

HOUSEHOLD SPACES: 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY SPATIAL PRACTICES ON  
THE EASTERN PEQUOT RESERVATION

A Thesis Presented

by

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## ABSTRACT

### HOUSEHOLD SPACES: 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY SPATIAL PRACTICES ON THE EASTERN PEQUOT RESERVATION

August 2012

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Native American populations, especially those living on colonially created and governed reservations, such as the Eastern Pequot, contended with settler and colonial policies and practices on a daily basis in the 18th and 19th centuries, long after “contact.” Using the colonial environment and the inherently spatial restrictions of the Eastern Pequot reservation as frameworks, this thesis addresses the daily aspects of Eastern Pequot families living and working within their household spaces during a tumultuous time in the colonial period. This research is theoretically grounded in broader themes regarding the household, conceived of as a space within which social agents create and reproduce social identities, relationships, and meanings. Within the context of the household, archaeology can be utilized to explore how social processes are lived out not

only through the material world but also in architecture and refuse patterns at a local scale.

Analysis of three house sites on the Eastern Pequot reservation, spanning from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century, highlights how changing use of space reflected larger settler-colonial pressures and influences, as well as how organization and use of space in turn shaped native life during the reservation period. A detailed look at the structure of each house, the location and use of subfloor and hearth features within and around each house, the presence of specific artifact classes at each house, and the general distribution of material remains across the space at each site provides insight into daily practices within Eastern Pequot families at different times during reservation history. Although the Eastern Pequot community in the 18th and 19th centuries lived within the confines of a colonial reservation, residents were able to exercise their own power in determining the location, form, style, and organization of their houses and household space. Certain architectural and organizational changes were likely both concomitant with and resultant from broader changes in land base, reservation population, and subsistence practices. Although architecture and material culture may exhibit a steady increase in European-American materials and influences throughout 18th and 19th centuries, the structure and spatial patterning at native domestic sites retain consistent Pequot characteristics.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

While 17th-century interactions between Native Americans and Europeans are relatively well-explored, especially for the East Coast of North America, scholarship less frequently traces the effects of this period of initial interaction into 18th- and 19th-century colonial settings. Native American populations, especially those living on colonially created and governed reservations, contended with settler and colonial policies and practices on a daily basis long after “contact” (Silliman 2005, 2009). This scenario is particularly pertinent to certain native groups in southern New England, where issues of colonialism pervaded life for settlers and indigenous alike in the 18th and 19th centuries. The legacies of colonialism continue to affect native communities today, particularly those that still struggle to gain recognition as sovereign nations by the federal government of the United States. These descendant communities by no means need federal recognition in order to maintain their distinct identities and histories, but their place in contemporary economics and politics can often be better secured with such acknowledgment. Still, it is troubling that those communities who lived throughout southern New England for thousands of years before Europeans or other explorers set foot on the North American continent, and who have endured colonialism for almost 400

years, should still be fighting today for recognition. One such native group, the Pequot, will be the explicit focus of this thesis.

In the 16th century, the Pequot occupied a broad regional territory across southern New England, had regional leaders called sachems, and participated in seasonal settlement patterns based on a mixed-subsistence economy including hunting, gathering, and horticulture (Hauptman 1990; McBride 1994). By the late 17th century, after decades of violence in southern New England between various tribes and colonial settlers, epitomized by the Pequot War of 1636-1637, many native communities existed in a dispersed state, as sachems were forced to sell land, communities were scattered across the landscape, and people struggled to maintain land and livelihood. The Pequot did not escape such a fate themselves, and by the second half of the 17th century, governmental policies had forced the division of the Pequot into two separate groups, , each provisionally restricted to its respective reservation in southeastern Connecticut: Western (Mashantucket, established 1666) and Eastern (Pawcatuck, established 1683). Although the Mashantucket Pequot Nation received federal recognition in 1983, the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation, on a smaller reservation and with a smaller population, is still seeking that recognition today, already having been denied twice. After initiating the process of filing for recognition in 1978, the Eastern Pequot community received a preliminary positive finding in 2000, only to have this finding retracted after objections from local Connecticut communities as well as state governmental officials. A 2006 appeal on the part of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation was similarly denied and dismissed with more finality (Silliman and Dring 2008).

It is within this context that the archaeology of colonialism matters. The dynamic yet tragic events that ensued when explorers from other continents “discovered” indigenous life on the North American continent have long captured the attention of historians, antiquarians, anthropologists, and archaeologists. Only in more recent decades have archaeologists begun to recognize and explore the vast historical silences that existed for native groups who did not, contrary to popular belief, disappear or die out once European colonization of the continent began. A veritable explosion of archaeological projects addressing such gaps in the history of native North Americans has occurred within the last decade alone. In particular, archaeology has played a significant role in the process of discarding Eurocentric, one-dimensional accounts of colonial interactions in favor of more balanced and nuanced treatments of these histories, with specific attention to their long-term implications. Such a focus includes the recognition of the various dimensions inherent in the chronology of colonial encounters, necessitating the acknowledgement that relationships between settlers and native groups were neither monolithic nor static. Thoughtful case studies on both Spanish colonial/Russian mercantile California (Lightfoot 2006; Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998) and Spanish-American Florida (Deagan 1997, 2003) emphasize the variable nature of social relationships within these pluralistic contexts, as well as the role that local conditions and processes played in shaping these relationships. These influential archaeological projects provide a model for this thesis regarding the appropriate ways to address and explore the enduring implications of colonialism.

In addition to drawing inspiration from these more widespread projects, this thesis will build on previous archaeological work on the Eastern Pequot reservation and present new interpretations and nuances to the understanding of the reservation history and archaeology. Beginning in 2003, Stephen Silliman at the University of Massachusetts Boston launched a collaborative archaeology project with the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation. In conjunction with the Eastern Pequot Tribal Council, Silliman has run an archaeological field school on the reservation for eight summers between 2003 and 2011, resulting in a number of scholarly publications and presentations, as well as nine master's theses to date, including this one. While a number of the completed master's theses which use the reservation as a dataset have focused specifically on material aspects of Eastern Pequot life in the colonial period, the goal of this thesis is to combine discussions of material culture with a broader analysis of household use of space on the reservation.

Using the colonial environment and the inherently spatial restrictions of the Eastern Pequot reservation as frameworks, I address the daily aspects of Eastern Pequot families living and working within their household spaces during an especially tumultuous time in the colonial period, from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century. This thesis focuses on three specific house sites with a range of occupation dates in order to explore the question of changing spatial practices over time. I analyze these materials with a specific focus on the artifact patterning, presence and location of archaeological features, forms of housing, and refuse disposal patterns in order to gain insight about household-level spatial organization on the reservation. The expectation is that analysis of contextual relationships between artifacts and features within and around house

structures can contribute to discussions about domestic space and larger organizational principles (as suggested by Lightfoot 1995). Through archaeological analysis, I will address the ways in which Eastern Pequot families and individuals negotiated life on the reservation and the extent to which the influence of colonialism intersected with continuities in native practice. Given that spatial arrangements can be both reflective and constitutive of broader organizational and ideological principles, analysis of the use of space can provide insight into both the larger historical processes shaping reservation life and the meanings incorporated into local daily practices.

With this dataset, I aim to provide insight into whether household spatial practices on the Eastern Pequot reservation changed from the mid- and late 18th century into the mid-19th century, with specific focus on the aspects of the built environment and the spatial patterning of artifacts that might point to these changes (or lack thereof). I critically examine the broader context of colonial Connecticut and the ideological agendas that influenced reservation life during this time period, but these factors should not be considered the sole determinants of the daily actions of native families and individuals. Despite the various influences of European colonialism, and perhaps in spite of them as well, 18th- and 19th-century native communities continued to rely on sets of shared ideas to guide daily life, ideas which were socially and culturally generated and primarily derived from their pre-colonial past (Bragdon 2009).

This thesis is theoretically grounded in broader research regarding the household, not just as a unit of analysis, but as a space within which social agents create and reproduce social identities, relationships, and meanings. Not only does the house as a

physical construction provide a setting in which daily practices take place, but as Preucel and Meskell (2007:218) point out, houses and the members of a household who dwell there are bound in a “mutually constituting” relationship. Within the context of the household, archaeology can be utilized to explore how social processes are lived out not only through the material world, but also in architecture and refuse patterns at a local scale (drawing on Ashmore 2007, Blake 2007, and Hendon 2007). The analysis of space undertaken in this thesis engages with research which aims to refocus studies of space, from space as “inert backdrop” to space as a purposefully constructed factor shaping practices and negotiations of identity (Blake 2007:235).

The three Eastern Pequot reservation house sites chosen for analysis are ideally suited for this study because the occupation ranges span an important century in colonial Connecticut. As addressed more fully in later chapters, the mid-18th century marked a time of significant change for native groups in southern New England, with pressures increasing from both missionary activity and land encroachment by settlers (Den Ouden 2005; Mandell 2009). In the late 18th century, native communities continued to struggle with economic marginalization, and males in particular were often forced to leave the reservation in search of employment further afield. The advent of the 19th century brought with it unprecedented native involvement in the growing colonial market economy. By examining household areas on the reservation occupied across this time span, I hope to highlight not only how changing use of space reflected larger settler-colonial pressures and influences, but also how organization and use of space in turn shaped native colonial life.



To that end, in Chapter 2 I discuss further the anthropological and theoretical viewpoints used to frame the analysis of use of space at the household level, in order to ground this research in established approaches and suggest how it fits into current themes within the discipline. Chapter 3 provides a more detailed history of the 17th- and 18th-century colonial context that framed life for the Eastern Pequot reservation inhabitants, using the established theoretical lens from Chapter 2 to pinpoint specific historical or contextual influences on the spatial organization of daily practice at the household level. Next, in Chapter 4 I outline the background of the archaeological project on the reservation and describe the origin and nature of the dataset analyzed in this thesis. In this chapter I also outline the specific anthropological and archaeological methodologies used to analyze the data from these Eastern Pequot house sites. The interpretations drawn from this analysis are divided into two chapters, the first of which (Chapter 5) provides thorough details about the artifacts, features, and general spatial patterning of activities at each house site individually, as well as a brief interpretation of the use of space around the house during each time period. Subsequently, in Chapter 6 I present broader interpretations drawn from a diachronic view of the three sites, situating the archaeological data within the larger historical and colonial context. In this chapter I address the implications of both changing use of household space as well as maintenance of certain spatial practices between the mid-18th century and the mid-19th century. Lastly, in Chapter 7 I summarize the findings of the analysis and provide concluding thoughts about the potential of household-level spatial analyses.

## CHAPTER 2

### SPACE, HOUSEHOLDS, AND COLONIALISM: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Almost 400 years of colonial administration and governmental policies have unquestionably affected the course of Eastern Pequot history since the 17th century. It is of the utmost importance that historical archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians alike recognize the lasting effects of colonialism far beyond initial moments of ‘culture contact’, because the colonial forces set in motion in those moments remain even today. It is the goal of this thesis to embrace and enhance a current trend in which scholars break out of the rut of analyzing colonial history as a series of contact events (Silliman 2005), instead delving more deeply into the ways those events and their ideological underpinnings structured life in colonial New England for centuries to come.

On one side, this approach involves an attempt to understand how European (and later European-American) individuals, both those in positions of power and those only implicitly involved in the settler-colonial agenda, perpetuated colonialism and subsequently created a society infused with colonial ideologies at conscious and subconscious levels alike. On the other side, it is equally important to recognize and explore the ways in which native peoples in New England not only experienced this society and reacted to its injustices, but also how native communities lived through it, not

in the sense of “surviving” it but instead living *in* it, actively and creatively (Silliman 2005, 2009). In some cases, such as 16th- and 17th-century Wampanoag and Nipmuc communities, this involved living in ‘praying towns’ where white missionaries focused on converting native individuals by immersing them in a Christian lifestyle and requiring subsequent behavioral, material, and spiritual changes (Bragdon 2009; McBride and Cherau 1996; Mrozowski et al 2009; Silverman 2005). In other situations, native communities were confined not by mission-focused settlements, but by reservation boundaries created by the colonial government. These boundaries represented settler-colonial ideologies focused on restricting the geographic movements of native individuals, attempting to keep them in isolation from neighboring European-American settlers, as well as from other native communities in the region. Because these reservation boundaries were inherently and simultaneously political, colonial, geographical, and spatial (see Den Ouden 2005), the Eastern Pequot reservation community provides an ideal context in which to examine how native individuals lived in and used the space of their colonially-governed world.

### **Trajectory of Spatial Studies in Archaeology**

Archaeology is an inherently spatial discipline, relying on data which account for specific positioning of artifacts and features (Blake 2007). Nevertheless, for many years archaeologists did not look past quantitative spatial relationships and distributions, rendering the human experience within lived space as unimportant. A full treatment of the variety of spatial approaches espoused in anthropology and archaeology is beyond the scope of this thesis, which instead provides a brief outline of the trajectory of spatial

studies and subsequently focuses on approaches that specifically engage with social space.

In the 1960s, as part of a larger positivist, empiricist movement, landscape and other elements of space were neutral, primarily considered as measurable and analyzable units of data to which statistical models could bring sense and order. Perhaps ahead of his time, in terms of the trajectory of the discipline, Lewis Binford emphasized that it was indeed possible to garner information about social aspects of life in the past through spatial analysis, in addition to technological and functional information (Ashmore 2002; Binford 1962). In the next decade, Kent Flannery made great strides in linking social interpretations to spatial archaeological data, suggesting that the basic units of analysis in terms of domestic space should be socially defined (1982). Following Flannery's lead, archaeologists in the 1980s engaged in a host of more refined spatial studies with a focus on social change, noting that changes in spatial arrangements (and the attendant changes in house forms) could be seen as evidence of these social changes (Ashmore 2002). By the 1990s, archaeology was firmly entrenched in what Blake refers to as the "spatial turn", as ideas from social theorists such as Edward Soja and Henri Lefebvre percolated into anthropology and archaeology (Blake 2007). The influence of these scholars led to the recognition of space as a generative force which takes on a structuring role in the lives of people, specifically regarding their social behavior. In these more recent decades, landscapes and space have been addressed in a much more nuanced manner, incorporating people, places, objects, and meaning.

As people bodily move throughout their environment, repeating daily activities involved in living and working, these actions are in a sense recorded in the landscape as social memory, allowing meaning to be attached to the activities (Ashmore 2007). Archaeologically, these activities and traditions, signs of everyday life, are visible as features such as middens, storage pits, hearths, and more generally as artifacts scattered on the surface of the land, in inherently spatial distributions (Allen 2009; Flannery 1982). These repeated, meaningful actions are frequently carried out within domestic or household settings, and as such this thesis utilizes a small-scale, household-level analysis to explore the lived spaces of Eastern Pequot reservation inhabitants.

### **Archaeological Scales of Space**

In the grand scheme of things, archaeological remains result from long-term processes— think of the decades of labor involved in the construction of monumental architecture, or the passage of time that buries and complicates the rediscovery of subsurface features related to slave quarters. But on a more detailed level, archaeology is about the micro-scale, as careful excavations uncover minute details about specific actions in the past. The most visible and most frequently recovered archaeological remains (excluding monumental architecture) are those which result from daily or oft-repeated activities. Allen (2009) suggests that rather than focusing on the products of daily activities (whether material or social), it might be more fruitful to recognize the frequency with which certain activities are performed, because this temporal aspect can speak to the importance of the activity in an individual's or community's broader cultural experiences. These daily activities would be less meaningful if they were not structured

by the space in which they are performed, and in turn space is imbued with meaning as people engage in repeated or new practices. Examining these actions, the ways in which they are performed, and the ways in which they both mediate and are mediated by space can lead to a greater understanding of how people make sense of their lives (Giddens 1979, 1984). Over time, the repetition of certain activities performed in meaningful spaces ties meaning to physical spaces and preserves this meaning in social memory (Handsman 2008a; Silliman 2009).

As the most likely site of these repeated daily practices, the household is an appropriate and productive unit of analysis for delving into the interplay between space and behavior. The concept of household can be defined in a number of different ways, and even within this thesis more than one of these may prove applicable. In a broad sense, a household is the “economic, productive, reproductive, and cultural unit, where habitus, practices, identity, and ethnicity in some sense were maintained and passed on” (Allen 2009:165). However, household can also be conceptualized slightly differently depending on whether the focus might be on the physical and spatial characteristics of a household or the more social aspects of a household and those who comprise it. In terms of the physical and spatial aspects of a household, Flannery (1982) delineates a useful distinction between the various units of society that can be studied, including activity area, feature, house, household cluster, settlement, and village (from smallest to largest).

Flannery views the activity area, the locus of human action, as the smallest observable unit; working up in size, next comes the feature, which is often itself a locus of activity but additionally involves interaction with a physically fixed element of space,

for example a storage pit or a hearth. Following the feature is the house, followed by the household cluster, which will be the focus here. According to Flannery, the household cluster “consists of the house and all the surrounding storage pits, burials, middens, and features that can be reliably associated with that same household” (Flannery 1982:5). The advantage to framing a small-scale analysis within a household cluster perspective is that features which are found dotting the open area around the house structure itself are treated in relation to larger activities within a family or community, rather than as isolated, unrelated instances. The analysis of houses and household clusters undertaken in this thesis underscores the notion that it is not sufficient to study the material remains alone from domestic sites, and that much information can be gleaned from the distribution of features in the surrounding space (Beaudry 1999). Considering the physical, material, and spatial components of house construction, together with the spatial patterns of features within the household cluster, allows for more detailed inferences to be made about the specific actions of individuals and families within a larger society.

The laws of physics dictate that physical structures are material and must occupy space, therefore physically constraining movement within and around this space, subsequently influencing individual experiences of space and time (Pauketat and Alt 2005). Household structures, then, contain loci of social behavior within them as well, and simultaneously enable and restrict behavior around them. But it would be too simplistic to posit that once constructed, a building exists in a static state as activities occur within and around its physical, material limits. Not only are the elements of a building such as walls, roofs, floors, doors, and windows altered through time by the

demands of nature, but they are also continuously transformed as individuals engage in maintenance, repair, demolition, reconstruction, or alteration (Voss 2008). Voss aptly suggests that each of these architectural modifications requires a decision to be made, and that decision and its outcomes speak to the habits and preferences of family and community members.

Building on these physical, structuring elements of a dwelling, it is also useful to consider the household as a social construct. Ascertaining the forms and functions of houses and household clusters provides an essential base upon which to build, but the aspect that makes these spaces meaningful is the people who enact the practices of their daily lives within them, transforming them into social spaces. As such, the household should not be viewed merely as a unit of analysis, but as a space within which social agents create and reproduce social identities, relationships, and meanings.

Anthropological theories of social space have proliferated over the past few decades, and scholars are increasingly exploring the heterogeneity of social experiences at any given time within specific spaces. They are also engaging with the temporal and social fluidity of space as well as the phenomenon that the multiplicity of meanings imbued in any given spatial setting may change over time (Beaudry 2004; Delle 1998; Hendon 2000; Lightfoot et al. 1998). This is no small matter, as the recognition that social behavior and spatial structure have a recursive relationship has added significant nuance to anthropological interpretations of the past. The very daily practices enacted within and around the house serve to propel people across those domestic spaces, creating and reinforcing socially meaningful spaces (Ashmore 2002). Ashmore also notes that



assertions of control or domination are often quite explicitly and indisputably expressed in formal construction on the landscape, particularly in colonial contexts, while sites of resistance and complicated identity negotiations may be less explicit but still visible spatially (see also Delle 1998; Mrozowski 2010; Orser 1988). The families living on the Eastern Pequot reservation throughout the 18th and 19th centuries struggled constantly with the interplay between colonial mechanisms of control and the potential methods of resistance and identity negotiation, processes which were both shaped by the spatial setting and in turn influenced the continuous generation of new social spaces and the inhabitation of spaces of new and old collective memories.

### **Spatiality**

Space is not just a neutral backdrop on which human lives play out, but rather can be a driving force in any given society (Delle 1998). Although humans inhabit space which, at its most basic level, is a factor of biological processes within the environment, the archaeological view of space espoused here is that it is both created and mediated by human behavior, and in turn acts as a framework for all human action (Delle 1998; LeFebvre 1991; Orser 1988; Wobst 1977). Space in this sense is similar to classes of material culture such as clothing and ceramics, which are produced by human behavior but simultaneously and subsequently affect future human behavior (Delle 1998:37, Wobst 1977). The physical spaces within which individuals live are bounded by material culture, and to an extent space and material culture are inextricably intertwined. Similarly, as posited by Soja (1980), spatial organization does not merely represent societal structure but also constitutes societal structure. In keeping with Soja's theories,

space should not be conceptualized as divorced from or external to its context of human action and social production, since the organization, use, and meaning of space are all products of the human experience.

It is helpful here to utilize three heuristic strands to discuss space, following Mrozowski (Mrozowski et al 2007a; Mrozowski et al 2007b) to differentiate between lived space, social space, and cultural historical space. Mrozowski draws on theories of social space as explored by Delle (1998), LeFebvre (1991), Soja (1980, 2000), and Harvey (1989, 2000) in framing the interactions between African, Native American, and European communities at Sylvester Manor on Long Island in the 17th and 18th centuries, positing that these groups lived within pluralistic spaces. At the core of this plantation, individuals moved, worked, and lived through spaces which provided physical context for daily actions and interactions, conceptualized as perceived or lived space (Harvey 1989; Lefebvre 1991) or material space (Delle 1998; see also Mrozowski et al 2007a). Material space incorporates the ‘built environment,’ a sphere which has been created by humans as they interact with the physical landscape. At a different level than material space, and yet frequently indistinguishable, social space exists as the sphere within which people move through the landscape negotiating social relations, many of which govern access to and behavior within material space. Importantly, these relations are created between individuals over time, undeniably shaped by personal experience and history. At a broader scale, both material space and social space are interwoven in cultural historical trajectories, larger trends shaped by history and social memory (Mrozowski et al 2007b:146). These material, social, and historical spatial dimensions exist simultaneously

and inseparably (Harvey 2000; Soja 2000), yet archaeological analysis of spatial patterns provides an opportunity to tease apart these layers and examine their differential rates and trajectories.

The Eastern Pequot reservation, inhabited by a native community but initially constructed and geographically bounded by a settler-colonial government, can be further explored by engaging with LeFebvre's (1991) notion of abstract space or representational space. In colonial contexts, in particular, representational spaces are explicitly produced to reinforce ideology and express formal landscaping structures (Mrozowski et al 2007a). In Connecticut, officials recorded reservation boundaries on maps and other documents, creating material forms as abstract representations of space. This abstract space existed simultaneously with the lived and social spaces of Pequot individuals, and yet these represent different layers of space which did not always align. The mobility of reservation individuals in and out of these spaces served to produce new realities, in effect creating spaces out of other spaces, all of which moved at different rates at different times. Whether or not domestic, lived spaces existed in concert with abstract, representational spaces, it is in the private, household setting that daily practices played out, and in this setting that the archaeological evidence of spatial practices will be explored. The historical moments in which the Pequot lived are themselves spaces, providing the context for cultural practices. The household use of space on the Eastern Pequot reservation is discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6, using archaeological interpretation to further explore spatiality as constructed, lived, and enacted by Pequot individuals.

While individual experiences are inherently bounded in space, these spatial aspects of behavior are generally tacit and may even go unacknowledged, to the point that individuals only become aware of spatial delineations when boundaries are violated (Low and Lawrence 2003). This particular phenomenon is exemplified in a number of archaeological case studies in colonial contexts. For example, in Spanish colonial southeastern United States, colonial figures forced native populations in Florida to relocate and consolidate in centralized locations. These processes imposed by the Spanish significantly transformed the landscape and restructured the boundaries of the spaces within which native individuals engaged in daily practices (Deagan 2003). At the Russian colony of Fort Ross in 19th-century California, Lightfoot (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998) posits that native peoples of both Alaska and California lived in multi-ethnic households, but through spatially structured activities, worked to maintain and reinforce certain aspects of their own ethnic identity. Using the household as the unit of analysis, Lightfoot addresses the nature of spatial practices in these pluralistic settings. Throughout the broad body of his scholarship, Lightfoot has posed significant questions and tentative answers about the importance of employing well-defined spatial contexts as units of analysis. In order to analyze the processes of culture change that inevitably occurred during colonialism's extended tenure, attention must be paid to patterns of spatial organization, for in these lies the potential to "evaluate changes in cultural values and worldviews as actualized in social practice" (Lightfoot 1995:207). The success in this approach relies on conceptualizations of space that are well-grounded in the approaches outlined above, most notably the recognition that small-scale spatial arrangements at the

household level can provide insight into the organizational and ideological principles with which individuals engage as they construct and live within meaningful spaces.

Other researchers have investigated Native American lifeways in the historic period with an explicit focus on space at the household level of analysis. Kurt Jordan (2009) traces varied housing styles and farming practices through 18th-century Iroquoian societies to prove that ‘acculturation’ and ‘Europeanization’ among native societies were in no way uniform or inevitable consequences of culture contact and colonialism. Jordan does not engage explicitly with the concept of spatiality, but addressed 18th-century issues of material and social space similar to those encountered on the Eastern Pequot reservation, such as community structure, local economic relationships, farming practices and use of domesticated animals, and variety in housing forms. Similarly, Cameron Wesson (2008) aims to expose details of post-contact indigenous experiences that he believes have gone unexamined, using societies within the Creek Confederacy in the 17th and 18th centuries to analyze use of space as it changes within and across historic Creek households. At a slightly larger scale, similar spatial considerations can be seen through the analysis of 17th-century revolt-era Pueblo communities in New Mexico, during a time of changing social structures due to Pueblo revolts against Spanish Christian rule. Archaeologists have shown that within these communities, architecture, material culture, and the spatial layout of settlements were not only reflective of societal changes, but were also recursive, shaping factors in the pan-Pueblo revitalization movements (Liebmann 2008; Liebmann, Ferguson, and Preucel 2005). It is with these case studies as frameworks that questions are posed in this thesis about continuity (or disruption) in use

of space, changing house construction methods, and spatial patterning of material remains, within the colonial context of the Eastern Pequot reservation.

### **Space, Practice, and Objects**

The thrust of this discussion thus far has focused on theories of space and how people live within it. Given that the production, use, reuse, and discard of material objects are primary elements of how people materially interact with and create space in their everyday lives, a more theoretical discussion of the importance of objects is relevant here. Not only is it important to understand contextual relationships of artifacts and features in the setting of the household, but it is also essential to delve into what the artifacts themselves meant to those who used them. Within this framework, significant meaning is attached to material objects, and as such archaeological interpretations based on these material remains must not be treated casually.

Historically, within the discipline of anthropology, there has been a tendency to treat cultural interactions between native groups and European settlers in terms of acculturative models. Such models presuppose significant cultural changes to both groups, but attribute the more drastic changes to the less dominant (usually non-Western) group (Herskovits 1937). This view of colonial contexts implies that each culture has a set of predefined traits and behaviors, and that any change in native behavior directly results from native assimilation to European ideologies and practices (see summaries in Cusick 1998; Loren 2008; Silliman 2005). In recent decades, archaeologists have taken steps to redress this unbalanced and shallow interpretation of cultural change, and a full review of this body of work is not possible here. The basic thread of these studies, in

terms of dealing with material culture, is addressed by Lightfoot (1995), who stresses that acculturative models, positing that calculating percentages of European and native artifacts at a given site can speak to the amount of “Europeanization” undergone by native communities, are no longer a sufficient method for interpreting colonial contexts. Instead, suggests Lightfoot, what is needed is a diachronic “contextual approach...implemented by considering the broader spatial organization of the archaeological record” (Lightfoot 1995:207; see also Silliman 2009).

While some consider human behavior to be mere manifestation of deterministic, governing sets of rules and norms, leaving individuals with little agency, a more nuanced and evocative approach to human actions is found in Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*. For Bourdieu, *habitus* describes the system of durable, transposable dispositions that both structures daily practices and in turn is structured by them (Bourdieu 1990). Bourdieu stressed that *habitus* is both historically and socially produced, suggesting *habitus* as “embodied history,” where events of the past become part of dispositions and thus continuously affect behavior in the present (Bourdieu 1990:56). Based on historical precedent, *habitus* will only generate behaviors that are reasonable and commonsensical, and these actions will in turn reinforce dispositions, ensuring that future behavior will be similarly structured. Essential to this notion of *habitus* is the idea that these structuring principles are not necessarily explicit, and are not rules of behavior as such; instead the *habitus* exists within agents “as the organizing principle of their actions,” (Bourdieu 1977:18) which “without either explicit reason or signifying intent,” works to

continuously reproduce and reinforce knowledge and meaning through those actions (Bourdieu 1977:79).

Anthony Giddens promoted similar theories, again stressing the recursive nature of sociality, where “structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices” (Giddens 1979:5). Rooted in these social theories, practice theory has emerged in archaeology as archaeologists seek explanations for social change that do not rely on essentialist or reductionist models of human behavior. Practice theory exists as part of a larger shift toward focus on the roles of social actors in daily practices, geared toward recent archaeological interests in social reproduction and agency in everyday life (Ortner 1994:402). This perspective treats practices, which are “the continuous and historically contingent enactments or embodiments of people’s ethos, attitudes, agendas, and dispositions,” not simply as the results of larger processes, but as the processes of change themselves (Pauketat 2000:115).

The ways in which practice is almost inherently material (and inherently spatial, as well) are too numerous to address. Food procurement, preparation, storage, and discard; residence construction, maintenance, and abandonment; identity formation in terms of clothing and possessions; these are just a few aspects of everyday life that engage with materiality. Given the above discussions, it should come as no surprise that material objects are also considered to recursively shape human experiences. When approached from a framework of *habitus* and practice, these materials cannot in fact be easily separated from their related actions and persons, as all are enmeshed in the ways that humans create the material world which in turns shapes human experience (Meskell



2005). Objects are not created in a vacuum where context does not exist, but rather are historically and socially situated, and their construction, use, and meaning are all temporally, spatially, and socially specific. In sum, then, interpretations of material objects require archaeologists “to interrogate the specific moments of crafting, forging, exchanging, installing, using, and discarding objects, their histories in a variety of contexts, [and] their fundamental embedding in places [and] landscapes” (Meskell 2005:7). Low and Lawrence (2003:5) also explicitly situate the physical body in space, citing ‘embodied spaces’ as “the location where human experience and consciousness take on material and spatial form.” A number of scholars have embraced this nuanced view of individual actions as played out in space, expanding on it to explore how aspects of identity such as gender, class, and ethnicity can be negotiated by physically marking the body and interacting with material culture in the built environment (Loren 2008; Voss et al 2004).

Although individuals might occupy the same physical space, each will experience that space differently, because each will bring to it a unique frame of reference which shapes his or her perception. While space can at times be manipulated to exert social control, especially in colonial contexts, it can at other times (as well as simultaneously) support resistance, accommodation, or persistence. Not only is space a critical conceptual and physical construct, it also plays a crucial role in human cognition, essentially existing as the structuring framework for the ways people think about objects, events, actions, and even other people (Levinson 1998). Given the role of space in cognition, social relationships, and daily practices, analysis of the use of space can provide insight into the

larger historical processes shaping life in specific settings as well as into meaningful social actions and daily practices. The framework provided by engagement with established theories about space, households, and colonial contexts shapes the direction of the archaeological analysis in Chapters 5 and 6, and also serves to establish the parameters within which 18th- and 19th-century life on the Eastern Pequot reservation is explored in Chapter 3.

## CHAPTER 3

### PEQUOT HISTORY AND THE RESERVATION SETTING

#### **Pre-Colonial Setting**

Dincauze (1990) succinctly outlines the history of native life in southern New England, placing the first human presence in the area around 12,000 to 11,000 years ago. This spectrum of occupation is too broad for discussion here; however, there are certain patterns and shifts in behavior across this time period that introduce practices which will be relevant to this study of Pequot daily life in the reservation setting. Sometime between 4,700 and 2,300 years ago, during what is commonly referred to as the Woodland period, native communities began to engage in increasingly localized activities and settlement patterns, as compared to the predominantly mobile lifestyle that characterized groups in the earlier Archaic period. An important development during this transition to increased sedentism was the appearance of storage pits, used to keep food that could be consumed during more meager times, particularly the winter months (Bragdon 1996; Lavin 1999).

Around 3,000 years ago, community distribution began to undergo a shift, as upland sites that had previously been heavily occupied decreased in number, and instead communities settled in larger numbers in lowland areas. According to Dincauze, these spatial distributions, along with westward-trending trade relationships, persisted into the

16th and 17th centuries (Dincauze 1990; McBride 1994). After another millennium, the predominant settlement pattern consisted of significant base camps that could have been occupied nearly year-round, primarily in estuarine settings (Bragdon 1996). As the climate warmed around the 10th century, native families likely began to engage in maize and squash cultivation, using these crops as supplements to their hunting and gathering diets, rather than relying on them as a primary food source. While these trends throughout time in native New England provide an important knowledge base about Pequot life, Dincauze warns that by the time Europeans began to settle in the region, the climate was harsher than it had been in previous centuries, making it unlikely that native practices observed by English and Dutch settlers in the 16th and 17th centuries were directly indicative of life in the preceding centuries.

By the early 17th century, Pequot territory encompassed almost 2,000 square miles, from modern-day Hartford to the Long Island Sound (Hauptman 1990; Starna 1990). Settlements across this area consisted of two large fortified villages, a number of secondary villages with between 20 and 30 wigwams, and scattered “hamlets” of less than five wigwams (McBride 1994). Cleared fields for agricultural purposes generally accompanied the larger village settlements, while the hamlets were more frequently associated with smaller garden plots. Further archaeological evidence suggests that in southeastern Connecticut, communities most commonly existed as small groups of 10 or 20 households, although isolated dwellings were not uncommon (Starna 1990). This dwelling pattern was also consistently noted by historians, such as in Richard Wheeler’s detailed history of the town of Stonington, where he outlines how “wigwams for Indian

families to occupy were not generally clustered into villages, but were more frequently erected near their cultivated lands...” (Wheeler 1900:187). It is possible that these isolated or small dwelling areas resulted from a moderately mobile or dispersed pattern of habitation, where a family might have moved between multiple sites throughout the course of a year. Starna (1990) suggests that crop cultivation and harvesting might have occurred in more coastal settings, and upon the completion of these activities, communities might have moved inland seeking the relative protection of forested areas in which to spend the winter.

Thanks to archaeological excavations of a few of these rare wigwam sites, as well as accounts from historians and ethnographers, relatively accurate descriptions of these impermanent structures can be constructed. Wigwams consisted of a domed sapling framework driven into the ground and likely covered with mats woven from leaves or bark, with a floor diameter between 10 and 16 feet (Lavin 1999; Handsman 2008b; Starna 1990). These minimal yet sturdy structures were ideally suited for a seasonally mobile lifestyle, as they could be both constructed and dismantled quickly. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, members of the Pequot community engaged in a mixed-subsistence economy based on seasonal movements that incorporated hunting, fishing, and gathering, and functioned under the control of regional sachems (Bragdon 1996; McBride 1994). By the first few decades of the 1600s, they inhabited at least 15 villages along the rivers and tributaries in southeastern Connecticut, and while European settlers began to expand into southern New England, the Pequot were simultaneously expanding their trade networks and territory to the east and to the west (Hauptman 1990). Just a few

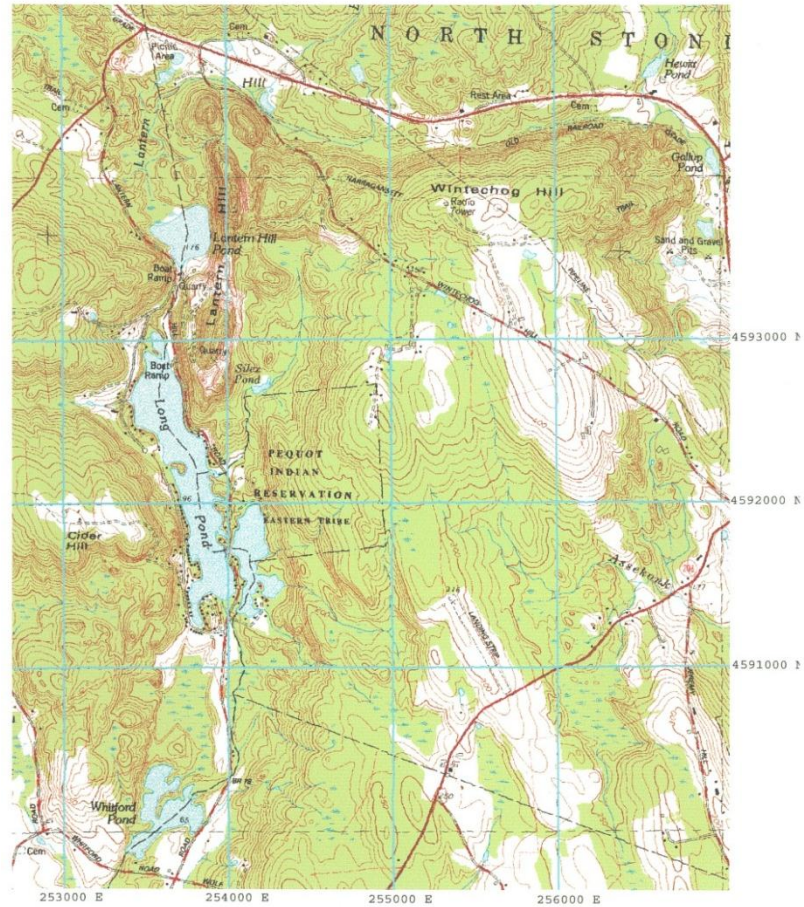
decades later, these expansions ceased and seasonal movements dwindled, and the construction of Pequot dwellings took place within a much more narrowly defined region.

### **Formation of Pequot Reservations**

Decades of strained relations and mounting tensions between the unified Pequot people and the encroaching English and Dutch settlers throughout southern New England culminated in the Mystic Massacre and Pequot War in 1636-1637, followed by the Treaty of Hartford in 1638. The military victory claimed by the English with the 1638 treaty drastically changed the colonial landscape, as the treaty attempted to erase all traces of the Pequot community from the landscape, forbidding members to use the name Pequot or “live in the country that was formerly theirs, but now is the English by conquest” (De Forest 1851:150). Instead, a small number of surviving Pequot individuals were sold into slavery, while the majority of surviving individuals were forced to incorporate themselves into neighboring Mohegan or Narragansett communities (Cave 1996; Salisbury 1982). In 1651, remnants of the Pequot community were granted land rights for 500 acres at Noank, becoming known as the Western, or more commonly Mashantucket, Pequot. Subsequently, in 1683, the colony of Connecticut formally created the Eastern Pequot reservation, using 280 acres of land set aside in Stonington, Connecticut (Den Ouden 2005; McBride 1994). From the colonial point of view the creation of these two distinct Pequot reservations was a method of geographically segregating a conquered group of people, but the location of the reservations on ancestral lands and the continuous occupation of these reservations by Pequot families proved, in a small way, the resilience

of the Pequot community, speaking to their determination to maintain a sense of identity and community in less than ideal situations (Den Ouden 2005). The specific events leading up to the war and the treaties that followed are not the focus of discussion here, but a full historical account can be found in Cave (1996). Instead, I will focus on the outcome of the Pequot War that essentially made southeastern Connecticut a prime target for English colonization and opened the door for continued English attempts to control the region's political and cultural life including religion (Hauptman 1990).

A succession of events during the 17th century resulted in the establishment of two distinct Pequot tribes, each significantly altered from their early 17th-century state in terms of geographical boundaries, political organization, leadership, and autonomy (Campisi 1990). Colonial attempts to spatially confine and marginalize a formerly powerful people succeeded in marking the military conquest on the land and exerting some measure of control over Pequot life; however, they simultaneously (and somewhat ironically) led to the inscription of Pequot identity directly into the colonial landscape (Den Ouden 2005). In the years that followed these pivotal events, the Pequot people never ceased struggling with the restrictions enforced by the colonial government. The 18th- and 19th-century Eastern Pequot reservation communities are the focus of discussion in this thesis, as they interacted with an ever-increasing colonial presence and continually fought the colonial notion that they had been culturally conquered.



**Figure 1: USGS Old Mystic Quad, Current Reservation Boundaries.**

### **Reservation Land Use and Colonial Encroachment**

Despite the initial land rights granted to the Eastern Pequot, in the 18th century the excessively rocky, nearly impossible to cultivate reservation lands were reduced from 280 to 225 acres (Figure 1), shrinking the already limited land base. Reservation boundaries served to spatially confine the community to one geographic location, limiting (but not severing) native access to previously well-visited coastal areas and restricting traditional hunting patterns (Hunter 2012; Silliman 2009). In the early 18th century, native men likely crossed the boundaries in their hunt for wild game regardless, often



unaware of the threats posed by colonial laws, but perhaps occasionally intentionally transgressing in an attempt to maintain and assert land rights and exhibit, even in a minor way, that regional routines inherent in native daily life could not be completely curtailed by the external forces of colonialism (Den Ouden 2005). Women may have done this more strongly in the late 18th century with shellfish gathering, given the lack of many wild game remains from archaeological sites (Hunter 2012). The persistence of native practice in such ways highlights the fact that while reservation boundaries inscribed the realities of conquest on the land, the reservation lands also functioned as spaces of community engagement and daily practice.

Transgression of reservation boundaries was not limited to Pequot individuals leaving the reservation, as historical documents indicate that neighboring European-American settlers felt no guilt about crossing onto reservation lands. In the colonial era, New England as a region combined the smallest land area with the largest settler population (Campisi 2005), a demographic statistic that played out nowhere as critically as on the edges of native reservations. As settlers across Connecticut experienced growing economic prosperity in the 18th century, residents increasingly ignored reservation boundaries, not just in Stonington but also in Groton at the Mashantucket reservation, in Kent at the Schaghticoke reservation, in Montville at the Mohegan reservation, and elsewhere throughout the region (Den Ouden 2005). Throughout the early 18th century, Eastern Pequot families continuously submitted petitions to the Connecticut General Assembly seeking justice against settler encroachment, citing the

very laws that established the reservation boundaries as proof that settlers had no legal right to trespass.

New England colonists were ruthless in speculating and seeking out good farming lots, regardless of existing land agreements between the colonial government and various reservation communities. Complaints lodged against these trespassers by native individuals included the theft of timber and destruction of fences. Pequot members also detailed the damage done by English livestock, which when left to wander would destroy corn and other crops cultivated on the reservation. Despite a 1723 Eastern Pequot-authored petition to the colony outlining the damage incurred through encroachment, conditions did not quickly improve, and a second petition was filed in 1749 (Den Ouden 2005). Eventually colonial officials did investigate the claims on the Stonington reservation, and the reports they authored also attest to this constant battle, finding “that there had been Considerable Timber Cutt,...their fence thrown down,” and that English livestock “have Eat up & Destroyed good part of their Corn & beens” (Indian Papers 2:41).

De Forest, an early New England historian, noted the same phenomenon on the Mashantucket reservation into the 19th century, saying of these encroachers that they “not only allowed their horses and cattle to range over the entire reservation, thus injuring the little patches of corn planted by the Indians, but took the liberty to fell wood and carry it away for their own use” (De Forest 1851:248). Despite the admission of these violations by settlers, there is no real evidence that the government made any attempts to stop these crimes, as the Eastern Pequot in 1751 submitted four petitions outlining over

three decades of infringement on their land rights (Den Ouden 2005:77). Disputes over native land rights and struggles with colonial encroachment throughout the 18th and 19th centuries in Connecticut highlight Den Ouden's (2005:2) emphasis on the extended nature of colonial "conquest," not as an event limited to the early 17th century but instead an "ongoing, multiform process." These accounts of consistent encroachment provide a glimpse into what Eastern Pequot reservation inhabitants contended with at the household level, highlighting issues not just involving willful ignorance of reservation boundaries, but also continuous invasion of Pequot personal and domestic spaces.

### **Settler-Colonial Influences**

In Connecticut, reservation lands were often monitored by government-appointed overseers, who sometimes acted as liaison between the reservation community and the colonial government. Although tribal leaders frequently maintained a certain level of autonomy, the overseers existed ideally to manage reservation resources and protect the reservation and its inhabitants from illegal infringements (Den Ouden 2005; Mandell 2009). Overseers linked the reservation to the rest of the colony (and later, state), serving as the primary source of the purchase and sale of material goods for those on the reservation. In keeping detailed records of transactions, overseers frequently delineated material goods and their prices. The reports also included services provided to reservation inhabitants, such as household construction or repairs to fences, stone walls, or chimneys. Connecticut's insistence on employing overseers to provide colonial administration of reservations into the 1970s (Hauptman 1990) is a prime example of the ways in which

colonialist policies and attitudes persisted throughout the 18th, 19th, and even 20th centuries.

It is difficult to address native history in colonial New England without acknowledging the role of Christianity, both leading up to and during the 18th century. Christianizing missions had seen significant success with the formation of native 'praying towns' in the mid-17th century, and native communities such as the Wampanoag of Martha's Vineyard had been dealing with the presence of missionaries since at least that time (McBride and Cherau 1996). Native conversion to Christianity was frequently considered symbolic of the complete acculturation of native individuals to European ideologies, but conversion was in fact a much more complex and varied process. Silverman (2005) uses the Wampanoag of Martha's Vineyard as a case study to illustrate the variety of native motivations for converting to Christianity, as well as the extent to which certain individuals, families, and even larger communities did not so much blindly accept Christianity as creatively adapt and map it onto pre-existing community values and religious practices (for similar explanation at Magunkaquag, see Mrozowski et al 2009). The mainland eastern tribes existing on reservations were the most successful at resisting the Christian agenda (Silverman 2005), having had a persistent aversion to the English in general and their missionaries in particular instilled in them due to the constant land struggles (McBride 2005). This phenomenon is exemplified by Thomas Mayhew's account of being summarily rejected in his attempts to bring Christianity to the Pequot reservations in southern Connecticut in 1713-14. This rejection symbolizes the fluidity that still existed among native communities, as native individuals successfully fought to

keep certain aspects of their daily reservation life outside the control of colonial infringement (Den Ouden 2005).

In the mid-18th century, a Christian revivalist movement referred to as the “Great Awakening” spread renewed religious fervor throughout New England, a movement in which many native individuals saw the promise of equality and social justice (Campisi 2005; Rice 2010). This religious movement saw mixed success across native communities, and despite missionary efforts, native people continued to turn to native religious leaders, and regional gatherings for seasonal ceremonial dances continued to occur (Winiarski 2005). By the mid-18th century, native families on reservations adopted Christian practices to various extents, and some turned to local native churches with a general Christian message delivered by native ministers (Rice 2010). One example of a native minister of the Christian faith existed in William Apess, son of Pequot parents who, after struggling with poverty and addiction, became a Methodist minister. Apess traveled throughout southern New England preaching not about simple conversion but about how his Christian identity allowed him to more coherently express his Native American identity. In Apess’ view, “for a Pequot to convert to Christianity is not to take on white ways but only to claim one of her rights as a human being” (O’Connell 1992:lxvi), and he suggested that Christianity could work for native individuals because it asserted equality among all humans. In southern New England, Pequot and Mohegan participation in the revivalist movement consisted of the formation of local tribal church communities as well as inter-tribal Christian Indian networks, often adapting the institutional setting of Christian religion as a means of bringing people together to

combat dispossession and colonial oppression (Rubin 2005). Pequot, Mohegan, and Narragansett communities saw the emergence of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as an opportunity to secure the promise of protection of tribal reservation lands in exchange for at least nominal conversion to Christianity (McBride and Cherau 1996).

Acceptance of Christianity within native communities frequently heralded the subsequent adoption of European-American subsistence strategies, in particular farming and animal husbandry (McBride and Cherau 1996; O'Brien 1997). These intensive farming practices necessarily altered the way land was utilized within communities and villages, and the maintenance of domestic animals likely affected the way extramural household space was organized, as well. However, although these changes might have influenced the foodways, architecture, and material goods of native families, underlying household organization, structure, and practice frequently remained distinctly native and exhibited remarkable longevity. Although the adoption of Christianity involved a number of material and behavioral changes to native lifeways, it should be viewed as just one of many strategies employed by native individuals to adapt to new strategies yet preserve native identity (Bragdon 2009; McBride and Cherau 1996).

### **Reservation Settlement Patterns**

It should now be evident that life on the reservation in the late 17th and early 18th centuries involved a variety of intrusions, including encroachment by settlers, increasing land use restrictions, government overseers, and Christianizing missions. In the face of these unpleasanties, what did a Pequot household look like on the reservation? What kind of dwellings did Pequot families inhabit, and how were they arranged on the

landscape? How did these families make use of the restricted land base they were supposed to be confined to? There is not a large body of evidence to draw from in answering these questions, due to the likely impermanent nature of dwellings and their relatively ambiguous archaeological footprints. There are, however, various firsthand accounts from English travelers who visited reservations and other small-scale native communities in the early 18th century, and these descriptions provide a glimpse into family and community living arrangements. Additionally, on the Mashantucket reservation, excavations led by archaeologist Kevin McBride (Handsman 2008b; McBride 1994; McBride 2005) over the past three decades have had some luck in uncovering early reservation period settlements. Although there is much we still cannot picture about how Pequot families inhabited colonially constructed reservations shortly after their creation, these two lines of evidence in combination help to illuminate certain aspects of this early colonial period.

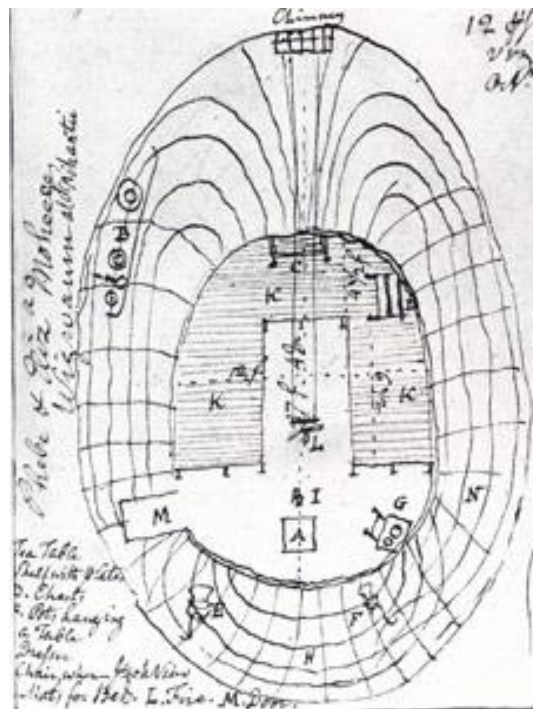
Throughout the 18th century, various counts were recorded for the number of reservation inhabitants at both the Mashantucket and Eastern Pequot reservations. In some cases, the counts resulted from settler and colonial surveillance of the reservation, reporting on the size of the community and presence and numbers of adult males in particular. More than just an attempt to record population numbers, this detailed practice of monitoring native presence on the reservation was a method employed by the colonial government to evaluate the “social viability” of native communities, and was used to formulate legal arguments which undermined native land rights (Den Ouden 2005). De Forest cites a report listing the number of males living at Mashantucket in 1731 as 62,

while 19 others lived off the reservation, likely as servants in English households (De Forest 1851:427). A later report placed the number of Eastern Pequot individuals inhabiting the Stonington reservation at 38, the majority of whom were women (De Forest 1851:431). As Mandell points out, some of the smaller native communities such as the Eastern Pequot at times seemed all but extinct, and yet native individuals and families would frequently reappear, preventing that fate (Mandell 2009).

Although these counts were often conducted by colonial overseers with ulterior motives, they did occasionally include valuable information describing the nature of dwellings on the reservation at various times. For example, the 1731 Mashantucket head count also included a figure stating that 13 wigwams existed on the reservation at that point (De Forest 1851:427). Even as late as the third and fourth quarters of the 18th century, somewhere around 75% of the dwellings on the Mashantucket reservation existed as wigwams (McBride 1990). Yale president Timothy Dwight's travels through New England in the early 19th century led him to the Eastern Pequot reservation, where he observed of reservation families that "here some of them live in wigwams; and others, in houses resembling poor cottages" (Dwight 1822:14). These "cottages" were likely wooden framed houses laid directly on the ground or on sills, some perhaps set on more formal foundations, but this style likely existed in the minority in the mid-18th century. Wigwams were the most common house form on either Pequot reservation in the early to mid-18th century, but the organic nature of the construction materials meant that few structural and artifactual remains survived archaeologically, and little surface evidence of these sites was left behind after their abandonment.



Although archaeological and documentary records that speak to the floor plan, structural covering, and interior space of wigwams are few and far between, a visit to Niantic by Ezra Stiles in 1761 resulted in one of the only known drawings and accompanying descriptions of native wigwams in the colonial period (Figure 2). These wigwams contained certain expected items, such as smoke holes in the ceiling of the wigwam and a fire pit in the center of the floor, with the addition of other European-American items, such as the iron kettle perhaps perched over the fire. Stiles specifically noted the presence of other English furniture, such as chests of drawers, tables, or chairs, describing an interesting union between traditional native dwelling structures with European-influenced accessories.



**Figure 2: Ezra Stiles, Plan of Eliza and Phoebe Moheage's Wigwam. (Yale University).**

In addition to wigwams and basic framed houses with dry-laid foundations, McBride has noted another 18th-century form of housing on the Mashantucket reservation. Occasionally dwellings were “built into south-facing hillsides” with “a low stone wall two to three feet wide...built in a U or D shape,” but whether inhabitants of these hillside houses were using sapling structures or wood-framed structures remains unknown (McBride 1990:113). In fact, a clear dichotomy between wigwam structures and European-American framed houses did not necessarily exist, as structures exhibiting characteristics of both styles have been documented both on the Mashantucket reservation and in other native communities in Connecticut (Feder 1994; McBride 1990).

In the absence of documentary records delineating land use patterns on the Eastern or Mashantucket Pequot reservations in the 18th century, an examination of residence styles in neighboring or nearby native communities during the same time period can potentially provide insight. For example, more complete records exist for the Gay Head/Aquinnah native community of Martha’s Vineyard, due to the longer history and presence of Christianizing missions on the island. An early 18th-century description of native life on the island recorded 58 dwellings at Gay Head, comprised of a mixture of framed houses and wigwams. Some of these residences had associated barns or animal pens, as well as garden plots for cultivation of maize and squash (McBride and Cherau 1996). Gay Head families relied on a mixture of farming, fishing, and animal husbandry for subsistence, representing one of the first native communities in southern New England to engage in English animal husbandry practices. Although more is known about the residences of this community than others, evidence of larger community structure

remains elusive. The prevailing theories suggest that families lived in dispersed clusters, such as those documented throughout southern New England in the 17th century (McBride and Cherau 1996; Starna 1990).

Consistently across native communities, the tail end of the 18th century leading into the 19th century saw significant shifts in housing form and structure, on the Mashantucket reservation as well as within the community on Martha's Vineyard. McBride notes that in 1762, 16 of 23 houses on the Mashantucket reservation were wigwams, but by the mid-1800s only one or two wigwams remained; similarly, an 1807 account of the community at Martha's Vineyard denoted 26 framed houses and only 7 wigwams (McBride 1990; McBride and Cherau 1996). While specific numbers such as these are not available for the Eastern Pequot reservation, the trend in all likelihood holds true. Dwight's observations in 1800 suggest that a number of Pequot families resided in wigwams even at this late date, although the majority had constructed small, rudimentary English-style framed houses (Dwight 1822).

Why did native families engage in these changes in housing forms particularly between the late 18th and early 19th centuries? What other aspects of organization and use of space within the household and in the associated, surrounding areas might have been adjusted accordingly? Do the house sites that have been archaeologically explored on the Eastern Pequot reservation fit these general trends? In the next chapter, specific data from the Eastern Pequot reservation houses are examined in the hopes of contributing additional information to these patterns established at other locations in southern New England. By situating this specific data both within the larger context of

established, early 18th-century native practices and in terms of the shifts that began to occur in these practices by the late 18th century, this thesis aims to trace the ways in which Pequot families and individuals maintained certain practices while adapting others throughout this time period.

## CHAPTER 4

### PROJECT HISTORY AND THESIS METHODOLOGY

#### **Collaborative Archeology on the Reservation**

While archaeology has been ongoing on the Mashantucket Pequot reservation since the 1970s, similar projects did not begin on the Eastern Pequot reservation in North Stonington, Connecticut, until 2003, when Stephen Silliman at the University of Massachusetts Boston initiated a collaborative archaeology project with the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation. In conjunction with the Eastern Pequot Tribal Council, Silliman has run an archaeological field school on the reservation almost every summer since 2003, consisting of undergraduate and graduate students from the University of Massachusetts Boston as well as other local universities, paid interns from within the tribe itself along with tribal volunteers, and occasionally students and volunteers from other Native American communities (Silliman and Dring 2008).

While the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 and subsequent legislation created legal requirements for specific instances of archaeological *consultation* with native communities (Silliman and Ferguson 2010), this project stems

not from these legal stipulations but rather from a more anthropological standpoint of *collaboration*. Collaboration in this context is spurred by the belief that archaeology can be strengthened, enhanced, and decolonized through the establishment of social and professional relationships between archaeologists and indigenous communities that are based on shared ideals about respect, ethics, and heritage (Silliman 2010; Silliman and Dring 2008; Watkins and Ferguson 2005). Detractors of collaborative forms of archaeology argue that allowing non-professional archaeologists (i.e., members of descendent communities, tribal volunteers and interns) to participate and even guide different stages in the archaeological process results in “strip[ping] archaeology of the scientific attributes that make it a particularly powerful narrator of the past,” (McGhee 2008:591). Silliman (2010) counters that Indigenous and/or collaborative archaeologies not only do not undermine the scientific rigor or methodologies of archaeology, but also contribute much more to the discipline. Based on Nicholas’ (2008) definition, Indigenous archaeology fosters the active participation of Indigenous individuals, helps to decolonize a discipline with troubled historical ties to colonialism, highlights and implements Indigenous knowledge and history, and promotes cultural revitalization (see also Atalay 2006; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007; Watkins 2000; Zimmerman 2003).

The collaborative archaeological project on the Eastern Pequot reservation has thus far resulted in the identification of approximately 16 domestic sites, ranging from the mid-18th century to the early 20th century. Not only is the discovery and documentation of these sites an important step for archaeologists and for the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation in exploring and recovering the reservation history, but through collaboration the

project also serves to connect Eastern Pequot youth with the land and the history in a very physical and personal way.

### **Archaeological Methods**

The primary source of data used in this thesis stems from archaeological excavations on the Eastern Pequot reservation at Sites 102-124, 102-125, and 102-128, excavated in the summers of 2007, 2008, and 2009, respectively. These three specific sites were chosen as the dataset for a number of reasons. In order to evaluate spatial data at a variety of house sites, it was necessary to choose sites for which the artifact assemblages had already been processed and catalogued, and where enough comparable excavation had taken place to obtain useful spatial data. One aim of this thesis is to provide the first in-depth archaeological coverage of the sites excavated in 2007, 2008, and 2009. Additionally and more importantly, these three house sites were chosen because each was inhabited at a different point in reservation history, and together they form a potentially representative sample of reservation occupation between the mid-18th and mid-19th centuries. There is potential for concern to be raised over the fact that this thesis attempts to speak to Eastern Pequot daily practices over a significant period of time, while relying solely on one house site per era. However, due to the average low number of residents (and thus houses) on the reservation at any given time in its history, these specific house sites provide a general representation of reservation residence in the mid-18th, late 18th/early 19th, and mid-19th centuries. However, where possible I reference other sites on the reservation that have already been studied, in an attempt to engage with the synchronic variability that existed across the reservation.

Archaeology on the Eastern Pequot reservation has thus far resulted in intensive excavation at nine residential sites, as well as the identification and survey of seven others. The vast majority of house sites that have been identified were discovered as a result of the visible surface remains of stone architectural features. In most cases these exist as piles of stone that represent chimney collapses, although other surface features include stone wall remnants, stone piles created during field clearing episodes, stone enclosures (i.e., possible animal pens), or the occasional stone-lined cellar (see Hasho 2012). Other non-stone features associated with house sites include visible cellar depressions and various trash middens or refuse pits.

The three house sites that form the dataset for this thesis were subject to shovel test pit survey and subsequent excavation of larger units placed strategically around the location. The first house site, Site 102-124, excavated in 2007, is the only domestic site on the reservation devoid of surface remains, and was discovered through subsurface excavation methods alone. Analysis of the artifacts recovered from the site suggests an occupation date between 1740 and 1760. The second house site in this dataset, Site 102-105, excavated in 2008, was initially identified due to the stone pile indicating a collapsed chimney, and artifacts date the site to the late 18th century. The last house site to be analyzed here, Site 102-128, excavated in 2009, is the most complex, represented by a large collapsed stone chimney, stone wall, and root cellar, with a likely occupation date in the early to mid-19th century.

Field methods at each site followed consistent procedures, with test units excavated in arbitrary 5 cm levels unless a stratigraphic break was observed to permit



excavation in cultural or natural levels. When encountered, feature soils were excavated as a separate context from the rest of the unit, also in 5 cm arbitrary levels unless soil color or texture changes prompted the subdivision of arbitrary levels into cultural or natural layers. Shovel test pit soils were screened through 1/4-inch mesh, while excavation unit and feature soils were screened through 1/8-inch mesh.

The artifacts recovered during these site excavations, although property of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation, are accessible to graduate students working on the project through Stephen Silliman's laboratory located at University of Massachusetts Boston. The artifact assemblage from each of these sites has been catalogued by previous student researchers. The resulting Microsoft Access database provides qualitative data about the artifacts from these sites, including information about form and function of each object, and analysis of the database for each site individually provides a general overview of the breadth of material culture that Eastern Pequot individuals and families engaged with on the reservation. While the database includes contextual information about where objects were found, it is not a sufficient resource for any larger attempts at analyzing the spatial distribution of material culture associated with Sites 102-124, 102-125, and 102-128. For this, I employed Golden Surfer Software, inputting coordinates delineating where artifacts were recovered, as well as counts of different artifact types. This process resulted in the creation of isopleth maps representing artifact density across each site. These contour maps present visual representations of artifact concentrations, areas where artifacts are sparse, and the general scatter of material remains across the house and surrounding areas where daily activities occurred.

In addition to the artifact catalog and artifact density information, data are also available about each house site through the associated project ArcGIS database.

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) is a powerful tool for collecting, compiling, displaying, and analyzing spatial data, and GIS approaches are particularly applicable to archaeology because of their ability to store and present spatial data at a number of scales, from individual features, excavation units, or houses, to larger community- or village-level scales across a broad landscape. For this analysis, however, the strong predictive modeling and large-scale landscape analysis capabilities of GIS have not been tapped, and instead the spatial data stored in the ArcGIS program have primarily been used as a tool for viewing the spatial relations at each house site. Specifically, the ArcGIS program for this project contains data collected by the electronic total station used in the field to map specific architectural features, and additionally contains excavation data such as locations of all STPs and excavation units as well as plan maps for every excavated level.

Using ArcGIS in this situation was beneficial in terms of providing visual representations of the relationships between excavation data and architectural data for each house site. It also provided a concise way to navigate the excavation data and view characteristics of features at each site, from the ground surface to the limits of excavation depths. Although these qualitative measurements of artifact and spatial data highlight important trends about the use of space at each site, an analysis of the numbers and visuals alone would result in conclusions about spatial organization that neither incorporate nor account for the agency of human actors, the meanings that these human

actors imbue in material objects, and the recursive relationships that exist between people, space, and objects. These shortcomings highlight how method cannot be divorced from theory, and the analytical interpretations to follow in Chapter 5 will hopefully emphasize how the two can effectively play off of one another.

Throughout the analysis in Chapter 5, potential occupation date ranges are provided based on a combination of mean ceramic dates (MCD) and *terminus post quem* dates for known production ranges for certain artifacts. The mean ceramic date concept uses the midpoint of a specific ware's manufacturing date range and the frequency of each ware in a ceramic assemblage to provide an average year of manufacture for a ceramic assemblage (South 1977). This date is then often applied to a site as a whole, with the caveat that the date is merely an average and should not be considered an absolute dating technique. Sussman (2000) vehemently argues that mean ceramic dates are statistically inaccurate when performed with ceramic *sherd* counts, and suggests instead that mean ceramic dates should be restricted to ceramic *vessel* (or object) counts. When calculated with sherd counts, a mean ceramic date can be skewed by just one ceramic type with a disproportionately high frequency of sherds in one context; performing a mean ceramic date with a vessel count provides a more accurate reflection of the possible date of the context. The ceramics in this study were dated based on sherd count; however, mean ceramic dates are merely used to provide general occupation date ranges.

Another flaw in the MCD process, pointed out by Adams (2003), is that mean ceramic dates, as an average, do not take into account the phenomenon of time lag.

Ceramic vessels are not often used and then immediately deposited, but instead have a more complex lifespan, as they are purchased and then used for a number of years before they end up deposited in the archaeological record. A mean ceramic date, which assumes that a ceramic vessel was deposited at the midpoint of its manufacturing date range, does not account for this longer span of use, or for the fact that a certain ceramic type might have been continually used past the point when that type was no longer being manufactured. South's argument in defense of mean ceramic dates asserts that the manufacturing date ranges he provided were not the actual ranges a given type was made but, instead, reflected South's interpretation of when they would have been available in sufficient quantities (Adams 2003). The additional utilization of *terminus post quem* dates for non-ceramic artifacts will help offset slight inaccuracies in mean ceramic dates due to sherd counts and time lag. A *terminus post quem* date is the earliest-known manufacturing date of an object, which provides the earliest date that the context containing the object could have been deposited (Miller 2000:1). These dating methodologies, used in conjunction, result in reasonable occupation ranges for each house site based on the recovered artifacts.

### **Documentary Support**

Historical documentary records from the 18th and 19th centuries act as a supplementary data set for this research, including primary sources written by 18th- and 19th-century travelers who recorded their impressions upon encountering native villages throughout southern New England. Although not specific to the Eastern Pequot reservation, Ezra Stiles' visit to Niantic in 1761 offers insight into mid-18th century

residence patterns. Through detailed drawings and notes recording the layouts of wigwams he encountered, Stiles provided valuable first-hand information about 18th-century native life, documenting the use of space within the wigwam. Of particular interest, Stiles noted the presence of European manufactured items in the wigwam, including an iron kettle hanging over a fire and styles of English furniture such as chairs, tables, or dressers. These drawings and notes offer an intriguing glimpse into the ways in which mid-18th-century Native individuals might have been engaging in daily practices informed by Native history but enacted with specific adaptations to colonial pressures and influences.

In the early 19th century, Yale president Timothy Dwight made specific mention of the scene he encountered on the Eastern Pequot reservation during a larger tour of the region. Dwight comments on the nature of housing used by the Pequot Indians in Stonington, Connecticut, saying “Here some of them live in wigwams; and others, in houses resembling poor cottages, at the best small, ragged, and unhealthy... Two-thirds of them are supposed to be contained in the Indian families; the remaining third are employed in the service of the farmers. One half of the former division live on the lands reserved for them” (Dwight 1822:14). It must be kept in mind of course that Dwight’s account was written during a time of significant racism, so Dwight was in general predisposed to find any living conditions on the reservation deplorable. Nevertheless, this reference provides a valuable first-hand account of early 19th-century living arrangements on the reservation, specifically the continued presence of wigwams, and also speaks to the quality of the other forms of housing simultaneously in use.

Other historical documentary sources such as reports created by reservation overseers supply evidence for colonialist policies that attempted to regulate life on the reservation. Overseers' reports from the Eastern Pequot reservation in the early 19th century delineate the costs of such projects as building houses, fixing chimneys, and repairing stone walls on the reservation. These reports can potentially shed light on episodes of construction of household spaces, actions which were often initiated by reservation inhabitants and then facilitated and accounted for by the overseer. While colonial overseers were undoubtedly submitting reports to their higher authorities in the 18th century, these reports are not available from the overseers of the Eastern Pequot reservation until the second quarter of the 19th century. Although these reports are limited in their ability to illuminate how native families were using the space within and around their house, they can offer glimpses into the kinds of architectural and construction-related activities that occurred on the reservation.

For example, an 1829 report by overseer Silas Chesebrough denotes that on July 25, Chesebrough obtained "2 window sashes with 24 lights in them for Cyrus Shelly," at a rate of \$2.40 (Chesebrough 1829). By 1835, a new overseer Ezra Hewitt had assumed Chesebrough's duties; on October 10 of that year he records a transaction of \$2.50, "paid for lumber for repairing B. Robbins House," as well as the purchase of four nails for \$0.34 (Hewitt 1835). The most pertinent overseer's notations come from the mid-19th century, when the overseer Elias Hewitt made a number of records about the construction of houses on the reservation. On January 30, 1850, Hewitt recorded a \$5.00 transaction with the description, "To this paid Wm M. Main for putting up house(s?) that blew

down,” followed by a \$0.95 charge, “to nails and padlock for said house” (Hewitt 1850). And in 1853, a fourth overseer, Isaac Miner, noted a series of construction events that occurred in March and April. On March 23(?), Miner listed “1/2 days work (?) chimney to house” for \$0.50, “1 days work (?) chimney to house” for \$1.00, and “Paid Thomas Maine for work on chimney,” \$0.75. Subsequently, on April 1, Miner recorded a significantly larger transaction, in which \$50.00 was “paid Whitford for building Shuntaup’s home” (Miner 1853).

These detailed transactions listed in overseers’ reports spanning almost 30 years indicate that by 1829, at least, some residents of the reservation were living in some style of framed houses, with potential wood and nailed elements, as well as features requiring repair such as windows and chimneys (presumably stone). These architectural data, seemingly minutiae recorded by a number of different overseers, serve to support the archaeological data to be discussed in more detail following, which suggest that perhaps even by the late 18th century, reservation inhabitants were following a larger, regional trend toward framed houses rather than more temporary wigwams.

## CHAPTER 5

### HOUSEHOLD-LEVEL USE OF SPACE

#### **Introduction**

The Eastern Pequot reservation exists as a unique setting for archaeological research into colonialism. Since its founding in 1683, the reservation lands appear to have been continuously occupied solely by members of the Eastern Pequot community (Silliman 2009). Because of this documented history, the 18th- and 19th-century house sites under consideration here were undeniably occupied by Eastern Pequot community members, even if an individual or two married in. These house sites are, however, relatively dominated by what are generally considered European-American materials; despite the presence of some objects traditionally considered “native,” such as lithic tools and glass beads, far more numerous are artifacts of European manufacture such as ceramics, glass, iron objects (including nails), and white clay tobacco pipes. As such, these sites provide an intriguing glimpse into colonial life on a native reservation, and the proliferation of European-manufactured material objects requires archaeological interpretation to move beyond mere reliance on traditional artifact categories (see Loren 2008). Instead, the material remains, as well as archaeological evidence of 18th- and 19th-century foodways, house construction patterns, and household use of space in



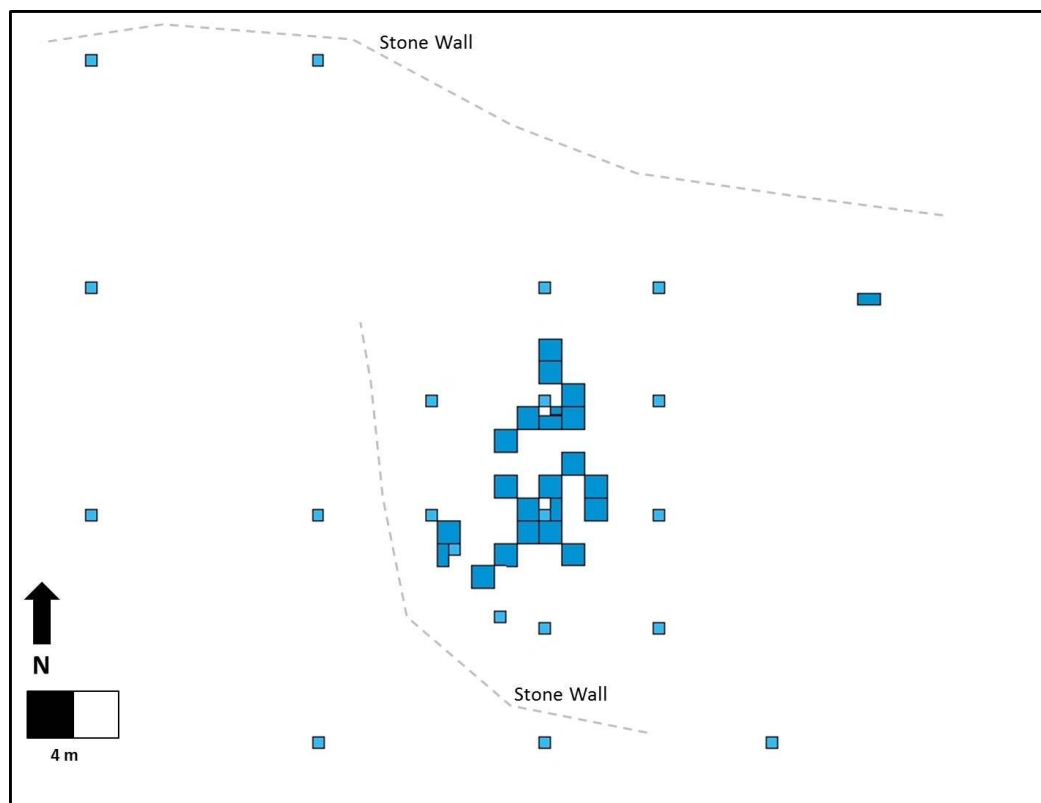
general, must be critically examined in order to identify the ways in which reservation inhabitants lived in and experienced the colonial world.

In order to truly get a sense of the ways in which these mid-18th-century, late 18th-century, and mid-19th century Eastern Pequot families lived in and used their household space, a more detailed archaeological analysis must be undertaken for each of these house sites. This includes an examination of the type and distribution of artifacts across the house and extramural space at each site, as well as the locations of features and artifacts within residential cores. First an occupation date range is proposed for each house site, using reliably datable ceramic wares as well as a variety of other dateable artifacts recovered from the sites. Next the artifact spread across the site is addressed, in terms of the spatial distribution of general artifact densities as well as specific artifact categories. This is followed by a more in-depth treatment of each feature and its contents, its spatial relation to other features, and other impressions about its nature and intended use. Lastly I discuss general conclusions about the use of space within and around each house site, using the archaeological analysis to posit ways in which Eastern Pequot family members lived within these spaces.

#### **Site 102-124**

Site 102-124, excavated in the summer of 2007, is unique among the house sites on the reservation in that it lacks any surface architectural remains, having been identified solely in shovel test pit survey by an increased artifact density and subsequent discovery of subsurface features. This complete lack of visible architectural remains suggests that a dwelling on this site may have existed in the form of a *weetu* (wigwam) or a wooden

framed structure with no foundation, chimney, or cellar. Site 102-124 sits on a low terrace, south of an approximately 2-m high rock ledge and north of a stretch of wet soil and boulder fields. Across an area measuring almost 200 m north-south by 120 m east-west, 118 50-x-50-cm STPs were excavated in an attempt to determine the precise location of the residence within this area. The occurrence of the highest artifact densities within a roughly 100 square meter portion of the shovel-tested area led to the subsequent excavation of 21 1-x-1-m excavation units, 2 1-x-0.5-m excavation units, 1 1-x-0.62-m excavation unit, and 1 0.5-x-0.33-m excavation unit, with excavated areas covering an estimated 20% of the predicted total site area (Figure 3). These excavation units in the core of the inhabited area revealed three distinct subsurface features, pits of varying size, that were rich in artifacts. In addition to these pit features, eight potential posthole features were also uncovered, possibly stains left behind after the removal of saplings used in wigwam or other wooden construction. Despite the discovery of artifact scatters and subsurface features, little architectural evidence was recovered from beneath the surface, with the exception of these potential postholes and a moderate quantity of wrought iron nails. A stone wall runs just to the west of the site, as well as to the north and south, but evidence from excavations under stone walls at other house sites on the reservation (Hasho 2012) suggests that the construction of the system of stone walls occurred as a later landscaping event on the reservation.



**Figure 3: Site 102-124 Excavation Area.**  
**Depicting STPs (small shaded squares), excavation units (large shaded squares), and**  
**stone wall (gray line).**

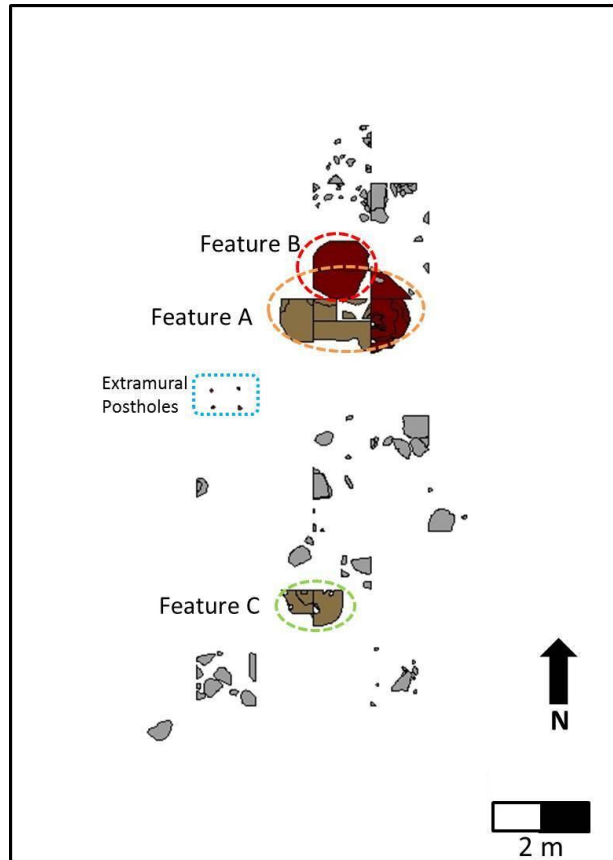
### *Dates of Occupation*

The ability to date the occupation of the site is slightly hampered by the lack of any distinctive surviving architectural features. However, analysis of the ceramic sherds provides a mean ceramic date (MCD) for the site, and when this MCD is used in conjunction with known manufacturing dates for certain ceramic wares, it can provide a relatively reliable date range. One helpful factor is the complete absence at Site 102-124 of creamware, a refined earthenware that became ubiquitous on most colonial sites, including those on the reservation, in southern New England soon after its production

began in 1762; the lack of creamware at this site strongly suggests that residents had left by the mid-1760s, if not earlier. The ceramic wares recovered are all types that enjoyed popularity in the early and mid-18th century, including redware, Astbury-type, white salt-glazed stoneware, tin-glazed earthenware, grey stoneware, Staffordshire slipware, Chinese export porcelain (specifically Brown Reserve), and Jackfield-type. The known production ranges for these wares produce an MCD for this site of approximately 1739, and the absence of creamware together with this average production date provides an occupation range for the site between 1740 and the early 1760s. Nine sherds of brown reserve Chinese porcelain were recovered, a decorative technique of porcelain for which production did not begin until 1740. Eight sherds of scratch-blue white salt-glazed stoneware were also recovered, and this decorative technique on white stonewares did not begin until at least 1744 (DAACS 2006). The predominance of these wares which were exclusively produced in the 1740s further supports the hypothesis that the site was occupied sometime between 1740 and 1760.

#### *General Artifact Scatter*

Despite the absence of stone architectural elements, the presence of a large midden or trash deposit pit in close association to an arrangement of posthole features, as well as a moderate density of wrought iron nails, suggests the location of the dwelling structure. Assuming this to be true, Features A and B were uncovered within the structure itself, beneath the living surface, while Feature C is located approximately 4-5 m directly to the south, outside the residential structure (Figure 4).



**Figure 4: Site 102-124 Excavation Unit Plan Map Views.  
Composite levels for view of features.**

Artifact densities are high in the 2 square meters immediately surrounding Features A and B but begin to diminish quickly to an almost negligible presence within 2 m of these features to the west, north, and east. To the south, however, artifact densities remain slight to moderate for 3 m before picking up again nearing Feature C. Artifacts exist in moderate densities within Feature C, and this density extends up to 2 m south and 2 m west of the feature, with slight artifact scatter extending as far as 5 to 7 m to the southwest of the feature. The stretch of moderate artifact density between the house structure and Feature C suggests that this may have been a route traveled by the

occupants of the house as they discarded certain material remains in a designated area within the space surrounding the wigwam, rather than within the structure itself (Table 1).

**Table 1: Site 102-124 Artifact Totals**

Context	Artifact type, Count (% Site Total)								
	Faunal	Shellfish	Ceramic	Vessel Glass	Sewing Pins	Buttons	Nails	Beads	Pipes
Feature A	613 (37%)	835 (47%)	172 (19%)	19 (40%)	43 (100%)	4 (33.3%)	27 (28%)	2 (20%)	10 (29%)
Feature B	32 (2%)	123 (7%)	23 (2.5%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	3 (25%)	6 (6%)	3 (30%)	1 (3%)
Feature C	75 (4.5%)	250 (14%)	30 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)
Rest of Site	942 (56.5%)	574 (32%)	697 (75.2%)	28 (58%)	0 (0%)	5 (41.7%)	61 (64%)	5 (50%)	23 (65%)

Interestingly, the artifacts along this path are almost exclusively comprised of faunal remains and ceramic fragments, perhaps representing the kinds of trash being transported across the extramural area. One notable discrepancy to the above-mentioned pattern of artifacts quickly trailing off to the west of the structure is found in the shellfish remains. While these were recovered in the highest quantities from Feature A, significant shellfish densities also occur up to 3 m to the west of this feature, where both faunal and domestic remains are largely absent or slight. Across Site 102-124 in general, excluding artifacts recovered from subsurface features, recovery of material remains was limited to the first 35-40 cm below ground surface (cmbs). The fact that artifacts rarely extended beyond 40 cmbs suggests that this depth likely represents the mid-18th-century ground surface. Additionally, the site was perhaps not occupied for a lengthy period of time, and the residents perhaps limited their daily activities around the site to within the house and in designated extramural spaces.

### *Feature A*

The largest and most artifact-rich pit feature at Site 102-124 was uncovered in four different excavation units, approximately 1-x-0.5 m in size and somewhat rectangular in shape, likely having existed beneath the living surface of the wigwam structure (Figure 5). Feature A, characterized by dark, organic soil (10 YR 4/4), began to appear around 25 cmbs and extended to a depth of approximately 58 cmbs, with dense material remains spread throughout. The deepest 5 cm of the feature contained primarily shellfish remains, faunal remains, and charcoal, suggesting that the pit was initially filled with food trash. Hunter (2012) notes similar use of disposal features at Site 2011, a late 18th-century house site recently excavated on the reservation, perhaps suggesting continuation in food disposal practices throughout the 18th century. At Site 102-124, the residents may have simply swept or moved this food trash from a preparation or eating area to the designated trash pit, all within the interior of the wigwam.



**Figure 5: Site 102-124 Feature A Photograph.  
End of excavation.**

However, the next 20 cm of the feature fill were significantly rich in other domestic artifacts in addition to faunal and shellfish remains. These levels of the pit were relatively uniform in terms of artifact categories, so there is no evidence to help distinguish whether this portion of the trash pit was filled in one event or whether it remained open for various disposal episodes over a span of time. It does seem, nevertheless, that the pit became useful for discarding unwanted or broken household items, as ceramic sherds, bottle glass fragments, wrought iron nails, iron and pewter kitchen utensils, buttons, and tobacco pipe fragments were all recovered. Other small domestic objects such as sewing pins or beads, also recovered from the feature, could potentially have been unintentionally discarded, or swept into the trash pit indiscriminately with other remains.

The ceramics contained in these levels of the trash pit are representative of those found across the site in general—dominated by large utilitarian redware vessel fragments, with lower quantities of smaller dinnerware vessel fragments of white salt-glazed stoneware, brown reserve porcelain, and Staffordshire slipware, as well as an Astbury teapot spout. In addition to the ceramic evidence for food preparation and service, metal kitchen utensils were also recovered from the feature. A pewter (or lead) flatware handle, perhaps from a ladle or other serving utensil, exhibits a trefoil decoration at the end of the handle, an iron knife blade with a flat tang likely had a bone or wood handle, and a two-tined iron fork also possessed a flat tang which would have been covered with a bone or wood handle. The two fork tines, long and straight with rounded shoulders, represent a common 18th-century fork style, perhaps even specific to 1720-1770 (Dunning 2000)



(Figure 6). These mass-produced ceramics and utensils, together with the presence of a large iron kettle fragment and an iron kettle hook fragment, speak to the fact that despite choosing to live in a more traditional wigwam-style house, these mid-18th century reservation inhabitants were also comfortable using some global consumer items in daily processes of food preparation and consumption.



**Figure 6: Site 102-124 Two-Tined Iron Fork.**

Above these artifact-rich 20 cm of feature fill lay 5-10 cm of slightly different soil (2.5Y 6/3), notably filled with ash and charcoal but still containing other artifacts as well. This ashy layer, prevalent at the top of the pit feature, might indicate that the wigwam's fire pit was cleaned out and the debris dumped onto the top of the trash pit, potentially further covered by other loose soil. This cap of debris further suggests that the pit may have been filled in one episode; perhaps a resident of the wigwam swept or gathered general household trash (including food remains) to be dumped into the pit first, then cleaned out the fire pit specifically and discarded the debris on top of the trash pile, covering the whole pit with more dirt. It is possible that this filling episode occurred when the wigwam was abandoned or moved altogether.

In total, this trash pit specifically contained a significant proportion of the overall shellfish (47%) and faunal (40%) remains from the site in general, as well as significant proportions of other artifact categories, such as 19% of the site's ceramics, 40% of the vessel glass, 33% of the buttons (n=4), 20% of the beads (n=2), 29% of the smoking pipes, and 100% of the sewing pins (n=43) (Table 1). This feature also contained 28% of the iron nails from the site, which will be discussed further below. The presence of architectural nails within this trash pit exists as a potential indication of the intentional dismantling of the dwelling.

### *Feature B*

This pit feature has a number of notable characteristics, primarily its location, slightly to the north but predominantly underneath the northern edge of Feature A. This pit, in contrast to Feature A's general rectilinear shape, is predominantly circular, approximately 0.75 m in diameter (Figure 7).



**Figure 7: Site 102-124 Feature B Photograph.  
End of excavation.**

Extending in depth from around 52 cmbs to 84 cmbs, it was dug deeply into distinctive gray-green, sandy C Horizon soils (2.5Y 5/2), although the pit's fill is relatively consistent with that of Feature A (10YR 4/4). The feature was bisected on an east-west axis during excavation, and the north and south halves were excavated separately, to try to track any stratigraphic changes, although the two halves were determined not to be distinctive in terms of fill. These 32 cm of fill contained predominantly charcoal, shellfish remains, and faunal remains, although small quantities of ceramics, bottle glass, wrought nails, beads, buttons, and tobacco pipe fragments were also present. In terms of the artifacts found in pit features at this site, Feature B contained the fewest, and contained only small proportions of the site's artifacts in general: 2% of faunal remains, 7% of shellfish remains, 2.5% of ceramics, 2% of bottle glass, 6% of nails, and 3% of pipes. It is worth noting, however, that Feature B did contain high proportions of buttons and beads comparable to Feature A: 25% of the site's buttons (n=3) and 30% of the site's beads (n=3).

Due to its circular nature, as well as the general dearth of domestic artifacts in its fill, Feature B likely initially served as a storage pit, perhaps dug upon the construction of the wigwam or shortly thereafter. This pit might have been used to store small quantities of plant foods for short periods of time, and could have been placed out of the way within the interior of the wigwam, perhaps underneath a sleeping platform. Towards the end of the occupation of this wigwam site, resident(s) may have decided the storage pit had outlived its usefulness, opting to fill in the majority of the pit with domestic and food debris from the floor of the wigwam (including buttons, beads, ceramic sherds and faunal

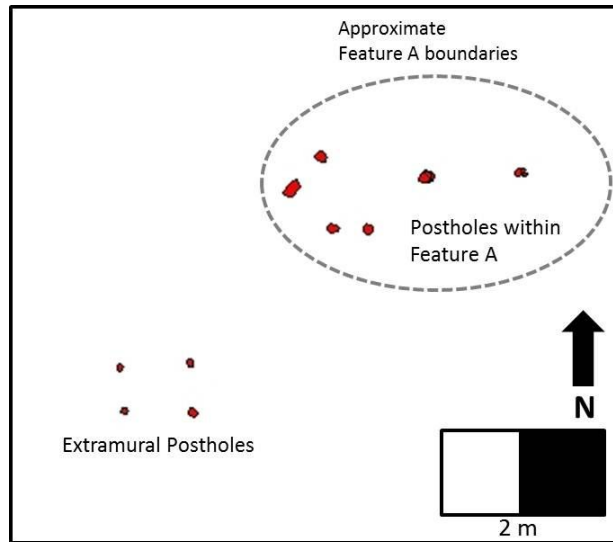
and shellfish remains), and subsequently digging an expanded pit just to the south to serve as a more formal trash receptacle.

### *Feature C*

Located outside of the proposed wigwam structure, Feature C represents one way that the occupants of the wigwam utilized the space around their dwelling. As mentioned above, a light artifact scatter patterned in a loose path marching southward from the house leads to another pit feature between 4 and 5 m away. This pit feature's shape, although more irregular than that of Feature A, is still vaguely rectilinear in outline. The pit begins at 19 cmbs and continues to 44 cmbs, filled with a slightly less organic but still dark brown soil (10YR 3/2). Like Features A and B, Feature C contained predominantly shellfish remains, faunal remains, and charcoal, in higher quantities than Feature B but still much lower quantities than Feature A (5% of the site's faunal material, 14% of the site's shellfish). Feature C also included a small number of ceramic sherds (3.3% of the site's total) as well as two tobacco pipe fragments. In an interesting contrast from the other two features, however, Feature C contained no other domestic material objects, including bottle glass, sewing pins, buttons, or beads, and indeed no other artifacts at all. This lack of domestic debris indicates that this outdoor pit was reserved exclusively for trash related to food production and consumption. Datable ceramics or other distinctive datable artifacts are insufficient to determine if the use of this pit pre- or post-dated the use of the interior wigwam trash pit.

### *Posthole Features*

Four potential postholes were identified during the excavation of the trash pit (Feature A) within the wigwam: two along the southwestern corner of the feature, one in the center, and one toward the eastern edge (Figure 8). All of the postholes appeared between 47 cmbs and 62 cmbs within the feature excavation, although the eastern and western postholes were relatively shallow while the center posthole continued to approximately 72 cmbs. Some of these postholes were excavated as separate contexts but contained only charcoal, shell, or bone, while the rest were not excavated separately, and as such, there is no reliable way to date the posthole features. Given their appearance at roughly the same depth, and their location within Feature A, it is possible that these postholes represent supports that were put in place inside the wigwam. These sapling stakes could have supported some sort of covering for the pit feature, or if the pit feature was located underneath an interior element of the wigwam, the postholes could represent the support for that element. Unfortunately, the lack of context-specific artifacts in these postholes, as well as the transient and vague nature of posthole features in general, leaves us without conclusive evidence about their use or purpose.



**Figure 8: Site 102-124 Posthole Features.**

Four more posthole features were discovered during the excavation of a 1-x-1-m unit 2 m west and 1 m south of Feature A. These four postholes appeared in the unit excavation between 27 and 37 cmbs, making them relatively shallow posthole features, none of which contained any artifacts other than animal bone. These four postholes do exhibit an interesting pattern, however, existing in a relatively square shape of roughly  $0.5 \text{ m}^2$ . Again, the evidence for the use or intent of these posts is inconclusive; nevertheless, their square shape and location just outside of the wigwam structure could be representative of the posts needed for an outdoor drying rack or other element of food production or processing that was not meant to occur inside. In support of this hypothesis is the fact that this potential ‘rack’ (for lack of a better term) would have been located just to the west of the ‘path’ to the outdoor trash pit.

## *Conclusions*

I have suggested here that the subsurface features as well as the artifacts across the site support the hypothesis that the dwelling structure at this site was a wigwam construction, perhaps with a floor area between 10 m<sup>2</sup> and 12 m<sup>2</sup>. Recovered from within and around the structure's extent, a small number of hand-wrought iron nails, between 5 and 7 cm long with L-shaped heads, potentially represent a wooden, nailed element to the wigwam's structure, such as a framed door or interior partition (cf. McBride 1990). Additionally, a handful of wrought iron nails between 2 and 3 cm in length could indicate the presence within the wigwam of a few objects of European-American influenced wooden furniture, such as a table or dresser. The inclusion of European-American wooden furniture such as tables, chairs, and dressers in Ezra Stiles' 1761 drawing of the interior of a wigwam at Niantic lends credence to the idea that this 1740-1760 dwelling could also have been a wigwam with a wooden door and/or wooden furniture elements. The Eastern Pequot individuals residing in this wigwam put other European-American objects to good use in their daily activities, including ceramics, metal utensils, and copper alloy buttons and sewing pins; it is not then outside the realm of possibility that this family either possessed furniture or altered the traditional wigwam construction by adding a wooden door. The number and position of windows in this structure is inconclusive; the recovery of six small window glass fragments does not provide enough glass material to comprise even a single window pane, but does indicate that at least one must have been present.

In terms of the use of space around the house site, it appears that trash disposal occurred both within and outside of the wigwam structure. The more irregular shape of the outdoor pit (Feature C), combined with the presence of higher density artifact scatter in the 2 m to the south and west of this pit, suggests that this trash area was much less rigidly maintained, with trash perhaps deposited somewhat haphazardly. Perhaps the remains from meals or butchering and preparation activities were intentionally disposed of in the trash area outside in the yard space, while the trash pit inside the wigwam was reserved for more domestic debris and fire pit cleaning events. The postholes that represent a potential drying rack or other step in food processing are conveniently located between the wigwam and the food waste disposal area. No hearth area or fire pit was located within this wigwam structure, although documentary and archaeological evidence point to the likely presence of such a feature in the dwelling. The archaeological recovery of significant quantities of charcoal and ash from excavation units within the interior of the structure, together with the recovery of iron kettle fragments and faunal and shellfish remains, suggests that a cooking feature was located in an unexcavated area of the dwelling's interior.

The three pit features at the site do contain the majority of the artifacts from the site as a whole; together the features contain 43% of the site's faunal remains, 68% of the shellfish, 25% of the ceramics, 42% of the vessel glass, 100% of the sewing pins, 58% of the buttons, and 50% of the beads. While the light nature of the artifact scatter across the rest of the site suggests that outdoor areas aside from those discussed above were not intensively used for specific activities, this by no means disqualifies any other outdoor

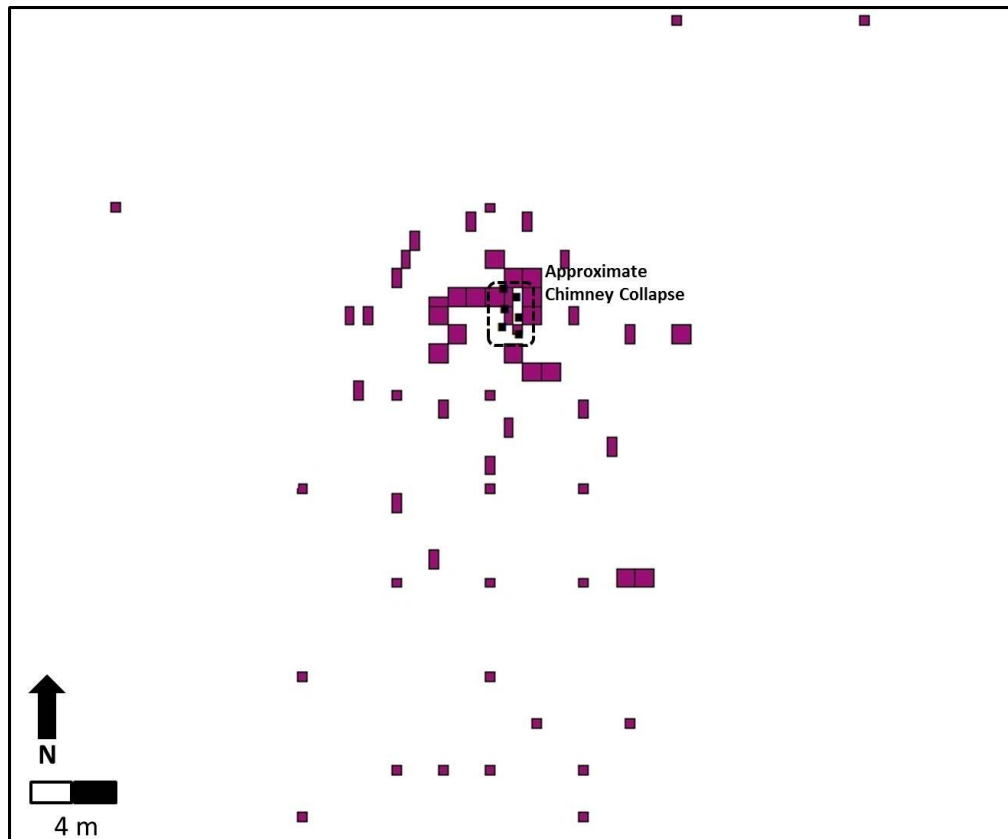


space from being used by inhabitants of the house site. On the contrary, the presence of artifacts such as a lead musketball, a partial livestock shoe, a partial scissor handle, a large iron kettle fragment, and a kettle hook suggests a variety of activities outside of the wigwam, particularly in the space between the wigwam and the outdoor trash pit. Additionally, 66% of the tobacco pipe fragments as well as two gunflints were recovered from the general artifact scatter rather than from within features, suggesting that the Eastern Pequot residents at this site engaged in habitual activities such as smoking and gunflint reworking within general extramural space, rather than in specifically prescribed locations.

#### **Site 102-125**

In the summer of 2008, excavations proceeded at Site 102-125, a site identified by the pile of stones representing a collapsed chimney fall (Figure 9). No evidence for either a formal cellar or a stone foundation exists, so it is likely that the structure at this site was a wooden framed structure built directly on the ground, with an attached stone chimney. The structure probably existed as a one-room dwelling, with a floor area between 25 and 35 square m. Across an area measuring approximately 100 m north-south by 200 m east-west, with the house near the center, students excavated 206 50-x-50-cm STPs. Despite this wide area of STP survey, the majority of the STPs were focused within a more narrowly defined area of roughly 70 m north-south by 40 m east-west. Since the precise location of the house was already known due to the chimney fall, these STPs were excavated primarily to determine the extent of the artifact scatter across the larger area surrounding the house. This artifact scatter covers roughly 400 m<sup>2</sup>, but the core of the

inhabited area, indicated by more densely concentrated artifacts as well as the presence of subsurface features, is in general within the 16 m<sup>2</sup> directly surrounding the architectural remains. One specific exception to this trend is a small area of dense artifact recovery to the southeast of the actual house, down a slight incline from the terrace on which the house otherwise sits; however, as only two units were excavated at this location, the extent of this concentration remains unclear. Overall, subsurface testing at this site consisted of 21 1-x-1-m excavation units, 20 1-x-0.5-m excavation units, and one irregular excavation unit measuring 1-x-0.4 m. In this case, the 1-x-0.5-m units were dug in a “ring” surrounding the chimney collapse in order to provide information about the spread of artifacts in the general area of the house and subsequently a greater understanding of the use of space both within and around the house. It also represented a concerted effort to locate discrete trash deposits or other features, none of which ever materialized. The features at this house site were limited to one large pit feature on the eastern side of the chimney fall, indicating a subfloor storage area not quite large enough to qualify as a cellar, and one hearth feature on the western side of the chimney fall.



**Figure 9: Site 102-125 Excavation Area.**  
**Depicting STPs (small shaded squares), excavation units (larger shaded squares and rectangles), and approximate chimney collapse boundaries.**

### *Dates of Occupation*

Mean ceramic date calculations provided an average occupation date of 1789 for Site 102-125. Unlike at Site 102-124, the ceramic assemblage here includes both creamware and pearlware vessels, with creamware predominating. Pearlware production did not begin until 1775 (DAACS 2006), but this does not mean that the house was not occupied before this point, and a beginning occupation date for the house is relatively difficult to determine using the ceramics. However, no whiteware ceramics were

recovered from anywhere on the site. Much like pearlware and creamware before it, whiteware quickly became ubiquitous on colonial sites after production began, which for whiteware was 1830 (DAACS 2006). As such, it is unlikely that residents remained at this house beyond the first three decades of the 19th century, and in fact, they may not have been there much beyond the first decade. A variety of earlier 18th-century ceramics was also recovered from the site, including very small quantities of Astbury, white salt-glazed stoneware, brown and gray stoneware, and Staffordshire slipware.

Undecorated creamware vessels, popular in the 1770s and 1780s, are the best represented ware at the site. The assemblage also includes a significant number of pearlware vessels displaying early hand-painted decorative styles in colors such as brown, yellow, and green. Although these early hand-painted pearlwares could have been produced anywhere between 1775 and 1815 (Miller 2000), the height of their popularity more likely occurred between roughly 1790 and 1810. Although these ceramic manufacturing date ranges cannot provide nor be equated to a specific occupation period of the house, an analysis of the types of ceramic wares suggests that the site was at least occupied around the turn of the 19th century.

In addition to the ceramics, two coins recovered from Site 102-125 can add to the discussion of the occupation dates. The date on one coin is illegible, but the coin is a large, United States one-cent piece, with a wheat design on one side. The surface of the coin is quite corroded, and it is not possible to discern other elements of the design which might contribute to providing a date; however, large one-cent coins were only produced by the United States mint between 1793 and 1857 (United States Mint 2012). The likely

turn-of-the-19th-century date of this coin coincides with the early 19th-century occupation indicated by the ceramic assemblage. The other coin recovered is a milled silver Spanish  $\frac{1}{2}$  *real* minted in Mexico during the reign of Ferdinand VI, between 1746 and 1759; the last number in the date on the coin is illegible, but the first three numbers indicate a mint date in the 1750s. It is unclear how the *real* coin came to be on the Eastern Pequot reservation, but Mexican and Spanish coinage remained popular in international trading into the 19th century (Sedwick Coins 2008). The coin provides a *terminus post quem* date for the feature from which it was recovered, indicating that the feature could not have been filled before the 1750s. The potential dates of each of these coins further strengthen the hypothesis that Eastern Pequot individuals inhabited the framed house at Site 102-125 in the late 18th and into the early 19th centuries.

#### *General Artifact Scatter*

As expected from other studied house sites on the reservation, the highest concentrations of artifacts occur in the immediate vicinity of the collapsed chimney stones (Table 2). Despite the presence of the chimney rubble, the potential outline of the structure itself is difficult to discern, due to the fact that no stone foundation exists, and no traces of the wooden house frame remain. However, the location of the chimney rubble allows at least for a close approximation of the location of the rest of the structure, enough to assert that the artifacts were most dense in the 9 square meters surrounding the chimney collapse, which itself covers a roughly 3-x-2-m expanse. More specifically, artifact densities were highest in a 4 m<sup>2</sup> area on the northwest side of the chimney stone pile, and more moderate quantities of recovered artifacts extended as far as 4 m to the

south and west of the stones. The recovery of material remains was very light to the southwest and northeast of the chimney pile, and in general very few objects were recovered farther than 6 m out from the chimney collapse in any direction.

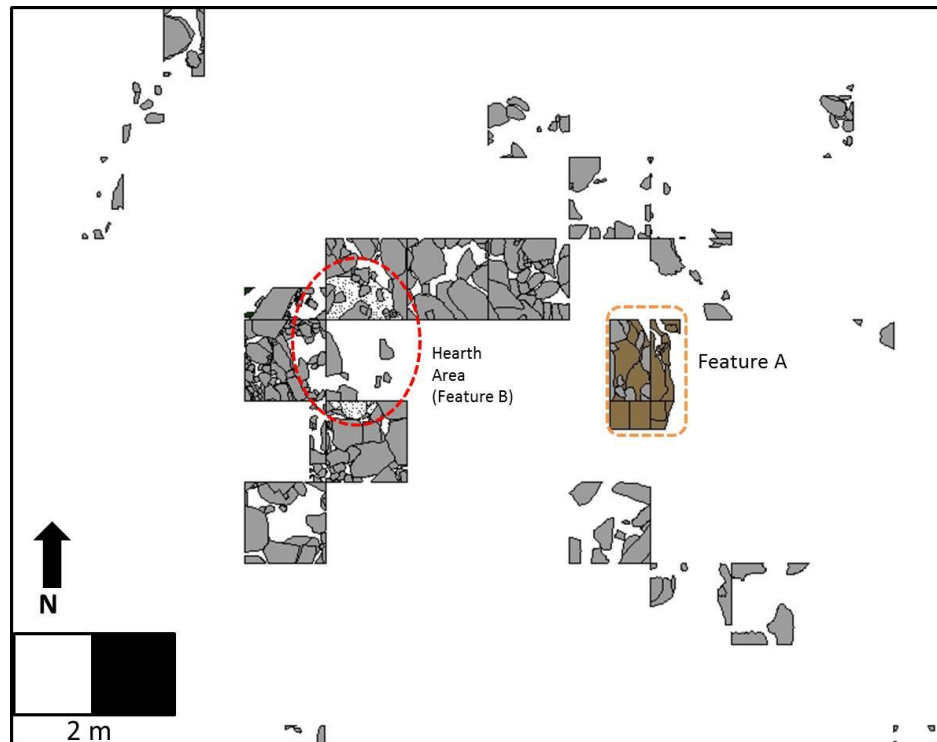
**Table 2: Site 102-125 Artifact Totals**

Context	Artifact Type, Count (% Site Total)							
	Faunal	Shellfish	Ceramic	Vessel Glass	Window Glass	Buttons	Nails	Pipes
Feature A (Pit)	7 (2%)	1 (2%)	247 (13%)	22 (18%)	4 (44%)	11 (42%)	19 (19%)	6 (50%)
Feature B (Hearth)	112 (38%)	25 (58%)	425 (22%)	18 (15%)	0 (0%)	10 (39%)	24 (42%)	4 (33%)
Rest of Site	174 (60%)	17 (40%)	1307 (65%)	84 (67%)	5 (56%)	5 (19%)	56 (57%)	2 (17%)

The one exception to this pattern exists in the presence of artifact densities to the southeast, approximately 15 m from the core of the inhabited area. However, as only two 1-x-1-m excavation units were completed at this southeastern corner of the site, the extent and nature of this increased artifact presence remains unclear. Although there is no clear evidence for a strong pattern of use of extramural space between the house and this somewhat removed area of artifact density, very light scatter of material remains in a southeasterly direction from the dwelling may indicate the most frequently occupied or utilized spaces outside of the house. An interesting pattern emerges upon closer examination of the artifact categories that are present in this anomaly to the southeast. The objects recovered from this area are almost exclusively limited to ceramics, specifically creamware, in addition to a small number of green bottle glass fragments, a kettle fragment, and a relatively dense concentration of charcoal. No other domestic or architectural artifacts were recovered at this location, and the distinct absence of any

faunal or shellfish remains renders the possibility unlikely that the artifact concentration represents a preferred location for everyday disposal.

Instead, faunal and shellfish material, albeit in relatively low numbers, were recovered almost exclusively from the northwest side of the chimney pile, most dense within the chimney fall itself but with a definite presence continuing for roughly 2 m north, 2 m west, and 4 m south of the chimney. Aside from scattered and isolated faunal fragments on the eastern side of the house, food waste materials were largely absent from the rest of the surrounding area. The area of relative faunal concentration within the chimney collapse is likely a hearth feature, discussed in more detail below. While significant quantities of other artifacts were discovered in the vicinity of the hearth feature, these artifacts do not extend appreciably to the northwest, as the faunal remains do. Instead, other domestic materials were recovered in a second concentration roughly 1 to 2 m south and 1 to 2 m east of the potential hearth feature. These artifacts were recovered from a pit feature of ovular or slightly rectangular shape and approximately 1.5-x-1.5-m in size, which is termed Feature A here (Figure 10).

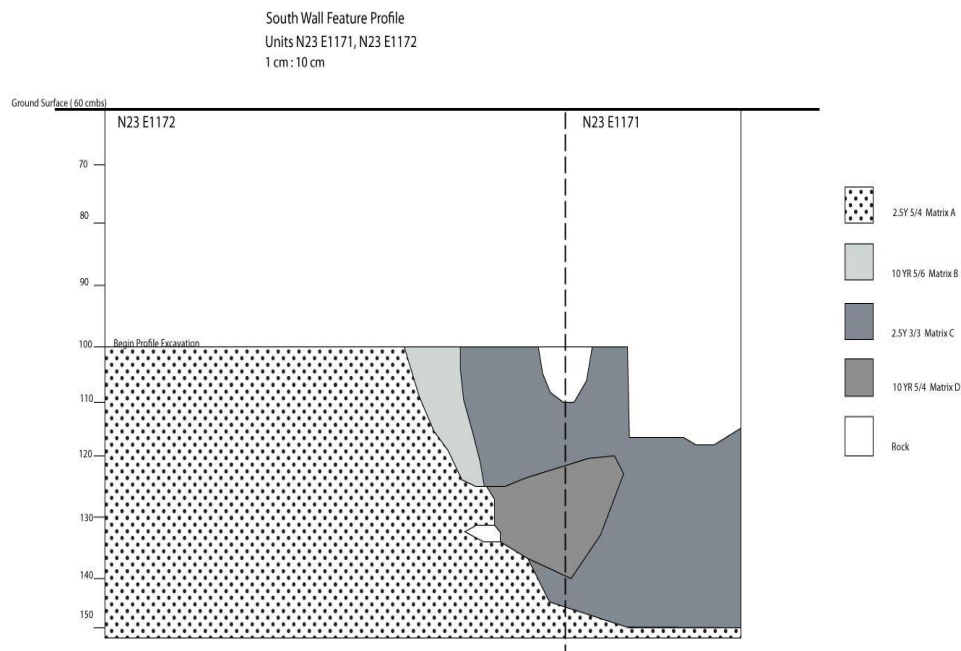


**Figure 10: Site 102-125 Excavation Unit Plan Map Views.  
Composite levels for view of features.**

#### *Feature A*

Within Site 102-125, a pit feature was identified within four adjacent excavation units, measuring roughly 1.3-x-0.6 m and vaguely rectangular in shape, although perhaps more accurately described as ovular. Although the exact positioning of the house remains unclear, based on the location of the chimney rubble this feature was most likely within the house structure itself. This pit feature appeared at approximately 30 cmbs and continued to a maximum depth of approximately 71 cmbs, although the depth of the pit was not uniform. Instead, the pit feature was relatively narrow at its deepest extent and widened toward the top (Figure 10).





**Figure 11: Site 102-125 Feature A, South Wall Profile**

Feature A (Figure 12) was generally characterized by 10 YR 3/3 brown soils. The eastern edge of the feature appeared to be lined with rocks, but it is unclear whether this represents an intentional act, a result of the collapse of the stone walls of the house, or a natural layer of stones that prohibited the pit from being dug any further to the east. The domestic nature of the artifacts contained in this feature fill, in addition to its irregular shape and depth, suggest that the pit was used primarily for trash disposal or general discarding of objects, rather than a more structured storage pit, or at least it became that later in its use life. The deepest 5 cm of the feature contained exclusively charcoal fragments, but after this initial level, artifact densities immediately increased and remained relatively consistent throughout the rest of the feature. There is little evidence to suggest the length of time for which the trash pit remained open, and the absence of

distinct soil lenses or artifact groupings perhaps indicates that the pit was filled in relatively few episodes. Toward the surface of the feature, a series of large rocks were oriented at an angle, slumping into the opening of the pit, representing the collapse of the chimney and perhaps indicating that the chimney collapse occurred before the trash pit had been completely filled.



**Figure 12: Site 102-125 Feature A Photograph.  
End of excavation.**

The material remains recovered from within the limits of this trash pit were primarily domestic in nature, dominated by ceramic sherds but also including small amounts of vessel glass, window glass, tobacco pipe fragments, and wrought iron nails. A number of hand-painted pearlware vessel fragments were recovered from within this pit, exhibiting the decorative styles discussed previously which were popular around the turn of the 19th century. A moderate quantity of copper alloy buttons, both small and medium

sizes, sheds light on an aspect of the clothing practices of this Eastern Pequot family. Although these buttons were all similar in their relatively plain styles, the slight variations in sizes, shank style, and face decoration hints that these individuals did not possess matching sets of buttons for garments, but rather sewed buttons on individually as needed. This practice of affixing mismatched buttons to items of clothing is a frequent phenomenon among families of a lower socioeconomic status (Patton 2007).

Another interesting object recovered from Feature A is a portion of an iron kitchen fork, with two tines, rounded shoulders, and a flat tang to which at one point a bone or wooden handle would have been attached. The presence of a mere seven faunal fragments and a single shellfish fragment within this pit indicates that although the pit was a preferred location for discarding unwanted or broken domestic items, it was not a specific space used by the house's occupants for the disposal of food remains. Despite the presence of an interesting array of decorated ceramics, Feature A overall did not contain a particularly large quantity of material remains. Recovered from Feature A were 13% of the total ceramics found at the site, 18% of the total vessel glass, 44% of the total window glass, 42% of the total buttons (n=11), and 19% of the total nails.

#### *Feature B*

In contrast, the hearth feature located within the chimney rubble (Feature B, Figure 13) contained much higher artifact quantities. Aspects of this hearth feature were excavated in four different units, and consistent pockets of ash helped identify the continuation of the hearth area, whether intact or collapsed, across excavation units. The first 15 to 25 cm of these units consisted almost exclusively of fallen chimney stones,

since the units were excavated within the chimney collapse, and these stones had to be removed before excavation of the soil beneath them could continue. At the eastern edge of this hearth feature, a large, flat, rectangular stone existed, almost one meter in length, which continued to the east into unexcavated chimney fall. This large stone, potentially an intentionally placed hearth stone (rather than a fallen chimney stone), was surrounded by large pockets of ash and charcoal continuing in depth for as many as 60 cmbs.

Excavation of the area directly adjacent to this potential hearth stone continued to encounter layered deposits, in which 5 to 10 cm of very ashy, charcoal-filled soil was followed by 10 to 15 cm of artifact-rich soil, at which point the density of both ash and artifacts diminished until excavation stopped. In the areas surrounding the hearth stone, similar conditions were encountered, with alternating layers of fallen chimney rock, ash pockets, and artifact-rich levels. Although the jumble of fallen chimney stones somewhat obscures the exact dimensions of the hearth, the substantial presence of material remains throughout the hearth area provides a good indication of its heavy use for a significant period of time and likely the lack of its cleaning before the residents departed this house. At least one layer of flat rocks was uncovered to the west of the large hearth stone, at a depth of approximately 20 cmbs. The renewed presence of ash and artifacts beneath this layer of stones potentially indicates that at some point, the debris within the hearth was intentionally covered with rocks, providing a new hearth surface.



**Figure 13: Site 102-125 Hearth Stone and Feature B Photograph.**

Within the hearth, material remains including ceramics, vessel glass, iron nails, tobacco pipe fragments, and clothing buttons were recovered in similar quantities to those within Feature A. Ceramics from within the hearth feature were predominated by undecorated creamware sherds but also contained moderate quantities of redware and pearlware vessel fragments. The notably significant difference between the trash pit feature and the hearth feature was the presence of shellfish and faunal remains within the hearth, providing evidence of food consumption unattested to by Feature A. Feature B contained 38% of the total faunal remains from the site, and 58% of the total shellfish remains, although numbers remain very small throughout. At Site 102-125, analysis of the limited faunal remains indicates the likely consumption of cattle, goat/sheep, pig,

chicken, other unidentified small mammal, bird, and fish. Within the hearth area itself, the faunal remains include both burned bones and unburned bones, suggesting that at least some meals were cooked in the hearth itself, and that other food remains were disposed of in the hearth but not necessarily prepared there (faunal data in possession of Stephen Silliman, courtesy of analysis by Meagan Conway). The presence of domestic materials such as ceramics, vessel glass, tobacco pipes, and buttons suggests that at some point the hearth was indeed used as a disposal area. In particular, a portion of the ceramics recovered from the hearth area exhibited evidence of burning, indicating that residents of this house likely continued to use the hearth for cooking even after utilizing the same area for trash disposal. In addition to domestic and food trash, other notable objects recovered from within the hearth area include large fragments of the body of an iron kettle, a kettle foot, an iron buckle, and two iron kitchen knife blades. These items, probably broken in the course of normal daily use, were discarded once rendered useless, ending up alongside broken pottery and glass vessels in the hearth. Lastly, the hearth feature contained the  $\frac{1}{2}$  *real* minted in Mexico between 1746 and 1759, as mentioned above. Spanish *real* coins were well-circulated in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, particularly in international trade, and the possession of this coin by an Eastern Pequot individual speaks to the fact that reservation inhabitants participated in and engaged with wider colonial markets to a certain extent.

### *Conclusions*

Across Site 102-125 in general, the majority of the artifacts were recovered from feature locations, including a hearth area within the house structure and a pit feature that

was likely within the footprint of the house as well. Domestic artifacts such as vessel glass, ceramics, buttons, and tobacco pipe fragments were relatively equally distributed between these two features, indicating that these various items were used on a daily basis within the household but not significantly outside of the house. Wrought iron nails, the most commonly available nail type throughout the 18th century (Hume 1969:252), were also recovered from both of these features, although both nails and window glass were additionally found in excavation units surrounding the house area. Faunal and shellfish remains almost exclusively existed within the hearth area, although it is also worth noting that the distribution of these remains does extend slightly to the northwest of the hearth, where few if any other artifacts were found. Additionally, it is likely that in the late 18th century and early 19th century, this Pequot family alternately (or simultaneously) used the hearth area for both cooking activities and disposal activities, occasionally aligning flat rocks across the top of a trash layer in order to create a new hearth surface.

Comparatively, while a significant portion of the family's ceramics and glass vessels were recovered from the hearth and pit features, moderate quantities of these objects were also located in the area 10 m to the south and slightly east of the house, which was not fully explored during excavations. Although no specific architectural evidence suggests the location of doors or windows within this framed house, this artifact concentration to the south of the house perhaps suggests that a south-facing door existed to facilitate trash-dumping episodes in this direction. No other artifact categories were represented in any significant number within this area, and other domestic and personal objects as well as architectural remains were notably absent from this outside space as

well. The absence of smaller personal and domestic objects, including buttons, sewing pins, beads, and tobacco pipe fragments, from the spaces outside of the house, perhaps indicates that the individuals living here only engaged in specific activities throughout the extramural space, while limiting other daily practices involving these personal and domestic artifacts to indoor spaces. This pattern is interesting to note at this late 18th-/early 19th-century house site, given that archaeological work done on earlier 18th-century native dwellings indicates that indoor spaces were often reserved for sleeping, while extramural spaces were frequently utilized for processing game, preparing foods, metal working, garbage disposal (Handsman 2008b; McBride 1990).

Artifact recovery was relatively sparse across this house site in general, particularly with regards to faunal remains. In comparison to the 1,662 fragments of faunal remains recovered at Site 102-124, only 293 faunal fragments were recovered at Site 102-125, and only 43 fragments of shellfish remains were recovered in comparison to the 1,772 at Site 102-124. These low quantities of remains which evidence food consumption prompt questions about how the Eastern Pequot family residing at this site might have sufficiently sustained themselves. Further, if the family members were indeed getting sufficient food by whatever means, questions remain as to where the bulk of these consumption remains were being discarded, since excavations between 5 and 10 m in all directions from the house did not provide evidence of such practices. A more detailed discussion of the possible ramifications of these circumstances for the resident family will be provided in the following chapter.



## **Site 102-128**

The house site excavated in the summer of 2009, Site 102-128, was identified due to surface architectural remains in the form of a collapsed chimney sitting on a flat topographic area a few meters from a steep hillside to the northeast. Sections of this large chimney collapse pile were at some point dismantled and used to build a stone wall running north-south on the west side of the house and turning at the chimney collapse to run toward the northeast. Excavations underneath this stone wall suggest that the construction of the wall post-dates the occupation of the house, indicating that the wall's construction was part of a later 19th-century landscaping event during which chimney fall stones were repurposed (Hasho 2012). Despite the more expansive stone architectural remnants, this house (like Site 102-125) was likely a one-room dwelling between 25 and 25 square m in floor area. Although the chimney fall already marked the location of the house, students in the summer of 2009 excavated STPs up to 200 m south of the structure, totaling 160 50-x-50-cm STPs. The pits dug across this expansive area lend greater insight into the potential use and occupation of the land around and between known house sites. Specifically around the chimney collapse, subsurface excavations covered an area approximately 20 m north-south and 12 m east-west, and subsurface testing consisted of 21 1-x-1-m excavation units and 3 1-x-0.5-m excavation units (Figure 14). Test pits in limited numbers were excavated to the north of the house structure, because the few test pits that were placed in this area revealed that the artifact scatter drops off abruptly on the north side of the chimney collapse. Four of the excavation units were placed directly within a heavy concentration of chimney stones, and four units were

also excavated within a shallow depression area just to the east of the main chimney fall. A portion of the actual chimney remains standing in the northwest side of the chimney fall, in the form of flat rocks stacked approximately 1-m high.



**Figure 14: Site 102-128 Excavation Area.**  
**Depicting STPs (small shaded squares), excavation units (large shaded squares),**  
**stone wall, chimney collapse, and root cellar.**

Despite the presence of the chimney collapse, Site 102-128 is distinctive from the previously discussed house sites in a number of ways. Unlike feature locations at Sites 102-124 and 102-125, a number of features were discovered at this site in locations slightly more removed from the center of the inhabited site (the area directly surrounding

the chimney collapse). A large, circular depression surrounded by an earthen berm and with a rock-lined opening on one side, an apparent root cellar feature, was built into a slope between 10 and 15 m to the northeast of the chimney fall. On the northwest side of the chimney collapse, and adjacent to a section of the stone wall running beside the house, the excavation of a 1-x-0.5-m unit directly in front of the chimney remnants led to the discovery of an artifact-rich hearth (which likely extends beyond the 1-x-0.5-m boundaries of the unit) (Figure 15).



**Figure 15: Site 102-128 Chimney Fall Photograph.**

Aside from the root cellar and the hearth feature, Site 102-128 exhibits no other convincing features. A potential pit feature exists approximately 10 m directly to the south of the chimney fall area, where a 1-x-1-m excavation unit was opened after an STP helped locate the pit. A shallow, circular depression, noted just east of the chimney

collapse, covering a roughly 12 m<sup>2</sup> area, was initially hypothesized as a cellar area beneath the house floor. Further excavation suggested that the depression did not seem to result from a formal cellar, but perhaps represents a shallow subfloor pit or storage area; however, there are no specific feature soils to delineate the extent of this possible subfloor feature. Additionally, an earthen/rock berm visible on the surface at the southern edge of the chimney collapse was explored with one 1-x-1-m excavation unit and one 1-x-0.5-m excavation unit, resulting in the hypothesis that the berm could represent a possible foundation on which the house structure might have rested. No evidence for foundations was located on any other side of the house.

#### *Dates of Occupation*

Mean ceramic date calculations for Site 102-128 provided an average ceramic production date of 1823, which gives a general idea for when this house was occupied. It is difficult to determine when the house might have first been constructed, but the presence of whiteware ceramic sherds on the site indicates that Eastern Pequot individuals remained at the house at least into the 1830s. Like Site 102-125, the ceramic assemblage is heavily predominated by creamware and pearlware sherds, but pearlwares with transfer-printed decorations are much more prevalent than the hand-painted decorations that characterized the Site 102-125 assemblage. As mentioned, the additional presence of whiteware is unique to this site, of the three examined in this thesis.

Interestingly, very few ceramic wares that pre-date the mid-18th century were recovered from Site 102-128, with only small quantities of tin-glazed earthenware and brown and gray stonewares providing the exception. Due to the sheer quantity of ceramic

sherds recovered across the site in general, it is likely that the house was occupied for a significant period of time, beginning in the early 19th century, when undecorated creamware and hand-painted pearlware were popular and continuing at least into and perhaps beyond the 1830s, when whiteware became ubiquitous. Throughout the units excavated within the house area, fragments of a canary yellow cup were recovered, with black transfer-printed decoration. Although only small fragments of this cup were recovered, one portion of this black decoration was identified as part of a printed likeness of Marquis de Lafayette. In its entirety, the image on the cup would have represented portraits of both Lafayette and George Washington, commemorating Lafayette's farewell tour of America in 1824 (Figure 16). Canaryware, as the bright yellow ceramics have been labeled, was produced between 1780 and 1835 (DAACS 2006), and given the dates of Lafayette's visit this particular commemorative cup must have been manufactured between 1824 and 1835. The presence of these cup fragments within the house artifact scatter aligns with the hypothesized occupation of the site through the 1840s.



**Figure 16: Site 102-128 Commemorative Cup Fragments.**

In addition to ceramics, datable artifacts recovered from the site include an iron padlock with the key preserved in the lock. This padlock, recovered from excavation units within the chimney fall itself, is stamped with the outline of a crown, as well as the initials VR, suggesting that the padlock was produced during the reign of Queen Victoria. It also features a brass catch plate, a characteristic which places the manufacture of the padlock between 1840 and 1901. Thus the presence of the padlock and key further suggests a family's occupation of the house at least into the 1840s.

#### *General Artifact Scatter*

Site 102-128 is unique in that the majority of the artifacts do not come from discrete feature contexts, whether within the house area or in the surrounding space (Table 3). While dense artifact concentrations do exist in specific locations around the site, they are not restricted to feature contexts, and are instead more generally clustered.

The greatest overall majority of artifacts was recovered from the units placed within the heavy concentration of chimney rocks, although there are certain artifact categories better represented outside of this area. The hearth area contained the highest percentages of faunal remains across the site, but within the chimney fall units, another 14% of the faunal remains were recovered. Other materials were recovered from this area in similar moderate quantities, including 10% of the site's ceramic sherds, 17% of the vessel glass, 9% of the window glass, and 41% of the iron nails. Domestic materials such as 17 button fragments (49% of the site's total buttons), 11 tobacco pipe fragments (21% of the total), and one glass bead (20% of the total) were also recovered within these units.

**Table 3: Site 102-128 Artifact Totals**

Context	Artifact Type, Count (% Site Total)							
	Faunal	Shellfish	Ceramic	Vessel Glass	Window Glass	Buttons	Nails	Pipes
Hearth	150 (33%)	437 (91%)	88 (2%)	18 (2%)	3 (0.3%)	0 (0%)	4 (0.4%)	13 (25%)
Root Cellar	5 (1%)	2 (1%)	114 (13%)	11 (1%)	2 (0.2%)	0 (0%)	69 (8%)	4 (8%)
Depression	10 (2%)	1 (0.5%)	401 (7%)	362 (46%)	537 (53%)	13 (37%)	105 (12%)	3 (6%)
Chimney Fall	62 (14%)	7 (2%)	561 (10%)	131 (17%)	87 (8%)	17 (49%)	369 (41%)	11 (21%)
Rest of Site	224 (50%)	33 (5.5%)	4411 (68%)	260 (34%)	392 (38.5%)	5 (14%)	358 (38.6%)	21 (40%)

The units excavated within the shallow depression adjacent to the chimney collapse, which likely existed within the footprint of the house structure, also contained significant artifact concentrations, but different artifact categories were represented. Here faunal remains and ceramics were recovered in smaller quantities (2.2% and 7.2% of the total, respectively), as were nails (11.6%). In contrast, while vessel glass and window

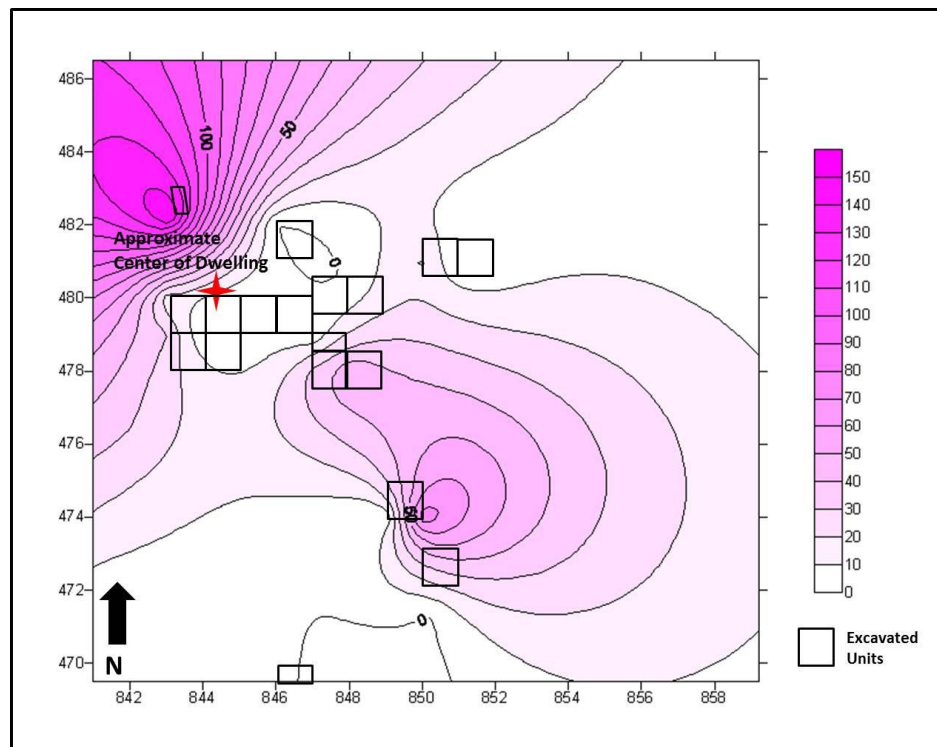
glass were sparsely represented in other locations at the house site, these were recovered in high quantities from the shallow depression area, specifically 46% of the site's vessel glass and 53% of the total window glass. Similarly to the chimney fall units, domestic artifacts from the depression area include 13 buttons (37% of the total), 3 beads (60% of the total), and 3 tobacco pipe fragments (6%).

It is interesting to note that between the hearth feature and these two areas of artifact concentrations, the majority of the site's domestic artifacts are represented, with a total of 86% of the buttons, 80% of the beads, 68% of the vessel glass, and 60% of the tobacco pipe fragments. Architectural remains, consisting of 62% of the site's window glass and 61% of the site's nails, are also fairly well represented within these three areas, not only indicating the general location and use of the dwelling itself but also representing the potential collapse of the house. The striking difference in terms of artifact representation is that even between the hearth feature, chimney fall units, and subfloor depression area, only 51% of the site's total faunal remains were recovered, and even more significantly, only 11% of the site's total ceramics were recovered. These observations indicate that just under half of the faunal remains from Site 102-128 were recovered from test units located more generally across the space surrounding the house structure. Additionally, almost 90% of the ceramics recovered at the site represent general artifact scatter, rather than concentrations within feature or house locations.

The artifact distributions displayed in Surfer contour maps further bear out the phenomena addressed above about the locations of specific artifact categories across the site. The following figures support the observation that architectural remains such as

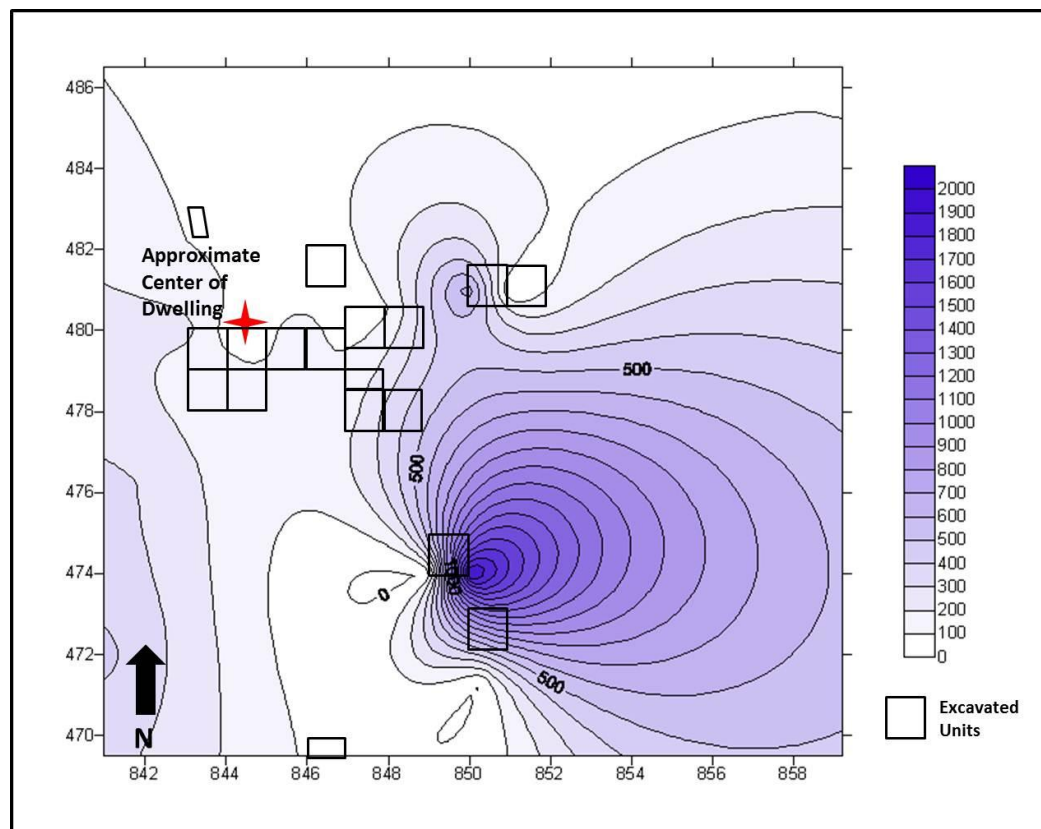


window glass and nails were predominantly recovered from units excavated within the footprint of the house structure, although a moderate quantity of nails was also recovered from the root cellar units. Also to be expected, domestic objects such as buttons, sewing pins, beads, and tobacco pipe fragments were more frequently recovered from the hearth, chimney fall, and subfloor depression area than from the space around the house itself. Although the largest concentration of faunal remains existed within the hearth feature, a smaller portion of these remains was recovered from the units within the chimney fall, and almost 50% of the faunal remains were scattered throughout the various units excavated primarily to the south of the house structure (Figure 17).



**Figure 17: Site 102-128, Surfer Map, Faunal Remains.**  
**Showing heavy concentrations (artifacts per square m) in hearth area on northwest side of structure as well as in general midden to south and west of structure.**

Shellfish remains were almost exclusively recovered from the hearth feature, on the northwest side of the house and chimney fall, suggesting that the individuals residing at this site designated a specific location for the disposal of this type of food waste. Lastly, ceramic sherds were the most widely distributed artifact across the site. Although small quantities were recovered from the hearth area, the root cellar, the chimney fall units, and the shallow depression area, these combined only represent 11% of the total ceramics from the site (Figure 18).



**Figure 18: Site 102-128, Surfer Map, Ceramics.**  
**Showing heaviest concentrations (artifacts per square m) within general midden to south and west of structure.**

The vast majority of the ceramic materials existed as part of general artifact scatter around the house, suggesting that the use of the space surrounding the house was less rigidly structured. The significant presence of artifacts particularly to the south and east of the house structure perhaps indicates that these areas were used for general trash disposal, perhaps as a sheet midden.

#### *Feature A*

A dark feature stain was uncovered in the southwest corner of an STP located 10 m south of the chimney fall, prompting the subsequent expansion of the 50-x-50-cm STP into a full 1-x-1-m excavation unit. The excavation unit proved to be full of large rocks and roots, making it difficult to ascertain the exact nature or dimensions of the potential pit feature. Due to the elusive nature of the B horizon in the northwest corner of the unit, it was presumed during excavation that the feature continued to the north, but no further excavations were undertaken to ascertain this hypothesis. Despite the lack of clarity available about the dimensions of the feature, noticeable patterns exist in its fill, and in the types of artifacts recovered from near the feature in general.

A large quantity of ceramic sherds, primarily undecorated creamwares, was found in the vicinity of the feature, as well as some vessel glass and iron nails. Only six small, fragmentary, faunal remains were recovered, indicating that if this feature was utilized as a trash pit, it was not used for food waste but rather small quantities of domestic debris. The absence of any later ceramics such as pearlware or whiteware further suggests that the pit may have served as a location for domestic disposal early in the house's occupation (early 19th-century) and was not used for an extended period of time. This

hypothesis is borne out by a comparison between the density of artifacts within this feature and that across the site in general. The pit feature contains only 1.3% of the total faunal remains from the site, as well as only 3.1% of the total site ceramics (n=175), 1.3% of the vessel glass (n=10), and 0.2% of the site's nails (n=2).

### *Feature B*

A 1-x-0.5-m unit placed directly in front of the standing chimney remains, on the northwest side of the collapse, resulted in the discovery of the hearth area of the house. The area was relatively free of rocks on the surface, apparently due to the rock wall building of later years, and the soil within this unit was immediately noted as very dark, almost black (10 YR 2/1), containing fire-cracked and fire-reddened rocks. After a layer of generally flat, small and mid-sized stones, excavations encountered increased quantities of fire-cracked rock, large pieces of charcoal, reddened areas of soil, ash pockets, and an increased density of artifacts (Figure 19).



**Figure 19: Site 102-128 Hearth Feature (Feature B) Photograph.**

This level of artifacts consisted of ceramics, faunal and shellfish remains, bottle glass, an iron spike, and an iron kettle fragment. For the next 15 to 20 cm of excavation, numerous artifacts were recovered, including ceramics, charcoal, faunal remains, bottle glass, shellfish, tobacco pipe fragments, and one straight pin, all within soils characterized as a mix of red (5 YR 4/6), dark gray (10 YR 3/1), and ashy, pale brown (10 YR 7/3).

Underneath these artifact-rich levels, excavation reached another level of flat rocks, at approximately 25 cmbs. These rocks covered the surface of the excavation unit in a well-aligned configuration, potentially representing a constructed rock base to the hearth,

primarily overlain with material remains such as shellfish, charcoal, and various iron fragments.

The ceramic sherds recovered from within the hearth feature consisted primarily of creamware and pearlware fragments, with a small presence of whiteware. It is possible that at some point during the occupation of the house, the hearth area was filled with domestic debris, perhaps related to a series of cleaning events within the household. These layers of debris were then covered with another layer of rocks, to create a new hearth surface. The predominance of early 19th-century ceramic wares in the lower levels of the hearth potentially suggests that the cleaning episodes and deposition of trash within the hearth occurred at a relatively early point during the occupation of the house.

Much like the hearth feature from Site 102-125, this hearth contained significant deposits of both domestic debris and faunal and shellfish remains. Further analysis of the bones and shells could lead to a greater understanding of the use of the hearth for cooking, as well as the types of meals being consumed by the resident family. In contrast to the ambiguous potential pit feature to the south of the house, the hearth was the primary location for the disposal of food waste; in terms of other domestic debris, the potential pit feature and the hearth feature contained similar assemblages. Within the hearth, domestic artifact recovery included 1.6% of the site's total ceramics (n=88), 2.3% of the total vessel glass, and 25% of the site's total tobacco pipe fragments. At the same time, the hearth feature contained 33% of the site's faunal remains and an overwhelming 91% of the site's shellfish remains. Almost half of the shellfish remains found in the hearth were burned, suggesting that the occupants of the house used the hearth area both

for cooking of shellfish and for disposal of meal remains. The presence of these shellfish remains, together with a significant presence of faunal remains, indicates that the hearth became a preferred location for food waste disposal. Also present within the hearth feature, similar to that at Site 102-125, were two pieces of flatware: one large spoon bowl with partial handle intact, and one two-tined fork with rounded shoulders that likely would have had a bone or wood handle covering the flat iron tang. The consistent presence of broken or unwanted cooking and/or eating utensils within hearth features suggests that Eastern Pequot individuals not only intermittently relied on the hearth area for trash disposal, but also perhaps utilized the defunct hearth as a general discard area upon abandonment of specific house structures.

#### *Root Cellar*

Site 102-128 is unique in that it includes a visible surface element aside from the chimney collapse (Figure 20). The root cellar, identified by a visible depression surrounded by an earthen berm and fronted by a rock-lined opening, is located approximately 9 m to the west and 5 m to the north of the chimney collapse. It is likely that the doorway, at least, was protected by stone walls, and the root cellar could potentially have also had a wooden cover. The circle of raised earth (berm) surrounding the depression likely represents dirt that was piled up around the root cellar as it was being dug out, and a break in the berm of about 0.75 m is a potential doorway or other form of entry into the cellar.



**Figure 20: Site 102-128 Rocks and Earthen Berm Delineating Root Cellar**

Two adjacent 1-x-1-m units were excavated at a 45-degree angle to the established site grid, one within the center of the depression and one just 0.5 m from the potential root cellar doorway, to maximize the fit of units within the feature. The soil excavated within the root cellar was generally noted to be uniformly dark brown (10 YR 4/4), becoming lighter brown in color with increasing depth, and turning to a hard, compacted, rocky, yellow soil (10 YR 4/6) upon reaching the original floor of the cellar, at approximately 78 cmbs. Throughout the first 20 to 25 cm of feature excavation, artifacts were sparse, with a slight increase in quantity between 25 and 60 cm; however, overall the root cellar contained very few material remains. Traditionally used for food storage, it is not unsurprising that a root cellar might not be rich in material remains, but it is still worth noting that the artifacts found within it include only ceramic sherds (in similar quantities to the pit and hearth features), cut iron nails, very small quantities of faunal remains, shellfish remains, glass shards, and pipe fragments. In terms of site totals,



the root cellar contained very small percentages of most artifact categories, such as 1.1% of the faunal remains, 2.1% of the ceramic sherds, 1.4% of the vessel glass, 7.6% of the nails, and 7.7% of the pipes. The cut nails recovered from within the root cellar, found in all levels but specifically in concentrations between 48 and 58 cmbs, could be remnant evidence for a wooden door or wooden roof that existed at some point during the use of the root cellar.

### *Conclusions*

While the features at Sites 102-124 and 102-125 all exhibited relatively significant concentrations of artifacts, the various features at Site 102-128 are in comparison quite sparse. The only feature with an appreciable amount of artifacts, the hearth, contained a majority of the faunal and shellfish remains from the site as a whole, but only a small number of ceramic sherds and vessel glass, in addition to an almost negligible presence of architectural artifacts such as nails and window glass. While architectural and certain domestic artifacts were recovered in the highest quantities from within the house area itself, they were not restricted to specific pit or hearth features, instead existing in a more general spread across the roughly 20 to 25 m<sup>2</sup> area encompassing the house structure. This relative concentration of architectural debris within close proximity to the dense chimney fall is perhaps indicative that the dwelling at this site suffered a structural collapse, before the chimney collapse was repurposed for the field wall.

Significant quantities of faunal remains, ceramic sherds, vessel glass fragments, and other materials were located in what is hypothesized as a sheet midden, most

prevalent to the south and east of the house structure. In addition to these differences in feature location and content, Site 102-128 is unique in its sheer amount of material cultural across the site as a whole, with a total artifact count from excavation units alone of almost 10,000 objects. Not only does the quantity of ceramics at Site 102-128 far outweigh that at the other two sites examined here, but architectural remains are also much more prevalent at this site. Iron nails occur in almost twice the quantity of those at Site 102-125, and are predominantly cut nails, a variety not widely available until at least 1790, if not into the 19th century (Hume 1969:253). While window glass was scarce at both of the other sites examined in this thesis, it was relatively abundant at Site 102-128, especially within the general house excavation units.

The increased presence of these nails as well as the window glass fragments indicate that the house structure located at this site was likely the most architecturally complicated of the three, with a wooden floor, wooden walls with multiple windows, and likely wooden doors as well. It is difficult to determine precise locations of windows and doors, given the fact that the only structural remains of the house are those of the stone chimney. However, the predominance of window glass within the units located in the shallow depression perhaps indicates the location of a glass window on this southeast side of the house. Additionally, south-facing windows and doors would provide more warmth in the winter, and the presence of the sheet midden to the south of the house supports the idea that inhabitants were exiting the dwelling to the south.

In the early to mid-19th century, the Eastern Pequot residents of this house continued to maintain the hearth area as a space prescribed both for cooking and for trash

disposal. Possibly these activities occurred in alternating cycles, with periods of cooking followed by episodes of trash disposal, which may have eventually been capped with a layer of flat rocks in order to create a new usable hearth surface. It is also possible, however, that individuals used the hearth more indiscriminately, performing both activities in the course of daily work without differentiating temporally. It is also possible that residents left the house occasionally, marked by refuse disposal, and then returned to it and began using the hearth again.

Although evidence for a formal cellar or subfloor storage area is inconclusive, a shallow depression within the house area, relatively rich in artifacts, suggests that the residents of the house did rely to some extent on the area beneath the house floor for storage and eventually trash disposal. However, the presence of the root cellar to the northeast of the house structure provides stronger evidence for a designated space for surplus food storage. While the ceramics recovered from the root cellar were few in number, they were predominantly redwares, creamwares, and pearlwares; alternately, the depression in the house area contains higher quantities of pearlwares and whitewares, as well as the commemorative canaryware. These patterns perhaps indicate that the occupants of the house primarily used the root cellar in the earlier years of the 19th century, and that the subfloor area within the house was filled in at the later end of the house's occupation, closer to the mid-19th century.

Throughout the occupation of the site, objects were likely both intentionally disposed of and accidentally dropped, misplaced, or discarded in the spaces around the house, particularly to the south and east of the structure. This general artifact midden

across the extramural space, not present at either of the other two sites, strongly suggests that individuals residing at this house neither restricted the use of space around the house nor designated specific locales for trash disposal. Although members of the family did discard some food consumption waste products and other unwanted items in the interior hearth area, they also likely used other areas of the house for these purposes, as evidenced by the continued dense artifact presence across the house floor and subfloor areas. Analysis of the specific artifact categories represented across these locations, as discussed above, provides insight into how, despite the apparent haphazard nature of trash disposal, Eastern Pequot individuals might have structured specific daily activities within and outside the house in the early to mid-19th century.

## CHAPTER 6

### INTERPRETATIONS OF 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY HOUSEHOLDS

In the previous chapter, each house site was examined on its own terms, using the architectural style of the house, the location of pit and hearth features, and the distribution of artifacts across the house and extramural areas to lay out the general use of space by each household. This analysis allowed conclusions to be drawn about daily practices enacted by Eastern Pequot reservation inhabitants at different houses, in particular how these individuals and families went about structuring the space around them, and subsequently how spatial organization structured their actions. The following discussion expands on the historical, colonial context of the hypothesized occupation range for each house site, creating a broader picture of daily life on the Eastern Pequot reservation from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century. Additionally, this process of historically situating each household enables a diachronic approach to the analysis of spatial practices over time. Through this framework, explanations for changes in use of space that occur over time are based on specific instances of Eastern Pequot decision-making or choices about cultural negotiation, rather than merely reduced to acculturation paradigms or explained as the inevitability of European influences dominating Native practices. The

opportunity offered by archaeological study to view micro-scale, household activities, such as the use of a hearth, storage of surplus food, disposal of trash, and possession of material goods, provides an excellent base for broader discussions about the permeating influence of colonialism on native reservations.

### **Eastern Pequot Reservation, 1740s-1760s**

Although the archaeological evidence at Site 102-124 cannot irrefutably prove the nature of the dwelling structure at the site, there is evidence to support the hypothesis that the residents lived in a modified wigwam. To provide further support for this suggestion, Site 102-124 can be compared to 18th-century domestic sites that have been the focus of archaeological excavations on the Mashantucket reservation, some of which are likely wigwams. These are the sites most relevant culturally, geographically, and temporally to those on the Eastern Pequot reservation. Handsman (2008b:6) notes that these early sites at Mashantucket range from “amorphous scatters” of artifacts and features to definitive wigwams with “small, well-defined house floors,” and that frequently the associated artifact assemblages include coarse and tin-glazed earthenware, stoneware, creamware, quartz and flint debitage, and iron tools. The artifact assemblage from Site 102-124 very closely matches this description, with recovered materials such as slip-decorated redware and coarse earthenware, stoneware, quartz and flint debitage, and a variety of iron objects such as kettle fragments and iron eating utensils.

Mashantucket wigwam sites also exhibit interior hearth or fire pit areas and interior storage and trash pits, as well as exterior garbage pits and areas used for processing game or otherwise preparing food (Handsman 2008b:7). At Site 102-124,

although no hearth area was recovered archaeologically, other features include an interior storage and/or trash pit, an outdoor trash disposal area, and a posthole pattern to the west of the living area which potentially represents a designated space for food processing activities. Although the presence of iron nails at the site might initially cast doubt on the interpretation of the structure as a wigwam, Handsman also suggests that nails could result from a wigwam with a frame door or other interior partitions (Handsman 2008b:8). Ezra Stiles' inclusion in his wigwam sketch of an iron kettle and European-style wooden furniture elements tie in well with the archaeological remains from this potential Eastern Pequot reservation wigwam, likewise including iron kettle and iron utensil fragments together with iron nails from potential wooden elements. Additionally, Timothy Dwight's (1822) firsthand account from the early 19th century clearly denotes that the wigwam style of housing persisted, specifically on the Eastern Pequot reservation, beyond the 18th century, lending credence to the idea that Site 102-124, with its complete lack of architectural remains, potentially represents the location of a mid-18th century wigwam.

The implications of the presence of wigwams on the reservation into the early 19th century are varied. The fact that Eastern Pequot families continued to choose wigwam forms of housing at this time indicates that these particular individuals had successfully resisted pressure to embrace European framed housing styles, which had occurred in neighboring native communities since the late 17th century. Despite residence on a governmentally-defined reservation, and the oversight of these lands by colonial administrators, families relied on their own historical experiences and customary practices to guide decisions about where and how to situate the loci of daily life. At the

same time, these reservation residents did not blindly eschew all behavior influenced by non-native New England inhabitants, instead selectively and situationally adapting new materials into daily activities. By the mid-18th century, the use of iron cooking implements was unlikely to have been considered a strictly “European” behavior by Eastern Pequot community members, as these native families and communities had likely been incorporating iron materials into daily practice for generations.

In this mid-18th century setting, where reservation residents were frequently troubled by colonial encroachments and often engaged in petitioning the colonial government about land rights, these families structured the space of their daily lives as they had done for decades. Despite reservation boundaries, individuals were likely engaged in a somewhat mobile existence, moving on and off the reservation due to a variety of motivations, residing at relatively short-term wigwam sites during time spent on the reservation. At these residences, wigwams may have been modified in a variety of ways, but the maintenance of outdoor activity areas and interior disposal pits spoke to deep-seated practices within specific spaces. The continued use of exterior processing locations as well as exterior refuse pits allowed these individuals to move about their residential spaces in familiar ways, simultaneously functioning to reinforce spatially specific behaviors and actions. The ability to live and work in such customarily organized spaces also strengthened social ties among family members who might at times have been experiencing tumult due to the demands of finding work, frequently off the reservation. Even when the material possessions (ceramics, iron objects, metal clothing buttons and sewing pins, etc.) of Eastern Pequot families seem to indicate the following



of European-American patterns, the nature of the activities engaged in by these individuals, as well as the spatial relations of activities within and around the household area, are consistently distinctly Pequot from the 16th through the 18th centuries. In this instance, it is possible for elements of continuity and change in Pequot lifeways to exist simultaneously, when conceptualized as material space and social space occurring at different levels.

### **Eastern Pequot Reservation, 1790s-1810s**

The architectural remains of the house at Site 102-125 are almost as elusive as those at Site 102-124, with the exception of the presence of the pile of stones representing a collapsed chimney. The rest of the structure did not survive, but the stone chimney pile, together with the small quantities of iron nails and window glass fragments recovered archaeologically, attests to the fact that the house was likely a small, wooden-framed structure. Although this house was occupied decades after the wigwam site, a number of similarities exist in the nature and distribution of activities engaged in by the occupants. The Eastern Pequot family at this location utilized a more formal stone hearth feature, but continued to utilize this designated area for both cooking and trash disposal, as was hypothesized within the wigwam despite the lack of a hearth per se. Additionally, this family similarly made use of a separate but also interior refuse pit, and likely also maintained outdoor disposal areas. Even the material objects owned and used by these individuals differ only slightly from those at the wigwam site, as both assemblages primarily consist of ceramics, iron tools, metal clothing buttons, and glass from a variety of vessels.

The material culture assemblage at Site 102-125 presents a picture of reservation life at the turn of the 19th century. In comparison to the wigwam site, the ceramic assemblage in particular from this later site suggests that this family or group of individuals possessed a larger collection of European-manufactured ceramic vessels, perhaps indicating a family more heavily participating in wider colonial markets. The presence of ceramic wares such as creamware and hand-painted pearlware, styles not widely available until the first decade of the 19th century, suggest that this family was able to periodically purchase new items of dinnerware, which were likely used alongside older, more outdated styles. However, the iron utensils recovered from this site are almost certainly of the same variety as those found within the wigwam, all forms of utensils predominantly manufactured and distributed in the mid-18th century. These utensils perhaps indicate that despite the presence of a few newer ceramic styles, the family within this framed house relied on the longevity of the utensils they already owned or the fact that these older styles could be purchased at cheaper prices. In general, however, and especially in conjunction with the faunal and shellfish remains, further analysis begins to shed light on the fact that the assemblage of material remains from this site is relatively meager. Despite the slightly increased number and variety of ceramic wares, and the presence of a small quantity of window glass, the quantities of other material objects recovered at this site are on par with if not lower than those at the wigwam site.

Across other native sites in New England, McBride (1994) suggests that a general pattern exists of a steady increase in quantity, quality, and variability of European and European-American material culture after the mid-18th century. Site 102-125 only

minimally bears out this pattern, an observation which leads to questions about the occupants of this site and what their situation might have been. There is a distinct dearth of material evidence for food consumption either within or surrounding the house. The hearth feature does contain both faunal and shellfish remains, and additional faunal remains were recovered in small numbers from other areas around the house; however, the overall numbers of faunal remains are scarce in comparison to those at the wigwam site (1,662 faunal fragments recovered at Site 102-124, only 263 recovered from Site 102-125), and the numbers of shellfish recovered exhibit a similar ratio. These shortages raise questions about whether the house's residents were struggling to procure enough food to sustain themselves, or alternatively, if they were eating normal quantities of food, where they were depositing the trash. Thorough archaeological explorations around the house site turned up no evidence for any nearby locations which might have served as designated food disposal areas.

One possible explanation posits that the residents of the house did not live on the reservation full-time, resulting in the smaller assemblage of food remains. While it is unlikely that Eastern Pequot reservation inhabitants could ever be considered financially well-off, in this post-Revolutionary War household it is possible that the residents were experiencing unusual levels of financial and economic stress (as seen in Cipolla et al 2007; Mandell 2009). Perhaps the motivation for this decreased residency stemmed from the necessity to seek work elsewhere, whether as wage laborers in neighboring towns, as members of whaling expeditions, or work that took individuals even farther afield. The Spanish *real* coin recovered from this site potentially suggests that residents were forced

to seek work off the reservation. Perhaps a male individual sought work miles away in New London, at the harbor, where activities related to international trade might lead to payments in Spanish *real* coins; perhaps a female individual sought work within a larger, neighboring town as a domestic servant or other aid to non-native residents. The lack of sufficient food remains across the site as a whole further suggests that whatever the financial plight of the inhabitants, the house at this site was likely not occupied for an extended period of time.

In some ways, this site interpretation is unique to this household on the reservation at this time, given what has been learned about two other Eastern Pequot households. Another house site (102-123) on the reservation, examined by Hollis (2012), Hunter (2012), Silliman and Witt (2010), and Witt (2007), provides a point of contrast to this impoverished inhabitation. The focus of Hollis' (2012) work indicates that this other house site, potentially occupied between the 1760s and the first decade of the 19th century, involves much more substantive architecture, more formal storage facilities, and significantly more food remains. The presence of two stone chimney piles, as well as evidence provided by iron nails recovered from the site, suggests that inhabitants of this more heavily occupied house not only engaged in architectural maintenance but also architectural transformations, investing time and energy into constructing and altering the physical structure of the dwelling. Witt (2007) and Silliman and Witt (2010) also documented ways that this site's residents had rather extensive engagements with the local market economy. Finally, Hunter's (2012) analysis of the shellfish use on the reservation adds more to this contrast with respect to subsistence. Hunter analyzed

thousands of shells from a well-defined midden at the same site, the results of which indicate significant use and transport of coastal food resources. His examination also included the analysis of shellfish from another late 18th-century site, revealing again diversity and abundance of food resources, at least in light of coastal shellfish use.

This more complex house site, in contrast to the house at Site 102-125, speaks to the existence of synchronic variability of architectural styles and extramural storage practices across the reservation in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The significant quantities of shellfish at both of the late 18th-century sites mentioned above provide an additional level of contrast to Site 102-125, indicating that not all reservation inhabitants at this time struggled with sustenance to the same extent.

In his analysis of faunal remains from two 19th-century reservation households, however, Cipolla (2005; Cipolla et al. 2007) also notes a relative scarcity of food remains, citing the hardships of reservation life as motivation for these impoverished residents to stretch food resources as far as possible. Cipolla also presents an intriguing alternative hypothesis to explain some of this faunal scarcity, suggesting that limited faunal remains at certain households might result from traditional Pequot practices of communal food sharing. Cipolla sees evidence particularly in the cattle faunal assemblages, as well as in historical documents, for the possibility that the reservation community was made up of households which produced specialized food items which were then shared between households. Although further research on the reservation is necessary to bolster this interpretation, the relative dearth of faunal remains at Site 102-125, together with the presence of at least two other late 18th-century house sites at

which food resources appear to have been more abundant, potentially supports the inter-household sharing of food resources suggested by Cipolla. In light of this evidence, it is likely that a complex set of factors affected the impoverished residents of Site 102-125, leading these individuals to make different decisions and enact different strategies involving subsistence resources and material goods.

### **Eastern Pequot Reservation, 1830s-1850s**

Although material changes in native practices occurred throughout the 18th century, undoubtedly the first half of the 19th century witnessed additional shifts in native lifeways. A visit to Gay Head in 1859 by John Milton Earle resulted in his observation that “the forests have disappeared, no wigwam crowns the hill or reposes in the valley; but in their place are comfortable frame dwellings, inhabited by farmers, or the families of mariners” (Handsman 2011:5). The scene encountered by Earle certainly did not result from any one particular life-altering event, but rather represented the physical manifestation of alterations in daily behavior that had begun to take root at least a century prior. Although Earle’s visit was to Gay Head, evidence from the Eastern Pequot reservation suggests a similar situation existed by the mid-19th century.

Various overseers’ reports for the reservation in the 1830s and 1850s, as discussed in Chapter 4, denote the increased demand for lumber and nails, as well as projects involving the construction of new chimneys or houses. Although none of these construction activities mentioned by reservation overseers can be tied to specific house sites now archaeologically identified on the reservation, the accounts nevertheless detail a general trend throughout the mid-19th century towards framed houses with stone

chimneys. Site 102-128, examined in depth in Chapter 5, bears out this trend, as the most architecturally complex house of the three examined in this thesis. The quantity of cut nails, window glass fragments, and architectural stones, as well as the presence of an interior subfloor storage area, an exterior root cellar, and even a potential rock foundation or sill for the framed house all highlight the fact that significant time and labor were invested in the construction and maintenance of this dwelling and its associated features.

Similarly, the dramatic increase in material remains between Sites 102-124 and 102-125 and those at Site 102-128 suggest a similar trend. The quantities of ceramics, vessel glass, and faunal and shellfish remains across the site indicate that this Eastern Pequot family (or generations of a family) was heavily entangled in wider consumer markets, and that a variety of daily activities involved the use of goods obtained from this market. Earle also remarked of native life in 1859 that “the houses, furniture, and utensils, present nothing to distinguish them from those of people in similar condition in life among the whites” (Handsman 2011:5). This does not mean, however, that these individuals considered themselves to be reliant on “European” goods. Although the *quantity* of colonial European-American goods significantly increased between 1750 and 1850, the *quality* of these goods was more static; Pequot individuals were undeniably using *more* of certain mass-produced goods, but they were using the same *kinds* of consumer goods that had been incorporated into Pequot daily practice since the mid-18th century, if not before. In particular, household furnishings such as furniture, ceramics, and utensils can just as easily be considered Native as they can European, because “their

uses, meanings, and representations were integrated into a world of structured differences and social reproduction” (Silliman 2009:223).

Despite the increased architectural and material variability at the Site 102-128 house, certain spatial aspects of Eastern Pequot daily life continued in the same vein as at previous sites. Individuals within this household persisted in maintaining a formal hearth feature in conjunction with the house’s stone chimney, and continued to utilize this feature for both cooking and trash disposal activities. Additionally, an interior, subfloor pit was still maintained, likely used primarily for storage until filled in with trash. The general trash midden located across the extramural space indicates that this family likely used exterior household space more indiscriminately than in previous generations, relying less on designated activity loci and instead engaging in a wide array of household activities both indoors and outdoors. The presence of the midden additionally suggests that the inhabitants were simply disposing of larger numbers of material goods in less formalized ways, perhaps in an attempt to adapt spatial behaviors to accommodate increased material possessions. In particular, the recovery of a fragment of an iron hoe blade and two iron livestock shoes at this 19th-century household points to the possibility that these individuals were participating in small-scale farming; likewise the recovery of an iron padlock and key might indicate that the family needed a way to keep a livestock pen or root cellar door locked, although it was left behind with the key still in it. These material objects provide clues as to how inhabitants of this mid-19th-century site experienced different perceived or lived space than the occupants of the prior houses, even while aspects of social space exhibit continuity across these households.



## **Diachronic Interpretations**

An in-depth analysis of the archaeological features at each house site has shown that in addition to variations in architectural form, each site exhibits unique characteristics relating to the use of space around the house, as well as elements that exhibit certain similarities to those at the other house sites. Most noticeably, the inhabitants of each house relied heavily on the use of a hearth or cooking area, whether a shallow pit dug into the ground or a hearth surface in conjunction with a stone chimney. While a specific cooking pit feature was not located within the wigwam structure, the presence of charcoal, faunal and shellfish remains, and iron kettle fragments in a nearby refuse pit, as well as the lack of stone chimney remains, suggests the likelihood that the occupants of the wigwam used an interior cooking pit that has yet to be located.

The stone chimney and hearth features at the two other sites seem to have been utilized in very similar ways, with periods of use for both cooking and for trash disposal. Within each of these two hearth features, iron utensils and iron kettle fragments were recovered, and similar materials were recovered from the interior refuse pit within the wigwam. At each of the three sites, a significant quantity of faunal and shellfish remains was recovered from the same feature that exhibited evidence of cooking, food consumption, and disposal of unwanted materials. These similarities indicate that Eastern Pequot individuals continued to utilize similar methods of interior spatial organization as well as similar cooking and eating materials until at least the mid-19th century. At two late 18th-century sites analyzed by Hunter (2012), significant shellfish disposal occurred in extramural midden features (similar to that of Site 102-124), suggesting that even

when use of interior cooking space remained somewhat constant, food disposal methods continued to vary slightly across reservation households.

Between Site 102-124 and Site 102-125, the most consistent use of household space lies in the reliance on subfloor pit features for storage and eventual trash disposal. Within the footprint of each of these structures lay a pit up to 50 cm deep, rectangular or ovular in shape, measuring roughly 1.5-x-0.5-m. These pits were likely originally used for storage but eventually filled in with refuse, consisting primarily of domestic trash such as ceramics, buttons, vessel glass, and tobacco pipe fragments. Across each site, domestic debris as well as food waste seemed to be relatively confined to these pit features, and material remains were consistently sparse across the house's surrounding areas. The presence and contents of these pit features suggest that the preferred methods of storage and trash disposal necessitated the creation of designated, subsurface locations for these activities, specifically in the second half of the 18th century. The occupants of Site 102-128 relied on an interior, subfloor area for storage, as well, although less formally defined than the subsurface pits at other house sites. Consistent across the 18th and 19th centuries on the reservation, these aspects of storage highlight the maintenance of localized practices which imbue lived spaces with social meaning (*sensu* Hendon 2000).

In terms of trash disposal, Site 102-128 exists in contrast to Sites 102-124 and 102-125, as the spatial distribution of material remains at Site 102-128 suggests that inhabitants of this mid-19th-century house engaged in refuse disposal across a broader extramural area, rather than relying on pit features. However, the presence of trash pit

features at other reservation domestic sites indicates that Pequot individuals made decisions about spatial trash disposal practices that were both historically and locally situated. Site 102-113, a house site on the reservation examined by Cipolla (Cipolla et al 2007), likely occupied in the early 19th century, included, along with a general sheet midden, a dense trash pit just outside of the house structure, in a significant contrast to the general trash midden at Site 102-128. This variation exhibited in reservation households renders it difficult to draw broader conclusions about preference for trash pits or sheet middens; however, the synchronic variation does suggest that families inhabiting different house sites on the reservation engaged in a variety of daily practices in terms of trash disposal. Whether trash midden or refuse pit, inhabitants of all three domestic sites examined in this thesis preferred to spatially orient extramural disposal practices to the south of the dwelling. This pattern perhaps provides indication that Pequot individuals constructed dwellings with south-facing doors, providing an extra measure of warmth in the winter. Movements within and around material space might have been influenced by south-facing doors, motivating individuals to engage in refuse practices in extramural areas easily accessible from the dwelling.

Not only can architectural and spatial similarities be drawn across all three sites, but continuities also exist in the material objects which comprised the everyday life of these Eastern Pequot households. Silliman (2009:223) notes that after being initially adopted by reservation inhabitants in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, what were once European material objects were absorbed into Pequot practices, both grounded in household experience and simultaneously structured by household spaces. The repetition

of these practices across generations rendered material objects as elements in social reproduction, marking active engagement with social memory. This phenomenon, which on the surface looks like continuity but can simultaneously embody change at another scale, is reinforced by patterns that emerge from the analysis provided in this thesis. Based on the recovered archaeological assemblages, a variety of objects were used consistently across all three sites, over the span of at least 100 years. Iron utensils with bone or wood handles, iron kettles, copper alloy and lead clothing buttons, and white clay tobacco pipes are just a few examples of material objects recovered from the mid-18th century, turn of the 19th century, and mid-19th century house sites alike. Ceramic vessels, while irrefutably utilized in much higher quantities by the 19th century, are nevertheless ubiquitous at all three house sites, where residents likely relied on utilitarian redware vessels for storage of food supplies and more refined earthenware vessels for serving or dining.

In addition to these domestic material goods, residents at each Pequot household continued to incorporate wild game, shellfish, and fish resources into diets dominated by domestic mammals. At Site 102-124, the faunal remains of a passenger pigeon and right-eyed flounder, as well as other unidentifiable fish, bird, and other wild animal bones, together with the presence of shellfish, suggest that Eastern Pequot reservation inhabitants likely supplemented their diet of domesticated animals with hunting and shellfish gathering, both on and off the reservation (Fedore 2008; Hunter 2012). The presence of shellfish remains at Site 102-125 and Site 102-128, as well as the presence of small mammal, fish, and bird faunal remains at Site 102-125, indicates that individuals

continued to engage in this pattern of supplementary subsistence well into the 19th century. The shellfish in particular provide an indication that seasonal movements to the coast may have remained an important element in the subsistence practices of reservation residents, or that alternatively reservation inhabitants found ways to procure shellfish resources through the market economy (Hunter 2012). Cipolla's (2005) faunal analysis at an early 19th-century reservation house site found that wild species comprised only 8% of the faunal assemblage, which was heavily dominated by European-introduced domestic mammals. In conjunction, these studies of reservation foodways indicate that synchronic variation likely existed in terms of subsistence practices, but to a small extent household members continued to incorporate both shellfish and wild species into daily diet.

As noted in Chapter 3, 16th- and early 17th-century Pequot settlement patterns consisted of isolated clusters of wigwam dwelling areas across the landscape, resulting from moderately mobile lifestyles, where residents perhaps moved between house sites throughout the course of a year. On the Eastern Pequot reservation in the 18th and 19th centuries, residents continued to live in somewhat isolated households, but the motivations for this settlement pattern were different. The permanence of the reservation dwelling architecture does not support the same level of mobility exhibited by earlier Pequot individuals. Instead, the spread of houses across this much more constrained territory perhaps suggests the different ways that residents utilized land within the bounded reservation as opposed to their prior settlement strategies across wide-ranging territories.

Based on excavations on the Mashantucket reservation as well as other colonial native sites throughout southern New England, McBride (1993) has postulated that overall, the spatiality of native houses remains relatively constant throughout the colonial period. Although architecture and material culture may exhibit a steady increase in European-American materials and influences throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the structure and spatial patterning at native domestic sites retain distinctly Pequot characteristics (Baron et al 1996; McBride 1993). This hypothesis is borne out by the house sites explored on the Eastern Pequot reservation, dating from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century, which emphasize the interwoven nature of lived, social, and cultural historical space. This diachronic view of life on the reservation highlights the increasing architectural complexity and quantities of mass-produced colonial goods over time, which occurs simultaneously with continuity in the nature and spatial patterning of activities across household space. No matter the form of the house, Pequot residents frequently relied on interior subfloor storage strategies, designated trash disposal locations, and maintenance of a cooking or hearth feature for a variety of activities. At each house site, and in each time period, use of space surrounding the house was structured, whether in terms of what activities were performed, where exterior refuse disposal occurred, or where external storage occurred (i.e., Site 102-128 root cellar). The construction of architectural forms reinforces specific demarcations of space, enabling or constraining the movement of individuals across these spaces. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries on the reservation, Eastern Pequot families engaged in historically-informed yet situationally-specific construction activities, which simultaneously served to

structure and reinforce Pequot dispositions and behaviors within and around household spaces.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSIONS

Although the Eastern Pequot community in the 18th and 19th centuries lived within the confines of a colonial reservation, residents were able to exercise their own power in determining the location, form, style, and organization of their houses and household space. The preceding analysis of three house sites on the reservation, spanning from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century, has helped to delineate the particular ways in which housing forms, organization of household space, and spatial practices were maintained or altered across this century. A detailed look at the structure of each house, the location and use of subfloor and hearth features within and around each house, the presence of specific artifact classes at the different sites, and the general distribution of material remains across the space at each site provided insight into daily practices within Eastern Pequot families at different times during reservation history. The conclusions drawn from this study are limited by the fact that large-scale, open area excavations, which might have provided a more complete view of spatially-organized practices at the household level as they have with 100% excavations at Mashantucket, were not possible on the reservation due to time and funding constraints. Despite this limitation, the



available archaeological information does highlight both consistencies and adaptations in use of space within and around the house in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The house sites examined in this study each exhibited a somewhat unique house structure, suggesting that the construction of houses was neither a formalized process nor a strictly governed activity. Some ethnohistorians have posited that shifts in architectural forms from wigwams to frame houses indicated that native traditional and cultural practices were slowly becoming superseded by European ones (McBride 1990). The analysis of these Eastern Pequot households supports McBride's suggestion that instead, changing house forms often reflected the variation in availability of specific materials and technologies, and cannot be directly equated to changes in daily practices, household organization, or social patterns. Even though excavations have not recovered the wigwams on the reservation at the turn of the 19th century, historical documents indicate that they were there.

It is likely that certain architectural and organizational changes were both concomitant with and resultant from broader changes in land base, reservation population, and subsistence practices. The shift from the utilization of a wigwam's interior fire pit to a stone-lined hearth and attached chimney likely represents adaptations that Pequot families were making in subsistence practices. However, the similarities exhibited in the use of a wigwam's cooking area and the hearth features at Sites 102-125 and 102-128 suggest that despite the change in form and structure, Pequot individuals engaged in consistent cultural practices within and around household space. Additionally, the evidence for subfloor storage at all three house sites, along with extramural storage,

further highlights the ways that Pequot individuals might have been incorporating and intertwining traditional practices with more newly-introduced strategies. Continued use of interior storage across this time span not only indicates that individuals actively constructed spaces within which to engage in daily practices, but also that constructed spaces continued to structure practices, reinforcing and reenacting Pequot ideas about interior household space.

In addition to the architectural changes exhibited in reservation houses, Pequot practices of trash disposal and use of exterior household space seem to have shifted from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century. At Site 102-124, the use of exterior space seems to have been restricted to certain activities within prescribed areas. At Site 102-128, in contrast, Pequot individuals discarded larger amounts of trash more indiscriminately, as is evidenced by the presence of a general sheet midden, and likely also engaged in a variety of other activities within this surrounding house space. Although certain Pequot behaviors and practices undoubtedly persisted, the use of space around the house, construction of more extensive stone architecture, and presence of specific iron tools all point to undeniable changes in everyday practices. And yet, at all three house sites examined here, exterior disposal of trash occurred to the south of the house structure, whether in a designated pit or more general midden area, suggesting that structuring of Pequot lived and social spaces remained consistent in certain aspects.

In light of these lines of evidence, what might the motivations have been for these Pequot individuals to adapt or alter such personal practices which were part of everyday life? Reductions in reservation land base, decreasing tribal populations,

increased colonial pressures to adopt European agricultural practices, and Pequot conversions to Christianity are all frequently credited as factors leading to changes in Pequot practices. Additionally, one oft-overlooked aspect of reservation life is the frequency with which Pequot children were removed from their reservation households and forced to work as indentured servants in neighboring white communities, due to cycles of debt within many Eastern Pequot families. Silverman (2001) notes that at times in the 18th century, as many as one-third to one-half of native individuals in southern New England communities resided in colonial homes, and frequently native children did not regularly live with their own families until later in adulthood. Indentured servitude in effect made colonial household tasks a part of daily life for many native children, who upon returning home as adults would reinforce these adopted practices by engaging in them alongside their own children. This process of adapting should not be simplified to a concept of native acculturation or assimilation, and instead acts as further evidence that native individuals in the colonial period made social and economic decisions and engaged in daily practices which through social reproduction came to be native practices enacted in household spaces.

At the end of the Pequot War in the early 17th century, English settlers attempted to erase not only Pequot communities, social ties, and identities, but the very space and history of the Pequot people, by denying them the right to use their own name or live in their traditional lands. Eventually the English created the representational spaces of reservations, allotting surviving Pequot communities small tracts of their former lands, and utilized these spaces in order to reinforce settler-colonial ideologies. Settler

encroachment, governmental overseers, and Christian and missionizing influences are all examples of the ways in which settler and colonial communities reinforced the erasure of Pequot spaces, but the analysis of spatial practices provided here highlights the reality of their ultimate failure to accomplish this.

On the reservation, Eastern Pequot individuals and families inhabited lived and social spaces, engaging with materials and engaging in spatial practices at the household level that simultaneously exhibited both continuity and change. Rather than viewing continuity and change as antithetical, the heuristic concepts of lived, social, and abstract space help us to frame household practices within trajectories that move at different speeds but exist simultaneously. The representational space of the reservation boundaries existed at a different level than the lived space of the Pequot inhabitants, for whom the boundaries meant little, as they left the reservation for work or in search of sustenance and moved freely to and from their household spaces. The architectural forms of these houses may have trended toward European influences, as Pequot families utilized the materials and technologies that were available to them. However, these architectural styles might indicate European representational spaces within a cultural historical trajectory, while at another level, longer-term, household practices such as trash-disposal and storage methods represent the lived and social spaces of the reservation inhabitants, the experiences that they perceived on the ground.

In an era when European-American settlers attempted to refute and erase the vitality of native identity, the study of reservation domestic sites, including architectural remains, material goods, and evidence of household activities, provides valuable insight

into the habits and lifeways of native individuals. Spatial practices within and around reservation houses speak to the ways in which Eastern Pequot individuals retained distinctive lifeways even as they not only confronted colonialism but also participated in the broader economy of southern New England. Pequot individuals purposefully constructed the spaces in which they lived, engaging with what had become, over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, Eastern Pequot materials. The daily use of these significant and inherently social household spaces served to further structure the future actions of these Pequot individuals and the following generations. Archaeological analysis of household spaces provides a view of a different spatial reality, foregrounding structures of practice that are deeper than those visible from the surface of a domestic site. A focus on social space, specifically relational, spatial practices at the household level, offers an interpretive middle ground, serving as a tie between cultural historical context and material remains. Examining the subtleties of household use of space across the 18th and 19th centuries on the reservation sheds new light onto the ways in which processes of continuity and change were enacted both simultaneously and separately, at scales as small as one specific household and as large as across generations on the reservation.

APPENDIX A  
MEAN CERAMIC DATE CALCULATIONS

		Mean Ceramic Date Site 102-124			
Ceramic Type #	Ceramic Type Name	Dates of Production	Midpoint	# of sherds	# of sherds X midpoint
1	Astbury	1720-1750	1735	18	31230
2	CRM, plain	1762-1820	1791	0	0
3	PRL, hdp, blue	1775-1812	1793.5	0	0
4	PRL, plain	1775-1840	1807.5	0	0
5	WSG	1720-1770	1745	101	176245
6	STN, Basalt	1750-1820	1785	0	0
7	STN, Brn	1690-1775	1732.5	0	0
8	CHN POR, brn res	1740-1780	1760	9	15840
9	DLF	1640-1800	1720	5	8600
10	STN, grey	1690-1775	1732.5	5	8662.5
11	MOC, orange	1795-1895	1845	0	0
12	STN, ntg	1700-1810	1755	0	0
13	STN, rhn	1575-1775	1675	0	0
14	SLP, stf	1675-1770	1722.5	71	122297.5
15	WSG	1735-1775	1755	0	0
16	PRL, ply/ann	1795-1820	1807.5	0	0
17	PRL, trp	1784-1840	1807	0	0
18	PRL, hdp, grn	1785-1840	1807.5	0	0
19	WSG, scb	1744-1795	1769.5	8	14156
20	POR, fr	1720-1770	1745	2	3490
21	POR, hdp, ugl	1660-1800	1730	7	12110
22	JCK	1740-1790	1765	17	30005
			Totals	243	422636
		# of sherds X midpoint/ Total # of sherds	MCD		
		422636/243	1739		

		Mean Ceramic Date, Site 102-125			
Ceramic Type #	Ceramic Type Name	Dates of Production	Midpoint	# of sherds	# of sherds X midpoint
1	Astbury	1720-1750	1735	3	5205
2	CRM, plain	1762-1820	1791	529	947439
3	PRL, hdp, blue	1775-1812	1793.5	42	75327
4	PRL, plain	1775-1840	1807.5	246	444645
5	WSG	1720-1770	1745	9	15705
6	STN, Basalt	1750-1820	1785	3	5355
7	STN, Brn	1690-1775	1732.5	24	41580
8	CHN POR, brn res	1740-1780	1760	0	0
9	DLF	1640-1800	1720	2	3440
10	STN, grey	1690-1775	1732.5	25	43312.5
11	MOC, orange	1795-1895	1845	2	3690
12	STN, ntg	1700-1810	1755	4	7020
13	STN, rhn	1575-1775	1675	5	8375
14	SLP, stf	1675-1770	1722.5	1	1722.5
16	PRL, ply/ann	1795-1820	1807.5	32	57840
17	PRL, trp	1784-1840	1807	15	27105
18	PRL, hdp, grn	1785-1840	1807.5	12	21690
19	JCK	1740-1790	1765	110	194150
			Totals	1064	1903601
		# of sherds X midpoint/ Total # of sherds	MCD		
		1903601/1064	1789		

Ceramic Type #	Ceramic Type Name	Mean Ceramic Date Site 104-128		# of sherds	# of sherds X midpoint
		Dates of Production	Midpoint		
1	Astbury	1720-1750	1735	0	0
2	CRM, plain or hdp	1762-1820	1791	728	1303848
3	PRL, hdp, blue	1775-1812	1793.5	364	652834
4	PRL, plain	1775-1840	1807.5	1264	2284680
5	WSG	1720-1770	1745	0	0
6	STN, Basalt	1750-1820	1785	0	0
7	STN, Brn	1690-1775	1732.5	10	17325
8	CHN POR, brn res	1740-1780	1760	0	0
9	DLF	1640-1800	1720	165	283800
10	STN, grey	1690-1775	1732.5	21	36382.5
11	MOC, orange	1795-1895	1845	0	0
12	STN, ntg	1700-1810	1755	1	1755
13	STN, rhn	1575-1775	1675	0	0
14	SLP, stf	1675-1770	1722.5	0	0
15	WSG	1735-1775	1755	0	0
16	PRL, ann	1795-1820	1807.5	33	59647.5
17	PRL, trp	1784-1840	1807	248	448136
18	PRL, grn	1785-1840	1807.5	37	66877.5
19	WSG, scb	1744-1795	1769.5	0	0
20	POR, fr	1720-1770	1745	0	0
21	POR, hdp	1660-1800	1730	7	12110
22	JCK	1740-1790	1765	112	197680
23	POR, eng	1745-1900	1822.5	5	9112.5
24	PRL, shell	1780-1860	1820	54	98280
25	PRL, ply	1820-1840	1830	136	248880
26	WHT	1830-1950	1890	1269	2398410
27	YEL	1840-1950	1895	16	30320
			Totals	4470	8150078
		# of sherds X midpoint/ Total # of sherds	MCD		
		8150078/4470	1823		



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