels, one was that it was going to be a chance to make some money [for the family], and also a project really fulfilling his psyche."[185]

Roland Robbins was a pioneer in both historical archaeology and in contract archaeology.[186] It is evident that Robbins lived from project to project and contract to contract and, at an early date, had to fashion his own set of approaches to the practice of historical archaeology that echo many of the conventions of modern

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[183] This was a bitter pill for Robbins to swallow; he wrote over eighteen letters before he appeared to give up on the idea.

[184] Christina Joyce, personal communication, 1993.

[185] Christina Joyce, personal communication, 1993.

[186] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

cultural resource management. He worked hard to earn a living in a very new and unstable environment. Robbins administered his projects well, and had many successful years from consulting, although his yearly workload and income fluctuated greatly. He managed his projects professionally and remained flexible, never completely giving up the odd jobs work that filled in between archaeological contracts. He rarely became "despondent or down in the dumps about the lack of work in archaeology," noted his wife Geraldine.[187] He wrote in 1967 that "when things get tough, and they have since the year began, both business-wise and lecture-wise, there isn't a damn thing I can do about it except complain and keep on plugging."[188]

From the beginning of his career, Robbins's earnings as a consultant were supplemented by lecturing and odd jobs work. Geraldine Robbins recalled that "he really never gave up the business [window washing]; he left the door open...[and in] several slow times went back to window washing."[189] From 1949 to 1953, during the Saugus job, his consulting income averaged approximately $500 per month or $6,000 per year plus expenses. Even in 1956, one of his better years, Robbins supplemented his contract income with lecture fees and odd job work.

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[187] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

[188] Roland W. Robbins, "Lectures - 1967," February 24, 1967, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[189] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1992.

Spring window and floor work	$623.52
J. Howard Pew survey	$253.44
Quincy project	$4,929.61
Monticello survey	$313.00
Geo. R. Smith	$50.00
SHR visit	$50.00
SHR survey fee	$3,000.00
SHR expense acct. balance	$696.00
Lectures	$1,215.05
TOTAL GROSS INCOME	$11,130.62

This income is rather extraordinary; in 1956 more than 92% of the U.S. families reported incomes below this level ($10,000 to $11,999), and only 8% at this level or above.[190] His $11,130 income was 2.5 times the national median money wage or salary income of $4,454, and roughly double the median salary for full-time teachers at colleges and universities.[191]

His typical salary or fee for one full year of consulting work at the Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills site from 1957 to 1961 was approximately $12,000, and this did not include his outside lecture fees and other small contracts.[192] Ten years later, Robbins's daily consulting fees had increased to $120 per day or $7,680 for the three-month contract at the Oliver Mill Park Restoration project: an annualized salary of approximately $30,000. Robbins did not get rich from his archaeology, however,

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[190] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States - Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 289.

[191] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, p. 303; National Education Association, "Salaries Paid and Salary Practices in Universities, Colleges, and Junior Colleges, 1955-1956," *National Education Association Research Bulletin* XXXIV, no. 3 (1956): 118.

[192] RGW to HDC, December 18, 1956.

because of the short-term nature of most of his projects and the unpredictability of the work.[193]

Robbins's successes in consulting were due to his savvy approach to marketing and management of his contracts. In this sense, he was years ahead of most cultural resource consultants, then principally academics, who lacked every imaginable business skill. Robbins scheduled short survey jobs between his larger projects, and even during his vacations from the longer projects, because he knew that these small "preliminary survey" jobs often turned into more extended projects. Therefore, he considered it important to do several of these each year, often pro bono or at least for reduced fees. As mentioned above, Robbins used a variety of direct marketing approaches, such as letters of introduction and brochures, lectures, and preliminary surveys to obtain new projects. Because of his good reputation, he received important referrals from his clients, whether small historical societies or local governments.

The Falling Creek Iron Works is an excellent example of Robbins's entrepreneurial approach to marketing his services and his tenaciousness in identifying potential projects, even in the face of repeated rejections. He turned his attention to this site near Richmond, Virginia, in early 1961, as he neared the end of the work at the Phillipsburg Manor Upper Mills. In considering his next project, Robbins wrote to Jamestown curator J. Paul Hudson that "I now want to concentrate on seeing if we can get something going on the Falling Creek site."[194]

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[193] Robbins was responsible for paying his own expenses (in some cases), insurance, and social security tax.

[194] Roland W. Robbins to J. Paul Hudson, January 3, 1961, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

In 1951, Robbins had visited the Falling Creek Iron Works site at the request of the American Iron and Steel Institute to take a "quick look" to determine if evidence existed that would confirm that the Falling Creek site actually operated before its destruction during the 1622 massacre. Based on this visit, recorded in his Saugus daily log for 1951, Robbins located evidence of an old dam and deserted canal that ran along the north side of the river from the early dam to the gristmill ruins, and observed that the stream banks from the dam upstream to Route 1 were steeply sloped and that the area "permits no working area for casting, etc."[195] He further recorded that "the general area where the ruins of the grist mill stand...[are] most desirable for blast furnace operations. Here, either side of Falling Creek provides ideal elevations for a furnace bridge, as well as working area...."[196] Robbins also favored this area, he said, because it provided navigable waters that terminated at the falls, calculating that a dam at the "cascades" would provide a good head of water to power the furnace. The area between the James River and the railroad trestle could be ruled out, Robbins determined, because it provided no elevations for the furnace bridge and was prone to flooding. Robbins ended his notes by recommending that further work be concentrated on "the area to either side of Falling Creek at the cascades."

In early 1961, Robbins wrote to Hudson proposing a "walking and probing survey" to determine "what there was to work with."[197] Hudson suggested that Robbins write to Frederick Pease of the Chesterfield County Historical Society and to

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[195] Robbins, "Saugus Daily Log, 1951," p. 38B.

[196] Robbins, "Saugus Daily Log, 1951," p. 38B.

[197] Robbins to Hudson, January 3, 1961.

state senator Lloyd C. Bird to propose his plan and find out who owned the property. He also suggested that Robbins contact John D. Capron of the Lynchburg Foundry Company about possibly funding the work. Hudson ended the letter by endorsing Robbins's plan: "I don't know of any other archaeologist in America more capable than you to excavate the site of a Colonial period iron works. Your experience at John Winthrop, Saugus, Sterling, and elsewhere makes you the only logical choice."[198]

While Robbins spent most of 1961 "renewing" major excavations at Sterling Furnace in New York, he corresponded with Hudson concerning Falling Creek late in the year. In January 1962, Robbins wrote to Frederick Pease, who responded enthusiastically to Robbins's recommendation for a survey of the site, and invited him to visit the site in the near future. Pease wrote that "anything you can do about restoring the furnace on Falling Creek will meet with much approval with the people of Chesterfield."[199] In a subsequent letter to Hudson, Robbins explained that his normal fee was $100 per day plus expenses, and that the survey that he had in mind would "run under one-thousand dollars."[200] He added that "the Falling Creek furnace is a very controversial subject; did it or didn't it exist; if it existed, did it produce? How much? The survey that I want to conduct would probably answer the

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[198] J. Paul Hudson to Roland Wells Robbins, January 3, 1961, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[199] Frederick H. Pease to Roland Wells Robbins, January 6, 1962, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[200] Roland W. Robbins to J. Paul Hudson, January 17, 1962, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

question whether the site that Mr. Pease, the late Roger Bensley, and others believe to be the site of the 1622 furnace, is just that."[201]

Robbins continued his correspondence with both Hudson and Pease during January and February, attempting to arrange funding for the project through a variety of sources, including federal and state government agencies, county government, and the county historical society. His ongoing discussions with Pease resulted in his return visit to the site in February 1962. Robbins noted that, while he had planned to take transit readings and make tests, the weather was very bad, causing him to limit his work. He summarized his 1962 field investigation and thoughts on the Falling Creek site in a March letter to Hudson.[202] In addition to his thoughts on the iron works, Robbins observed that grading was taking place on the property along Route 1, probably indicating that development was imminent. He recommended that the furnace site not be purchased until a survey was completed to determine the "potential of the site."[203]

Following his 1962 visit to the Falling Creek site, Robbins continued his attempts to obtain funds for a survey and excavation project, writing to Hudson at

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[201] Robbins to Hudson, January 17, 1962. Robbins used the word controversy repeatedly in his reports and books. He seems to have inflated small differences of judgment into controversies as a literary device in his writing and as a way of heightening the importance of solving archaeological problems.

[202] Roland Wells Robbins to J. Paul Hudson, March 1, 1962, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass. Excavations completed by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research in 1993 have confirmed most of Robbins's initial observations about the site [Thomas F. Higgins, et al., *Archaeological Investigations of Site 44CF7, Falling Creek Ironworks, and Vicinity, Chesterfield County, Virginia*, Survey and Planning Report Series no. 4 (Richmond: Department of Historic Resources, 1995), pp. 57-59].

[203] Robbins to Hudson, March 1, 1962.

Jamestown about federal and state funding and Mr. Marcus Elcan of the Lynchburg Foundry Company about private donations. He also stayed in touch with Mr. Frederick Pease, who informed him that the property was for sale by the firm of Rucker and Richardson in Richmond. They would sell a 300-foot wide strip along the river for approximately $20,000. Robbins also corresponded with Thurlow G. Gregory in the fall of 1962 after reading his article in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* noting that while he was not "close to the Falling Creek Furnace controversy, naturally I have been very much interested in it."[204] Gregory responded by challenging Robbins's use of the word controversy: "I do not concede that there is a 'controversy'....I accept the Virginia Company of London as being the final authority upon that matter."[205]

In 1963, Frederick Pease wrote to Robbins to report that he had worked on an excavation of the Falling Creek site conducted by Howard A. MacCord, Sr., of the Virginia State Library.[206] This more extensive archaeological testing was carried out by MacCord and the Archeological Society of Virginia in July 1963.[207] Robbins and MacCord carried on a brief correspondence concerning the iron works, but this excavation effectively ended Robbins's thirteen-year interest in investigating the site.

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[204] Roland W. Robbins to Thurlow G. Gregory, September 21, 1962, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[205] Thurlow G. Gregory to Roland W. Robbins, September 24, 1962, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[206] Frederick H. Pease to Roland W. Robbins, August 19, 1963, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[207] Howard A. MacCord, "Exploratory Excavations at the First Ironworks in America (44CF7)," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 19 (1964): 2-13.

Robbins was a pioneer in historical archaeology and contract archaeology, and can be counted among the first industrial archaeologists in America. Robbins succeeded in locating important American monuments and in capturing the public's interest. He accomplished a great deal during his career, excavating many early industrial sites in the Northeast using a methodical and thoughtful approach that particularly suited his goals. Of the 60 archaeological projects that Robbins completed during his career, 32 (53%) were related to industrial sites (Figure 89). Of these thirty-two industrial sites, over twenty were related to the iron industry, and located from Maine to New Jersey. Beyond a doubt, Robbins excavated more early iron works sites than any other archaeologist, and was completely familiar with the entire process of iron making.

Industrial archaeology, formally established in the early 1950s, had a long tradition as an avocational pursuit in England.[208] Although several studies on industrial sites had been published in the United States by the late 1960s, and the subject had gained some popular attention, it was the late 1970s before it "made itself known in the university curriculum."[209] This new subdiscipline became somewhat controversial in the United States, generating a "great debate over its value, direction, and service."[210] The journal *Historical Archaeology* carried several articles in the

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[208] Vincent P. Foley, "On the Meaning of Industrial Archaeology." *Historical Archaeology* 2(1968):66-68.

[209] David G. Orr, "Philadelphia as Industrial Archaeological Artifact: A Case Study," *Historical Archaeology* 11(1977):3-14.

[210] David G. Orr, "Philadelphia as Industrial Archaeological Artifact: A Case Study," *Historical Archaeology* 11(1977):3-14.

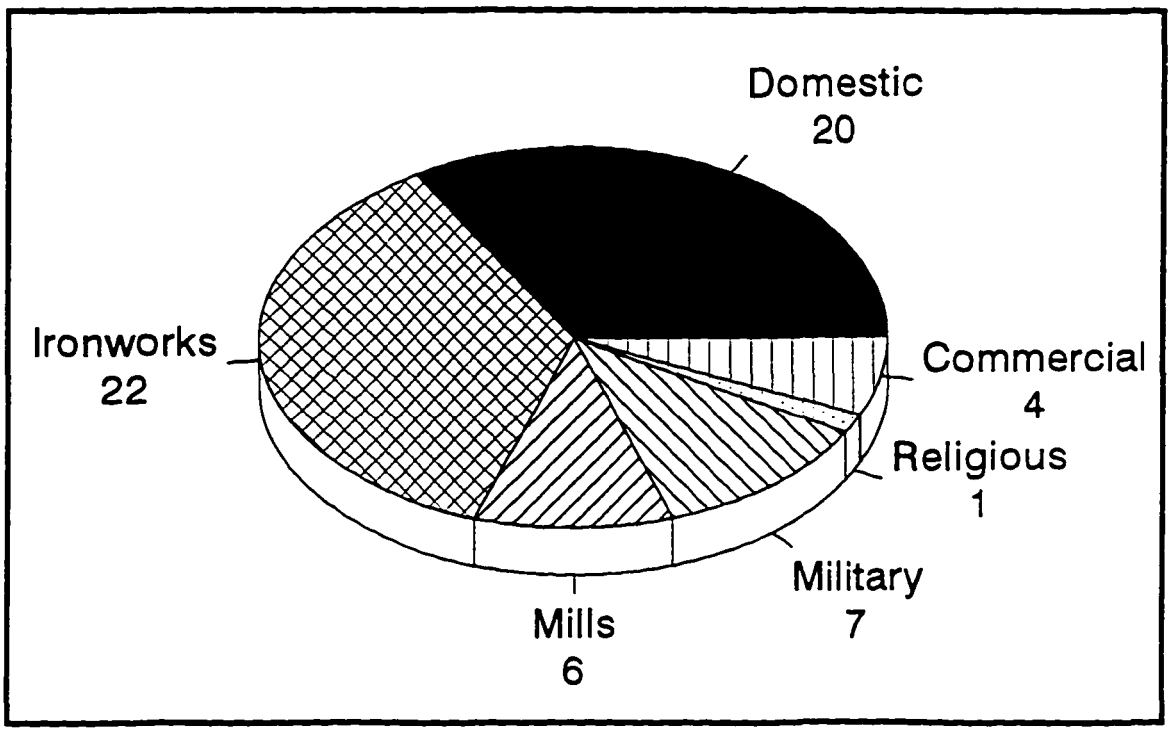

Figure 89. Robbins's projects by site type.

late 1960s that discussed the proper place for industrial archaeology within the discipline of historical archaeology, and for the need to professionalize its practice.[211] For instance, Vincent Foley wrote that it was "only reasonable that a person interested in the history of a particular technology or trade, who desires to call himself an archaeologist....justify it [research goals] with the addition of his background and degrees in archaeology."[212] When he attempted to join the newly formed Society for Industrial Archaeology in the mid-1970s, Robbins found that he faced a familiar situation, professional dismissal of his "amateur work."[213]

Robbins's interest in industrial sites can be examined from within the longstanding tradition of Yankee tinkerers. His preoccupation with these sites stemmed from his roots as a manual laborer and his innate curiosity in how things worked, particularly mechanical devices and processes. He had, his widow recalled, quite an inventive mind, and was "used to thinking up things--mostly either electric or mechanical."[214] Robbins would even go so far as to patent them, but would "immediately lose interest as soon as they were done. He was interested in the

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[211] Vincent P. Foley, "On the Meaning of Industrial Archaeology," *Historical Archaeology* 2(1968):66-68; Robert M. Vogel, "On the Real Meaning of Industrial Archaeology," *Historical Archaeology* 3(1969):87-93; Vincent P. Foley, "Reply to Vogel," *Historical Archaeology* 3(1969):93-94.

[212] Foley, "Reply to Vogel," p. 94.

[213] Roland W. Robbins, "Notes in Folder - Society for Industrial Archaeology - 1972," Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[214] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995.

process."[215] Evan Jones commented that he was not particularly interested directly in the lives of the people at the sites that he excavated. "He was interested in the problem," Jones recalled. "He may have considered how a miller did something or made something, but only in the context of trying to figure out the mechanical setup, and the archaeological problem at hand."[216]

Robbins's work at industrial as well as domestic and military sites was informed by his excellent visual skills; "he was very astute visually...he saw so much, not just in detail, but in terms of landscape and relationships of landscape."[217] Archaeologist Paul Heberling recalled a visit that he and Robbins made to the Greenwood Furnace: "He just walked around and looked at the terrain. He would see something and get out his probe rod to confirm his suspicions. In this way, he figured out the entire setup." "He had such an astute alert awareness of iron complexes," Heberling continued, "that he immediately recognized what he had."[218]

Robbins's passionate pursuit of and research on industrial sites resulted in the accumulation of a tremendous wealth of archaeological and historical data on a variety of early enterprises that has real value to address present research questions and concerns. Archaeologist Marley R. Brown III has commented that

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[215] Geraldine Robbins, personal communication, 1995. For instance, Robbins patented a locking lug nut for automobile wheels in the 1950s and marketed it to the major automakers.

[216] Evan Jones, personal communication, 1992.

[217] Thomas Blanding, personal communication, 1993.

[218] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

> although Robbins's dependence on heavy equipment in his excavations has been a source of controversy among professional archaeologists, he is one of the leading authorities on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century industrial sites in New England.[219]

The results of Robbins's lifetime of research can be used effectively to study previous excavations, providing current scholars with important new evidence for ongoing research and interpretation to the public. This potential has been demonstrated by several projects that have taken advantage of Robbins's previous excavations. Perhaps the most important group of sites represented in Robbins's work is iron working complexes, including furnaces, forges, and lime kilns. Historian James M. Ransom drew on Robbins's years of research for his 1966 study of iron working sites in New Jersey and New York. In *Vanishing Ironworks of the Ramapos*, Ransom utilized Robbins's knowledge of iron making sites, and integrated Robbins's material evidence on the Sterling Iron Works and Ringwood Iron Works sites into the historical and documentary story (Figure 90).[220]

The William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research has recently benefitted from Robbins's documentary and photographic archives in their evaluation of the Falling Creek Iron Works site. Although his excavation was limited at this site, Robbins's observations and photographs of site conditions in the early 1950s and 1960s were extremely helpful in assessing the original site layout and the alterations to the site over the past 40 years, and in preparing the site's nomination to the

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[219] Brown, *Historical Archaeology in New England,"* p. 6.

[220] James M. Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks of the Ramapos: The Story of the Forges, Furnaces, and Mines of the New Jersey--New York Border Area* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966).

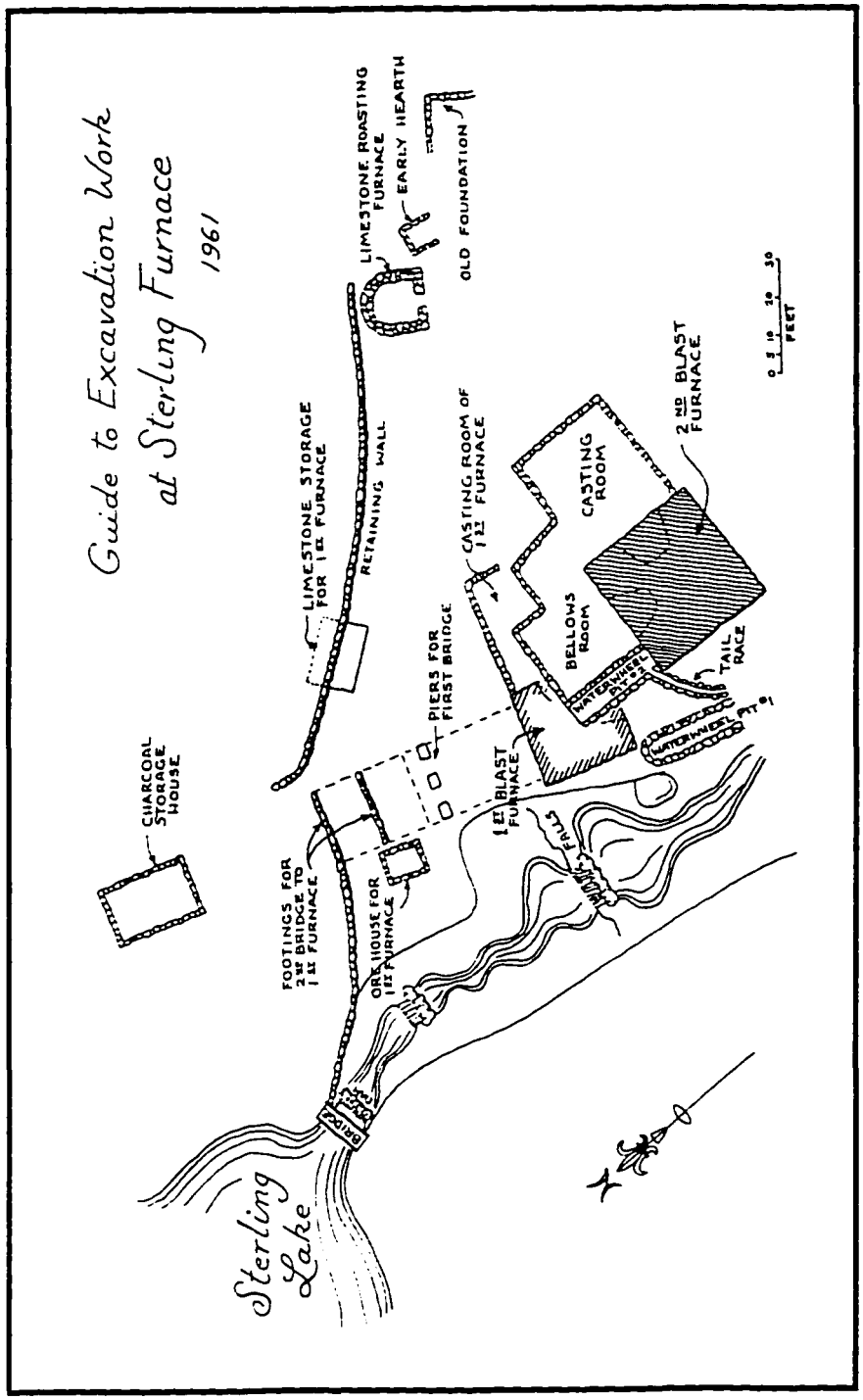

Figure 90. Plan of Robbins's excavations at Sterling Forest Iron Works (Ranson 1966:210).

National Register.[221] Test excavations in 1993 essentially confirmed all of Robbins's earlier observations and interpretations.[222]

Most recently, a group of archaeologists and chemists has begun a long-term project to construct a ceramic chemistry archive for New Netherland/New York.[223] The project is designed to "explore the chemical dimension of archaeological materials," particularly compositional data, in order to "address questions of colonial craft development, industrial change, and trade pattern in one region of the United States."[224] The artifactual material recovered by Robbins at Philipsburg Manor forms an important set of data for the analysis because it contains both locally made and imported materials. This type of study can add significantly to the present interpretation of the Philipsburg Manor site, and to larger issues of trade in the Hudson Valley region.

Of equal importance are Robbins's many excavations on domestic sites throughout the Northeast. These 20 projects, 34% of Robbins excavations, include Shadwell, the John Alden House, the Hancock-Clarke House, and the Rev. Samuel

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[221] One photograph demonstrated that a thickly wooded area in the center of the site had previously been used as a grass-surface basketball court.

[222] Higgins et al., *Archaeological Investigations of Site 44CF7, Falling Creek Ironworks*, pp. 57-59.

[223] Allan S. Gilbert, Garman Harbottle, and Daniel deNoyelles, "A Ceramic Chemistry Archive for New Netherland/New York," *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 3 (1993): 17-56.

[224] Gilbert et al. "A Ceramic Chemistry Archive," pp. 17, 50.

Parris Parsonage (see Figure 89).[225] The results of Robbins's investigations at these domestic sites have formed the evidence for several interesting projects that were executed within the cultural history approach of anthropology. As discussed earlier, James Deetz utilized the results of Robbins's Alden excavation in his important synthetic work *In Small Things Forgotten*.[226] Likewise, archaeologist Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh exploited the ceramic collections from Alden (1630-1675), Hancock-Clarke (1699-1805), and the Parris Parsonage (1681-1784) sites in her award-winning study on "the nature of ideo-cultural variation and change in the 17th-18th-century Massachusetts Bay Colony."[227] At Shadwell, the birthplace of Thomas Jefferson, archaeologists have recently reexcavated the site, and have found Robbins's data very useful in their overall research. Although his 1954 interpretations have subsequently been discarded, the quality of his excavations has allowed the Monticello archaeologists to integrate his data with the materials from the present investigation (Figure 91). The excellent horizontal control of the artifacts allowed them to be utilized in computer-based distributional analysis.[228] Initially, the archaeologists

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[225] The Rev. Samuel Parris Parsonage site (1681-1784) was excavated in 1970 under the auspices of the Danvers Historical Commission. Robbins was hired to provide professional expertise to this largely volunteer project directed by history graduate student Richard Trask.

[226] Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, pp. 96-97.

[227] Turnbaugh, "Ideo-Cultural Variation," p. 169. Turnbaugh's study, written as an undergraduate paper, received the 1976 John M. Goggin Award. The Hancock-Clarke ceramics were analyzed by Brown University graduate student Vernon K. Baker in 1975 (Baker, "South's Ceramic Dating Formula").

[228] Susan Kern, personal communication, 1993.

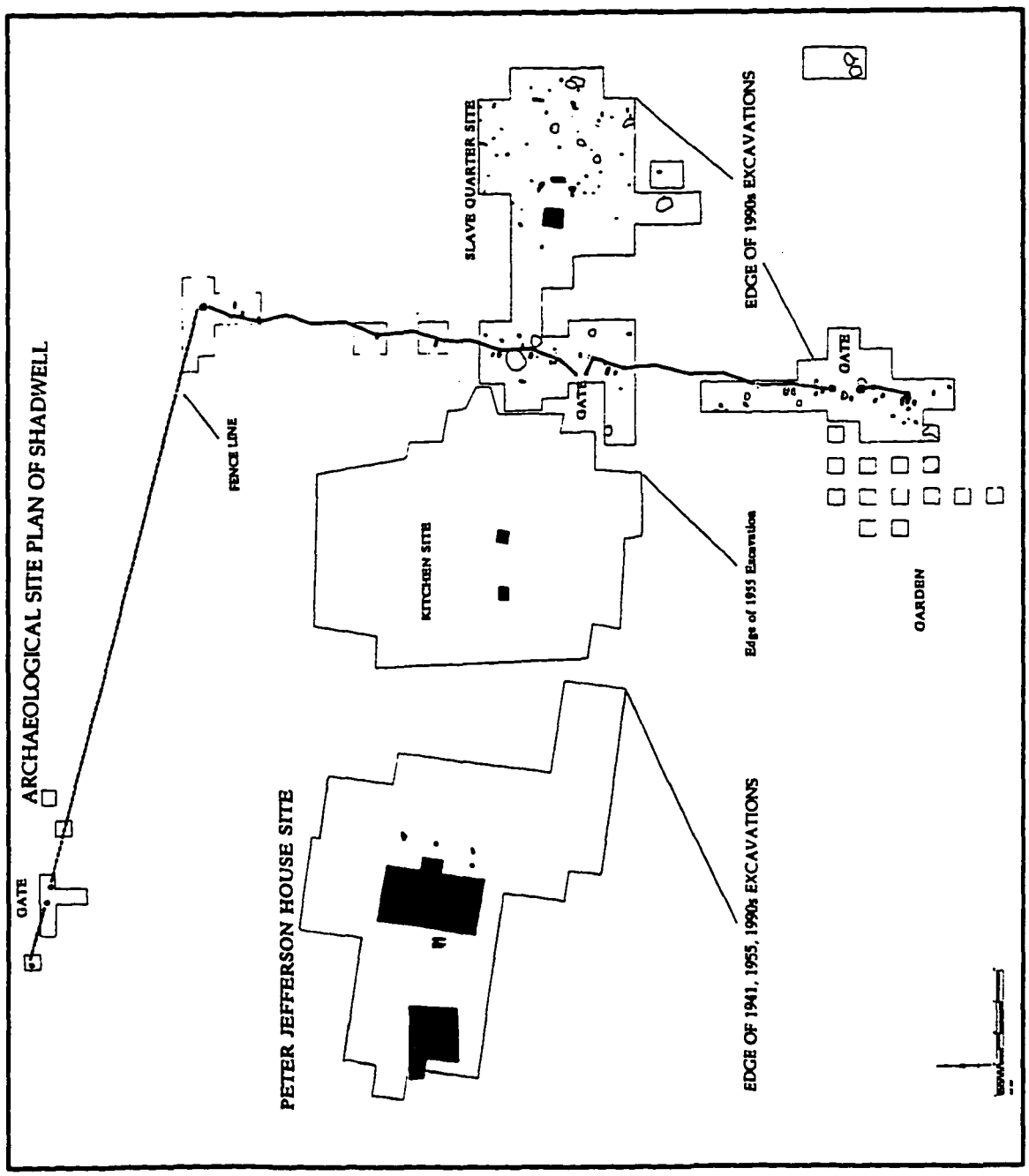

Figure 91. Plan of excavations at Shadwell showing present investigations along with the extent of Robbins's and Kimball's work (Courtesy of Susan Kern).

didn't have a copy of Robbins's field plan, but they were able to reconstruct most of his grid system from the provenience information on the individual artifact bags.

Throughout his extended career in archaeological and historical research, Robbins supported himself and his family and cultivated a vocation that temporarily offered him the satisfaction, success, and recognition he sought. While his work was rejected by many academically trained archaeologists, it was eagerly welcomed by the general public. Reviews and comments on his publications and presentations indicate that he succeeded in making "history come alive..., [in] making something live again in people's imaginations."[229] Through his lectures, volunteer and dig-it-yourself programs, and teaching opportunities, Robbins conveyed the excitement and importance of historical archaeology to thousands. Thomas Blanding remembered that although Roland enjoyed the attention of the public, "he was a very giving, generous-spirited person. I think in many ways he was a born teacher."[230]

Since the early 1980s, public archaeology has developed into an organized sub-area within both prehistoric and historical archaeology.[231] This has come about through the advent of post-processual archaeological theories and a reawakened awareness that public support was essential for the long-term survival and

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[229] Dodson, "The Man Who Found Thoreau," p. 116.

[230] Thomas Blanding, personal communication, 1993.

[231] An entire literature has developed on public archaeology. These works range from Mark P. Leone's "Method as Message: Interpreting the Past with the Public," *Museum News* 63, no. 1 (1983):34-41) to the most recent addition, Parker B. Potter, Jr.'s *Public Archaeology in Annapolis: A Critical Approach to History in Maryland's Ancient City* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994). The literature also includes a growing number of texts for younger readers and teaching manuals.

development of the discipline.[232] Robbins's school programs and hands-on projects anticipated the current integration of archaeology into the elementary and junior high school curriculum by 25 to 30 years.

For instance, Robbins became involved with an outdoor education program administered by the Ridgewood Public Schools in Ridgewood, New Jersey, in 1966. The program was designed to provide outdoor educational activities in "archaeology, cartography, conservation, geology, history, and pond ecology."[233] Each summer for several days, Robbins introduced students to field archaeology. In the second year, the students discovered the pre-Revolutionary War Hewitt Blast Furnace site in Ringwood State Park. Over the next five years, Robbins worked with the students to partially excavate the furnace site. School superintendent Malcolm Katz wrote to Robbins that

> the experience that our junior high school students had with you was the most stimulating and worthwhile educational experience we have been able to provide. Your ability to capture the interests of these young people and to work with them such that they felt the "scent of discovery" was at the heart of their learning during that week.[234]

The director of the Ridgewood outdoor education program explained to Robbins that educators across the country were beginning to see the importance of this type of

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[232] J. C. Harrington had seen the need for this public participation in Jamestown in the 1930s and opened portions of the excavations for public tours (Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect"). The post-processual "critical theorists" have argued for the importance of taking "into account its [American archaeology's] contemporary social context" (Potter, *Public Archaeology*, p. 27).

[233] Robert C. Olsen, "Digging Up the Past - Archaeology in Outdoor Education," *The Science Teacher* 37, no. 8 (1970): n.p.

[234] Malcolm Katz to Roland W. Robbins, June 7, 1967, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

hands-on learning experience, and ended by telling him that "your effect upon children and adults, as a teacher, is of such magnitude that one can not help but wish you were a member of our staff."[235]

He pioneered the development of public archaeology in schools, at sites, and through his publications and lectures. Paul Heberling has argued that Robbins's major contributions were to "get people interested in archaeology and bring attention to historic-sites archaeology," in that order.[236] "He saw it almost as a mission," remembered Heberling, "getting people involved in these sites so that they could participate in their own heritage."[237] Much of Robbins's message to the public focused on the importance of the tangible remains of the past and the thrill of discovery. James Deetz has recently reiterated the importance of the emotional appeal of the past and its connection to intellectual pursuits. Using Robbins's excavation at Saugus as his example, Deetz wrote:

> One can look at the ironworking equipment excavated at seventeenth-century Saugus, Massachusetts, and point out that it tells us a story of early attempts at ironworking in the colonies. One can even suggest that the excavation led investigators into an area of research on seventeenth-century ironworking technology that might not have been pursued had the archaeology not been done. Yet the equipment per se tells us little new about the subject, for its history and technology are well attested to in documents, both in England and America. So to justify the excavation of this material in intellectual terms is a shaky proposition. But the emotional impact of these objects is palpable, reminding us in ways that no written account could of what it must have been like in the rough New England frontier, trying to develop a

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[235] Harry M. Johnson to Roland W. Robbins, November 29, 1967, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[236] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[237] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

> technology in the face of considerable odds. That is the true value of such objects, and if by some chance they do contribute something new to our knowledge, well and good. But they need not, for it is their intrinsic worth that justifies their recovery.[238]

Thirty years earlier, Robbins had revealed to a radio audience in New York that he worked under this same emotional attraction. "I think the thing that interested me [at Saugus]," Robbins recalled,

> was that it was so ingenious in being able to take and harness this rough country in all its aspects, not only build docks at the head of the river, but there nature had been very generous with ore deposits and large trees that could be felled and converted to charcoal for fuel.[239]

As Robbins had argued for decades, it was equally important to convey this emotional aspect of archaeology to the public. Deetz added:

> If the field is to continue to grow and prosper...it is imperative that the emotional content of our subject not be buried beneath layers of dull, jargon-ridden reporting. This is not to suggest that the artifacts themselves be celebrated...context is all important. But we must also not lose sight of the intrinsic worth of those things which we also consider in their associational context and relative numbers.[240]

In some cases, however, by continuing to "find things out in his own way," Robbins, like other early pioneers, destroyed important archaeological information at sites. During his career, Robbins investigated over sixty sites in the northeastern United States. Approximately half of these were preliminary survey or survey projects with little or no excavation. The other half consisted of excavation and restoration

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[238] James Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), p. 171-72.

[239] Roland Wells Robbins, "Interview on Martha Dean Show," August 8, 1960 (New York: WOR Radio) Audio Tape, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[240] James Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), p. 172-73.

projects that examined and impacted varying portions of the sites (Figure 92). Although information was certainly lost, his meticulous documentation and recording of his projects provides a tremendous body of usable information for new research and interpretation at these sites. The quality of his documentation is so good that his excavations have the potential to provide even more usable data than that available from many professionally excavated sites of the period. Although academically trained professionals steadily improved their techniques, many of these projects suffer from extremely poor documentation.

To the dismay of the professional archaeological community, Robbins also actively encouraged the general public to become "pick and shovel historians," declaring that the past was not the exclusive property of university-trained archaeologists. His suggestions in *Hidden America* that individuals could "dig-it-themselves" caused John Cotter to write that the book's "...failure is that, while cautioning the layman not to dig recklessly, it also informs him that he, too, can become an archaeologist simply by following Mr. Robbins's example and instruction...."[241] However, he clearly understood the importance of public involvement in archaeological projects in both an educational and financial sense, and was highly successful in reaching the public with the stories of his discoveries and of archaeology in general. Although Robbins realized the importance of connecting with the public early in his career, it was not until the early 1980s that "public" archaeology became the buzzword of the professional. In this respect, Robbins's distance from members of the discipline, who were at that time professionalizing,

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[241] Cotter, "Review of Hidden America," p. 221.

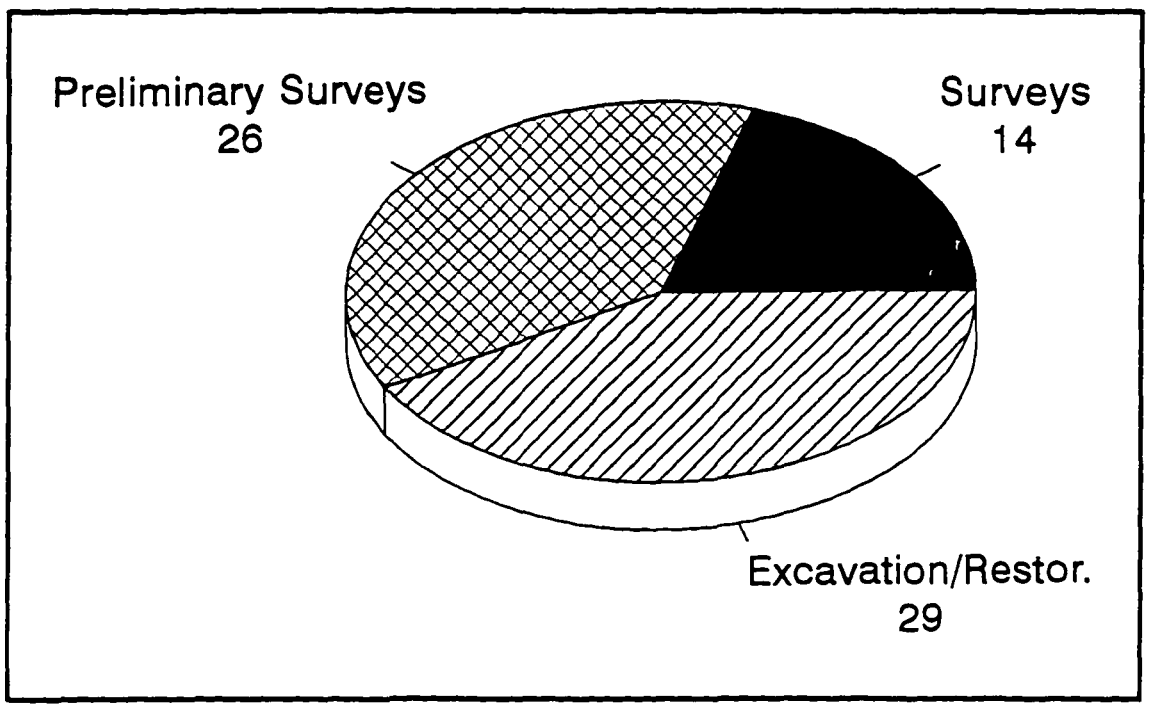

Figure 92. Robbins's projects by investigation type.

turning inward, and grasping for control, enabled him to succeed in reaching the public.

Because of his public orientation, his antiquarian interests, and combative style, Robbins's work has been largely forgotten or ignored by "scientific" researchers who consider it useless or simply worthless. In this sense, Robbins's research projects provide an important opportunity to analyze approaches to studying the past that have existed outside of the academy. Even more significant is the high level of skill and resourcefulness demonstrated in his records, fieldnotes and diaries, photographs, and maps. The quantity and quality of these resources, as demonstrated above, are simply staggering.

Robbins's reports and publications unfortunately do not convey the overall quality of his records and record-keeping. Robbins also had an undeserved reputation for hoarding his records, and not sharing them with researchers or the organizations that sponsored the work. In almost every case, Robbins provided the records of his work, at very least the maps and photographs, to the sponsoring organizations, historical societies, or museums.[242] In each case, missing documents, photographs, or artifacts are likely the direct result of negligence on the part of the sponsoring agencies.[243] For instance, in 1975 Robbins received a letter from the archaeologist at Historic Bethlehem, Inc., inquiring after records and photographs from Robbins's 1957 excavations. He replied that he was shocked that Historic Bethlehem had not

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[242] This can be documented again and again through copies of transmittal letters from Robbins to the various organizations.

[243] Strawbery Banke, Inc. had no record of the site and plan maps that Robbins had sent, nor did they have the artifacts from the dig.

retained the copies of these materials, particularly the black-and-white photographs taken by one of their own employees.[244] It is indeed fortunate that Robbins provided copies to his clients and retained the originals in his personal archives. Although Robbins was willing to share the information with Historic Bethlehem, and provided a detailed summary in his letter to Gill, his time was valuable, he said, and he couldn't spend it recreating their files: "[My] time does not permit me to have any of this copied or duplicated," he wrote.[245]

Although they have long been ignored and underrated, the voluminous materials on Robbins's excavations, both artifactual and documentary, have enormous importance for archaeologists in the 1990s and beyond. Jamestown pioneer J. C. Harrington has asserted that

> it must be obvious than any excavating done 80, 50, or even 25 years ago, inevitably had its shortcomings. Of course, we wouldn't do it the same way today, but there is no point in crying over spilt milk. Rather than lamenting the faults of previous projects, it would be more productive to make the best possible use of information and artifacts from those projects.[246]

More recently, Marley Brown has remarked that Robert Schuyler and Stanley South have clearly demonstrated that "archaeological material previously recovered from historic sites can serve as a valuable data base for further analysis, regardless of the reasons behind the original excavation."[247] Of equal importance is the value of

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[244] Roland W. Robbins to Bruce Cooper Gill, April 28, 1975, Papers of Roland W. Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[245] Robbins to Gill, April 28, 1975.

[246] Harrington, "Jamestown Archaeology in Retrospect," p. 29.

[247] Brown, *A Survey of Historical Archaeology in New England*, p. 14.

Robbins's life and career for the archaeologists of the 1990s and beyond. He pioneered public involvement and contract archaeology within a setting of institutional constraints and monetary pressures--the same circumstances that face practitioners today.[248]

Robbins's life and early work show that he had a variety of reasons for embracing historical archaeology as a career. It is clear that he was working within a system that desired to create monuments and shrines as symbols of the American past. He worked within and was often directed by the many small historical societies, museums, and family associations that desired to identify and interpret the physical remains associated with their sites. The available alternatives were few, particularly during Robbins's early career. The academy was out of reach for the self-educated Robbins, and most academic practitioners saw the field as "tin-can archaeology." The only other organization involved in historical archaeology was the federal government, and their projects were staffed largely by university-trained prehistorians. Therefore, most of Robbins's projects were short term in duration and undertaken for historical sites and museums, organizations that brought a wide array of intentions and desires to the table that often conflicted with archaeological goals (Figure 93).

Like any pioneer, Robbins also desired to build a shrine to his personal success and to the man who represented the independence and self-determination that he so desperately sought. "Do I think [Thoreau] wanted me to find [the cabin]? You're damned right I do! I think he wanted me to stay right there until I found the

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[248] Robert A. Gross, personal communication, 1996.

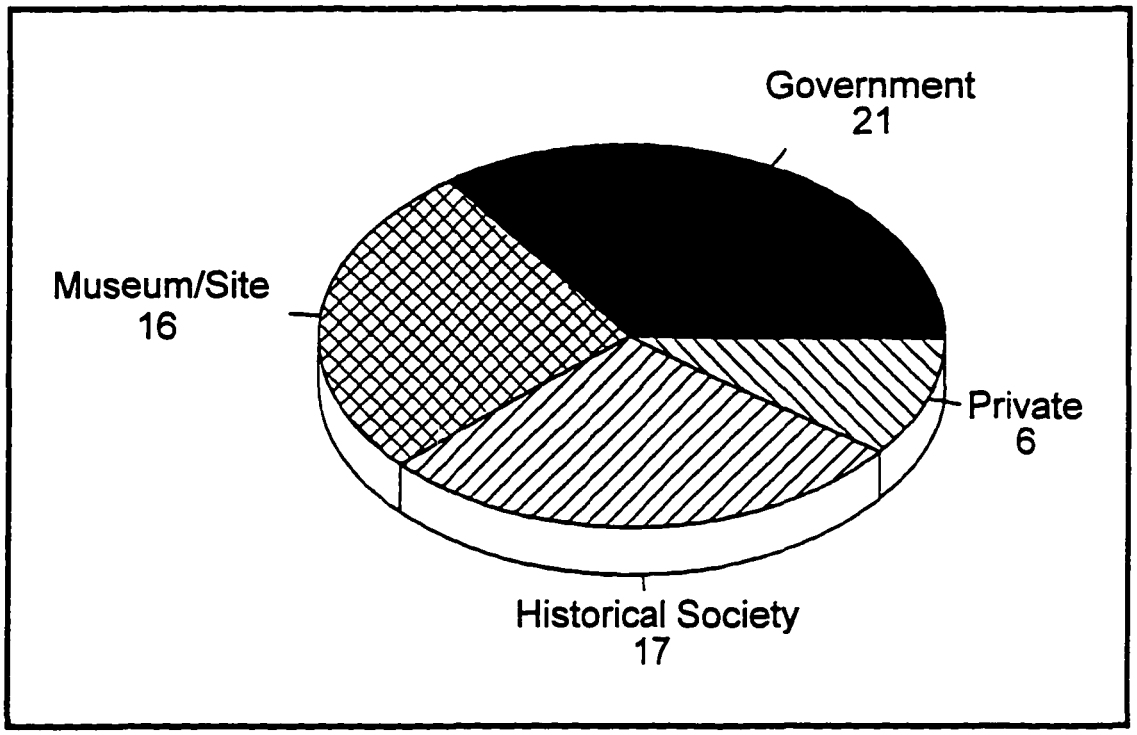

Figure 93. Robbins's projects by sponsoring organization.

damned thing!"[249] Although he was a good-natured man, Robbins had the pioneer type personality. "He was irascible and could be caustic," friend and colleague Paul Heberling remembered.[250] "Yes, he was self-centered and thought fundamentally of himself. What he was doing--what the reaction of the world to him was." But he was also a wonderful person, Heberling recalled: "People that couldn't deal with him were probably rather insecure themselves."[251] Writer Frederick Turner remarked to him, "'you know, Mr. Robbins, you're a character.' 'Oh, I know I'm a character,' he shot back with a high laugh, 'and I love it!'"[252]

For Robbins, his work and his life had been a series of problems: "yes, he loved the problems--that gave him something to explore."[253] He met his impending death the same way, his friend Heberling recalled, "almost enthusiastically--it was a problem - he talked about it ahead of time and wondered about it."[254] He spent his final weeks as he had spent his life, working on his papers and walking through the woods of Walden Pond. Even during his illness, remembered friend Tom Blanding, "he was never too busy or tired, to entertain a Thoreauvian or offer him the hospitality of the Walden House."[255] On February 8, 1987, Robbins died in his own

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[249] Robbins quoted in Turner, *Spirit of Place*, p. 48.

[250] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[251] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[252] Robbins quoted in Turner, *Spirit of Place*, p. 48.

[253] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[254] Paul Heberling, personal communication, 1992.

[255] Thomas Blanding, "Eulogy for Roland Wells Robbins," Presented at Memorial Service, Trinitarian Congregational Church, Concord, Massachusetts, March 21, 1987.

bed in the house that he had cherished for over 50 years, surrounded by his entire family.

The results of his work, still visible in many state parks and historical sites, now provide a new generation with symbols of the American past. In building and accepting these symbols, Robbins made himself an emblem of Thoreauvian self-determination, an unlettered, self-educated man of action, with common sense and a thoroughly Yankee background, who could be called the "People's Archaeologist." As Thoreau said of his experiment at Walden, "If one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours."[256]

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[256] *Walden*, ed. J. Lyndon Shanley (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 323.

APPENDIX A
Chronology of the Life of Roland Wells Robbins

1908	born March 21 in Worcester
1924	drops out of high school
1929	loses job due to the Depression mother, Lucy May Robbins, dies
1931	father, Fred Flint Robbins, dies
1932	moves to Vermont begins writing poetry
1934	marries Geraldine Prior in August couple return to Massachusetts
1936	move into new house
1937	son Richard (Dick) born
1938	publishes *Thru the Covered Bridge*
1939	daughter Jean born
1943	begins research on the Minute Man statue
1944	daughter Bonita born
1945	publishes *The Story of the Minute Man* begins excavations at Walden Pond
1946	delivers first lecture, Thoreau Society
1947	publishes *Discovery at Walden*
1948	begins excavations at Saugus Iron Works
1953	resigns from Saugus Iron Works
1954	excavations at Shadwell
1956	begins excavations at Philipsburg Manor

1959	publishes *Hidden American* with Evan Jones
1960	excavations at John Alden House
1962	leaves Philipsburg Manor
1965	elected president of the Thoreau Society
1965	excavations at Hancock-Clarke House
1967	excavations at Puddle Dock, Strawbery Banke excavations at Oliver Mill
1969	publishes *Pilgrim John Alden's Progress: Archaeological Excavations in Duxbury*
1976	Lecturer-in-Residence, Juniata State College
1977	Dublin Seminar lecture
1984	excavations at Munroe Tavern
1987	dies in Lincoln, February 8

APPENDIX B
Archaeological Projects of Roland Wells Robbins[257]

SITE NAME	ORGANIZATION	DATE(S)	LOCATION	SITE TYPE	PROJECT TYPE[258]
Thoreau's Cabin	N/A	1945-1947	Concord, MA	Domestic	Excavation/Restoration
Saugus Iron Works	First Iron Works Assoc.	1948-1954	Saugus, MA	Industrial/Iron works	Excavation/Restoration
Falling Creek Iron Works	Chesterfield Hist. Soc.	1951, 1961-1962	Falling Creek, VA	Industrial/Iron works	Prelim. Survey
Old Glebe House	Rev. Charles Harriman	1952	Woodbury, CT	Industrial/Iron works	Survey/Excavation
Lincoln Beehives	N/A	1953-1963	Lincoln, MA	Domestic/Farm	Survey
Dover Union Iron Works	Miss Amelia Peabody	1954	Dover, MA	Industrial/Iron works	Excavation/Restoration
Shadwell	Thomas Jefferson Birthplace Memorial Park Commission	1954-1955	Shadwell, VA	Domestic	Excavation/Restoration
Eleutherian Mills/Birkenhead Mills	Hagley Foundation	1955	Wilmington, DE	Industrial/Mill	Survey/Excavation
Monticello "Mulberry Road"	Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation	1956	Charlottesville, VA	Domestic	Prelim./Survey

[257] Based on Roland Wells Robbins's resumé dated September 3, 1984, and Robbins's project files. Papers of Roland Wells Robbins, Lincoln, Mass.

[258] **Preliminary Survey** = a brief walkover inspection of the site with little or no excavation; often performed to develop cost estimates. **Survey** = test pits and limited test trenches to identify features. **Excavation/Restoration** = full or partial excavation of site and/or restoration.

SITE NAME	ORGANIZATION	DATE(S)	LOCATION	SITE TYPE	PROJECT TYPE
John Winthrop, Jr. Blast Furnace	City of Quincy, Mass.	1956	West Quincy, MA	Industrial/Iron works	Excavation
		1965	West Quincy, MA	Industrial/Iron works	Restoration
Philipse Castle/Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills	Sleepy Hollow Restorations Restorations/Historic Hudson Valley	1956-1961	N. Tarrytown, NY	Industrial/Mill	Excavation/Restoration
Crown Point State Park[259]	W.R. Slack	1956	Crown Point, NY	Military/Revolutionary	Prelim. Survey
	Bulwagga Bay Assoc./ Colonial Crown Point, Inc.	1959-1960	Crown Point, NY	Military/Revolutionary	Excavation/Restoration
	Barker & Henry/Architects-Engineers for State of N.Y.	1967-1968	Crown Point, NY	Military/Revolutionary	Survey/ Excavation/Restoration
Wharton Tract/Batsto Ironworks	New Jersey Dept. of Conservation & Economic Development	1957	Burlington Co., NJ	Industrial/Iron works	Prelim. Survey
Brothers House, Apothecary Gardens Moravian College Campus	Historic Bethlehem, Inc.	1958-1959	Bethlehem, PA	Domestic	Survey/Excavation
Temple Hill	National Temple Hill Assoc., Inc.	1959-1960	Newburgh, NY	Military/Revolutionary	Prelim. Survey
Sterling Blast Furnace	The Sterling Forest Corp.	1959, 1961-1962	Sterling Lake, NY	Industrial/Iron works	Excavation/Restoration

[259] A stock corporation formed to run the historic Crown Point site as a museum and educational facility. The state of New York acquired the property from Colonial Crown Point, Inc., in 1963 and named it the Crown Point Reservation.

SITE NAME	ORGANIZATION	DATE(S)	LOCATION	SITE TYPE	PROJECT TYPE
John Alden House	Alden Kindred of America	1960-1964	Duxbury, MA	Domestic	Excavation/Restoration
Capt. John Sands House	Block Island Tercentenary Committee	1960	Block Island, RI	Domestic	Survey
Parson Barnard House/Anne Bradstreet House	N. Andover Historical Society	1962	N. Andover, MA	Domestic	Survey
Gov. John Wentworth Farm	N.H. Dept. of Resources and Economic Development/ Division of Parks	1962	Wolfeboro, NH	Domestic	Prelim. Survey
Manursing Island	Mrs. Ellen C. McKay	1962	Rye, NY	Domestic	Prelim. Survey
Nassawango Iron Works	Worcester Co. Historical Society	1962	Snow Hill, MD	Industrial/Iron works	Prelim. Survey
		1977, 1978 1980, 1984	Snow Hill, MD	Industrial/Iron works	Excavation/Restoration
Dover Furnace/South Boston Furnace Co.	N.Y. City Mission Society	1963	Dover Furnace, NY	Industrial/Iron works	Prelim. Survey
Hasenclever Blast Furnace	Edward Ryerson	1963	Ringwood State Park, NJ	Industrial/Iron works	Prelim. Survey
Hewitt Iron Works[260]	New Jersey Dept. of Conservation & Devel.	1967	Ringwood State Park, NJ	Industrial/Iron works	Excavation/Restoration

[260] During April 1967, students in the Ridgewood Schools Outdoor Education Program worked with Robbins at the site. Robbins also lectured to students at the schools in Ridgewood before the fieldwork.

SITE NAME	ORGANIZATION	DATE(S)	LOCATION	SITE TYPE	PROJECT TYPE
Peter Folger Homestead/ Tristam Coffin Homestead	Miss Dorothy Whitman	1964	Nantucket, MA	Domestic	Prelim. Survey
Hancock-Clarke Homestead	Lexington Historical Commission	1965	Lexington, MA	Domestic	Excavation/Restoration
Katadin Iron Works	Maine Bureau of Public Improvements	1966	Brownville Junction, ME	Industrial/Iron works	Excavation/Restoration
Puddle Dock	Strawbery Banke, Inc.	1966	Portsmouth, NH	Commercial/Wharf	Survey/Excavation
Oliver Mill Park Restoration	Oliver Mill Park Coordinating Committee Town of Middleborough	1967, 1969, 1971-1973, 1975-1976, 1980	Middleborough, MA	Industrial/Mill	Excavation/Restoration
Von Steuben Mansion	Bergen Co. Historical Society	1967-1968	River Edge, NJ	Domestic	Prelim. Survey
First Parish Church Cellar Site/ Wheeler Property Pottery[261]	Weston Historical Society	1967-1968	Weston, CT	Domestic/Industrial	Survey/Excavation
Hammondville Furnace/ Ironville Forge	Penfield Foundation	1968	Crown Point, NY	Industrial/Iron works	Prelim. Survey
Gilmanton Iron Works	Gilmanton Historical Society	1968	Gilmanton, NH	Industrial/Iron works	Prelim. Survey
Rockport Lime Kilns	Town of Rockport	1969	Rockport, MA	Industrial/Lime Kilns	Prelim. Survey

[261] Field program for students in Weston Public Schools.

SITE NAME	ORGANIZATION	DATE(S)	LOCATION	SITE TYPE	PROJECT TYPE
Kent Furnace	Connecticut Historical Commission	1970	Kent, CT	Industrial/Iron works	Prelim. Survey
Rev. Samuel Parris Parsonage	Danvers Historical Soc.	1970	Danvers, MA	Domestic	Excavation/Restoration
Tufts Street Meter Bldg.	U.S. Coast Guard	1971	Boston, MA	Commercial	Survey
Old Mill Park	Town of Bolton	1972	Bolton, MA	Industrial/Mill	Prelim. Survey
Revolutionary War Encampment Avon Mountain	Connecticut Dept. of Transportation	1972-1973	West Hartford, CT	Military/Revolutionary	Prelim. Survey/ Excavation
Fort Ticonderoga	Fort Ticonderoga	1972-1973	Ticonderoga, NY	Military/Revolutionary	Prelim. Survey
Fort Stamford	City of Stamford	1973	Stamford, CN	Military/Revolutionary	Prelim. Survey
Richard Smith Forge/ Colebrook Mills	Colebrook Historical Society	1973	Norfolk, CN	Industrial/Ironworks	Prelim. Survey
Gov. Moses Gill Mansion	Princeton Bicentennial Committee	1974	Princeton, MA	Domestic	Survey
		1976	Princeton, MA	Domestic	Excavation
Moore Memorial State Park	Massachusetts Dept. of Natural Resources	1974, 1979	Paxton, MA	Industrial/Mill	Excavation/Restoration
	The Friends of the Mill Village, Inc.	1976	Paxton, MA	Industrial/Mill	Excavation/Restoration
Beaver Dam Village	School of Cultural Arts, Inc.	1974	Westhampton, LI, NY	Domestic	Prelim. Survey

SITE NAME	ORGANIZATION	DATE(S)	LOCATION	SITE TYPE	PROJECT TYPE
Lexington Meeting House	Lexington Bicentennial Committee	1975	Lexington, MA	Religious	Survey
Rogers-Sheldon East Bridgewater Iron Works	East Bridgewater Bicentennial Commission	1975-1976	East Bridgewater, MA	Industrial/Iron works	Excavation/Restoration
Clinton Blast Furnace	Newark Watershed Conservation & Development Corp.	1976	Newfoundland, NJ	Industrial/Iron works	Prelim. Survey
Cape Ann Industrial Park	Tibbetts Engineering Corp.	1977	Gloucester, MA	N/A	Survey
Lakeville Industrial Park	Town of Lakeville	1978-1979	Lakeville, MA	N/A	Survey
Rev. Daniel Shute Site	Hingham Historical Commission	1980	Hingham, MA	Domestic	Prelim. Survey
Clove Furnace Historic Site	Orange Co. Historical Soc.	1982	Arden, NY	Industrial/Ironworks	Prelim. Survey
		1983-1984	Arden, NY	Industrial/Ironworks	Excavation/ Restoration
Munroe Tavern	Lexington Historical Soc.	1982, 1983, 1984	Lexington, MA	Commercial	Excavation
Sabbathday Lake	The United Society of Shakers	1985	Poland Springs, ME	Domestic/Commercial	Prelim. Survey

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