

CORPOREAL NEGOTIATION AT THE MARGINS OF THE COLONIAL
LANDSCAPE: AN EXAMINATION OF LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
EMBODIMENT ON THE EASTERN PEQUOT RESERVATION

A Thesis Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

CORPOREAL NEGOTIATION AT THE MARGINS OF THE COLONIAL LANDSCAPE: AN EXAMINATION OF LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EMBODIMENT ON THE EASTERN PEQUOT RESERVATION

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During the forming of the early republic in late colonial New England, Anglo authors and intellectuals employed the literary device of othering in their work, casting Native Americans as the antithesis of “civilized” English culture in order to assert their own modernity and foster burgeoning nationalism. In colonial literature, as in the colonial world, the body was the platform where these racial and cultural differences were pronounced with depictions of skin color and dress being central to reinforcing politically expedient notions of cultural otherness. As Native Americans in southern New England during this period were rarely depicted in the historical record, and the few representations that exist were often skewed by this colonial bias, the artifacts of dress they left behind provide an outlet to reconstruct a more accurate sketch of their visible presence in the past.

This thesis examines assemblages of dress and adornment from five Eastern Pequot households on the Lantern Hill Reservation in North Stonington, Connecticut, spanning the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century. With a focus on how individuals in these households expressed and performed their social identities through outward display, I offer a textured understanding of the appearance of Eastern Pequot people across households and decades. I draw on a combination of material culture studies, social theory, and critical materialism in a discussion of embodiment and the negotiation of identity in the colonial and early modern context. The material variation and spatial distribution of these artifacts across each site is examined, revealing the patterns of their use and disposal. These data are employed to determine how the distinct assemblages reflect individual consumption and affiliation as well as changes in the demography of the reservation community, restricted market connections, and overarching local and regional conditions.

This project shows that gender, occupation, trends in fashion, and economic access converged with ethnicity in the processes of identity negotiation at the five households. By selectively incorporating manufactured clothing and adornment into their daily practice while maintaining their individuality, members of the Eastern Pequot community refused the notion pushed by colonial authors that they could never be modern, while simultaneously maintaining strong connections to their heritage.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The whole body of these Indians are a poor, degraded miserable race of beings... To these remarks there are some exceptions. The women, who live in English families, retain at times a degree of that fondness for dress, so remarkable and universal among such as still continue in a savage state (Dwight 1823:19-21).

The master narrative of New England was that it had made a stark break with the past, replacing “uncivilized” peoples whose histories and cultures they represented as illogically rooted in nature, tradition and superstition, whereas New Englanders symbolized the “civilized” order of culture, science, and reason. Modernity is predicated on exactly this sort of rupture (O’Brien 2010:xxi).

In the summer of 1807, Yale University president and archconservative theologian Timothy Dwight visited Stonington, Connecticut, during his travels through New York and New England. In a letter he wrote recounting the visit and his observations, Dwight briefly describes the landscape of Stonington before addressing the “degraded character and situation” of the Eastern Pequot residing on their reservation within the township (Dwight 1823:15). Dwight, who had previously authored the epic poem *Greenfield Hill* (1794) celebrating a markedly one-sided account of the “Pequot conquest,” scornfully yet nostalgically declared that “The former proud, heroic spirit of the Pequot, terrible even to other proud, heroic spirits around him, is shrunk into the tameness and torpor of reasoning brutism” (Dwight 1823:19). Dwight goes on in the letter to expand his observations about the Eastern Pequot to all of the tribes residing in

New England, explicitly casting Indians as the antithesis of “civilized man,” going as far as to argue that “This position is completely proved by the fact, that the children of Americans, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Dutchmen, and Frenchmen, when captivated by them in early life, become mere Indians, distinguishable in nothing, except a small difference of colour, from the native savages” (Dwight 1823:23).

Historians and anthropologists have argued that Dwight, and other American intellectuals in late colonial New England, employed the device of “othering” in their work to foster a sense of nationalism during the forming of the early republic (Den Ouden 2005; Kornfeld 1995; O’Brien 2010; Said 1993). In early America, the image of the Indian was central to this discourse, and authors such as Dwight relied upon projecting a “flattened, reduced, simplified, and frozen” portrait of “Indian savagery” in order to propagate burgeoning imperialist ideals of the era and assert their own modernity (Den Ouden 2005; Kornfeld 1995:290). Deconstructing the opposition set up by this colonial discourse reveals that American intellectuals “constructed a naturalized savage Other, devoid of cultural complexity, integrity and history” in order to define and legitimize their own cultural identity (Kornfeld 1995:291). The rhetorical power gained from this binary was fundamental to the naturalization of colonial power and domination in southern New England, silencing the narratives of struggle in Native communities, denying Native resistance to colonial control, and justifying the dispossession of Native land (Den Ouden 2005; Kornfeld 1995).

In adherence to this convention, Dwight makes explicit his construction of the Eastern Pequot as the “savage” Other, in opposition to the “civilized man”, detailing what he perceives as their moral downfalls and failure to adhere to the mechanisms of a civil

society. In an interesting caveat to his remarks, Dwight (1823:21) adds “there are some exceptions. The women, who live in English families, retain at times a degree of that fondness for dress, so remarkable and universal among such as still continue in a savage state.” In this statement, Dwight equates civility with dress, inextricably linking the two in his suggestion that Otherness can be obscured by one’s outward appearance. Dwight reiterates this idea throughout his letter when he describes the Eastern Pequot “savage” as “half-naked” (Dwight 1823:20), dressing himself “in a blanket” (Dwight 1823:24) and, again, when he contends that a child of any nationality “when captivated by them in early life, become mere Indians, distinguishable in nothing, except a small difference of colour” (Dwight 1823:23). In all of these statements the focus is on the outward appearance of the Other as Dwight purposefully projects and reinforces ideas about “Indianness” that were part of the larger colonial discourse (Den Ouden 2005:9). His characterizations draw on the Anglo-Saxon tradition of measuring civility in terms of “proper” dress and coding nakedness with immorality and indecency (Brooke 1958; Loren 2008; Roche 1994). Dwight’s words reveal how the visible ethnicity of the Eastern Pequot, and other Native Americans in southern New England, was socially constructed by authors of the late colonial period, emerging only in its contrast to the dominant colonial codes of propriety and employed as a politically expedient notion of cultural otherness (Den Ouden 2005).

In the colonial world, as in colonial literature, the body was the platform where racial and cultural differences were pronounced with skin color and dress being central to projections of Otherness (Loren 2008; Murray 2004). As the representations of “savage” and “civilized” created by colonial authors failed to capture the myriad of complex

identities forged on the colonial landscape, Native Americans were able to deliberately manipulate dress to blur social divisions and traverse rigid boundaries of class and ethnicity (Loren 2008; Loren and Beaudry 2006; Mullins 2011). Adherence to material style of the period allowed members of Native communities to move through complex social networks by signaling surface homogeneity in their interactions (Mullins 2011; Fisher and Loren 2003; White 2005). In many contexts of marginalization, members of disenfranchised groups wore the material culture of dominant groups, manipulating the meaning of these objects in ways that may not have been initially recognized in social display (Heath 1999; Fisher and Loren 2003; White 2005). In their negotiation of European artifacts of dress, Native wearers were likely mindful of the hegemonic associations of these objects, using them as a means to work through or against official definitions that designated their racial and social position (Mullins 2011; Loren 2000, 2001a). While Native groups in southern New England, like their neighbors, became increasingly dependent on manufactured clothing during the eighteenth to nineteenth century, they did so at no loss to their identity and sometimes with no loss to their connection to their own material pasts. By selectively incorporating elements of non-Indian clothing and adornment into their daily practice while maintaining their tribal identity, Natives refused the notion pushed by colonial authors that they could never be modern (Den Ouden 2005; O'Brien 2010; Silliman 2009).

Research Problem

As Native Americans in southern New England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were rarely depicted in the historical record, and the few representations that do exist were often skewed by colonial biases or distorted for various

colonial agendas, the artifacts of dress they left behind provide an outlet to reconstruct a more accurate sketch of their visible presence in the past (Loren 2008, 2010; White 2005). This thesis examines assemblages of dress and adornment from five Eastern Pequot households on the Lantern Hill Reservation in North Stonington, Connecticut, spanning the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century. This reservation was established in 1683 and remains occupied today (Figure 1). With a focus on how individuals in these households expressed and performed their social identities through outward display, I offer a textured understanding of the appearance of Eastern Pequot people across households and decades. The core of this research is on the reservation during the early modern period as three of the households being studied were contemporaneously occupied during the late eighteenth century. A household occupied during the mid-eighteenth-century colonial period, and another occupied during the early nineteenth century are also analyzed to provide a diachronic view of changing fashion on the reservation. My approach in the interpretation of the assemblages from the five households seeks to provide particularistic, site-specific contextual data to determine how the artifacts of dress and adornment found at the sites were affected by the local milieu, the demography of the surrounding community, available market connections, and overarching global conditions.

In the synthesis of the archaeological data from the five households, I draw on the percentage of items of personal adornment or dress present in the overall assemblages from each site, survey the diversity of these items within the personal adornment categories, and record any differences in their form or function. A spatial analysis is utilized to examine the pattern of deposition of these artifacts in relation to household

areas and overall site distribution, revealing any differential patterns of use and disposal at each context. With this examination I determine the temporal, functional, distributional, and social associations of artifacts of dress and adornment across the sites and provide information about the potential identities of the individuals comprising the households. As the assemblages analyzed were recovered from the private, household sphere, rather than a burial context or a place of public interaction, I am able to interpret what members of the Eastern Pequot community were wearing inside their homes on the reservation on a day-to-day basis, uncovering mixed styles outside of colonial codes of propriety and indicating consumption against colonial definitions of identity.

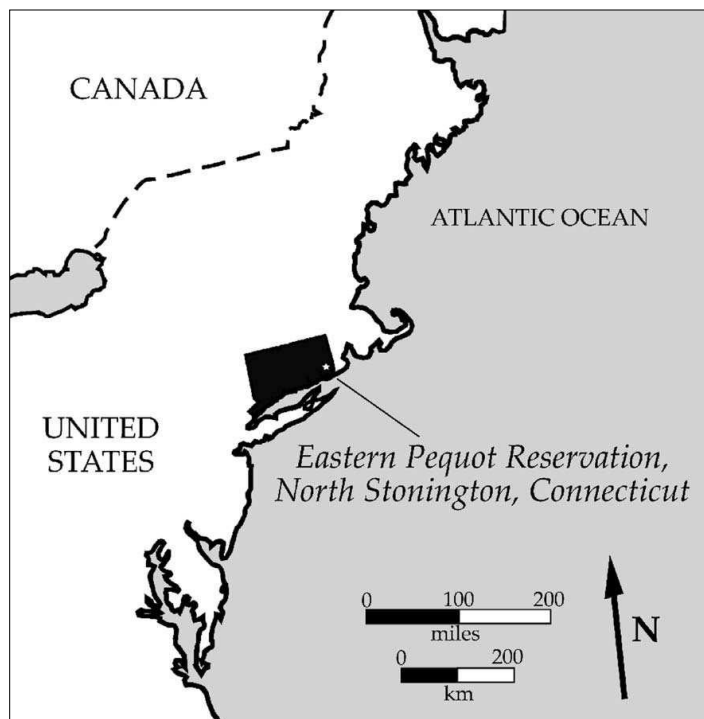


FIGURE 1. Map of northeastern North America, showing location of Eastern Pequot Reservation in North Stonington, Connecticut. (Map by Stephen Silliman and Craig Cipolla, 2005–2008)

This study builds on previous archaeological research conducted on the Lantern Hill Reservation through a collaborative archaeology field school offered by Dr. Stephen

W. Silliman of the University Massachusetts Boston and the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation. For nine summers between 2003 and 2013, archaeological testing on the reservation has aimed to document the spatial and temporal variability of Eastern Pequot households from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. This research has focused on the complex material and social ways that the Eastern Pequot community negotiated their place in the colonial world, emphasizing the long-term histories of continuity and change on the reservation (Silliman 2009, 2012; Silliman and Witt 2010).

Previous investigations at the four eighteenth- and one nineteenth-century sites examined in this study have revealed a residential patterning of both wigwam and small, framed house structures (Hayden 2012; Silliman 2009). Spatial and artifactual analyses of these sites have explored household spatial practices (Hayden 2012), landscape use (Hasho 2012), consumption practices and colonial foodways (Cipolla et al. 2007; Fedore 2008; Williams 2014), the collection and consumption of shellfish (Hunter 2012), and the long-term processes and negotiations of colonial market economies (Silliman and Witt 2010; Witt 2007). This previous work has indicated a steady increase in the quantity and variability of Euro-American material culture and architecture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but, also, a remarkable continuity in cultural practices and household spatial patterning. Previous research has also explored Eastern Pequot clothing in the eighteenth and nineteenth century through an economic analysis of overseer records and artifacts of dress (Patton 2007). This earlier thesis examined a portion of one of the late eighteenth-century sites examined in this study, in addition to two nineteenth-century sites not included, but otherwise has minimal overlap with the scope and content of this research.

Outline of Chapters

The subsequent chapters in this thesis provide the theoretical and historical groundwork for this research, detail the methodological and analytical approaches employed, and interpret the assemblages of dress and adornment artifacts from the five sites in order to interpret Eastern Pequot appearance, identity and embodiment in the late eighteenth- to early nineteenth century. In Chapter 2 I describe in-depth the theoretical foundations of my study. I draw on a combination of material culture studies, social theory, and critical materialism in a discussion of embodiment, individuality, and the negotiation of identity in the colonial and early modern context and provide examples of previous archaeological work examining these questions. In Chapter 3 I present an overview of the social and historical setting in southern New England during and leading up to the eighteenth and nineteenth century with a focus on the early modern period. Situated within a long-term history, I detail how the colonial context framed the lives of members of the Eastern Pequot households examined in this research. In Chapter 4, I expand further on the background of the collaborative archaeological project on the Eastern Pequot Reservation and detail the archaeological excavations at the sites included in this thesis. In this chapter I outline the overall artifact assemblage, spatial layout, and pertinent features of each household in addition to incorporating previous research interpretations and conclusions when pertinent. I also provide the framework of archaeological methodologies employed in the analysis of these site assemblages. Chapter 5 marks the first to address the artifacts of dress and adornment included in this research. This chapter elaborates on the materials included in each assemblage and discusses the combined sources used in their identification and typology. In Chapter 6, I

examine the material variation and spatial distribution of these artifacts of dress and adornment across each site, revealing patterns of use and disposal and linking this to the household layouts, features, and spatial orientation sketched in Chapter 4. Chapter 7 weaves together the historical, social and spatial settings of each household to begin to view these artifacts of embodiment diachronically and synchronically. The individuality of dress at each site reveals the ways in which members of the Eastern Pequot households may have employed the negotiation of these materials in their navigation of the complex colonial and early modern sphere. I conclude with the relevance of these findings for the present-day Eastern Pequot community as the resurgence of anti-Indian racism and colonial thought have negatively impacted public attitudes towards their federal recognition, resulting in racialized attacks on their appearance and identity in their struggle for sovereignty.

CHAPTER 2

INDIVIDUALITY, IDENTITY AND CONSUMPTION: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON EMBODIMENT

Beginning in the 1990s and proliferating in number and diversity over the course of the last decade, archaeological work on embodiment has transformed longstanding views of the body, the individual, and personhood in the past (Joyce 2005; Loren 2010; White and Beaudry 2009; White 2009). While bodily practices, ideals, and representations have often been implicit in classic archaeological scholarship, post-processual critiques on the lack of attention to human agency and aspects of identity, particularly gender and ethnicity, brought about a renewed interest and a broadened interpretative approach to the archaeology of the body (Joyce 2005; White and Beaudry 2009). More recent archaeological literature has directly engaged with theories of embodiment, drawing heavily from social theory within anthropology and across other disciplines. The earliest work on embodiment within archaeology proceeded from two theoretical positions, the body as an artifact and the body as a scene of display, both built on a shared assumption that social and cultural understandings of the body were read and reproduced through material culture. Interpretations following these two positions have been critiqued for projecting static conceptions of the body as a public, legible surface. The semiotic assumption “that items of dress and adornment contribute to the public legibility of a personal history remains in archaeological analysis but the body’s surface

is increasingly seen a deliberate social strategy through which embodied identities were shaped not just signaled” (Joyce 2005:139).

Following an earlier paradigm advocated within anthropology (Csordas 1990), contemporary scholarship has combined a multidisciplinary approach to the body that is grounded in phenomenology, feminist theory, and the work of Foucault and Bourdieu (Fisher and Loren 2003; Hamilakis et al. 2002; Meskell and Joyce 2003; Montserrat 1998; Rautmann 2000). With an emphasis on performativity, artifacts of dress have been more critically examined for their role in shaping the outward experience of the body rather than their coding of the body’s surface. As the meaning of embodiment in archaeology has swelled with its increasing application, then been refocused over the course of the last decade, it is increasingly necessary to clarify the assumptions made in moving from theorizing bodily perceptions in the past to attempting to understand bodily experience (Joyce 2005). In this thesis, I adhere to the approach rooted in phenomenology advocated by Csordas (1994:10-11), and later by Joyce (2005), that focuses on the body as a site of “lived experience.” Following the characterization developed by Csordas (1994: 12), where embodiment is “defined by perceptual experience and mode of presence and engagement in the world,” this thesis thus takes embodiment to be conditioned as much by the perceptions of others as it does by the engagement of the self in the world.

The Importance of an Interdisciplinary Approach

With its insight into the materiality of human experience, archaeology offers a unique perspective on embodiment anchored in bodily physicality. Following an implicit understanding of the body as a site of lived experience, I am heavily influenced by

previous investigations into the social body, embodied agency, and corporeal consumerism. This thesis aspires to follow the path of this established research in adhering to the relational approach advocated in studies of the multiplicity of identity, adding to historical archaeology's growing impact into discursive constructions of embodiment, and contributing to the wealth of archaeological identity studies grounded in social theory (Loren 2008; Meskell and Joyce 2003; White and Beaudry 2009).

While archaeological work embracing this view of embodiment is far-reaching, spanning time periods, geographical areas, and research foci (see Hamilakis et al. 2002; Joyce 2005; Meskell and Joyce 2003; Montserrat 1998; Rautmann 2000), this chapter centers on its application in the historical archaeology of clothing and adornment in eighteenth- and-nineteenth-century America. My coverage of this topic as it has been explored in North American contexts is not comprehensive but, instead, accentuates several approaches and understandings developed within historical archaeology scholarship that have provided the groundwork for understanding people's embodied experiences in colonial and early America. As the construction and performance of identity is at the forefront of this work, I first discuss how the lens of embodiment has been used to further explorations into the multiplicity and fluidity of individuality during this time period. I then provide an overview of how artifacts of dress and adornment recovered from colonial contexts have been used as points of access to topics on the negotiation of social identities and the navigation of the body through the colonial and early modern world. Lastly, I briefly cover how the archaeology of consumption, rooted in critical materialism, has been applied in studies of embodiment within this period to reveal the consumer practices of the corporeal body.

Divisions of Individuality

As social identity is fluid, dependent on both how individuals define themselves in a moment and how, in turn, they are defined by others in their interactions, studies of identity and materiality have the difficult task of situating artifacts both from the viewpoint of the person who utilized them and that of the broader society. When attempting to reconstruct these social exchanges, the cross-cutting factors of gender, age, class, occupation, religion, and ethnicity must be considered for the ways that they were simultaneously constructed, reproduced, and conveyed by individuals and the people with whom they interacted (Fisher and Loren 2003; Loren 2010; Meskell and Preucel 2004; Thomas and Thomas 2005; White 2009; White and Beaudry 2009). In a discussion on personal artifacts and identity, White and Beaudry (2009:215) emphasize:

“The concept of identity is complicated, paradoxical, and culturally situated in time, place, and society. Identity is at once both imposed by others and self-imposed, and is continuously asserted and reasserted in ways that are fluid and fixed. Identity can lie at the individual level and at the broadest of imaginable scales as it defines a person both as part of a group and as an individual.”

As historical archaeologists have increasingly grappled with the concept of identity, a multifaceted perspective on the expressions of individuality has been pushed and a more complex understanding of its many intricacies has been gained (Delle et al. 2000; Orser 2001; Scott 1994; White 2009; White and Beaudry 2009). Work on embodiment has been central to this progress as Loren (2010:9) suggests, “it is through the body that a person experiences the world, forms a sense of self and identity, mediates social exchanges and social constructions of race, gender, power, and age.” The study of artifacts of dress and adornment provides the potential to re-imagine how a continuum of

layered and intertwining social identities were constructed onto the body through material culture, addressing the ways that identity operated on an individual level but, also, furthering an understanding of how it was distinguished and defined in relations with other individuals and broader collectivities (Loren 2010; Loren and Beaudry 2006; Meskell and Preucel 2004; White 2009; White and Beaudry 2009).

By broadening awareness for the multiplicity and fluidity of identity in the past, historical archaeologists have gained a more textured understanding of how individuals defined themselves as part of and apart from social groups (Beaudry et al. 1991; Hall 2000; Loren 2001a; Fisher and Loren 2003; Meskell 1999, 2001; Scott 1994; Stahl 2002). This research lens has been particularly effective when applied to the colonial context as cross-cultural hierarchies of class, ethnicity, race and gender were merged and blended, forging new and redefined concepts of identity with flexible boundaries (Loren 2007, 2010; Loren and Beaudry 2006; Nassaney 2004; White 2005). As the body in the colonial world was the canvas for the presentation of self and the site of differentiation by and from others, the personal objects worn on and against it have been emphasized as an important element in identity construction and the contextualization of the body within the social landscape (Loren and Beaudry 2006; White and Beaudry 2009).

Two notable works of historical archaeology scholarship set in colonial and early America stand out for their role in developing studies of identity, performance and dress. In her dissertation analyzing assemblages of personal adornment artifacts from ten archaeological sites in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, spanning 1680-1820, White (2002) examines how residents of the community constructed and constituted their identity across boundaries of gender, class, age and ethnicity. White illustrates how adornment

and dress were used by individuals to simultaneously set themselves apart from others while aligning their similarity across a variety of social strata. By comparing assemblages of these materials across a selection of sites, representing a broad cross-section of Portsmouth community members, White gains a sense of how “people incorporated individual identity and group affiliation into their bodies and selves through the acts and gestures of dressing, wearing and using items of personal adornment” (White 2002:637). She suggests that artifacts of adornment, including buttons, buckles, jewelry, and other accessories, were employed by individuals to create and display their group affiliations, the most visible being class and socioeconomic status. White found that expressions of class were often intertwined with other aspects of identity, most intricately with gender, as individuals performed their expected identities through everyday wear and rare instances of high-style items. She concludes that many of these artifacts were multivalent and used to express affiliations with numerous lines of identity as “individuals who lived in Portsmouth were simultaneously gendered, classed, raced and aged” (White 2002:680).

In another study, Thomas and Thomas (2005) use an analysis of artifacts of adornment, clothing and accessories recovered from slave dwelling contexts at The Hermitage, an antebellum cotton plantation and home to former President Andrew Jackson, in what they term “a layered approach to personal appearance and social identity” (Thomas and Thomas 2005:104). In their study, the authors explore the relationship of dress to social identity among African-American men, women and children. They focus on how gender, along with other aspects of identity such as ethnicity, work role, and age, were structured and reinforced through material expressions

and examine how the information embedded through the outward layering of dress would be contrastingly conveyed to different viewers on the plantation landscape. The authors conjecture that different material items, such as beads and head-wraps, would be viewed adversely by whites and African-Americans because of differential access to the cultural knowledge they embodied for African-American wearers. The authors use evidence of clothing, ornaments, and other personal effects of embellishment to ground their interpretation that “gender was an important component of identity, but it was never experienced independently. African-American dress in the antebellum South embodied the experience of gender alongside other aspects of identity” illustrating the complex manner in which identity is outwardly expressed (Thomas and Thomas 2005:124).

Negotiating the Colonial Body

An increasing awareness for the intricate ways in which social identities were formed and worn has fostered research into the negotiation of corporeal identity visible through examinations of dress. Within historical archaeology, this line of inquiry has been the most powerful in American contexts of colonial entanglements where power imbalances and cultural plurality resulted in the reformulation of existing and newly-created identities. In what has been termed the process of “becoming” American, “distinct cultural traditions met and reshaped through new social, sexual and political interactions” (Loren and Beaudry 2006:354). In the constitution of colonial identities, individuality and materiality meaningfully intersected as the production, exchange, and use of cross-cultural objects was a significant component of everyday life (Merleau-Ponty 1989; Nassaney and Brandao 2009; Loren 2009; White 2009). The active manipulation of material culture allowed for individuals to signal a range of messages

about themselves, but it also offered an opportunity to forge new identities in a socially restrictive world (Fisher and Loren 2003; Hall 2000; Loren 2008, 2009; Loren and Beaudry 2006; Pauketat 2001). As colonists were faced with legal restraints and social sanctions mandating their choice of dress, their wardrobe was selected not solely for practicality, individual expression, and daily life, but as a medium to reject colonial constraints and demands (Loren 2009).

In the colonial setting, artifacts of clothing and adornment have been accentuated for their ability to underscore the choices made by people experiencing and negotiating the colonial world (Loren 2008; 2009). As objects intimately worn on the body, artifacts of dress became entangled in their daily life. With colonial space structured by imperial authority and embedded inequality, people had to make conscious and active decisions about how what they wore would impact their day-to-day existence. In addition to the negotiation and intersection of one's own identity, clothing and adornment were shaped by an individual's social exchanges, their movement through the physical landscape, and their daily acts. Colonial identities, constantly in flux and in motion, were enacted through strategies of dress that aided in their navigation of the colonial sphere (Butler 1990, 1993; Comaroff 1996; Entwistle 2000; Fisher and Loren 2003; Loren 2008, 2009; Merleau-Ponty 1989; Meskell, 1999, 2000). As discussed by Loren (2009:89), "Such actions were purposeful, suggesting that hybridity of dress was part of the strategy from the outset of colonial encounters and that creating hybrid fashion was a common colonial experience, shared by people of different ethnic and racial descent." In colonial contexts, analyses of these personal objects worn on the body highlight the varying embodied experiences of colonial individuals and the asymmetries of race, gender, and status

embedded within colonial communities (Beaudry 2006; Deagan 2002; Heath 1999; Kern 1999; Loren 2001b, 2009, 2012; Loren and Beaudry 2006; Nassaney 2004; Shannon 1996; St. George 2000; Yentsch 1994).

In an analysis of embodiment in the colonial world, archaeologists have emphasized the necessity of contrasting material traces of dress with their contemporaneous representations through literary and visual depictions. Through comparisons of the documentary and archaeological record, it has been demonstrated that “the fleeting performativity of living bodies can be traced archaeologically through reflexivity between representations and the use in bodily practices of objects like those represented” (Joyce 2005:145-6). In the rare instances they are depicted in the historical record, Native Americans, African-Americans and other members of the lower classes were subjected to caricaturized portrayals of their appearance. These images were produced primarily by male European authors and served to found claims of their cultural and bodily superiority over colonized people. By essentializing difference within colonial discourse, these representations were used to defend European rights to land possession and cultural domination. Through the projection of these highly stereotyped embodied performances, detached from reality and skewed by colonial bias, colonial authors immortalized their racial and class prejudices (Hall 2000, Joyce 1998, 2005; Loren 2008, 2009). Through a textured reading of these sources and their many divergences from archaeological findings, the embodied agency and role of dress within the lived realities of colonized groups is better revealed (Joyce 2005; Loren 2007, 2008, 2009).

The production and negotiation of colonial corporeal embodiment, its employment in the navigation of colonial space, and comparison to representations within

colonial discourse is exemplified by Loren's (2007) work on *casta* paintings and colonial bodies in eighteenth-century Spanish Texas. In colonial New Spain, society was organized by "the ideology of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), which meant that varieties of mixed-blood peoples, including mestizos and mulattos, were situated within the social system according to percentages of 'Spanish' or 'Indian' blood, determined by their skin color" (Loren 2007:23). With a focus on the colonial body, visible through skin color, dress, and adornment, *casta* paintings illustrated this categorical system used to hierarchically position individuals in the community. Loren compares the highly structured and regulated colonial world depicted in the *casta* paintings to the lived experiences of colonial individuals. Through a cross-analysis of *casta* images, historical documents discussing 'proper' and mixed dress styles of the period, and artifacts of dress from Presidio Los Adaes in present-day Louisiana, Loren explores how individuals reworked these colonial categories in their identity formation and embodiment. Assemblages of artifacts related to clothing and adornment are examined from three households excavated at Los Adaes, one belonging to the governor of Spanish Texas and the other two likely attributable to some combination of mixed-blood soldiers, French traders and Caddo Indians. Loren found that residents of Los Adaes dressed in a variety of Native American and European fashions with adornment playing as important of a role as clothing in the construction of identity on the colonial frontier. She suggests that "the power of wearing these combinations of clothing and adornment lay in performance—the social, public presentation of the body and self. All of these expressions of self and body occurred within the colonial realm, which dictated how colonial people were to act and dress" (Loren 2007:34). By strategically changing their bodily appearance, the people of

Spanish Texas were also able to change the status of their body within the colonial society.

Consuming Identity

Research on embodiment within historical archaeology has more recently been cast within a critical materialism, demonstrating that examinations of dress and adornment on colonial sites have the potential to reveal a broadly shared yet individually distinct sense of identity that can be expressed in a range of material consumption and broader cultural patterns (Hall 2000; Mullins 2011; White and Beaudry 2009). The conceptual framework of consumption has been proposed for examining artifacts of dress during the historical period in order to recognize the profound commonalities as well as the wide variation in how these goods have been consumed across time and place (Mullins 2011:135). In line with this framework, archaeological interpretations of these objects have sought to provide insight into consumer patterns and embed them into broader socio-cultural and global influences while highlighting their local negotiation and socialization in distinct ways (Hall 2000; Heath 1999; Loren 2001a; Mann and Loren 2001; Majewski and Schiffer 2009; Mullins 2011). The approaches of consumption and critical materialism have moved the emphasis on the material culture of dress away from classification and pattern recognition towards interpretation and situation within a local, global and social context.

Along with suggesting that personal artifacts positioned individuals within and against the broader society, this body of work has emphasized that consumer choices allowed people to work through or in opposition to official definitions of identity in their daily practice. By consumption in adherence to or as a rejection of authoritative dictates,

people were able to manipulate materials that designated their racial and social position within society (Hall 2000; Mullins 2011). In early America, an influx of new material options aided individuals in their creative negotiation of the numerous ambiguities of life in the colonial and early modern world. The complex and varied combinations of these objects recovered by archaeologists are seen as strands of discourse that connect us to the past and reveal day-to-day forms of resistance. In contexts of colonial space especially, these artifacts are seen as objectified everyday contestations of power approached through a lens of performance in a play of domination and resistance (Hall 2000). When applied to studies of embodiment, this research frame seeks to pursue how goods related to dress and adornment were obtained, defined, and transformed by the individuals who consumed them (Mullins 2011).

In an analysis of adornment artifacts recovered from a slave quarter at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest plantation, Heath (1999) provides an exploration into the intersections of dress, identity, and consumption. In the work, she seeks to

“trace the ways in which enslaved individuals from diverse backgrounds began to form materially recognizable subcultures grounded in regional economics, community size and demographics, access to market and common experiences that eventually resulted in a shared African-American ethnic identity” (Heath 1999:48).

While ethnicity is central to her research, Heath warns against using any concept of “African-ness” to explain the meaning of individual adornment artifacts across place and time and instead contends that expressions of ethnicity “may vary from household to household and from decade to decade” (Heath 1999:49). Heath grounds her work in studies of consumption in the mid-Atlantic region indicating that items related to adornment were the most common commodities purchased by both free and enslaved

people throughout the eighteenth century. With a focus on the complexity of identity construction rather than the identification of static ethnic markers, Heath contextualizes an assemblage of buttons, beads, and buckles within the local and global setting in which they were worn. Alongside a study of dress through runaway slave advertisements, the study points to the complexity of understanding material culture choices in a setting of bondage marked by social and economic restriction. The archaeological evidence examined by Heath showed that while individuals were not able to choose most of their clothing, they were able to express personal identity and social nuances by purchasing and wearing high-style items of adornment. Heath (1999:63) concludes that:

“ a myriad of contextual factors such as the regional availability of goods dictated by local economics, historic events such as wars or embargoes, and even local manifestations of broader fashion trends all contributed to the choices men and women made in shaping their individual and group identities with appropriate material goods.”

Lens of Embodiment

The framework provided by engagement with these approaches and understandings of embodiment within historical archaeology function as a lens by which I analyze and interpret artifacts of dress and adornment in this thesis. In the following chapter, these theories and applications structure my historical contextualization of life on the Eastern Pequot Reservation during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, furthering an understanding of how the visibility of dress was used by members of the community as a deliberate social strategy through which their embodied identity was shaped and how this, in turn, produced and reflected their embodied experiences in the late colonial and early modern world. In the concluding chapter, a lens of embodiment built upon these previous archaeological findings is used to diachronically and

contextually situate bodily practices related to dress and adornment in relation to identity construction, negotiation, and the production of different embodied experiences at the five households on the reservation. By viewing the material traces of these bodily practices alongside an understanding of the complexities of consumption facing the Eastern Pequot and in juxtaposition to the highly stereotyped representations put forth by Dwight and other authors of this period, I am able to offer an analysis of the production and lived experience of Eastern Pequot individuals in the past.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

New England Indians remained in their homelands and continually remade their lives in dialogue with their non-Indian neighbors. They refused the notion that Indians could never be modern by selectively incorporating elements of the non-Indian material, spiritual and intellectual world while continuing to identify as Wampanoag, Pequot, Mohegan, and more. (O'Brien 2010:146)

Historical myths of Native history, rooted in racial ideology of the colonial period, have portrayed Native cultures as historical artifacts rather than contemporary communities. The discourse surrounding these claims has been riddled with racialized accusations of authenticity and used in historical and contemporary law to erase or deny Indian identity (Cramer 2006; Den Ouden 2005; Den Ouden and O'Brien 2013). An underlying purpose of this thesis is to broaden public understanding of the alternative narrative of struggle and survival lived by Eastern Pequot tribal members as they nullified erasure with stories of their own that detail their enduring presence and resistance to colonial forces (Den Ouden 2005; O'Brien 2010; Silliman 2009). Recasting Native identity and history outside of the reproduction of fictional and simplified pasts is critical today as these myths have persisted and continue to undermine the historical foundation of federal acknowledgment efforts for many tribes, including the Eastern Pequot. As presently, the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation continues its fight for recognition and advocates for a fairer federal acknowledgment process, its members continue to

defend their history, their identity, and their right to both modernity and tradition (Jones and Sebastian Dring 2013).

Long-Term History

Prior to contextualizing daily life for Eastern Pequot tribal members living on their reservation during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, it is important to provide a brief overview of their long-term history as a tribe and their colonial survival leading up to the period (Silliman 2009, 2012). The reservation lands on which the Eastern Pequot reside today have served as a homeland to their ancestors for thousands of years. Archaeological and historical evidence indicate that for over a millennium before the founding of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay colonies, the Pequot inhabited the Connecticut River Valley, spanning across the area of present-day central and eastern Connecticut (Cave 1989; McBride 1984). No written histories of the Pequot exist that predate the arrival of Europeans in the area but, like other groups in southern New England, “their rich oral traditions recall a world of tricksters and sacred beings, culture heroes and creators whose actions formed the present landscape and created the human societies that came to live there” (Bragdon 2001:8). The Pequot were joined in the region by numerous other complex communities and larger polities, all sharing in a similar cosmology, language and history. While aligned by significant commonalities, the Native American groups living in the area developed distinctive social, economic, and technological adaptations (Bragdon 1999, 2001).

In the Woodland period, the ways in which communities subsisted played a wide-ranging role in defining their social ties, structuring their political organization and informing their cosmological worldview (Bragdon 1999). Early descriptions of the

Pequot suggest that their livelihood centered on a mixed economy of agriculture, trade, foraging, hunting, and fishing. Across their vast territory, centered on present-day New London and spread between the Pawcatuck River and Niantic Bay, the Pequot lived in two large fortified villages, numerous secondary villages comprised of between 20 and 30 wigwams, and occasional isolated dwellings (McBride 1994). The larger villages were surrounded by cleared and cultivated fields while the secondary villages were accompanied by smaller gardens (Starna 1993). Though Pequot subsistence centered on horticulture, their secondary villages were not entirely sedentary and were relocated throughout the year to follow seasonal changes in the availability of game, fish, and crop cultivation (Starna 1993; Bragdon 2001).

The Pequot shared the coastal area of southern New England with other Algonquian-speaking tribes, all politically-aligned as chiefdoms headed by heredity leaders, or sachems, of patrilineal lineage (Bragdon 2001). In these societies, social distinctions were based on kinship, wealth, age, and gender. The sachem, his or her family, and advisors ranked highest within the community. Their differential status was made evident by distinctions in their speech, housing, demeanor, and dress with members of elite families, elderly men, and women often distinguished by feather cloaks, headgear, and clothing decorated with paint, beads, and quills (Bragdon 2001; Willoughby 1905).

Though less embellished in their dress, the remaining members of the tribe were differentiated among themselves by individual expressions of gender, age, and wealth visible through their clothing and ornamentation (Bragdon 1999, 2001). In the Woodland period, individuals comprising the tribes of southern New England wore tailored clothing made from skin and fur. Men were generally outfitted in a breechclout while women

wore a style of wraparound skirt. Depending on the season, moccasins, thigh- or knee-length leggings were additionally worn by both genders. Throughout the year, the hair and skin of men, women, and children were often dressed with grease from bear fat or fish oil for protection against harsh winters, sunlight, and insect bites, as well as in adherence to cultural standards of beauty. Tattooing and body paint also decorated the bodies and faces of men and women (Bragdon 1999; Paterek 1994). Ornamentation in the forms of beads, pendants, rings, and gorgets were manufactured from a variety of perishable materials and worn on the body and in the hair as part of necklaces, bracelets, earrings, nose rings, and hair ornaments (Lavin 2002; Paterek 1994). Hair, in particular, was a potent symbol of passage from one status to another and was styled to signal changes in age, marital status, and fertility (Bragdon 1999; Paterek 1994; Willoughby 1905).

Native communities across southern New England were connected to each other, as well as to other groups and regions across the greater Northeast, through an expansive trade network that linked the localities and facilitated the exchange of nonlocal materials. In this system of exchange, the most coveted commodity was unarguably wampum, shell beads meticulously fashioned from whelk and quahog shells. The significance of wampum in Algonquian culture before European arrival was amplified by its scarcity and its laborious manufacture with stone tools. It was also a significant part of cosmology in the Woodland period as shells, crystals, and reflective materials granted longevity, health, and success to the people who were gifted them. Across the Northeast culture region, wampum became the insignia of sachems, the currency of diplomacy, and a ritual gift marking important occasions. The widespread demand and movement of wampum

illustrated not only its special place in traditional Indian culture, but also the function of trade in these communities as both a social and economic transaction (Cave 1996).

Early Colonial Survival

Upon the settlement of Europeans in southern New England during the seventeenth century, the Pequot numbered around 18,000, and their territory represented the most densely inhabited area in the region (Bragdon 2001). Over the course of the previous century, the tribe had gained political and economic dominance in the Connecticut River Valley primarily through warfare, their chief control over wampum production, and their advantageous location in the coastal trade route (Bragdon 2001; Starna 1993). As European commodities were exchanged through the trade route, Native communities in New England acquired these objects and integrated them into their daily lives. Native procurers did not always see the usefulness of European material technology and instead chose to incorporate these items within their existing ideology. In much the same way that wampum was invested with significance and social meaning, the adoption of European goods was assisted by the redefinition and embedded symbology of these objects within the Native worldview (Cave 1996). Early accounts frequently mention Native individuals wearing copper earrings, bracelets, pendants, and breastplates refashioned from copper kettles (Salwen 1978). In this reformulation, copper objects were situated within the Native belief system and invested with their cultural identity. Like wampum, trade objects became important not just for their utility or economic function but for their social significance and the meaning gained from their association with trade (Cave 1996).

The Pequots' determination to maintain control over the regional trade of wampum and trade goods led to a series of escalating incidents and attacks in the early seventeenth century. With the arrival of the English to the area in the early 1630s, these conflicts were exacerbated, and the Pequot were faced with another rival in a fight for control over the fur and wampum trade. As the Puritans encroached on their land and attempted to undermine their authority over the trade network, intercultural conflict broke out, leading to a breakdown of negotiations among their tributary nations. As the Pequot attempted to maintain their economic and political dominance, despite the social and cultural disruptions brought on by European disease, long-standing disputes with other tribal nations, and their building contention with the Puritans, violence erupted when colonists, in retaliation for the alleged murder of an English trader, initiated the Pequot War of 1636 (Bragdon 2001; Cave 1996).

During the following year, the Pequot and their remaining tributary nations engaged in a series of raids and battles against allied English, Narragansett and Mohegan forces. Though resilient in their opposition, Pequot resistance was ultimately and fatally broken by a surprise attack on their hilltop village along the Mystic River. In what has become known as the Mystic Massacre, the English militia, joined by the Mohegan, surrounded and set fire to one of the largest Pequot villages, deliberately slaughtering hundreds of Pequot men, women, and children. Nearly 700 Pequot were killed that morning, and the remaining members of the tribe were brutally hunted down and enslaved, often times despite their voluntary surrender. The Treaty of Hartford was negotiated the following year between the English and allied Mohegan, Niantic, and Narragansett tribes. The treaty purported to obliterate the Pequot with all survivors

divided among the three allied tribes, all Pequot homelands confiscated by the Connecticut River Colony, and the Pequot name outlawed. Despite these extreme efforts by the English to eradicate the Pequot, both fatally and legally, the Treaty of Hartford failed to restrain the tribal members from regrouping and returning to their homeland. Their endurance was officially acknowledged by the Colony of Connecticut in the creation of a reservation in 1651 for the Pequot group who would become known as the Mashantucket Pequot at Noank, and in 1683 for the Eastern Pequot at what was then Stonington (O'Brien 2010).

While the Puritans' determination to restrain and deny the Pequot their sovereignty was thwarted by their steadfast resilience, the Pequot War became the cornerstone of the English ideological rationale for Christian imperialism. In the justification of their atrocious and unjust acts at Mystic, the English cast Native Americans, particularly the Pequot, as the antithesis of and an impediment to civilization on the American frontier. In spite of their own brutality, Puritan constructions of the Indian savage permeated their mythology and were used to validate the Puritan Indian Policy of aggression, intimidation, and dispossession. The Puritans and other Englishmen defined themselves in their opposition to Native American "others" who they envisioned as a threat and challenge to everything they affirmed and embodied (Cave 1996).

Holding On To Their Homeland

As the English military conquest of the Northeast ended with King Phillip's War in the 1670s, reservation communities across the region became critical sites of Native resistance to encroachment and dispossession. The Eastern Pequot resided on their reservation in Stonington, Connecticut, along with other neighboring tribal communities:

Mashantucket Pequot at Mashantucket, Mohegan in Ledyard, and Niantic in Lyme. In 1680, the sachems of the Pequot, Niantic, Mohegan, and Paugussett tribes met with the General Assembly committee in order to ensure legal protection over their reservation lands for future generations (Den Ouden 2005). This meeting resulted in the establishment of the 1680 reservation law stating that “what land is allotted or set apart for any parcells of Indians within the bownds of any plantation” was to “be recorded to them and the same shall remayn to them and their heirs for ever” (Trumbull 1859:56–57).

This codification by the colonial government proved futile in the first decades of the eighteenth century as the ideology behind the Indian policy of the conquest period persisted and became embedded in colonial strategies of cultural domination through discourse and law. Europeans ideas about Indian “savagery” continued to inform colonial policy as Native resistance to dispossession was met with charges of cultural and political illegitimacy and assaults on various Native identities. Instead of the exertion of colonial power through force, it was “buttressed and legitimized by the language of colonial law and the mission to ‘civilize’” (Den Ouden 2005:6). In undermining the 1680 reservation law, new strategies of surveillance and containment emerged as English guardians were appointed by the colony to administer reservation lands and control Indian communities. The work of these guardians obstructed claims of illegal encroachment and positioned the focus instead onto the scrutiny of reservation communities, their size, use of land, and identity (Den Ouden 2005).

The Eastern Pequot were early victims of this system as the rights to their reservation land were continually under siege by those seeking to encroach upon or acquire it (Bragdon 2009; Den Ouden 2005). Although they faced many obstacles in the

defense of their land, the Eastern Pequot filed several complaints to the General Committee during the early eighteenth century that chronicle not only their steadfast resistance to injustice but their “keen understanding of the forces that bore down on their community” (Den Ouden 2005:70). In four petitions spanning over three decades, Eastern Pequot sachem Mary Momoho spoke out against colonial claims that her tribal community was dwindling and argued for rights to the reservation lands they were promised in the 1680 law. Ultimately, by May of 1751, the rightful grievances of Mary Momoho and other Eastern Pequot petitioners were ignored in a complete disregard of Native land rights. This decision was attributable to not only the biases of colonial officials and the growing desire for land in nearby colonial towns, but to the construction of a “diversionary discourse” that worked to focus Euro-American attention on Indian cultural and racial illegitimacy while deflecting concerns away from the illegality of dispossession (Den Ouden 2005:90).

In the face of these and many other abuses of power and acts of oppression enacted by the colonial government, members of the Eastern Pequot tribe consciously decided to remain on their reservation and, through colonial petitions, fought to maintain it for future generations. For the Eastern Pequot, their reservation lands were not only the locus of community life but also a site of ancestral and ongoing struggle. Despite the atrocities of the Pequot War and the greed and neglect of their Anglo neighbors and overseers, the Pequot endured. Though colonial officials, through military conquest, political domination and legal restrictions, sought to break the Pequots’ tie to their homeland, it remained a fundamental part of their identity (Den Ouden 2005).

The Eastern Pequot in the Early Republic

As petitions from Native Americans communities, like that from the Eastern Pequot, demonstrated an awareness of colonial structures, the knowledge and continuation of cultural practices and an enduring connection to reservation lands, new tactics emerged in the evolving colonial Indian policy of dispossession. While the impending “extinction” of tribal communities was declared and their failure to become “civilized” was often evoked, Native Americans in southern New England continued to defy Anglo-authored historical accounts as their communities persisted and adapted to the changing colonial landscape (Den Ouden 2005; O’Brien 2010). Colonial histories of the mid-eighteenth century render Native Americans as culturally and historically detached from the world colonists lived in, evoking earlier concepts of the Indian as “savage” in depictions of their alienation from society (Den Ouden 2005). An alternative history, emerging from historical and archaeological research, suggests instead that during this time Native Americans were actively enmeshed in the colonial economy as they participated in labor outside of the reservation and selectively incorporated aspects of “Christianity, farming practices, livestock husbandry, and industrially produced material goods while continuing other ‘traditional’ practices or doing ‘European’ things in often distinctly ‘Native American’ ways” (Silliman 2009:219).

While reservation communities grappled with accusations of their degradation and dissolution in the face of their undeniable presence and participation in the colonial sphere, official declarations of Native disappearance began to shape constructions of Indian identity in southern New England. By the mid-eighteenth century, race emerged as a strategy of disenfranchisement with assaults on the “authenticity” of Native identity

used to distract from colonial policies of governmental control and surveillance on reservations. Land rights of Native communities were assessed in terms of proximity to “whites” as boundaries between identities and hierarchies of prejudice became clear-cut in colonial language. In a discourse of historical denial, racialized terms became a new way to disparage and disinherit Native identity. Euro-American categories of “Indian,” “mulatto,” and “Negro” became mutually interchangeable on official documents and government officials and overseers began evaluating the identity and legitimacy of reservation communities in racial notions of “Indian blood” (Den Ouden 2005:231). Among Anglo-American fears that reservation populations were being replenished, this legal erasure of Indian identity reinforced their claim to modernity and their ownership over reservation lands (Den Ouden 2005).

The wake of the French and Indian War and the Revolution in the second half of the eighteenth century disrupted social and racial hierarchies across New England and brought with it the brief hope of freedom for Native American communities who had already been battling for it militarily, politically, culturally, and economically throughout the course of the previous century. For the reservation communities in southern New England that were surrounded by and engaging in Anglo-American society, the American Revolution was an opportunity to demonstrate their right to equality (Calloway 1993, 1995, 1997). Although Connecticut exempted Indians from the wartime draft, men from the Eastern Pequot and Mashantucket Pequot tribes rallied to the American cause. In their decision to join the colonial militia, these Pequot men fought not solely against the British Empire but in opposition to all forms of colonial oppression as Indian liberties and Indian homelands hung in the balance of the imperial conflict. The Pequot served

steadfastly in the war despite suffering high casualties as over half of the men that fought in the Revolution did not return home to the reservation (Calloway 1995). Although individuals from the Pequot communities and countless other tribal groups across the Northeast gave their lives in the fight for America's freedom, the Declaration of Independence that would go on to symbolize it invoked the language of "merciless Indian Savages" and entrenched the image of Indian as the enemy into the mindset of early America (U.S. Congress 1776). With this continuation of earlier mythology, Americans authorized any future dispossession or disenfranchisement of Native American communities (Calloway 1995, 1997). As would be somberly reflected through the writings of Pequot William Apess decades later, "the Revolution which enshrined republic principles in the American commonwealth, also excluded African Americans and Native Americans from their reach" (O'Connell 1992:xxiii).

With the forming of the new republic, Anglo-Americans forged new notions of nation, class and race that positioned Native Americans, and other people of color, as a "permanent socioeconomic class forming the lowest strata in the infant U.S." (Mandell 2008:35). By promising social and political equality to Anglo-Americans across class distinctions while denying the rights of Native and African Americans, race and class collided in early America. The "bichromatic ideology of racism" from previous decades persisted with the opposition of "white" and "color" becoming embedded within social divisions. Labor marked this widening divide as every outlet of work available to Native and African-Americans was transient, subservient or subject to Anglo-American prejudices. In the post-Revolutionary War era, Anglo-Americans increasingly viewed Native Americans as part of a "colored underclass" (Mandell 2008:35).

The conditions and circumstances of Indian laborers of southern New England underscore how the Anglo-American class system was racialized in the early republic. Like African Americans, Indians of both sexes continued to labor in rural and urban Anglo-American households as servitude became a separating factor of whites from people of color. English merchants exploited Native American dependence on store credit for clothing and other goods to coerce men, women, and children into bonded service. This indentured servitude affected the Indians of southern New England individually as well as culturally and by the second half of the eighteenth century, nearly all Native households included at least one person who had spent a portion of their life in servitude (Silverman 2001). Bounded labor was particularly common for Indian children and young adults who often spent their early years working for English families. Although the law allowed children of the poor to be indentured regardless of color, this institution rapidly declined among Anglo-Americans in the late eighteenth century while Indian children were still commonly placed into the homes of their Anglo-American neighbors (Mandell 2008; Silverman 2001).

In these situations of servitude, children were without resources or advocates and their labor was frequently exploited without adequate return. Occasionally Indian children were indentured in situations of necessity or as a way to adapt to the post-Revolutionary world, but more often they were bound out by local selectmen in a cycle of debt and indenture exacerbated by racism (Herndon 2009; Mandell 2008; Silverman 2001). An account of a Stonington selectman in October of 1780 recalls that two “Indian and mulatto” (probably Eastern Pequot) siblings, Samuel and Mary Primus were bound to resident Alexander Bradford and that four month later two other “poor Indian” siblings,

Samuel and Mary Primus, to another resident, Alpheus Miner (Selectmen Select Annals, 1723-1781, 108-9, 114, quoted in Mandell 2008:28). Another Pequot child, William Apess was bound out in 1801 at the age of three. In recalling his time as an indentured servant, Apess reflected on the anti-Indian racism he endured:

"I was alone in the world, fatherless, motherless, and helpless... and none to speak for the poor little Indian boy. Had my skin been white, with the same abilities and the same parentage, there could not have been found a place good enough for me. But such is the case with depraved nature, that their judgment for fancy only sets upon the eye, skin, nose, lips, cheeks, chin, or teeth and, sometimes, the forehead and hair; without any further examination, the mind is made up and the price set" (1833:8).

Apess' account "resonates with the experience of Indian children who had to endure separation from their parents in order to receive the 'education' that whites insisted was necessary" (Duane 2010:94). As Indian children were forced into bonded labor, Native communities across southern New England lost control over the upbringing of their children. Growing up in servitude, Indian children spent their developmental years in English households where they were made to hear and speak English, wear English clothing, and eat English food (Silverman 2001).

By the late eighteenth century, several of the characteristics that had previously distinguished Natives from their colonial neighbors were no longer a part of Indian life as children grew up immersed in Anglo-American practices. While disruptive to Native traditions, children were able to learn skills and trades that allowed them to persist and engage in the English-dominated region and economy. However, the continuation of servitude amongst Native communities encumbered mother-child relationships on the reservation and was used by Anglo-Americans to situate Indians as "lower caste," promoting ideas that they were incapable of living "ordered" lives (Silverman 2001:655).

Native communities of New England fought back against these infringements by placing renewed emphasis on their deeply-held traditions of land, community, and reciprocity. In this period of rapid social and economic change, the importance of balance and reciprocity in social relations within Native communities was maintained through relationships of interconnectedness, a communal spirit of social responsibility, and a collective and cooperative dedication to preserving reservation lands and upholding shared beliefs. These reciprocal relations were reinforced, as they had been in the past, through the gifting of objects, support, time, and labor that bound Native individuals and communities together through their social transactions (Calloway 1998; Salisbury 1993; Silverman 2001). In addition to preserving their community structures, Native individuals “developed new ways of asserting their identity, such as pride in race, periodically dressing-up in what dominant society considered Indian garb, and sprinkling English-language conversations with Native words” (Silverman 2001:664). Although the indentured servitude of children brought significant changes to Native communities, Indians of southern New England found renewed ways to maintain their identities.

Indian women in southern New England also labored in Anglo-American households, occasionally those in which their children were indentured. Crossing Anglo-American gender boundaries, they additionally worked as farm laborers in a continuation of Native practices. During the late eighteenth century, Indian women found a growing market for their traditional skills in the New England region. They exchanged products of their farm and land and were noted for their involvement in the basket and broom trade across the Northeast (Mandell 2008). Following a tradition of weaving and embroidery, Native women also achieved economic support through their textile and needle work

(Beaudry 2006; Loren 2008). Medicine represented another connection between Native practices and the New England economy as the effectiveness of female Native healers is recorded in numerous early histories. In 1801, Noyes Holmes, a young boy in a parish near the Eastern Pequot reservation, recalled suffering from a “humor in my head” incurable by his physician but remedied by “an old squaw with a few application of cat’s grease and Indian posey” (Gray 1861:5-6).

The visibility and frequency of women’s work in Native communities while men were often laboring away from the reservation led to gendered stereotypes against Indian males in the early republic. While women were portrayed as “colorful and hardworking,” men were often cast as “lazy derelicts” and “dispirited, alcoholic vagrants” (Mandell 2008:33). This conventionalized view has roots in early European depictions of Eastern Woodland villages, in which Indian women were portrayed as industrious and men were considered indolent because their labor roles extended outside of the rigid boundaries adhered to in Anglo-American society. In actuality, Indian men in the late eighteenth century, though hampered by Anglo-American prejudice, were active participants in the colonial economy (Mandell 2008).

Indian men, though less common, worked alongside women on nearby farms, participating in the crafts trade and in folk medicine. The majority, however, were forced to seek work laboring in neighboring port towns or at sea. Whaling was at its peak after the Revolution and, while some Indian whalers were indentured into service, most were free men who sought to employ their traditional skills as fishermen (Mandell 2008). As trade was rapidly spreading at the turn of the century, the merchant marine industry flourished, and many Eastern Pequot men were enlisted as seamen. The merchant class in

early America was dominated by lower classes and social outcasts as service as a seafarer or in the Navy was regarded as highly undesirable. Life aboard a ship was often difficult and dangerous and required months to years away from home. While perilous, the financial rewards for service were substantial and the exclusion of the upper classes from the occupation often created a diverse and welcome environment for Indian men (Copeland 1977; Mandell 2008).

Mohegan and Pequot men usually sought berth on ships in the nearby towns of New London or Stonington. Crew lists from the New London Custom's House reflect the bichromatic racial ideology faced by Indian laborers as records of Pequot and Mohegan men describe their complexion as "Indian," "black," "yellow," and "dark" (*New London Crew Lists Index 1803-78*). Similarly, as Native men continued to voluntarily serve in the American army and navy, records of enlistments sometimes recorded the same person on different occasions as a "Negro," "Indian," or "mulatto" (*Connecticut's African and Native American Revolutionary War Enlistments: 1775-1783*). Military service and participation in whaling and seafaring dispersed southern New England's Indian males. The constricted range of occupations available to Native men, all transient and often far from home, reflects how prejudice barred them from more skilled positions and how this, in turn, was used to reinforce assaults on their identity (Mandell 2008).

While the labor of Native men, women and children in southern New England was used to confirm or reconstruct Anglo-American valuations of Native identity, it was also an outlet for them to defy cultural and societal boundaries. Exemplified by the work of whaling, folk medicine, and farm labor amongst Native men and women, many of the occupations filled by Indians were temporary and often dictated by tradition and

prejudice. In the case of Indian children, the impacts of growing up in indentured servitude within Anglo-American households were used to suggest that Native culture was disappearing. Though handicapped by these racist stereotypes, this work provided unique sources of survival as skilled Indian laborers in early America “retained their distinctive identities even as they dressed and lived as the ‘lower sort’” (Mandell 2008:27). Though working amongst Anglo-Americans inevitably reshaped parts of Indian cultures and communities, “survivors worked as laborers and peddlers and though they did not wear leather, feathers or paint, their clothing, appearance and way of life somehow marked them as Indian” (Mandell 2008:22). Indians and their workways demonstrate how Native people of New England resisted Anglo-American prejudice by maintaining and expressing their identities on their own terms. Additionally, it emphasizes that the labor of Native Americans was a critical part of the region’s market-oriented economy, dismissing accusations of their isolation from the colonial sphere and positioning them at the forefront of industry in early America (Mandell 2008).

In the Early National period in southern New England, Native Americans comprised the emerging proletariat class as they resisted but contributed to the region’s increasingly capitalistic and industrializing society. Their work represented the past and the future of labor in early America and, like their white neighbors, they became increasingly dependent on manufactured clothing and household consumer goods in the burgeoning market economy (Mandell 2008; Silverman 2001). This is not to understate the economic and political restraints affecting Native communities in their access to goods as many of their transactions were monitored and controlled by reservation overseers appointed by the government. Their wages also varied by year due to their

temporary working arrangements, resulting in recurring indebtedness that required purchasing items with store credit and restricted the variety of goods available. Though they were economically and socially marginalized, throughout the eighteenth century Native Americans actively and selectively made consumer choices and economic decisions that allowed them to better navigate the colonial and post-Revolutionary world (Patton 2007; Silliman and Witt 2010). The objects they purchased and incorporated into their daily lives reflect not only economic availability and personal taste, but the material ways in which they chose to negotiate their place in the world and define their own identity (Silliman 2009; Silliman and Witt 2010).

Clothing, Consumption, and Native Identity

Throughout the colonial and early modern period, the purchasing of cloth, clothing, and objects for sewing and adornment by Native Americans in New England reflected the role of dress in their trade, social, and personal interactions on the evolving landscape (Mullins 2011). Beginning as early as the sixteenth century, European colonists living on or near Indian land began adopting moccasins, leggings, and hunting shirts to their wardrobes, while Native Americans acquired shirts, jackets, trousers, and shoes. Native Americans found European cloth shirts and pants to be more comfortable than their garments made from hide and began to merge European and Indian clothing in their daily dress. European clothes were often worn in very un-European ways as Indians attributed their own meanings and values to the articles they constructed, dressing in unbuttoned shirts and cut-off pants worn as leggings. On other occasions, Natives adopted European dress so completely and convincingly that they were mistaken for their English neighbors (Calloway 1997). Choices of dress extended beyond cloth and clothing

as new material options of “beads for necklaces, earrings and embroidery beyond shell” impacted “the way Native people could clothe their bodies to visually substantiate social identities” (Loren 2008:110). In designing their wardrobes from a vibrant array of new options, Indians bought and wore what they desired, not only to make their lives easier, more comfortable, and more productive, but to better negotiate the social intricacies of their daily life (Calloway 1997; Loren 2008). In embracing articles of European fashion, Indians did not transform “into Europeans any more than Europeans wearing moccasins turned colonists into Indians” and individuals from both groups exhibited mixed dress styles in their daily practice (Calloway 1997:66). In combining objects of dress to form and express unique social identities, the Native people of New England were making choices that affected how they moved through the complex and socially restrictive colonial world (Loren 2008:110).

By the early 1700s, colonists and the growing population of Christian Indians in New England found it unacceptable for Natives to dress in skins, reed-woven clothes, shirts and leggings as they, and some of their European neighbors, had in previous centuries. Therefore, to adhere to prevailing social standards and participate in the colonial world, Indians either had to purchase spinning wheels and procure wool to manufacture their own clothes, which a minority did, or, more commonly, buy finished cloth and clothing from local stores (Silverman 2001). As Native people had already been accessing and incorporating European cloth into their wardrobe for over a century, they easily adapted to this demand within the colonial sphere. For Native women, the transition to European-manufactured clothes relieved them from the tedious work of spinning and weaving cloth from plant fibers, freeing up the time they spent making

clothes for other forms of labor (Loren 2008). As the eighteenth century progressed, sewing items, finished cloth, and clothing began to constitute a significant percentage of Native purchases in the colonial market. Store ledgers maintained by Connecticut resident Jonathan Wheeler, a merchant farmer who had regular interactions with members of the Eastern Pequot community as paid laborers and through economic exchanges for goods and services, indicate that by the early to mid-eighteenth century Eastern Pequot individuals were purchasing cloth, thread, needles, and indigo for the production of clothing in addition to manufactured clothing such as stockings and shoes (Connecticut Historical Society 1739-1775). Refusing to be denied access to the colonial economy, Indian communities altered their dress but found other ways to retain their distinctive identities (Silverman 2001; Mandell 2008). Age continued to be an important marker of standing in Native communities and hairstyles, along with nuances of dress and adornment, were used to symbolically denote maturity, status, spiritual, and tribal associations in one's appearance (Calloway 2007; Welters 1993).

Records indicate that in the era leading up to and after the Revolution, Native Americans in southern New England wore the same clothing as other Americans in their similar socio-economic bracket (Welters 1993; Mandell 2008). Overseer reports kept by Eastern Pequot reservation supervisors during the latter period indicate that Eastern Pequot individuals were almost exclusively procuring articles of Anglo-American dress. Through seasonal and occasionally multi-yearly transactions, Eastern Pequot families purchased a variety of manufactured garments, including pantaloons, shirts, coats, vests, dresses, pants, bonnets, and hats, in addition to raw cloth and sewing goods such as lace, calico, cotton, muslin, ribbon, trimmings, thread, and pins.

More than a reflection of race, dress during this period signified labor and social division as the wardrobes of working people were considerably differentiated from that of the upper classes. In the late eighteenth century, “dress” and “undress” were synonymous with civility or the perceived lack thereof and what people wore was expected to properly adhere to changing fashions, the formality of an occasion, and the activity in which one was engaged. Worker’s garments were typically simpler, looser, more functional, made of coarser fabrics, and devoid of embellishments making it possible, at times, to identify one’s occupation from their garments and other accoutrements (Brooke 1958; Copeland 1977).

For Indian children working as indentured servants, the Anglo-American households in which they labored were responsible for providing their clothing. The masters and mistresses of these households often exploited this means of control, outfitting Native children in clothing of the lower rung in order to reinforce social hierarchies and racial stereotypes, even when finer options for dress were readily available (Silverman 2001). As William Apess recalled about his treatment during servitude, “ it was not so bad as I have seen-I mean my table fare and lodgeing-but when we came to the clothing part, it was mean enough, I can assure you. I was not fit to be seen anywhere among decent folks" (O’Connell 1992:124). Apess’ words indicate that he too equated dress with civility and was very aware of the social status extended to him through the clothes he was made to wear.

During this period, seafarer clothing became particularly distinctive and the occupation of Indian men laboring as whalers, merchants, or sailors would have been evident in their dress. Life at sea required thick, durable, and frequently expensive

outwear. If an individual was unable to afford an adequate wardrobe, they were issued clothing from the ship's slop chest, a store of clothing and other personal requisites carried on ships for issue to the crew, usually as a charge against their wages (Silverman 2001). It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that government-procured uniforms began to be offered for individuals employed in the Navy, and even during this century they were rare and infrequent. The unofficial uniform of a seaman was, at the foremost, functional with several notable accoutrements. Men were commonly outfitted in trousers, a short-waisted jacket, caps, and kerchiefs. Trousers were short or tied at the knee in order to avoid interfering with the rigging of the ship. They were also accented by two buttons at the waistband and two on the straight fly front. Jackets were similarly embellished with metal, leather, or horn buttons. While working, seafarers were frequently barefoot, but when on land they almost always wore buckled shoes (Copeland 1977). Tattoos and "sea legs", a characteristic bow-legged gait from extended steadying at sea, further distinguished their appearance. Native seaman and their colleagues of similar rank were outfitted for necessity at sea but commonly added individual embellishments to their dress as their profession challenged accepted notions of "undress" and fostered experimentation against aristocratic ideals of fashion in the late eighteenth century (Dye 1989; Moore 1805).

Indian women laboring as farm workers would have had a similar distinguishing style. For working women, their gowns were often simpler and shorter, they wore no hoops under their skirts, and their clothes were generally fashioned from rough linens or cheaper cotton fabrics (Copeland 1977). An apron was an indispensable item of dress for the eighteenth-century farm woman, and it usually took the form of a bib apron, attached

to one's gown by brass straight pins. A mob-cap, a pleated linen bonnet, was considered unfit for "proper" women during this era but was regularly worn by women in the middle and lower classes as they labored. Like seamen, the dress of working women defied the formality of dress pushed by European principles (Hicks n.d.).

In the period from 1795 to 1820, informal styles of dress, or "undress," began to gain wide acceptance across American society. As modern ideals of selfhood and Enlightenment theory took hold of the American conscious, clothing was transformed to become a form of individual expression rather than an indicator of social status (Brooke 1958). Many of the styles during this period were inspired by working class dress as "fashion embodying new social values, emerged as a key site of confrontation between tradition and change" (Aaslestad 2006:283). The comfort and ease of one's dress preceded its formality as a movement towards practicality and "natural" styles disavowed dress as a way to categorize between classes and situated it instead to be suited to one's daily routine (McNeil 2004). These developments were spurred on by new concepts of the internal and external self in Western thought as people began to find ways to showcase their individuality through their outward. As clothing, still hand-made during this period, was often similar in form and fashion, people used accessories and other details of dress to present their public exterior and express their interior private selves (Warman 2004).

In many ways, Native Americans in New England were ahead of the trend in this era. Adornment and other accessories had a tenured history in their culture as signifiers of status and identity, attributable to their concepts of selfhood which differed from Western perceptions. Though Indians seeking employment in eighteenth-century America had to

diminish their ethnic differences by wearing styles rooted in the prevalent fashion, they did not do so without retaining established outlets for individual expression. Native women in particular had a fondness for jewelry that “colonists considered gaudy and ungodly” which would become in vogue during the early nineteenth-century period (Silverman 2001:654). As members of the working classes, Native American laborers of the eighteenth century found ways to manipulate European dress, exercising some freedom from rigid Anglo-American styles. Their fashions, and that of other members of the proletariat class, would go on to spark change that protested the divide of the classes embedded in dress and fostered individual style.

In this discussion of Native American dress in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New England, it is critical to underline the social, political, and economic assaults on Native identity during this era. Faced with everyday restraints on their individuality, members of reservation communities like the Eastern Pequot were undoubtedly concerned about their identity and had to actively work at remaining who they were. As their outward manifestations of culture and identity – their clothing and physical appearance – changed to maintain their participation in the world around them, “many Indian people clung all the more steadfastly to core values and inner strengths- reciprocal relations, clan memberships, kin networks, traditional beliefs and rituals- that enabled them to survive as Indians behind a veil of change” (Calloway 1997:197). For the Eastern Pequot, their identity was rooted in their homeland, a lasting connection that eclipsed any surface adjustments in their individual exteriors. While throughout the colonial and post-Revolutionary period, the Eastern Pequot were legislated out of existence, dispossessed of their land, and faced with racialized attacks on their rights to

modernity and their place in the early modern world, they remained on their homeland and continued to defend it, their traditions and their identity, as the rightful possession of their descendants into the future.

CHAPTER 4

PROJECT BACKGROUND AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

My thesis builds on a decade of community-engaged scholarship conducted between Dr. Stephen Silliman of the University of Massachusetts Boston and the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation of North Stonington, Connecticut. The collaborative archaeology project embraced by these two entities has developed over the years in close association with the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation's ongoing fight for federal acknowledgement, and the goals of this research have grown to include both the recovery of empirical data as well as an examination of the "social practices involved in the production of knowledge and histories and the political contexts of history-making in the present" (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008:86). A year prior to the beginning of this overarching project in July of 2002, the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation was issued a final federal acknowledgement decision by the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, after announcing their intent in 1978 and formally filing a petition for acknowledgement a decade prior. The Eastern Pequot had additionally been issued a preliminary positive finding for federal acknowledgement in 2000 from the Bureau of Indian Affairs for having demonstrated to the U.S. government their longstanding community, political, and cultural practices. The Department of Interior commended the tribe's "unbroken history" of state recognition in Connecticut where they have resided on their Lantern Hill Reservation since its establishment in 1683 (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008). Despite

the two positive findings, and the decade of deliberation undergone by the Eastern Pequot in awaiting this decision, in September of 2002, the Connecticut Attorney General and the towns surrounding the Eastern Pequot Reservation appealed their positive final decision by filing a request for reconsideration to the Interior Board of Indian Appeals (Jones and Sebastian Dring 2013; Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008).

The collaborative project was initiated on the reservation during the summer of 2003 as the Eastern Pequot began an “unprecedented and unfairly long appeals process” (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008:70). In order “to document material aspects of their history to accompany what was already known through oral and written history,” the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation invited Dr. Stephen Silliman to conduct an archaeological survey on their reservation land to locate historical and cultural sites and evaluate their preservation needs (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008:71). This invitation evolved into the development of a collaborative archaeology field school offered by the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation and the University of Massachusetts Boston in which undergraduate and graduate students from UMass Boston and other institutions, paid interns from within the tribe itself, along with tribal volunteers, and occasionally students and volunteers from other Native American communities, have been trained in archaeological techniques, heritage preservation, colonial studies, and collaborative research methods.

After two seasons of the collaborative field school, in May of 2005, the Interior Board of Indian Appeals responded to the questions raised in the 2002 appeal by making the stunning decision to remand the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation’s final determination for reconsideration. Later that same year, on October 12, 2005, the Interior Board of Indian Appeals issued an unprecedented Reconsidered Final Determination, reversing the

positive federal acknowledgment decision granted to the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation three years prior. The Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation became the only tribe in the history of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to have its recognition stripped away after previously receiving two positive decisions (Jones and Sebastian Dring 2013; Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008).

Despite the legal denial of their sovereignty, and the loss of eligibility for federal housing, education, and healthcare programs that it would have provided their community members, the tribe has continued on in their fight for federal acknowledgement, facing head on what they consider to be a “serious injustice” (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008:72). The collaborative archaeology field school has also been sustained during this time and it has continued to add a material complement to the history of cultural survival and the persistence of the Eastern Pequot community in southern New England (Den Ouden 2005; Den Ouden and O’Brien 2013). The objects recovered archaeologically from sites on the reservation illustrate how the Eastern Pequot have, and continue to, resist the erasure of their heritage, identity and history (Den Ouden 2005; O’Brien 2010).

Site Backgrounds

To date, archaeological work on the Lantern Hill Reservation has resulted in the identification of approximately sixteen domestic sites ranging from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Eight of these residential sites have been intensely excavated in nine field seasons during the summers of 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011 and 2013. The majority of the house sites that have been identified on the reservation were discovered as the result of visible surface remains of stone architectural

features. These features include stone enclosures, stone wall remnants, stone-lined cellars, stone piles created during field clearing episodes, and rock piles indicative of chimney collapses. Other non-stone features that have been associated with house sites include visible cellar depressions, trash middens, and refuse pits. Only one site, excavated in the summer of 2007, was discovered through subsurface excavation methods alone.

The Eastern Pequot reservation household assemblages analyzed in this thesis were collected from Sites 102-123, 102-124, 102-125, 102-126, and 102-82 excavated during the summers of 2005-2006, 2007, 2008, 2011, and 2013 respectively. Sites 102-123, 102-125 and 102-126 were chosen for this analysis because they were concurrently occupied during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Site 102-124, dating to the mid-eighteenth century, was chosen to closely predate these assemblages, and Site 102-82, dating to the early nineteenth century was chosen to narrowly post-date them. When viewed together, these assemblages provide a representative sample of dress and adornment on the reservation spanning the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century and reveal observable diachronic changes in the consumption, use, and disposal of these materials over this period. The five household assemblages that form the dataset for this thesis were subject to shovel test pit survey and the subsequent excavation of larger units placed strategically around the various house locations.

Site 102-124

The earliest house site, Site 102-124, was excavated in 2007 and is the only domestic site on the reservation devoid of surface remains. It was identified during shovel test pit survey by increased artifact density and the subsequent discovery of subsurface features in a roughly 100 m² area. The lack of visible architectural remains on the surface

suggests that this dwelling likely existed in the form of a weetu (wigwam) (Hayden 2012; Silliman and Witt 2010). After being identified, the site was tested through 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, which totaled 23 m² in area and covered approximately 20% of the predicted site area. Most of the excavation was concentrated in the core of the site where three pits filled with domestic debris were found (Hayden 2012; Silliman and Witt 2010). In addition to these pit features, eight potential posthole features were also uncovered, along with a moderate quantity of wrought iron nails. Aside from these artifact concentrations and subsurface features, little additional architectural evidence was recovered, and only a light scatter of artifacts was observed along the margins of the site (Hayden 2012). The three pit features at this site have been examined in depth by Hayden (2012) who suggests that they represent a domestic trash pit and a storage pit located within the structure along with a refuse pit related to food production and consumption about 4-5 m south of the structure. In a spatial analysis of the overall artifact assemblage at the site, Hayden (2012) suggests that its residents perhaps limited their daily activities around the site to within the house and in designated extramural spaces.

An analysis of the ceramics recovered from the site suggests an occupation date between 1740 and 1760 (Hayden 2012; Silliman and Witt 2010). A focused examination of the ceramics at this site has revealed a limited presence of high-value manufactured goods, such as porcelain, when less-expensive alternatives were available, indicating a preference for high-status ceramics in a constrained economic context. Though the variety of mass-produced ceramics at the site showed a strong connection to the

consumer market that prevailed off the reservation, it also indicated that the economic restraints on these Native American inhabitants in the colonial economy may have been “restrictive enough to bracket their choices” of consumer goods (Silliman and Witt 2010:65).

Site 102-123

The second house site, Site 102-123, was excavated in the years 2005 and 2006. It is unique among other sites investigated on the reservation up to this point as it shows signs of multiple structures and multiple construction phases (Hollis 2013). The site was identified during pedestrian survey of the reservation by a large number of above-ground rock features. Excavation of the site over the course of two field seasons explored several areas within the approximately 500 m² site core. In total, 51 1-x-1-m excavation units, 25 1.0-x-0.5-m excavation units and 1 2- -x-1-m excavation unit were opened up in the testing of the site. The structures at the site were determined to be two relatively small wood-framed houses, each associated with a dry-laid fieldstone chimney. Each structure was accompanied by a different type of storage feature, one with a root cellar and the other with a subfloor cellar partially lined with stone (Hollis 2013). A rock and refuse deposit was found associated with the root cellar and a dense shell and rock midden was discovered approximately 10 m to the east of the house remnants (Hollis 2013; Silliman and Witt 2010; Hunter 2012). An area on a slope to the southwest of the margins of the house site was also explored with minimal artifact recovery.

Analysis of the artifacts recovered from this site suggests that it was occupied in the period directly after Site 102-124, between 1760 and 1800 (Fedore 2008; Hollis 2013; Hunter 2012; Silliman and Witt 2010; Witt 2007). A study on the architectural debris and

construction sequencing of the two structures at the site determined that the northern structure was deliberately altered for intentional salvage with the extramural root cellar filled in and its architectural materials recycled. This interpretation suggests that the structures at the site were sequentially constructed but remained in use concurrently as a multi-building space for a period of time (Hollis 2013). In addition to the substantial architecture and storage facilities at this site, other focused studies of the artifact assemblages have inferred a significant amount of food remains (Hunter 2012) and the presence on numerous high-value consumer goods (Silliman and Witt 2010; Witt 2007). This work has documented the resident's extensive engagement with the local market economy and the use and transport of large quantities of coastal food resources to this site (Hunter 2012; Silliman and Witt 2010; Witt 2007).

Patton (2007) examined an assemblage of adornment artifacts collected during the 2005 season at this site. Though only examining a portion of the overall site assemblage, Patton determined that adornment recovered from the site represented a scatter around and within sub-surface deposits adjacent to above ground features. His analysis of these materials suggested that Eastern Pequot inhabitants at this site "chose, or were forced to choose a certain, potentially lower, level of purchasing power that partly determined their clothing choices" (Patton 2007:95).

Site 102-126

The third house site, Site 102-126, was excavated in 2011 and is a residential site partially visible on the surface by its collapsed chimney. The chimney fall served as a center point for an initial shovel test pit survey of the area conducted at 10-m intervals across the site. After the extent of the house was defined, 21 1-x-1-m excavation units

were laid out within the house perimeter to look for interior features, architectural components, and extramural space. The shovel test-pit survey (STP) survey also identified an area approximately 8 m away from the southern edge of the chimney fall with a high number of shell and bones. To test this area, 4 1-x-1-m excavation units and 1 1-x-0.5-m excavation unit were opened to the south of the STP to explore a possible midden feature. Excavations of these areas covered a total of 26.5 m² and defined the southern, northern and eastern edges of the house foundation along with an associated chimney area, cellar, midden, and rock pile.

Datable artifacts at this site place its occupation in the final decades of the eighteenth century, from 1770-1800 (Hunter 2012; Silliman et al. 2013). This site has been the focus of one study which examined the assemblage of its midden, particularly the shellfish remains (Hunter 2012). This research found that the depositional processes of this midden were complex, with distinct clustering of shells, ash, charcoal, and faunal remains throughout making it possible to trace food practices at the site on a short-term scale. Hunter's (2012:71) analysis found evidence of heavy shellfish consumption in the initial deposits within the midden, indicating that a need or desire to consume shellfish persisted amongst the inhabitants of this site and "may indicate a resurgence in subsistence needs, economic hardship, seasonal patterns, or correspond to a visit to an off-reservation, coastal community." Changes from initial deposits in the midden to later deposits suggest a greater initial reliance on shellfish that decreased over time. The decreasing quantities of shellfish remains in the upper levels, coupled with the increase in domestic artifacts suggest that use of the refuse area became for more general trash,

rather than primarily food waste, and could correspond to the site's eventual abandonment.

Site 102-125

A fourth house site, Site 102-125, was excavated in 2008 and was also identified by a stone pile visible on its surface, indicating a collapsed chimney fall. No evidence was found at this site of a formal cellar or a stone foundation, so it is likely that the structure was a wooden framed house built directly on the ground with an attached stone chimney. Since the precise location of the house was already known due to the chimney, an STP survey across the wide area surrounding the structure sought to determine the extent of the artifact scatter across site space. The artifact scatter covered an area of approximately 400 m², but the core of the house area and its subsurface features were found in a 16m² area surrounding the chimney fall and in a small area of dense artifact recovery to the southeast of the house. 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. The 1-x-0.5-m units circled the chimney collapse in order to locate any discrete trash deposits or other features but were unsuccessful. The features at the house site were limited to one large pit feature on the eastern side of the chimney fall indicative of a subfloor storage area and a hearth feature on the western side of the chimney fall (Hayden 2012; Silliman et al. 2014).

This site closely follows the occupation of Site 102-126, dating from 1775-1810 (Hayden 2012). In a spatial analysis of this site, its artifact assemblage, and feature areas, Hayden (2012) suggests that despite the more expansive stone architectural remnants of this house, it was likely a one-room dwelling between 25 and 35 m² in floor area. She

determined that the majority of artifacts found at this site were from feature locations with domestic artifacts such as vessel glass, ceramics, buttons, and tobacco pipe fragments relatively equally distributed between these two areas. This, combined with the fact that no domestic materials were recovered in the area southeast of the chimney, indicated that these various items were used on a daily basis within the household but not significantly outside of the house. Hayden (2012) suggests 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.

Site 102-82

The last site examined in this thesis, Site 102-82, was excavated in 2013 and was identified by a visible chimney collapse and a distinctive rock-lined cellar. A shovel test pit survey was conducted at 10-m intervals surrounding the cellar until a midden was located to the southwest of the house foundation. After the midden was located, 3 1-x-1-m excavation units were opened to explore it. An additional 2 1-x-1-m excavation units and 2 1-x-0.5-m excavation units were laid out around the house foundation to explore other visible surface features as well as the spatial distribution of artifacts in the area south of the house. Two additional units exploring the household structure were positioned architecturally within the house foundation and the cellar floor. The boundaries of these units expanded beyond 2-x-1-m as the cellar walls were used to determine their scope. Excavations at the site identified and explored a shell midden, a rock pile, the cellar, the foundation floor, and the still visible front steps/stoop to the house. The core of the house area at the site covered approximately 100m² with the entire site area spanning around 200m².

An analysis of the materials found at this site suggests that it was occupied in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, from 1800-1830. No previous research has been conducted on the materials from this site, and this thesis is the first to analyze a part of its assemblage.

Archaeological Methods

The archaeological materials comprising these five assemblages were collected in the field during shovel test-pit survey, test and open area excavations, and in the lab through heavy fraction analysis. Field and lab methodology across these five sites followed consistent procedure unless otherwise noted. Every archaeological undertaking on the reservation is tied to an overall reservation grid, which was established on cardinal directions but with arbitrary designations to protect site locations on the reservation. The names of each STP, excavation, and test unit are based on the arbitrary northing and easting of the southwest corner unless, only in the case of excavation or open test units, it was given a unit name.

All of the artifacts from STPs included in this thesis were recovered from the testing of areas surrounding the households examined. These STPs were excavated as 0.5-x-0.5 m squares and were concluded whenever the unit hit an impenetrable barrier, such as a rock, or when it reached 50 cm in depth from the surface. Shovel test pit soils were screened through 1/4-inch mesh with all artifacts and ecofacts collected. Excavation units were typically standardized to 1.0-x-1.0-m square units but smaller units of 1.0-x-0.5-m and other various sizes were also used when trying to maximize spatial coverage over a larger area. Excavation unit and feature fill were screened through 1/8-inch wire mesh with all artifacts and ecofacts collected.

Soil samples were taken from each site for later processing in a flotation machine for heavy fraction recovery of small artifacts and light fraction recovery of charred macrobotanical remains and wood charcoal. Soil samples were taken in highest frequency from feature areas at the sites but also from general site levels as a control on recovery success. These field samples vary from 2.5 to 5 L and were processed through a Flote-Tech machine at the University of Massachusetts Boston. After being floated, heavy fraction samples were sorted with all artifacts and ecofacts collected. Artifacts recovered from heavy fraction at Sites 102-123, 102-124, 102-125, and 102-126 are included in these household assemblages. For Site 102-123, 137 heavy fraction samples were taken during excavation in 2005. As this number was considerably greater than the number of heavy fractions taken from the other years included, and additional samples were taken for the site during the 2006 season, a systematic selection of 63 samples from contexts that had previously recovered artifacts of dress and adornment during field excavation were examined. Due to the timeline of this project, the heavy fraction from Site 102-82 was not able to be processed for inclusion in this assemblage. This discrepancy will be used in this study for a methodological inquiry: to determine the difference made by the addition of artifacts recovered by heavy fraction sampling in overall site assemblages of adornment and dress (Table 1).

	Site 102-123	Site 102-124	Site 102-125	Site 102-126	Site 102-82
Excavation Unit	51	62	40	72	70
Shovel Test Pit	1	2	0	3	0
Heavy Fraction	31	19	33	99	0*
TOTAL	83	83	73	174	70

*no samples examined

TABLE 1. Recovery of Artifacts of Adornment and Dress at Each Site.

Methods of Analysis

The artifacts recovered during these site excavations and laboratory analyses are the property of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation but are accessible for research by graduate students at the University of Massachusetts Boston where they are stored in Dr. Stephen Silliman's laboratory. The artifacts from these five sites were previously cataloged in a Microsoft Access database providing quantitative and qualitative data about their number, provenience, and type as well as a comprehensive overview of all material culture found at the five sites. As few artifacts directly related to dress, such as thread or cloth, have been recovered from these sites due to the poor preservation conditions of the soil, material culture related to needlework and sewing will be examined in their place as inferences of textile, needle and embroidery work have been shown to provide important conclusions about clothing and the presentation of self (Beaudry 2006; Thomas and Thomas 2005; Loren 2008). Artifacts that may have been worn on the body as a visual signifier, such as swords, guns, and keys, were also considered for the assemblages following suggestions by Loren (2008) and White (2005).

In total, 83 artifacts were analyzed from Site 102-123, 83 from Site 102-124, 73 from Site 102-125, 174 from Site 102-126, and 70 from Site 102-82. The artifacts were grouped into the four categories of adornment as laid out by White (2005): clothing fasteners, jewelry, hair accessories, and miscellaneous accessories (Table 2). To these, an additional category was added for sewing materials (Table 3). Measurements were taken on all artifacts. For bead, button, and buckle artifacts, individual objects were examined and cataloged by data fields relevant to artifact type as listed in the appropriate artifact-specific DAACS cataloging manual (Aultman and Grillo 2012; Grillo and Aultman 2003;

Grillo, Aultman and Bon-Harper 2012). For the other artifacts examined that did not adhere to a specific DAACS cataloging manual, a combination of the DAACS Cataloging Manual: General Artifacts (Aultman et al. 2012), Beaudry (2006) and White (2005) were used to determine relevant data fields for further cataloging. After an analysis was conducted on the materials, a total artifact count was taken for each site on the number of personal adornment artifacts per unit and the total number of personal adornment artifacts by type to provide the density of these artifacts at each site, by each unit (Table 4).

	Site 102-123	Site 102-124	Site 102-125	Site 102-126	Site 102-82
Clothing Fasteners	30	15	50	52	48
Jewelry	26	10	0	36	15
Hair Accessories	1	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Accessories	0	0	0	0	2
Sewing Materials	26	58	23	86	5
TOTAL	83	83	73	174	70

TABLE 2. Adornment and Dress Categories by Site.

Clothing Fasteners	Jewelry	Hair Accessories	Miscellaneous Accessories	Artifacts of Needlework and Sewing
Buttons Buckles Hooks and eyes	Beads Pendants Rings Glass Pastes	Hair ornaments	Chains	Straight pins Thimbles Shears and Scissors Articles of Textile Production

TABLE 3. Categories of Personal Adornment and Dress Artifacts Examined.

	Total Artifacts	Total Artifacts of P.A.	% of P.A. Artifacts	Total Units	Total Units with P.A. Artifacts	% of Units with P.A. Artifacts
Site 102-123	12,498	82	0.66%	78	35	44.87%
Site 102-124	2716	81	2.98%	26	10	38.46%
Site 102-125	3445	73	2.12%	45	10	22.22%
Site 102-126	7971	171	2.15%	27	26	96.30%
Site 102-82	6468	70	1.08%	10	7	70.00%

TABLE 4. Percentage of Overall Excavation Units with Personal Adornment and Dress Artifacts.

During the excavation of each household site examined in this study, data were collected by an electronic total station for the location of associated STPs, excavation units and architectural features. This data has been integrated into ArcGIS 10.1 software to record these features and maintain an ongoing map of sites excavated on the reservation. ArcGIS software provides the option to view these spatial data at a number of scales, from individual units and sites to the overall reservation landscape. In this thesis, these data were used to create maps of the excavation units comprising the five households examined. The adornment and dress artifact density counts by unit were integrated into these data and a surface interpolation analysis was used to create a continuous surface from these sample point values. The continuous surface representation of this dataset represents the concentrations of these artifacts across the units and predictive modeling of these artifacts in areas in which units did not exist. A natural neighbor model was chosen to interpolate this data as a discrete set of weighted spatial points and the findings from this analysis will be interpreted in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

SITE ASSEMBLAGES AND DATA

Since the identification and classification of artifacts of dress and adornment from colonial and early American contexts has been covered in detail by a number of historical archaeology guides (Beaudry 2006; Deagan 1987, 2002; White 2002, 2005), this chapter focuses on explaining the method of categorization used in this analysis. Descriptions of these categories contextualize the artifacts of adornment and dress from the five assemblages within the historical and social setting of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century southern New England (Table 5). While I draw on the dominant meanings of these materials in the colonial and early modern world, I do so to highlight how their colonial definitions may have been manipulated by the individuals in the Eastern Pequot households examined. Any unique meanings that these items may have held for members of the Eastern Pequot community are inferred when possible. In addressing these artifacts by type, I draw on the variety and quantity of these objects across the five households (Figure 2). Significant artifacts and the representative assemblages found at each site are discussed individually in Chapter 6.

The assemblages of adornment at the five sites have been categorized by group and type as set out by White's (2005) guide to identifying and interpreting American artifacts of personal adornment from 1680-1820. All four of the categories of personal adornment artifacts listed by White were relevant to this analysis: clothing fasteners,

jewelry, hair accessories, and miscellaneous accessories. The artifacts related to needlework and sewing in these assemblages were grouped in an additional sewing category following the types of material culture listed in Beaudry (2006).

Site	Dates Occupied
Site 102-124	1740-1760
Site 102-123	1760-1800
Site 102-126	1770-1800
Site 102-125	1775-1810
Site 102-82	1800-1830

TABLE 5. Dates of Occupation for Sites Examined.

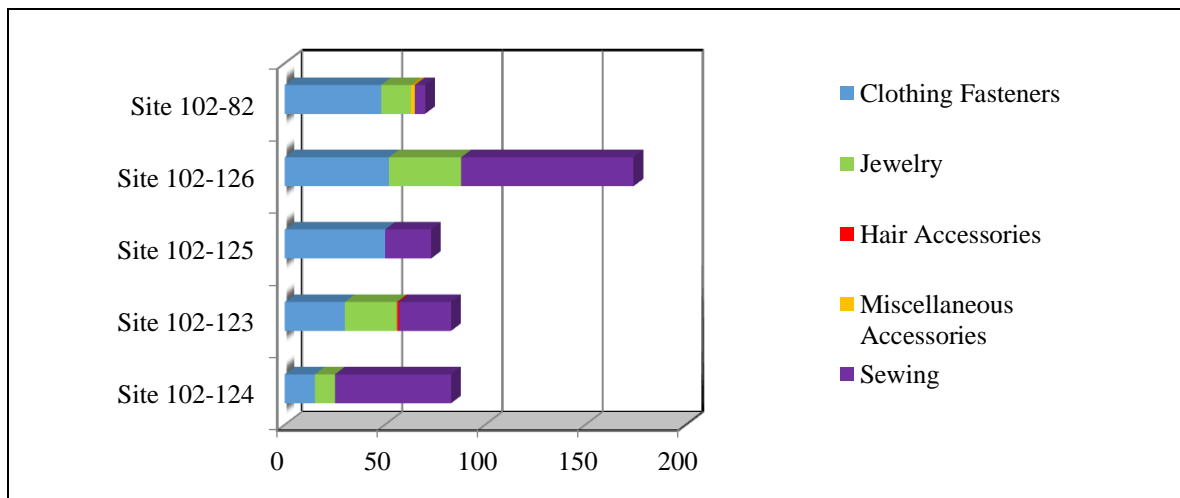


FIGURE 2. Artifact Categories by Site.

Clothing Fasteners

Clothing fasteners are the most common form of adornment recovered from archaeological sites as they were universally worn and available to people across social and economic divisions (White 2002, 2005) (Figure 3). Out of the five household assemblages examined in this study, clothing fasteners comprise 65.4% of the overall adornment. This group of material culture can be used to directly infer the type of

clothing that individuals at these households were wearing. Archaeological evidence has suggested that clothing fasteners, particularly buttons and buckles, were an outlet for marginalized groups to express social nuances in their daily dress (Heath 1999).



Objects not shown to relative scale

FIGURE 3. Clothing Fasteners from Sites Examined. From left to right: hook fastener from Site 102-82, shoe buckle chape from Site 102-126, metal button from Site 102-82.

Buckles

Buckles were the prevailing form of fasteners used on clothing until the late eighteenth century when they began to be replaced by buttons and ribbons. During the early to mid-eighteenth century, buckles were chiefly worn on shoes but could also be found on the knee of men's breeches to secure them in place, on the back of neckcloths to bind them around the neck, on the front of round or tricorned hats for display, on garters to hold up top boots, beneath gowns on women's girdles, and on belts to carry swords. Beyond clothing, buckles also served utilitarian purposes on harnesses, straps, armor, and weaponry (Deagan 2002; Hume 1969; White 2005). The shape and design of clothing buckles closely followed fashion trends of the period, making it possible to date these artifacts by their stylistic elements. By the second half of the eighteenth century, oval and rectangular buckle frames were in style with molded, openwork, floral, and other baroque designs common. Buckle sizes got increasingly bigger over time and were at their largest by the final quarter of the eighteenth century. Shoe buckles of the eighteenth century are

particularly distinguishable by the separate production of their frame, chape, pin, and tongue (Deagan 2002). The majority of buckles were made of metals, with copper alloys, gilded brass, and tin being the most common materials. Silver-plated buckles and buckles set with paste jewels appeared in the mid-to-late eighteenth century but were generally associated with the upper classes while someone of lower socioeconomic means was expected to wear plain buckles made from pewter or brass (Hicks n.d.; White 2005). While it is difficult to distinguish between buckles worn by men, women, and children, if not made evident by the clothing they were adhered to, this categorization did exist during the period when these objects were bought. Buckles were worn by individuals across gender, class, age, and ethnicity lines, and their variation in form, design, and utility allowed for them to function as a signifier of a person's position within these various socially constructed groups (White 2005).

Buckles make up 13.3% of the clothing fasteners examined from the five sites. Of these buckles, the majority were recovered from two of the sites dating to the late eighteenth century, Sites 102-123 and 102-126, with none recovered from the mid-eighteenth-century site, Site 102-124, and only one buckle each recovered from the late eighteenth site, Site 102-125 and the early nineteenth-century site, Site 102-82. Most of the buckles recovered from the late eighteenth-century sites would have been worn on shoes, but knee buckles and other buckles associated with clothing were also identified.

Buttons

Buttons are the most common type of personal adornment artifact found on historical archaeological sites (White 2005). The application of buttons on clothing increased dramatically at the beginning of the eighteenth century and remained in fashion

as buckle use decreased in the early nineteenth century (White 2005). Throughout the eighteenth century, metal and gilt buttons were the most popular adornment fastener on men's clothes while women secured their dress with pins, lacings, and hook and eye fasteners. Pewter, copper, copper-alloy, brass, and cut-steel were commonly used materials for metal buttons during the eighteenth century. Button manufacture became more standardized during this period, and, in addition to metal, buttons were made of fabric, thread, leather, wood, bone, shell, glass, and ceramic (Deagan 2002).

On men's clothing, buttons served both functional and decorative purposes and were worn on coats, waistcoats, breeches, stocks, cloaks, sleeves, and handkerchiefs. Buttons worn on men's coats were often recognizably larger than other buttons and occasionally adhered just for purposes of embellishment. Waistcoat buttons were also prominently displayed; they were smaller than coat buttons but often coordinated with them in style. Breeches buttons were similar in size to waistcoat buttons and were worn at a man's knees and waist. Sleeve buttons are the most distinct as they are composed of two small buttons attached by links (White 2005). Imitation jeweled buttons were widely available at this time, and those found archaeologically were probably worn as sleeve buttons (Deagan 2002). Military buttons were also issued as part of uniforms throughout the eighteenth century with the insignia on these items often being distinctive and identifiable by military branch or regiment (White 2005). Like buckles, the design and material of buttons can be used to indicate class and status. Pewter buttons were common in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries for all economic classes, but by the mid-eighteenth century, pewter was associated with people of low economic means and elites sought out different types of metals (Deagan 2002). While buttons were functional

fasteners, they were also a visible indicator of status and a conspicuous element of dress. Worn in large quantities by men of all means, buttons were indicative of both gender and socioeconomic status during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century (White 2005).

Buttons make up 81% of the clothing fasteners examined from the five sites. Of these buttons, the majority were worn on breeches or waistcoats, but coat buttons, sleeve buttons, and military buttons were also present in the assemblages. Buttons were numerous at all five households spanning the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century. The assemblages of buttons at each household are distinct in style and decoration, but only the early nineteenth-century household, Site 102-82, had buttons made of materials other than metal.

Hooks and Eyes

Hook and eye fasteners were used to fasten both men and women's clothing but were less visible than buckles and buttons and limited in their stylistic variation (White 2005). On women's clothing, hooks and eyes were used frequently to fasten bodices and most other garments (Deagan 2002). On men's clothing, hooks and eyes were sometimes used in association with buttons that had sham buttonholes and, more commonly, for cinching coats and waistcoats. Hooks and eyes were made from copper-alloy and iron and exhibit a basic and consistent form with some variation. Between 1700 and 1775, hooks were made of flattened brass wire. Rounded tin wire hooks and eyes appear in the late eighteenth century, and black flat wire hooks and eyes were used in the early nineteenth century. Hooks and eyes were worn across classes, particularly amongst women who, until the nineteenth century, used them exclusively with lace, ribbons and pins to fasten their dress. Due to their simple form and multi-use across gender and

classes, hooks and eyes fasteners are difficult to attribute to any particular social group (White 2005).

Only 6.2% of the clothing fasteners examined from these sites were hooks and eyes fasteners. These artifacts were present at two of the late eighteenth-century sites, Site 102-125 and Site 102-123, and the early nineteenth-century site, Site 102-82, where they were most numerous.

Jewelry

Artifacts of jewelry are often rare finds on historical archaeological sites. Jewelry that is recovered tends to be a fragment of a larger piece or made from an inexpensive material (White 2005). During this period examined in New England, jewelry conforming to prevailing ideas of taste became generally accessible across classes through the rise of “popular” jewelry. This adornment followed the form and decoration of more valuable pieces but was made from an alternative, less expensive material. Pewter was worn as an alternative to silver, brass as an imitation of gold, and glass jewel pastes replicated precious gems and stones (Deagan 2002). Several types of jewelry were worn exclusively by men or women, making it possible to understand the physical construction of gender through these pieces (White 2005). In total, jewelry found at the five household assemblages examined in this study comprises 30.5% of the overall adornment (Figure 4).



Objects not shown to relative scale

FIGURE 4. Various Beads from Sites Examined. From left to right: glass and copper beads from Site 102-82, copper jangler bead and glass bead from Site 102-126.

Beads

Beads served numerous purposes of adornment in eighteenth-century southern New England, and their versatility in use often makes it difficult to determine the object to which they were once strung or attached. Glass and metal beads were the most common, and they could be found woven onto textiles and strung around people's necks and wrists. Among the Eastern Pequot and other Algonquian groups in the region, there was an earlier tradition of adorning one's hair with beads and embroidering them onto clothing in intricate and multi-colored designs (Paterek 1994). Native American groups in the area also hand-fashioned tinkling cones or "jangers," small trapezoidal pieces of copper alloy that were fabricated into conical shapes and worn on the edges of clothing, bags, and other personal objects (Nassaney and Brandao 2009). For manufactured glass and metal beads of the period, bead size is often the most revealing characteristic for determining use. Very small beads, of 2mm in length or less, would have been used for embroidery on cloth or finer detail work. Small to medium seed beads, from 3 to 6 mm, would have also been used for embroidery of cloth and skins, in addition to being worn on necklaces and jewelry. Big beads, larger than 6mm, were usually worn on necklaces or other adornment of display (Wiegand 2013). Like all adornment, beads could have

communicated information about an individual's status, ethnicity, and gender. Furthermore, unique among other forms of jewelry, their wide variety, availability, and function offered flexibility in one's chosen expression of individuality. In Native American contexts, glass beads and tinkling cones were often combined with traditional European dress as a way to redefine and renegotiate fashion, authority and identity (Loren 2000; Nassaney and Brandao 2009).

Of the jewelry found at the five sites, beads make up 90.8% of the assemblage. Only one late eighteenth-century household examined, Site 102-125, had no beads present. Another late eighteenth-century household, Site 102-126 had several metal embroidery beads in addition to metal janglers. All of the four sites with beads, spanning the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century, had both small and big beads present that could have been worn on various forms of jewelry or possibly dressed in one's hair.

Pendants

Pendants "are any variety of decorative pieces that hang from a necklace, earring, brooch, or watch fob" (White 2005:92). The form, material, and function of a pendant related to the type of jewelry from which it was suspended. A pendant could be simply decorative, as was the case with those worn on most brooches or watch fobs, or deeply personal, like lockets of enclosed hair, crosses, and mourning jewelry (White 2005). In Native New England culture predating and during the colonial period, pendants were an important signifier of status and identity in dress and were carved, cut, or pierced by hand from a variety of materials spanning shell, soapstone, copper kettles, gunflints, and salt-glazed stoneware (Lavin 2013). The broad definition of pendants and their ability to be hand-fashioned often makes it difficult to ascertain their individual meanings, but their

use as sentimental and personal symbols suggest they were often directly linked to expressions of self.

Only one pendant was found across the five assemblages, making up 1.1% of the jewelry assemblage. The pendant was recovered from the early nineteenth-century household, Site 102-82, and was hand-carved from soapstone.

Rings

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, rings were mainly worn on fingers, but they could also be sewn onto clothes or suspended as a charm from necklaces and bracelets. Rings were worn sparingly in the early eighteenth century but increased in popularity by mid-century and were common accessories by the turn of the eighteenth century when the rise of popular jewelry made them more accessible across socioeconomic classes (White 2005). A considerably wider variety of rings was available by the mid-eighteenth century as they began to be elaborately decorated with figurative images and symbols, set with stones, and engraved with personal inscriptions (Deagan 2002; White 2005). Plain bands and simply chased and carved bands were also common during this era (White 2005). Rings were often worn simply as items of display, but frequently had symbolic meanings associated with them as they could signify a marriage contract, the loss of a loved one, or a token of affection. A ring's form, and its material, could also reflect a person's status or association with elite groups, as was the case with signet and alliance rings. Decorative and wedding rings were worn commonly, but not exclusively, by women in Anglo-American culture, though this same division may not have extended to Native communities. In their symbolism, rings were often charged with

insight into the emotional and personal lives of their wearer, as well as their status and gender affiliations (White 2005).

Across the five assemblages, only one ring was found, accounting for 1.1% of the jewelry. The ring, recovered from one of the late eighteenth-century households Site 102-123, was silver, hand-forged, and decorative.

Glass Pastes

Pastes are imitation glass “stones” that were cut and polished to resemble actual jewels (White 2005). The production of glass paste jewels was perfected in the eighteenth century, at which point they were manufactured in large quantities and set in jewelry of all kinds in addition to buckles and buttons (Deagan 2002). Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, pastes were mounted over metal foils that were tinted and burnished so that their reflection through the pastes would make them appear larger and more luminous. Pastes were available in a wide range of colors and could be combined with different colored foils to create a variety of visual effects. In addition to this, pastes were often available in a range of sizes, shapes, and cuts not possible with real stones given their technical and economic constraints. Pastes adorned the buckles and buttons of men, while women commonly wore pastes set in rings or pendants. Though pastes were considerably less expensive than precious stones, they were worn by the wealthy, lower, and middle classes alike due to their extensive versatility in color and design (White 2005).

In the five assemblages, six glass pastes were present, comprising 6.9% of the jewelry assemblage. These pastes were found at two of the three late eighteenth-century

households, Site 102-123 and 102-126. Across the two sites, the pastes represented four different colors and several different cuts.

Hair Accessories

Hair accessories refer to any object worn to “adorn, supplement, or cover the hair” and include ornaments, combs, wigs, curlers, and other artifacts linked to hairstyle and hair maintenance (White 2005:104). With the exception of combs, these objects are infrequently recovered from archaeological contexts. Hair accessories found in the five contexts examined here make up only 0.4% of the total adornment assemblage. The tools used to create, groom or decorate hairstyles, though ephemeral, are highly informative of rank, status, and age in both Anglo and Native American society in the colonial and early modern period (Figure 5).



Object not shown to relative scale

FIGURE 5. Hair Ornament from Site 102-123.

Hair Ornaments

From the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, hair was decorated with a variety of materials consisting of feathers, flowers, jewelry, pins, powder, and perfume. The maintenance and appearance of hair were equally important for men and women though hair ornaments were mainly worn by women. Women’s hair ornaments closely followed trends in fashions and, in the eighteenth century, included semiprecious stones

set on ribbons, artificial flowers, and gold and silver hairpins called hair needles. Cut-steel hair ornaments, tiaras, and pendants were worn in the late eighteenth century. Hairpins of all materials were worn throughout the eighteenth century and were differentiated from ornaments through their ability to secure the hair in some way, whereas an ornament was worn solely for decoration. For African-Americans and Native Americans of the period, hair designs were a site liberated for individual expression (White 2005). In Native communities, hairstyles were used to reflect continuity with longstanding cultural traditions, as hair had a deep tie to expressions of age, gender, and status. In the colonial and early modern period, this practice continued and was extended to additionally convey tribal affiliation and occupation in this period of restrictive dress (Welters 1993).

Only one hair ornament was found across the five assemblages and was the only hair accessory at the sites. The ornament was a decorative hair pin that would have presumably been used to secure hair. It was found at one of the late eighteenth-century households, Site 102-123.

Miscellaneous Accessories

This category functions as the “catch-all” for all items not previously discussed that would have been worn or attached to the body. Artifacts considered for this category included chains, watch-related objects, and all hung appendages or purses (White 2005). Swords, guns and keys that would have been worn on the body are also included in this category. Though keys were present in one of the assemblages, they were not able to be conclusively associated with bodily wear and were not included in this analysis. Of the

other objects, only chains were present in the assemblages, and this category made up only 0.7% of the overall adornment (Figure 6).



Object not shown to relative scale

FIGURE 6. Chain Fragments from Site 102-82.

Chains

Chains were a component of a number of items of personal adornment and are broadly defined as “a series of links that are connected so that the length becomes a flexible band or cord” (White 2005:121). Chains are classified according to the shape of their links with the most common category being trace chains, those comprised of oval links hooked together in a way that made them lie flat. This artifact constituted different kinds of accessories and could be associated with watches and waist-hung appendages or worn as part of a form of jewelry. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, neck chains began being worn and were occasionally affixed with pendants. Unless a large section of a chain is present, it is difficult to determine what object it was once adjoined to. Even so, chains were expensive items of adornment and were correlated with class during this period (White 2005).

Two fragments of chains were recovered from the five assemblages, making up the entirety of the miscellaneous category. Both chains were recovered from the early nineteenth-century household, Site 102-82. One of the objects was a single oval chain

link, the other a portion of a loop-in-loop chain. Both artifacts were too fragmentary to determine their original use.

Artifacts of Needlework and Sewing

As sewing is universally associated with the feminine, artifacts of needlework and sewing have often been interpreted as evidence of women in the archaeological record (Beaudry 2006). While the construction and repair of clothing were largely conducted in the domestic domain, gender identity was negotiated differently across various social, historical, and economic settings, and who was doing the sewing can shift according to these contexts (Beaudry 2006; Deagan 2002). Depending on a household's circumstances, needlework could have functioned as a domestic necessity, a means of economic support, or an important social and leisure activity. Attention to the type, quality and intended functions of artifacts of sewing makes it possible to “address the issues or the nature or quality of sewing activity related to household management, social standing and social display” (Deagan 2002:6). Artifacts related to needlework and sewing make up 40.9% of all the artifacts recovered from the five sites (Figure 7).



FIGURE 7. Straight Pins from Site 102-124.

Straight Pins

Straight pins are often recovered in large quantities from historical sites of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, attributable in part to the wide array of purposes they served. When utilized in association with needlework or sewing, straight pins were a tool of both men and women who used them to fasten their clothing and to secure headdresses, aprons, veils, pleats, and folds in place. For amateur seamstresses and tailors, straight pins were used as guides for lace-making and devices to join fabrics before stitching them together. In the eighteenth century, the use of pins declined amongst men in place of buttons and buckles while women's clothing continued to be fastened by the combination of pins and lacings for decades after. For members of society who could not afford or access buttons, inexpensive straight pins were used exclusively as makeshift fastenings for their dress (Beaudry 2006). The technology of pin making remained consistent into the nineteenth century with nearly all pins made of brass and some tin-plated. Though simplistic in design, the size of straight pins often distinguished their use. Smaller pins were needed for dress making and tailoring, medium-sized pins were general-purpose for sewing, and dress and larger pins would have been used to fasten clothing (Deagan 2002). Instead of just being used to infer that sewing occurred at a site, straight pins can provide commentary on gender, dress, and class in addition to suggesting what type of needlework was done and if it was employed as an economic outlet.

Straight pins were present in large quantities across the five sites examined with the exception of the late nineteenth-century household, Site 102-82. This is likely a factor of not including heavy fraction in the assemblage rather than the lack of straight pins at

the site as recovery techniques often influence the presence or absence of this, often tiny, artifact. Straight pins make up 38.5% of the overall assemblages and 95.3% of the artifacts related to sewing. Though the majority of the straight pins recovered were fragmented, complete pins were found at each of the sites and provided some detail of their possible use. The most distinctive assemblages of pins came from the mid-eighteenth-century household and one of the late eighteenth-century households. Site 102-124 exhibited numerous medium-sized, tin-plated pins that would have been used in the mending and fastening of clothing, and Site 102-126 had several small dress pins that would have aided in lace-work and embroidery.

Thimbles

Thimbles were common items in households across New England by the eighteenth century. Prior to the Revolution, all thimbles found in America were imported from England where they were mass-manufactured, mainly from metals including gold, silver, pinchbeck, steel, and brass. The first thimbles began being made in America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but no discernible changes were made in their design. Thimbles were made in sizes specific to their intended user and the thimble's intended use. The shape, style, and quality of a thimble could indicate what sewing activity it was designed for as well as whether or not it was to be worn by an adult, woman, or child. The material of a thimble could further distinguish its use by class, with silver and gold thimbles functioning as signifiers of social status. Heavy wear on a thimble could speak to long and intense use, suggesting economic hardship or needlework as an occupation. Although utilitarian, thimbles were "deployed in demonstrations of femininity and social rank as well as in the construction of personal

and social identities” (Beaudry 2006:111). For Native Americans in New England, thimbles were used by colonizers and missionaries alike as a medium for indoctrinating them into Christianity and instilling values of femininity, godliness, and the importance of proper dress. Thimbles were an important component in the construction of dress, but they were also significant for the ways in which they were embedded with information converging fashion, gender, class, and ethnicity (Beaudry 2006).

Thimbles were found in four of the five household assemblages and comprised 2% of the sewing artifacts. The mid-eighteenth-century household, Site 102-124, was the only without a thimble present in its assemblage. Of the four thimbles from the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century households, three were brass while one was made from steel. A child’s size thimble was present at one of the late eighteenth-century households, Site 102-126, and an adult’s size thimble was found at another, Site 102-125.

Shears and Scissors

Cutting implements were essential to sewing and needlework in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and offer a direct tie to textiles when absent from the archaeological record. In relation to dress, these artifacts were used throughout the process of clothing construction to cut yarn, thread, and fabric; to create buttonholes; and to fashion fringes. The main distinction between cutting implements of the period were shears and scissors. Though both have two opposite cutting edges working one against the other, “scissors have blades that pivot on a pin whereas shears operate via a springy bow” (Beaudry 2006:118). Within this dichotomy, shears and scissors were forged for a variety of special purposes and occupations, including but not limited to tailor’s trimmers, dressmaker’s shears, lace scissors, culinary scissors, scissors for personal

hygiene, and surgical scissors. All-purpose utility scissors were also made during this time and varied widely in their function. While not all scissors found in archaeological contexts were used in the appropriate ways for which they were designed, in relation to assemblages of needle or textile work, cutting implements were critical to performing specialized sewing tasks with ease and efficiency. As a characteristically utilitarian artifact, it is difficult to infer the social significance of scissors and shears, but if possible to determine their utility, important information can be gained about the household activities in which they were engaged and the clothing may have created (Beaudry 2006).

Scissors and shears were found at three of the households examined, making up 2.0% of the sewing assemblage. Two sites where the cutting implements were found dated to the late eighteenth century, the other to the mid-eighteenth century. At Site 102-124, a portion of a pair of utility scissors was found that were likely used for work on heavier materials such as cutting cloth. At Site 102-126, two fragments of probable tailor or dressmaker shears were found. At Site 102-123, a portion of a pair of embroidery scissors was recovered.

Articles of Textile Production

Aside from the more recognizable objects previously discussed, many artifacts of textile production go unnoticed or understudied in the archaeological record. In this analysis, this category sought to include “sewing accessories and the ‘findings’ or small details” that were “essential to the completion of a garment or article” (Beaudry 2006:137). The variety of these objects is nearly endless as the process of producing, mending, accenting, and wearing articles of dress encompassed a broad scope of material culture. In identifying these items in the archaeological record, it is important to consider

the many forms they may have taken and what role they may have played in the cultural and social world of dress and dress-making (Beaudry 2006).

Across these sites, only two objects related to articles of textile production were able to be identified, accounting for the remaining 1% of the sewing assemblage. One of these artifacts, a grommet, was found at the early nineteenth-century household, Site 102-82, and would have been used to reinforce holes in fabric through which ribbons would have been thread for fastening. The use of ribbons for fastening links this artifact to female dress during this period. The other artifact is a piece of cordage preserved from the mid-eighteenth-century household, Site 102-124. While the use of this twine was not able to be determined, it provides a rare example of the way this material appeared in the past.

Summary of the Site Assemblages

In this chapter, I categorized the artifacts of adornment and sewing comprising the five assemblages, contextualized them within their historical and social significance with an emphasis on these material's "origins" in certain cultural contexts, and provided a diachronic comparison of their presence, quantity, and variety across the households. In the following chapters, I begin to examine the spatial and material presence of these artifacts at each household in order to infer the choices individuals made in their use, disposal, consumption, and possible redefinition.

CHAPTER 6

SPATIAL INTERPRETATIONS

In this chapter, the spatial analysis discussed in Chapter 4 furthers the interpretation of the distribution of artifacts of adornment and dress at each of the five households. Through an examination of the site maps created by natural neighbor modeling, focus is given to the areas at each household where these objects concentrated. The relationship of these areas to household space, exterior space, and designated places of disposal is determined, and their location is used to ascertain if the artifacts being examined were primarily lost during daily wear and use or deliberately discarded. Particular attention is given to the artifacts found within these areas of high density in an effort to establish their correlation with the overall assemblage and what role they may have played in the life of the individuals who wore them or employed them in their construction of dress. The overall spread of these artifacts across site space is also considered to envision how individuals moved within and around the private household sphere.

Mid-Eighteenth Century

At Site 102-124, the artifacts of adornment and dress clustered mainly in the area surrounding units N184 E1039 and N184 E1040. The area in which these units were located has been identified by Hayden (2012) as a rectangular trash pit located beneath the surface of the weetu (also known as a wigwam) structure (Figure 8).

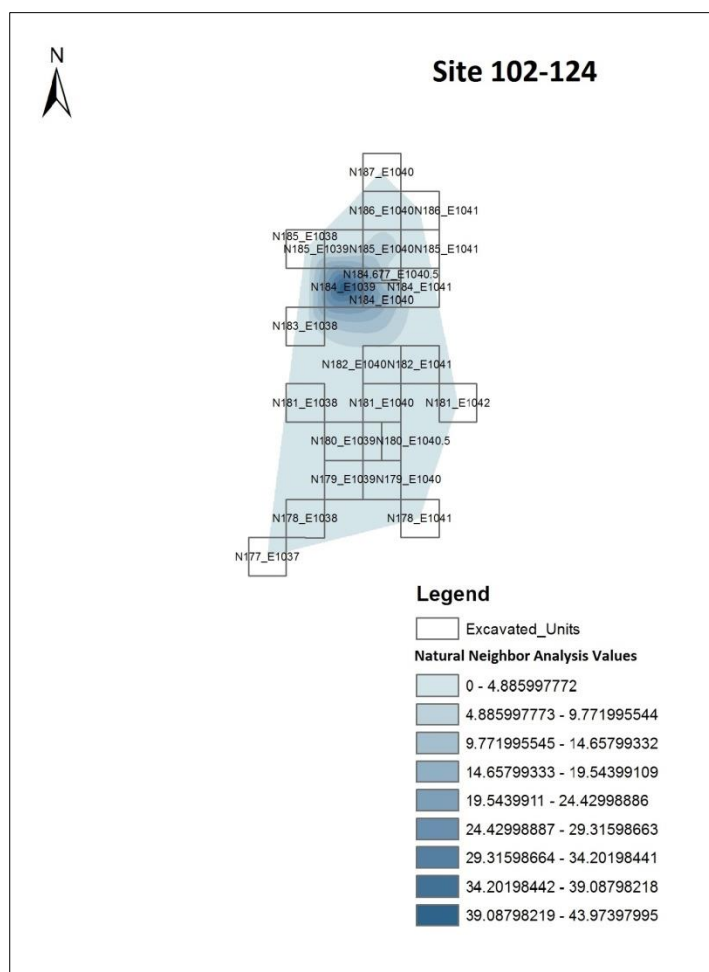


FIGURE 8. Site 102-124 Natural Neighbor Analysis of Artifacts of Adornment and Dress.

This pit was initially filled with food trash and then became significantly rich in domestic artifacts. Due to the location of this area within the household structure, Hayden (2012) suggest that items such as pins, beads, and buttons could potentially have been unintentionally discarded or swept into the pit. The artifacts of adornment and dress found in this feature include a large quantity of straight pins, many of which would have been used in the mending and construction of clothes, and a pair of utility scissors that could have been used for cutting cloth. Additionally, twine, small glass seed beads, and a variety of metal buttons were recovered. The assemblage of these artifacts suggests that,

at some point during its occupation, the construction or maintenance of clothing occurred within the household space. As these artifacts are located in the domestic trash pit along with vessel glass, ceramics, and food remains, it is likely that these objects were deposited into the pit when they became nonfunctional or were swept into it during intermittent cleaning near the area where sewing took place. Across the rest of the site, the spread of artifacts of adornment and dress is relatively consistent, with individual buttons or beads recovered from several units surrounding the structure. In contrast to the artifacts found within the pit, these objects could have come unraveled and fallen off of clothing as individuals moved in and around the house. This interpretation concurs with Hayden's (2012:60) sentiment that the daily activities of individuals at this household occurred "within the house itself and in designated extramural spaces."

The overall assemblage of these materials from Site 102-124 is comprised of mostly sewing remains, further evidencing the likelihood that clothing construction, or mending, was done on a regular basis within the household (Table 6). Mostly all of the straight pins found were of medium to large size, suggesting that they could have been used for general-purpose sewing. Several of these pins were tin-plated and were likely worn as clothing fasteners on the dress of either a man or woman.

Buttons made up all of the other clothing fasteners found at the site, with no buckles or hooks and eyes present in the assemblage. Of these buttons, two were sleeve buttons that would have been used to close the cuffs of shirtsleeves; one, an octagonal copper alloy pair with floral decoration and, the other, a portion of a copper alloy pair with a clear glass jewel paste face. Sleeve buttons were among the least expensive buttons available for purchase at this time and would not be indicative of socioeconomic

status (White 2005). Two stamped, decorative brass-covered buttons also comprised the assemblage, and their size indicated they would have been worn on a coat. The remainder of the buttons were mainly pewter and would have been worn on breeches or a waist-coat. At around the time this house was occupied, pewter buttons had begun to be associated with lower socio-economic classes due to their low-cost and had fallen out of style among the elite. A singular silver-plated button was also present and would have been associated with affluence during this period. The only jewelry in this assemblage was beads, all of which were small to medium glass seed beads that could have been used for embroidery or worn on necklaces and bracelets. Notably, 80% of the beads found were white.

Site 102-124	
<i>Clothing Fasteners</i>	<i>15</i>
Buttons	11
Sleeve Buttons	2
Button Covers	2
<i>Jewelry</i>	<i>10</i>
Beads	10
<i>Sewing</i>	<i>58</i>
Straight Pins	54
Needles	1
Scissors	1
Twine	2
<i>Total</i>	<i>83</i>

TABLE 6. Site 102-124 Assemblage by Category and Type.

Late Eighteenth Century

At Site 102-123, artifacts of adornment and dress were concentrated in an area between the two household structures. Focused around unit N311 E1052, these artifacts were recovered in the highest density from the zone between the northern and southern chimneys of the two houses, directly along their intersecting perimeter. It has previously been determined, through an analysis of architectural materials at the site, that this area

served “as an interior, regularly cleaned space or an exterior space with fewer windows present” (Hollis 2013) (Figure 9).

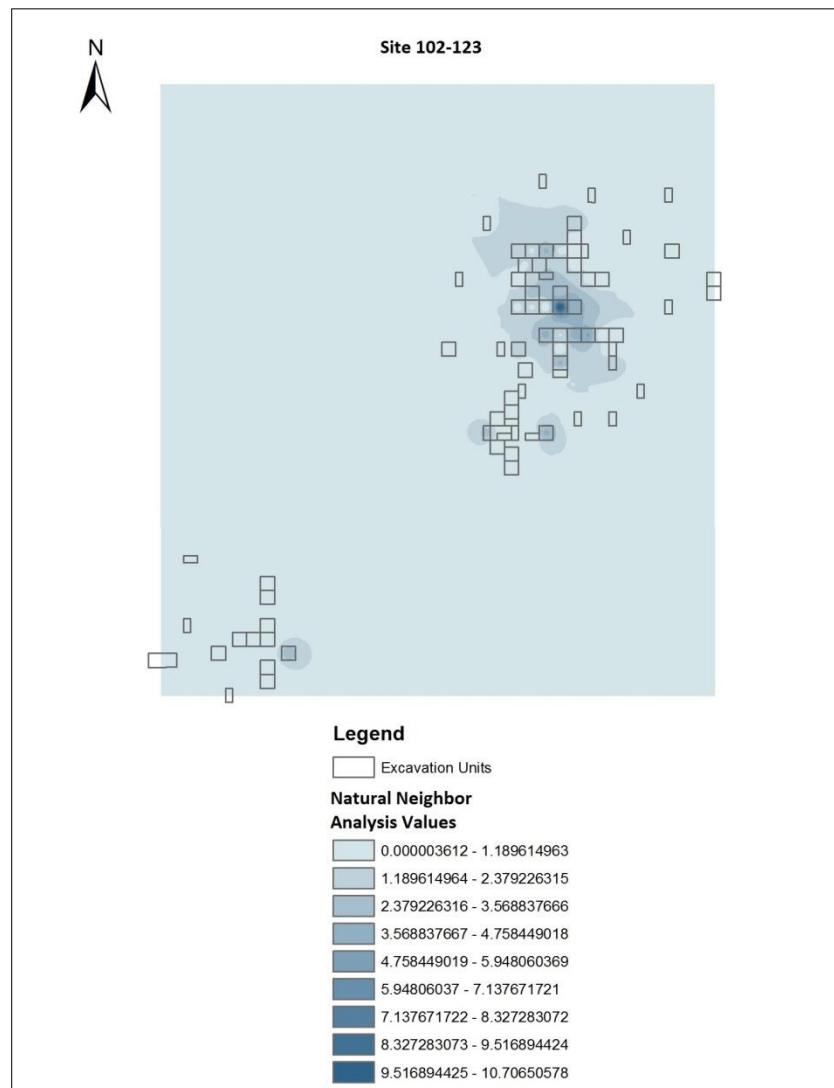


FIGURE 9. Site 102-123 Natural Neighbor Analysis of Artifacts of Adornment and Dress.

The artifacts examined from in and around this locale, consisted of various straight pins, shoe buckle fragments, broken buttons, and an assortment of glass beads. In addition to these artifacts, large shards of vessel glass were also recovered in greater quantities from within this zone (Hollis 2013). The co-occurrence of these domestic

artifacts furthers the interpretation that this area between the two chimneys was likely an interior space. Its location near, but not within, both chimneys makes it possible that during the cleaning of the house floor, objects were swept into one of the hearths nearby and that the artifacts recovered from within this perimeter were the remnants of this act. This idea is evidenced by the fact that “both chimneys show a distinct peak in the amount of artifacts compared to the area between the chimneys” (Hollis 2013:106). Artifacts of dress and adornment that accumulated here reveal what individuals were wearing within the household on a day-to-day basis and could have been disposed of both deliberately and unintentionally. The spread of these artifacts across the rest of the site closely follows the interior of the structures with fewer objects of dress found in the exterior space surrounding the houses. This suggests less outdoor extramural activity than at Site 102-124, which might be expected due to the larger overall household size. The southern house represented a higher concentration of artifacts of adornment than the northern structure, following the overall pattern of artifact recovery at the site (Hollis 2013).

Clothing fasteners make up the majority of the overall assemblage examined from this household, including buttons, buckles, and hooks and eyes. All of the buckles from this assemblage were shoe buckles, including three decorative frames made from pewter and copper alloy. The remaining were portions of shoe buckle chapes. During this period, plain pewter and copper alloy buckles were associated with lower socioeconomic classes, but the decorative style of those examined here would have been common among all classes from 1720-1770 (Whitehead 1996). The buttons from this assemblage were largely plain copper alloy and pewter buttons of various sizes which would have been worn on breeches, sleeves, waistcoats, and coats. A couple of decorative buttons were

found: one sleeve button with a glass paste face and a coat button with a floral design. While pewter buttons were associated with the lower class during this period, copper alloy and glass-paste buttons were particularly fashionable during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Only a brass hook portion of a hook-and-eye set was found and could have been worn on either a man or woman's clothing.

A variety of jewelry and accessories were found at the site including beads, glass pastes, a ring, and a hair ornament. The beads found at this site were nearly all medium-sized glass beads (n=21) in a range of colors including white, red, black, blue and teal. One small metal embroidery bead and two large glass beads that would have been worn on a necklace, bracelet, or in one's hair were additionally found. Two circular, rose-cut glass pastes were also found, one blue and the other purple. This cut, made to imitate diamonds, was popular throughout the eighteenth century, and these pastes could have been worn on buttons and buckles or set in rings and pendants. The ring found at the site was hand-made from silver with a linear engraving; made from a precious metal, it would have been a very valuable and conspicuous item of dress during this era. The last accessory of dress examined from this site was a hair pin with a decorative foliage design that would have been worn to secure hair in a certain style.

Lastly, the sewing assemblage at this site was comprised of straight pins, a portion of a thimble, and a fragment of embroidery scissors (Table 7). Many of the straight pins recovered were fragmented (n=21), but the three that were complete were of medium size and could be used in sewing and dress. The combination of these objects found within the household suggests that individuals were engaging in needlework, possibly the embroidery of various multi-colored glass beads onto their clothing.

Site 102-123	
<i>Clothing Fasteners</i>	30
Buttons	22
Buckles	7
Hooks and eyes	1
<i>Jewelry</i>	26
Beads	23
Glass Pastes	2
Ring	1
<i>Hair Accessories</i>	1
Hair Pin	1
<i>Sewing</i>	26
Straight Pins	24
Thimble	1
Scissors	1
<i>Total</i>	83

TABLE 7. Site 102-123 Assemblage by Category and Type.

Artifacts of adornment and dress at Site 102-126 accumulated largely at two separate areas of the site, differing from the two households previously discussed. Centered on units N116 E652 and N112 E650, these areas respectively represented the cellar of the house and an area of trash dispersal – between the presumed front door and the actual midden deposit – along its southern edge (Figure 10). N116 E652 and the units surrounding it exposed a full-sized and now sediment-filled cellar beneath the house floor (Silliman et al. 2013). Excavation of the cellar uncovered a substantial variety of artifacts related to dress and adornment. In this area, two fragments of tailor or dressmaker shears were recovered, accompanied by a child-size thimble, medium-sized straight pins, and small metal and glass beads that would have been used for embroidery. In addition to the sewing materials, brass shoe buckle fragments, a knee buckle, metal buttons, copper jangler beads, and several jewel pastes were found in the cellar area. Together, these

items suggest that individuals at this household were investing both time and money into creating and maintaining their outward appearance.

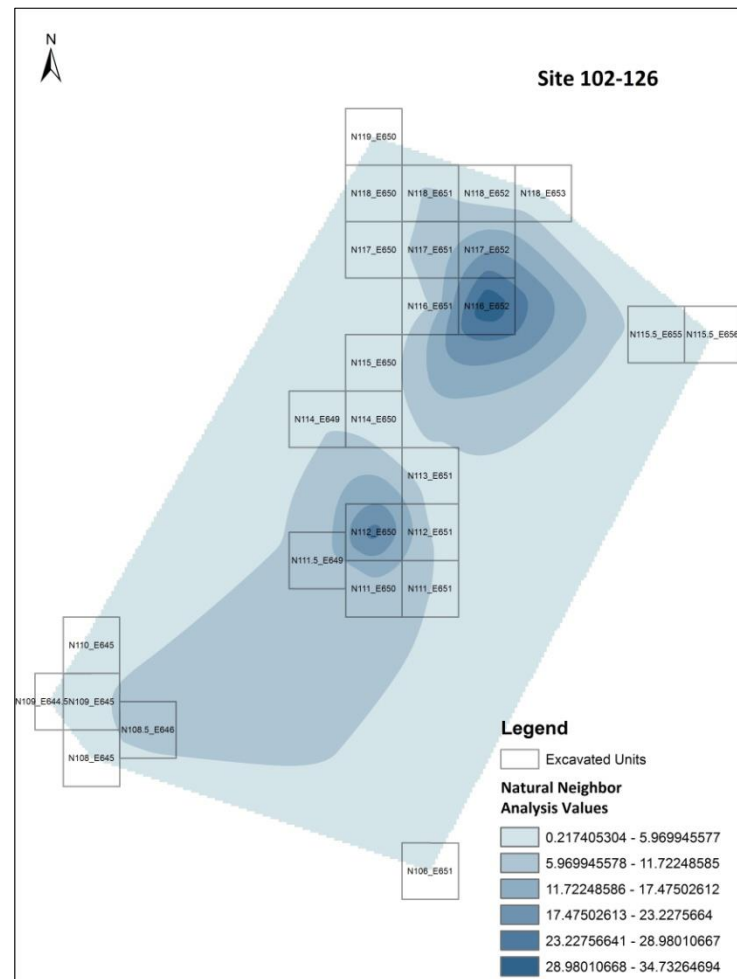


FIGURE 10. Site 102-126 Natural Neighbor Analysis of Artifacts of Adornment and Dress.

This trend is also backed by the artifacts recovered from the area around N112 E650. This unit was located along the foundation wall and offered a view of both the interior and exterior of the southern edge of the structure. Artifacts found in this area indicated that it may have been used for the disposal of ceramics, vessel glass, and other domestic goods while the midden at the site contained mostly food remains for a time (Hunter 2012; Silliman et al. 2013). Artifacts related to dress and adornment in this space

included additional metal buttons, a variety of beads, numerous straight pins, and brass shoe and knee buckles. These artifacts appeared across the remainder of the site in minimal numbers, indicating focalized points of their accumulation in and around the house. The separation of these objects into the two areas likely represents their use, above the cellar, and their disposal, along the southern perimeter.

Like Site 102-124, sewing materials make up the majority of the assemblage of artifacts of adornment and dress examined from Site 102-126 (Table 8). Many of these materials, including the two fragments of tailor or dressmaker shears, a child-size thimble, medium-sized straight pins, and small metal embroidery beads, were found together in the cellar. The combination of these artifacts may have been employed by an individual within this household as a toolkit for needlework. This possibility is furthered by the additional discovery of small straight pins designed for use in lace-making or embroidery, along with more small metal embroidery beads in the area along the southern edge of the house.

Site 102-126	
<i>Clothing Fasteners</i>	52
Buttons	35
Buckles	17
<i>Jewelry</i>	36
Beads	32
Glass Pastes	4
<i>Sewing</i>	86
Straight Pins	83
Thimble	1
Shears	2
<i>Total</i>	174

TABLE 8. Site 102-126 Assemblage by Category and Type.

Other beads found at the site were medium glass beads of various colors that could be worn in jewelry or on clothes, a few large glass beads that would have been worn on jewelry or in one's hair, and three rolled-copper jangler beads that would have been worn on the edges of clothing, bags, or other personal objects. Copper jangler beads were worn as part of a distinctively Native tradition during this period and would have been locally produced. Other jewelry at the site included four glass pastes in purple, green, and colorless. Three of the pastes are detailed to create a diamond-like motif and were probably worn in a pendant, ring, or other form of jewelry while another appears to have been part of a decorative button or buckle design. As at Site 102-123, this style of adornment would have been an extravagant dress accessory associated with members of the upper and middle classes (White 2005; Whitehead 1996). As the historical record during this period describes residents of the Eastern Pequot reservation as "poor and miserable" "half-naked and half-starved," this item of adornment would have challenged Anglo-American accounts of Eastern Pequot dress and defied rigid notions of class construction, purchasing power, and the performance of status during the late eighteenth century (De Forest 1851:442).

Clothing fasteners, consisting of buttons and buckles, also make up a large part of this assemblage. Two military buttons were found, one a colonial militia regiment coat button from the Revolutionary War and, the other, a waistcoat or sleeve button from the Royal or Continental Navy. Other buttons in the assemblage were plain copper alloy and pewter, similar to the make-up of Site 102-123. Most of these buttons would have been worn on waistcoats or breeches while a few were sleeve or coat-size. A singular silver-

plated button was also present and, like Site 102-124, would have been a valuable item associated with affluence during this period.

Numerous buckles and buckle-parts were found at this site, the majority made of brass and copper alloy. Knee and shoe-buckles were found, both of which could have been worn as part of a sailor or soldier's unofficial uniform. All of the shoe buckle frames found featured decoration and would have been considered fashionable up until around 1790 (Whitehead 1996).

Like Site 102-126, artifacts of adornment and dress at Site 102-125 were found in two concentrated locations. These areas correlated with the two feature designations at the site, a hearth and a domestic trash pit (Figure 11). The area surrounding unit N24 E1168 represents the hearth feature, located beneath the chimney fall area that was visible on the site surface. The hearth contained the highest concentration of artifacts at the site and was filled with shellfish and faunal remains in addition to ceramics, vessel glass, and other domestic objects (Hayden 2012). Numerous metal buttons of various sizes were found in the hearth along with straight pins, a thimble, a hook fastener, and the only buckle found at the site. These artifacts would have been swept into the hearth during periodic cleaning of the house floor.

The other feature area centered on unit N24 E1171 is a rectangular subfloor pit that was most likely located within the house structure. This pit was used primarily for domestic trash disposal and the general discarding of objects (Hayden 2012). Like the hearth, this feature contained a range of buttons of multiple sizes and several straight pins. Hayden (2012) suggests that objects were deposited into the pit during a series of cleaning episodes within the structure. Following the overall pattern of artifacts at the

site, the majority of objects related to dress were recovered from feature locations within this household. These objects were completely absent from the remainder of the site, evidencing Hayden's (2012:86) postulation that "daily practices involving these personal and domestic artifacts" were limited to "indoor spaces."

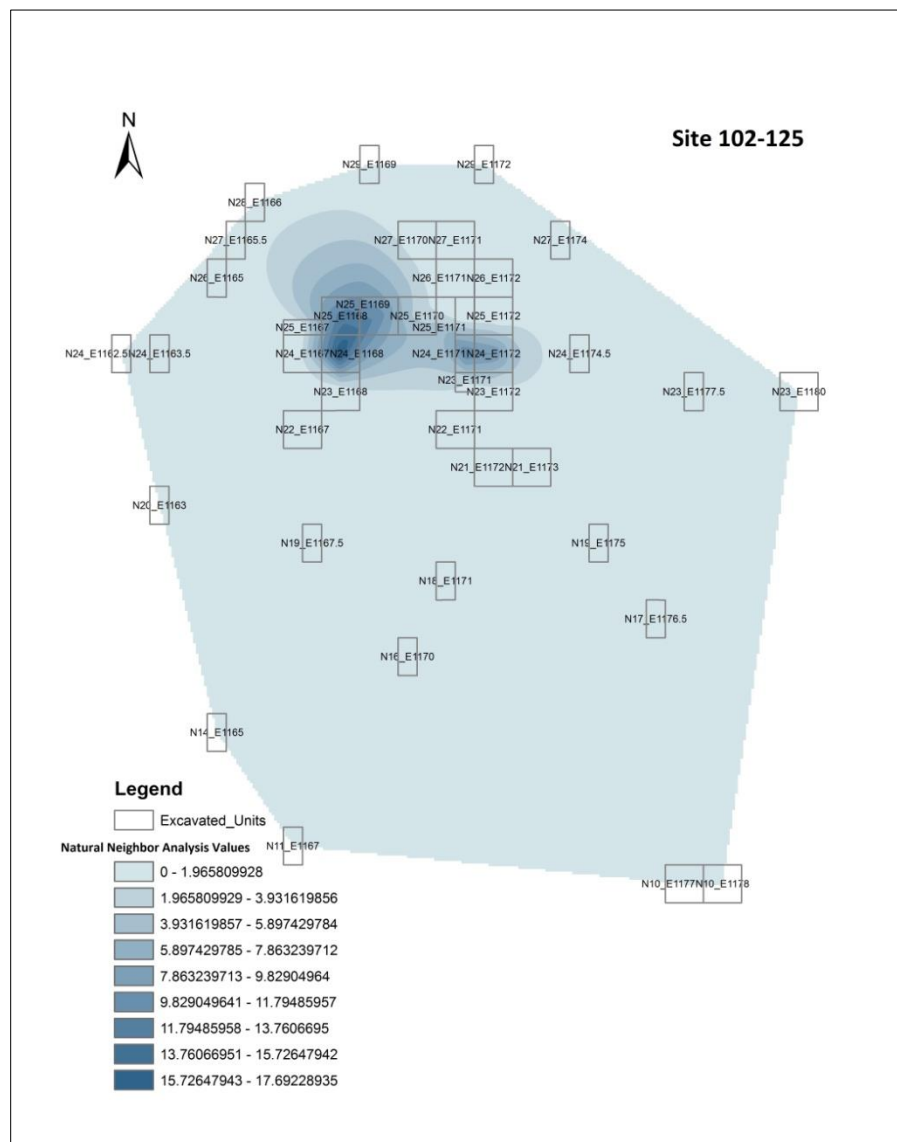


FIGURE 11. Site 102-125 Natural Neighbor Analysis of Artifacts of Adornment and Dress.

The majority of artifacts of dress and adornment examined from this site were buttons (Table 9). All of the complete buttons in the assemblage were copper alloy with

the exception of one pewter button. The copper alloy buttons present were of various sizes and would have been worn on sleeves, waistcoats, breeches, and coats. Only one of these buttons featured any decoration and the rest were plain. The other clothing fasteners found at the site were a single buckle and the hook portion of a hook and eye set. The buckle was utilitarian in function, and the hook and eye could have been worn as a fastener on men or women's clothing.

No jewelry was found at this site, and the only artifacts related to sewing were a thimble and straight pins. The thimble was adult size with floral decoration and moderate wear. The complete straight pins found in this assemblage were of medium-size and could have been used in sewing or as fasteners in daily dress.

Site 102-125	
<i>Clothing Fasteners</i>	50
Buttons	48
Buckles	1
Hook	1
<i>Sewing</i>	23
Straight Pins	22
Thimble	1
<i>Total</i>	73

TABLE 9. Site 102-125 Assemblage by Category and Type.

Early Nineteenth Century

At Site 102-82, the artifacts of adornment and dress were recovered largely from two excavation units located inside the house foundation. These units, Foundation Southeast Quad and Foundation Upper East, were situated along the cellar and the ground floor of the house, respectively (Figure 12). Excavation in Foundation South East Quad quartered the standing cellar of the house. The material culture found in the cellar

reflected architectural remains of the house and an assortment of domestic trash including ceramics, vessel glass, pipes, lithic tools, and adornment artifacts. The latter objects included metal buttons of various sizes, a small bone button, small and large metal and glass beads, a straight pin, the only buckle found at the site, and various hooks and eyes fasteners. No trash pit was discovered during excavation of the cellar and the majority of these artifacts were complete when found, suggesting that they may have fallen off clothing into the cellar and become unintentionally lost. A similar pattern of adornment and dress artifacts was found during excavation of an area beneath what was likely a wooden house floor. The unit in this area, Foundation Upper East, occupied the entirety of the upper foundation of the house outside of the chimney collapse and sought to capture any materials that may have fallen through the floorboards into the space or determine any areas in its proximity used for storage or disposal.

Like the cellar, excavation beneath the house floor recovered metal buttons, glass beads, straight pins, and hooks and eyes fasteners, nearly all complete. Also present were a hand-carved soapstone pendant, likely 5,000-3,000 years old in manufacture along with fragments of brass chains and a grommet that would have been adhered to an article of women's dress. The presence of the exceedingly rare soapstone pendant, along with the fragments of brass chains which would have been costly during this period, suggests that these items, and potentially the other adornment, were not placed here for disposal but rather may have been stored in this area or accidentally left behind. All but two of the beads at the site were recovered from the house units, as well as nearly all of the buttons, all of the jewelry, straight pins, and the only buckle. The dearth of these materials in the midden, while the recovery of other domestic trash was plentiful, implies that if an area

for dress-specific discard existed within or around the household space, it was either not located or these objects were sparsely discarded intentionally.

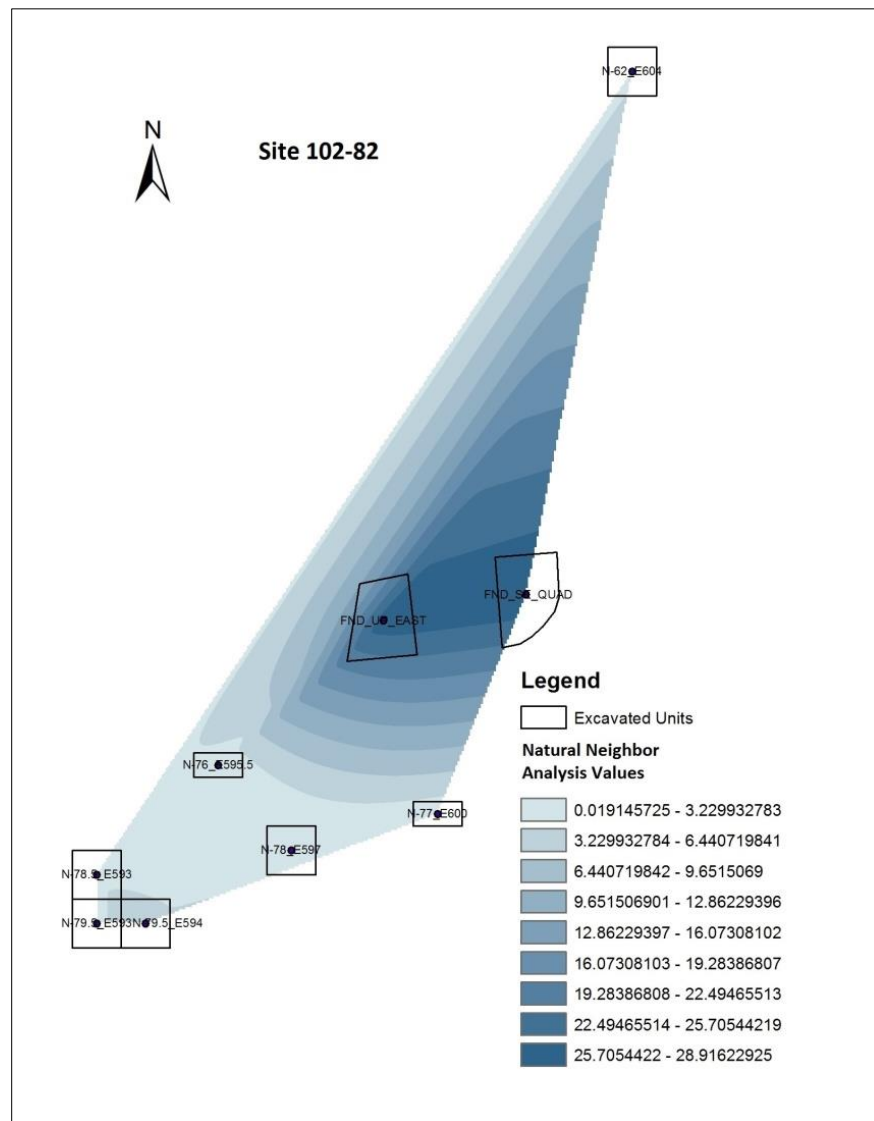


FIGURE 12. Site 102-82 Natural Neighbor Analysis of Artifacts of Adornment and Dress.

Buttons make up over half of the artifacts of dress and adornment recovered from this site (Table 10). Though mostly copper alloy (n=28), the buttons present were also made from pewter, tombac, shell, and bone, representing more variety than at any other site examined. Several of the copper alloy buttons were decorative and cast with floral

and geometric designs. Four of these buttons also featured backstamps detailing their manufacture, indicating they were once gilded and corresponding with the rise of the local button-making industry in Connecticut. All of the metal buttons varied in size and would have been worn on sleeves, breeches, waistcoats, and coats. The bone buttons identified were used as inexpensive sew-through buttons worn as fasteners on men's shirts and underwear and as a button mold for a textile-covered or stamped metal-covered piece that would have been worn at the sleeve. The two shell buttons found were both sew-through and would have been fairly expensive during this period. Their size indicates they were worn as small shirt buttons.

Site 102-82	
<i>Clothing Fasteners</i>	48
Buttons	38
Hooks and Eyes	9
Buckles	1
<i>Jewelry</i>	15
Beads	14
Pendant	1
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	2
Chains	2
<i>Sewing</i>	5
Straight Pins	3
Thimble	1
Grommet	1
<i>Total</i>	70

TABLE 10. Site 102-82 Assemblage by Category and Type.

Other clothing fasteners include a possible iron belt or sword buckle and the largest quantity of hooks and eyes fasteners recovered from any of the sites. All of the hooks and eyes found were hand-forged from copper-alloy. During the early nineteenth century women were beginning to incorporate buttons as fasteners into their daily dress, but hooks and eyes were still used to secure both men and women's clothing.

Artifacts related to sewing were recovered in the lowest amount from this site, but likely as a result of the exclusion of heavy fraction from this assemblage rather than the non-occurrence of needlework activity since a thimble was found within the household. The three straight pins recovered varied in size from small to large and would have been used in detailed needlework and general sewing activities as well as the fastening of clothes. The final sewing artifact in this assemblage, a grommet, would have been a finishing element in clothing and textile production. The copper alloy piece would have been used, only on women's clothing, to reinforce holes in fabric through which ribbons or lace would have been thread for fastening. This artifact would have been found on a woman's corset or another article of female dress.

In addition to the soapstone pendant, beads comprised the remainder of the jewelry at this site. Medium and large glass beads that could have adorned clothing, jewelry, or hair were found in an assortment of colors. Two copper mold-pressed beads that would have been worn on the edges of clothing or in jewelry were also found and may have been chosen for their resemblance to jangler beads. The portions of hand-forged copper chains were the only artifact belonging to the miscellaneous category and could have been worn around one's neck or attached to a variety of waist-hung appendages.

In this discussion on the recovery of artifacts of adornment and dress, the importance of the inclusion of heavy fraction sampling in analyses of clothing from historical archaeology assemblages must be stressed. Without the inclusion of heavy fraction samples from the sites in this study, findings related to embroidery, needlework, and beads would have been difficult to discern or skewed by perception (Table 11). This

notion is evidenced by the assemblage of Site 102-82. The minimal number of sewing materials recovered from this site is likely a result of the omission of heavy fraction samples, and their inclusion in a future study could provide a very different interpretation of clothing and activities related to dress within this household. In this analysis, the areas in and around domestic trash pits, hearths, cellars, and chimneys exhibited concentrations of these artifacts and should be focal points for sampling in additional work.

	Total Artifacts Overall (HF)	Total Artifacts of P.A. (HF)	Percentage of P.A. Artifacts in HF	Total HF Samples Taken	Total Number of Samples with P.A. Artifacts	Percentage of Samples with P.A. Artifacts
Site 102-123	4430	31	.70%	109	17	15.60%
Site 102-124	1414	19	1.34%	9	4	44.44%
Site 102-125	1345	33	2.45%	34	10	29.41%
Site 102-126	12697	99	.78%	118	37	31.36%

TABLE 11. Percentage of Personal Adornment Artifacts from Heavy Fraction.

Summary of Spatial and Material Variation

The spread of these artifacts at each site was distinctive with a few observable commonalities. At Sites 102-124 and 102-125, artifacts of dress and adornment were found in the highest density associated with household features used for disposal, including domestic trash pits and a hearth. At Site 102-123, these artifacts also clustered indoors around two chimney areas that were presumably used for domestic disposal. At Site 102-126, artifacts related to adornment and sewing were found associated with the interior and exterior of the household, in an area of possible use and another of disposal. At Site 102-82, no clear area for the disposal of these artifacts was defined, but two areas within the household may have represented their unintended loss and their intentional

storage. Sites 102-124 and 102-126 were the only sites in which these artifacts were found in considerable quantities outside of interior household space. The next chapter builds on these spatial interpretations through a material analysis focused on what these artifacts of adornment and dress, utilized, lost, and discarded across the five sites reveal about the lives of the residents within these households.

CHAPTER 7

TEMPORAL AND CORPOREAL NEGOTIATION

This chapter intertwines the historical, social, and spatial backdrops of each household examined in order to provide a textured reading of the artifacts of adornment and sewing present at each site. The particularistic, site-specific contextual data outlined in previous chapters is employed here to determine how the artifacts of dress and adornment found at the five sites are a reflection of individual consumption and affiliation as well as how they may have been affected by changes in the demography of the reservation community, restricted market connections, and overarching local and global conditions. The assemblages of these artifacts at each household are explored diachronically and synchronically to observe any changes in fashion on the reservation throughout the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century and to highlight the individuality of dress in households occupied during the same period.

Site 102-124 is the only site examined in this study dating to the period prior to the Revolution. As evidenced by Mary Momoho's petitions, during this era the community was being exploited and underserved by overseers assigned by the state to manage their land and economic transactions. In addition to this, the French and Indian War continued to displace and relocate male members of the community, and persistent encroachment on reservation land challenged agricultural practices and seasonal foraging. Children in the community were largely working off the reservation in indentured

servitude arrangements while women made up the majority of the reservation demography and participated in wage labor and various other sources of work to supplement their income. These and other colonial restraints affected the economic activities of the Eastern Pequot during this period. Previous research at this household has indicated that these restrictions did not encumber its inhabitant's participation in the local economy but possibly narrowed the choices of consumer goods available to them (Silliman and Witt 2010).

In addition to the presence of artifacts related to clothing construction and repair at Site 102-124, the makeup of this assemblage suggests that one of its site inhabitants was male. The clothing associated with the buttons in this assemblage would have only been worn by men during this period while women's clothing was predominately secured by straight pins or hooks and eyes. Unless the buttons were repurposed for women's clothing or worn on garments for which they were not intended, their appearance at the weetu, primarily in the trash pit, would indicate that a man resided within the household. However, the possibility exists that a woman living in the weetu was mending the clothing of a male neighbor, as a favor, or as an additional source of income. The buttons at this site also speak to the socioeconomic status of its residents. More than half of the buttons (n=10) were pewter or sleeve buttons, the least expensive during the period. However, the presence of the silver-plated button and two stamped brass-covered buttons indicate instances of high-value consumption, and these objects would have been associated with status when worn. Again, an individual within the household may have been mending the clothing of someone else on or near the reservation, but the presence of these few high-value goods is in accord with previous work done on the consumption of

market goods at this site (Silliman and Witt 2010). Artifacts of adornment and dress at Site 102-124 suggest that the individuals living in the household, possibly male and female, were choosing to make select purchases of adornment linked to high-status while participating in the active construction and upkeep of their social display (Figure 13).



FIGURE 13. Site 102-124 Representative Assemblage.

Site 102-123 is one of the three sites examined occupied during the late eighteenth century. This household saw the end of the French and Indian War and the tenure of the American Revolution. Following the subsequent decades of colonial wars, Native Americans in southern New England were faced with worsening poverty and a fractured social fabric as they attempted to rebuild their communities after losing many men in battle. The remaining men often had to seek transient employment away from the reservation, further disrupting social and economic circumstances. Children in these

communities were growing up in indentured servitude while women, for the most part, remained on the reservation and became employed as wage laborers on farms and in houses, often finding additional ways to supplement their income. Previous research at this site has shown that despite being marginalized as part of the lower socioeconomic class, members of Eastern Pequot households were finding new ways to hold on to their identity while being active participants in the burgeoning market economy (Silliman 2009; Silliman and Witt 2010).

The assemblage of artifacts of dress and adornment from Site 102-123 features several items of dress that would have been associated with status and high-class in late eighteenth-century southern New England. The silver ring, along with the fashionable buckles, buttons, and glass pastes, would have been valuable items during this period and were generally associated with the middle and upper classes. The hair ornament, the array of colored glass beads, and the potential embroidery kit present speak to an enduring tradition of Eastern Pequot practices and could have been used by individuals in this household as a way to redefine their European dress and retain their individual expression (Figure 14). The large quantity of buttons found at the site suggests that a male individual was part of this household while the glass pastes, ring, and hair ornament may signify a female. The associations of these materials with gender are rooted in the dominant Anglo-American culture of the period, and it is possible that such confinements on dress were not adhered to on the reservation. Together, these findings indicate that the residents at Site 102-123 consumed objects and continued practices of their choice in order to define their own status outside of Anglo-American conceptions of class and to renegotiate European dress in a way that maintained their facets of individuality. This

conclusion concurs with previous research detailing this household's extensive engagement with the local economy and their chosen continuation of practices linked to cultural identity (Hunter 2012; Silliman and Witt 2010; Witt 2007).



FIGURE 14. Site 102-123 Representative Assemblage.

Site 102-126 is the second of the late eighteenth century sites examined and was inhabited shortly after Site 102-123. This house was occupied in the period after the French and Indian War but, like Site 102-123, its inhabitants lived through the Revolutionary War and experienced its after-effects on Native communities in New England during the early modern period. Previous research at this site found that its residents had coastal ties and either a desire or need to consume shellfish for subsistence that decreased over time (Hunter 2012).

The assemblage of adornment and dress at Site 102-126 speaks to the labor, gender, ethnicity, and social display of its occupants. The presence of the regiment button

indicates that a male within this household was likely one of the Eastern Pequot men who voluntarily fought for the Euro-American settlers during the Revolutionary War. The Navy button signifies that the same man, or another within the household, either joined or was impressed into service for the Navy before, during or after the war. In both cases, the individual serving would have spent long periods of time away in battle and at sea, often in perilous and undesirable circumstances. However, these buttons serve as evidence that this individual, or these individuals, returned home to the reservation and their families after service. There is a possibility that the early reliance on shellfish observed at this site corresponds with the period in which these individuals were away.

The number of artifacts related to needlework and embroidery in this assemblage suggests that another individual within this household was frequently adding beads to their own clothing, employing this skill as a form of income, or perhaps both. The copper jangler beads show continuity in the Native tradition of hand-making this adornment and adhering it to clothing and other personal objects. Several items of value, including the silver-plated button, glass pastes, and decorative buckles, indicate consumption against dominant societal divisions. The Eastern Pequot individuals at this site were actively participating in the changing world and economy around them while maintaining their sense of self (Figure 15).



FIGURE 15. Site 102-126 Representative Assemblage.

Site 102-125, the last late eighteenth-century site examined in this study, closely follows the occupation of Site 102-126. Previous research at this site has indicated that daily practices involving personal artifacts were confined to indoor spaces within the household (Hayden 2012).

The artifacts of adornment and dress found at this site represent a very basic assemblage with little embellishment (Figure 16). Though mostly plain, the copper alloy buttons in this assemblage would have been fashionable in the late eighteenth century. Pewter buttons, though inexpensive, had fallen out of style in this period, and their minimal presence at Site 102-125 may reflect this trend. By the turn of the eighteenth century, buckles too had also become unfashionable and may be the reason for their absence in this assemblage. The limited sewing materials at this site were likely used for occasional clothing repair and upkeep. As none of the artifacts examined are directly

related to female dress, it is possible that a male was present at this site. Native sailors who spent months or years at sea would have been forced to perform all domestic tasks normally associated with women, such as the sewing, mending, and the occasional embroidery of clothing (Beaudry 2006). It is possible that this assemblage represents an Eastern Pequot male, employed as a sailor and engaging in sewing to produce and mend his own clothing. Alternatively, this assemblage could have resulted from an Eastern Pequot woman transitioning to buttons as fasteners, against societal expectations, or a household of individuals making economically-limited but socially-conscious choices in their daily dress.



FIGURE 16. Site 102-125 Representative Assemblage.

Site 102-82 is the only early nineteenth-century site included in this study. Material culture found at this site suggests that it was inhabited during the first few decades of the nineteenth century and overlapped with the end of Site 102-125's

occupation. During this period, the employment of Native men, women, and children in New England continued to be limited to transient, indentured, and unskilled wage labor. Attacks on their identity had become increasingly racialized as the class system, opened to all ranks of Anglo-Americans in the decades after the Revolutionary War, remained inaccessible for people of “color” in the early modern society. Reservations in southern New England had been pushed to the margins of the local landscape but remained critical sites of freedom for Native American communities and provided flexibility and autonomy from the abrasive regional economy. Informal styles of “undress” were gaining acceptance in American society and individuals across social divisions increasingly used accessories and unique details of dress to portray a sense of self. The early industrial era began to take shape and spurred on the variety and availability of goods, including those related to dress. As the Eastern Pequot continued to use, and occasionally to redefine, European goods in their everyday life, they maintained their sense of identity rooted in their homeland.

The vibrant combination of adornment present in the assemblage from Site 102-82 furthers the idea that its residents were renegotiating their dress while maintaining a strong connection to their identity and homeland (Figure 17). The makeup of this assemblage overall closely follows changing trends in fashion, with a limited number of pewter buttons and shoe buckles, alongside the presence of brass chains, a grommet, an array of hooks and eyes fasteners, and manufactured buttons of an assortment of styles and materials. Several of these purchases would have been fine articles of dress during this period and imply that residents of this site creatively consumed items that challenged their economic, racial, and social marginalization. Finally, and most notably, the origin of

the soapstone pendant recovered along the foundation wall in this household is indeterminate and could have been found and collected from the reservation landscape or passed down through generations of Eastern Pequot families. Though the latter is unlikely, following Weiner (1992) and White (1992), there is precedence for ornaments made of durable materials persisting “beyond a single human life span, creating intergenerational continuities in identities and social distinctions...to exteriorize assertions about social identity that might be controversial or contested as a verbal statement” (Joyce 2005:143). This object was undoubtedly very personal to the inhabitants of this site and could have embodied the assertions of their continual tie to their ancestors, their tribal affiliation and their homeland in the face of increased assaults on their Native identity in the early nineteenth century.



FIGURE 17. Site 102-82 Representative Assemblage.

Conclusions on Embodiment

Upon revisiting Dwight's account after examining the archaeological evidence of adornment and dress at Eastern Pequot households of the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century, it is made evident that his claim of the "fondness for [English] dress" being "remarkable...among such as still continue in a savage state" misrepresented the individuals he encountered that day on the Lantern Hill Reservation as its inhabitants were widely and creatively negotiating artifacts of European adornment for decades prior to his arrival (Dwight 1823:21). The assemblages of adornment and dress found at these five households on the reservation show that Eastern Pequot individuals were acquiring and embracing European dress, on their own terms, to navigate the regional economy and to move around the racially contentious landscape of southern New England. While in his flattened and frozen portrayal, Dwight (1823:19) details how the "poor, degraded miserable race of beings" had isolated themselves from civil society, these artifacts highlight the ways in which the Eastern Pequot were a critical part of the colonial and early modern world. Though confined to the transient work allotted to them due to the racialization of the class system in early America, and unable to derive many resources from their rather marginal reservation land, Eastern Pequot individuals labored as soldiers, sailors, and seamstresses. As a marginalized group and part of the working class, they challenged the dominant ideology of social rank embedded within their daily dress through the consumption of adornment outside of their expected means and wore the clothing they selected in ways that maintained their expressions of individuality.

Although the persistence and reformulation of Native traditions, such as the adornment of janglers on the ends of clothes, the embellishment of hair, intricate beaded embroidery, and the inclusion of the soapstone pendant, indicate that ethnicity was, at times, an important factor in this embodied appearance, these materials varied across site and by decade. Gender, occupation, trends in fashion, and economic access converged with ethnicity in the processes of identity negotiation at the five households. The distinctive assemblages were created through individual participation in labor across the regional landscape, the personal construction and embellishment of clothing, an engagement with their own cultural traditions, and consumer choices within the burgeoning market economy.

This conclusion does not discount Patton's (2007:95) previous finding that "the ability to choose what was worn, as well as what was worn over, is clearly not a simple matter for the Eastern Pequot" as it is crucial to this work to stress that economic activity on the reservation was constrained by various strategies of colonial control and surveillance as well as institutionalized prejudices of the early modern world. However, as Patton (2007:95) found that Eastern Pequot clothing "remained very similar over the 100 years" examined in his work, this study conversely observed distinguishable material variation in these artifacts across households from the same period, and developments in dress over time that follow local and global trends throughout a ninety-year period.

Discernible through material traces of dress and adornment, the embodiment of Eastern Pequot identity was worn alongside other facets of individuality distinctive to each household examined. The recovery of these materials from the reservation retraces the movement of Eastern Pequot individuals around their household space and aids in the

recreation of their everyday acts related to bodily presentation and identity negotiation, but more importantly it speaks to their ongoing presence on their homeland and continued engagement with their surrounding community. These items examined were used to adorn, dress, and construct the appearance of bodies that were subject to ethnic marginalization, the projection of various prejudices, and the racial mythology of the early modern world. The embodied experience of Eastern Pequot individuals in their navigation of this power-laden landscape was shaped by the objects of adornment they consumed and the manner of dress they employed. Through social strategies of camouflage, subtle and individual negotiations of dress, and embodied acts of agency through consumption, members of these Eastern Pequot households molded the ways in which their bodies were viewed by others and themselves, controlling and forging their own identity in a period when it was under attack.

Several other conclusions about Eastern Pequot life during the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries can be drawn from this analysis of adornment and dress. Though Eastern Pequot men may have been laboring away from their homes as whalers, soldiers, and sailors during this period, the remnants of their dress within these household suggests that their presence on and return to the reservation is incontestable. The prevalence of artifacts related to clothing manufacture, maintenance, and creation at each of the sites examined suggests that this practice was prevalent within the community and could have functioned as either an important social or economic activity dependent upon context. Lastly, the soapstone pendant found at the early nineteenth-century household indicates that the intergenerational transmission of bodily ornaments, or at least sentiments about them, linked the site inhabitants to Eastern Pequot ancestors and their

homeland, and could have been a powerful statement of “residence” on the reservation (Silliman and Witt 2010:65).

The racial ideology of the colonial and early modern period perpetuated by authors such as Dwight has been used in history and present-day narrative to erase or deny Indian identity. As discourses of race and indigenous rights in New England today have significant impacts on the future of Native communities such as the Eastern Pequot, the stories of how they maintained their identity in the past have become central to dispelling myths of Indian disappearance in the present (Cramer 2006; Den Ouden 2005; Den Ouden and O’Brien 2013). In what has been coined the “Connecticut effect,” the gaming successes of tribes such as the Mohegan and Mashantucket Pequot have been met with public backlash across New England. Resentment against their success, coupled with the unrelenting colonial view of American Indians as “poor, lazy, and primitive” have resulted in the trope of the “casino Indian,” used to further a widespread belief that affluent and successful individuals cannot be “real” Indians (Cattelino 2008; Cramer 2006:315). This attack has been extended to the federal recognition bids of other tribal nations in the region who have been chastised with racial notions and myths related to appearance which they are expected to adhere.

This racialized context of federal recognition has been detrimental for tribal nations seeking recognition nationwide, but especially for the Eastern Pequot, whose federal acknowledgment petition was consistently and successfully derailed by appeals against their “authenticity” filed by the State of Connecticut and surrounding towns (Cramer 2006; Den Ouden and O’Brien 2013; Jones and Sebastian Dring 2013). The plight of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation demonstrates that official denials of federal

acknowledgment based on inconsistent findings that trivialize and discredit Native Americans' appearance, cultures, identities, and histories are equivalent to "administrative genocide" and that this eradication has its roots deep within colonial history and mentality (Den Ouden and O'Brien 2013:5). In the same vein that Dwight projected his own highly stereotyped representation of the Eastern Pequot of the early nineteenth century in order to assert his own modernity and silence their story of struggle and survival, the racial attacks faced by the Eastern Pequot today are an attempt to deny their rightful sovereignty and their place in the modern world. Through sustained assaults on their identity and appearance, residents and political officials in contemporary Connecticut and the greater New England region have continued a colonial diversionary discourse focused on critiquing the racial and cultural legitimacy of tribes rather than redressing the grave injustices they have suffered throughout colonial and American history. In addition to their struggles for sovereignty, the Eastern Pequot, and other Native groups across New England and the U.S., are still faced with everyday acts of racism through the cultural appropriation of their dress, the use of their stereotyped image as various mascots, and outsider judgements on what they should and do choose to wear. These acts reveal that the prejudice endured by the Eastern Pequot in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is still intertwined in the present-day through the flawed federal acknowledgement process and daily acts of marginalization.

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