POTSHERDS AND PEOPLE: CONSIDERING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN

CERAMICS AND IDENTITY AT THE EASTERN PEQUOT TRIBAL NATION

RESERVATION, NORTH STONINGTON, CONNECTICUT

A Thesis Presented

by

JULIE ANN MCNEIL

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Approved as to style and content by:

_____
Stephen W. Silliman, Assistant Professor
Chairperson of Committee

_____
Amy Den Ouden, Assistant Professor
Member

_____
Stephen A. Mrozowski, Professor
Member

_____
Stephen W. Silliman, Program Director
Historical Archaeology Program

ABSTRACT

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RESERVATION, NORTH STONINGTON, CONNECTICUT

June 2005

Julie Ann McNeil, B.A., Smith College
M.A., University of Massachusetts Boston

Directed by Professor Stephen W. Silliman

Often, "historical" studies of Native peoples and their material culture have been used to show or prove a perceived or presumed process of acculturation that occurred during the European colonization of North America (Rubertone, 2000: 430). The underlying assumption here is that as Native Americans more intensively consumed and utilized goods produced and acquired from European colonists, they somehow became more European than Native American. In utilizing a commodity, so the narrative goes, they chose an identity. To measure degrees of acculturation through artifacts presumes the analyst's ability to know in the first place what it is to be Native American. Often, this knowledge is informed by the panoply of essentialist stereotypes created by Europeans for Europeans as descriptions of the peoples they first encountered in North America. Some of these remain as salient in the 21st century in public opinion and in academic practice as they did four hundred years ago.

Archaeology conducted at the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation's Reservation in North Stonington, Connecticut, challenges this single-sided notion of cultural acquisition. Historical documentation has shown that this reservation has been continuously occupied

by members of the Eastern Pequot community for more than three centuries. The remains of domestic dwellings on the reservation allowed for archaeological research that takes into consideration the past daily practices of members of this community. Analysis of the ceramic assemblages associated with some of these former homes shows how members of this Native American community integrated European produced ceramic wares into their homes and daily routines while still maintaining their identities as Eastern Pequots.

Ceramics collected from a survey of the NW quadrant of the reservation were analyzed and classified according to a number of attributes that addressed ceramic type, economic/consumer value, possible date range, possible use(s) and also potential reasons for destruction and interment; as all of these aspects may contribute to an understanding of the households at this site. The analysis represents the results from the full assemblage of 2,054 ceramic sherds from 232 shovel-test-pit-units. These ceramics were diverse in their types, but 95% of these ceramics were earthenwares. Over half of the ceramics in this assemblage came from just 9 STP units, all of which were closely related to one or more foundation remnants in three distinct regions of the quadrant. The three sub-assemblages of artifacts were somewhat similar in content to each other and with the larger assemblage, yet each area exhibited some unique differences. The use of these European ceramics by the Eastern Pequot people shows that members of this community were actively partaking in the emerging colonial economy and society. However, the deposition of these artifacts on the the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation's reservation, in a small group or sub-community of households, indicates how strongly these same people were tied to their own smaller society, to their defining Eastern Pequot identity.

DEDICATIONS

This work is dedicated to my grandparents who have always inspired me and supported my dreams.

In loving memory of:

Robert Farrow
and
Helen E. McNeil

and
with love to:

Rita Farrow
and
James T. McNeil

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Recently, Patricia Rubertone argued that "historical archaeology's ability to produce more inclusive understandings of America's past…rests on its access to multiple sources of evidence and the vision to use these more critically, more rigorously, and more imaginatively" (Rubertone, 2000: 426). This comment is particularly salient when considering the past realities of modern Native American cultures and communities. Historical archaeologists cannot be content to accept what has been written thus far about Native American pasts as the reality of these past experiences. As our field has developed, so have our capabilities to re-engage with and move beyond more standard readings and interpretations of the written documentation and artifacts from the colonial past—the material cultural remains which must now represent the multitude of experiences that comprised the colonial experiences of these disenfranchised peoples. In light of critiques mounted by Native and non-Native scholars over the past several decades, archaeologists and anthropologists attempting to understand the complexity of Native identities in the colonial period are compelled to examine a variety of sources and evidence—including artifacts, documents, oral histories, and ethnographies—and to reconsider the ways in which material cultural remains may reflect or obscure the colonial experiences of indigenous peoples.

Often, "historical" studies of Native peoples and their material culture have been used to show or prove a perceived or presumed process of acculturation that occurred

during the European colonization of North America (Rubertone, 2000: 430). By engaging with the archaeological record and interpreting it in this manner, we perpetuate the myth that there are no "real" Native Americans left in the United States. The underlying assumption here is that as Native Americans more intensively consumed and utilized goods produced and acquired from European colonists, they somehow became more European than Native American. In utilizing a commodity, so the narrative goes, they chose an identity. To measure degrees of acculturation through artifacts presumes the analyst's ability to know in the first place what it is to be Native American. Often, this knowledge is informed by the panoply of essentialist stereotypes created by Europeans for Europeans as descriptions of the peoples they first encountered in North America.

Though many anthropologists have wholly discredited acculturation models for decades, the power of these models outside of the discipline is still potent (Caulfield, 1969: 185-187, 199; Clemmer, 1969: 214-223). Some of the stereotypes generated by these models remain as salient in the 21st century in public opinion and in academic practice as they did four hundred years ago. The challenge to the discipline of historical archaeology then is to not consider artifacts as quantitative indicators of identity, but rather to use material culture as one evidential strand in the process of understanding the creation and maintenance of personal and community identity (Rubertone, 2000: 439-440).

The concept of "community" is multi-dimensional and operates at a number of levels. It may be expressed at an individual level, through social interactions, dress and

practices. Likewise, identity may also contribute to and give further meaning in larger group settings. Community identity is created in both the sphere of the private and the public. In my discussions of the Eastern Pequot, I am referring to a community that is created through social ties; a people who share a land base and its resources, but who are also bound through kinship ties and a shared historical experience (A. Den Ouden, personal communication).

Individuals within this community have accepted, incorporated, embodied, enacted and created this shared identity consciously and subconsciously in their daily routines and interactions throughout this shared historical experience. The history of colonialism in North America often forced Native peoples to re-negotiate the formations of their communities, but it did not weaken the ties that bound the communities (Sider, 1978: 16-17). Rather, the collective experiences of coerced labor, poverty, and struggles asserted on Native peoples by the dominating colonial culture often greatly strengthened the communities and shared community identities of Native Americans, including the Eastern Pequot (Sider, 1997: 73, 76; Sider, 1987: 15-18).

For Native Americans, the persistence and acknowledgement of their identities as Native peoples have been a continual struggle from and through European contact in and colonization of the Americas. They have continually borne political pressure and attempts to destroy their communities and eradicate their cultural identities. Yet, as aspects of their culture and daily living circumstances transformed, Native peoples have still continued to assert their unique identities through the strong intra-tribal community bonds and connections which have persisted throughout their colonial struggle. Southern

New England hosts a number of Native communities whose identities as Native people have withstood colonization, exemplified here by the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation. As a cultural community, this group has withstood several trying events since the advance of European colonists into their traditional land base, including epidemics, warfare, and continual physical and political encroachment on their lands and community (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998; Cave, 1996; Hauptman & Wherry, 1990). These conditions affected them as a larger Pequot community in the late 16th and early 17th centuries and as a singular community separated from their Mashantucket cousins in the second half of the 17th century. Yet today, they continue as a thriving Native community.

The Eastern Pequot's ability to retain their identity throughout the troubling and brutal history of European colonialism speaks loudly to how they and their ancestors, like many New England Native communities, "buoyed themselves up by means of social and cultural constructions that drew upon the new as well as the old" (Simmons, 1986: 261). By actively participating in the larger colonial network and by incorporating aspects of European material culture into their daily lives, the Eastern Pequot maintained and continually reasserted their community's identity into the present day. These actions – Simmons' "new" – in no way represent attempts to acculturate or "become European" but rather strategies to make tradition and culture workable in the colonial and postcolonial world.

My interest in this subject is shaped largely by a specific research question: How can an archaeology informed by multiple and sometimes dissonant sources illuminate the complexities of Pequot identity? This is a broad question with diverse possible answers,

and I do not anticipate that I will develop anything near a complete answer within this thesis. Rather, I aim to begin to explore through archaeology how one community, the Eastern Pequot, have maintained and continued their identity through interaction with European colonial society and integration of European material goods into their daily lives. In particular, I will look at how individuals within the Eastern Pequot community incorporated European ceramics into their domestic sphere and practices while maintaining their own households on the Lantern Hill reservation—thereby asserting their identity as Eastern Pequot.

Throughout this thesis, I will be interrogating material culture, specifically, ceramics, associated with three foundations on the Eastern Pequot reservation. I refer to these units of analysis, these foundations, as households, based on the fact that they were once dwellings associated with a suite of the daily practices of habitation and living. I realize that this limits the scope of the term household, which could also be interpreted as the social and kin-ties that are associated with a group of people. I have chosen to limit this term for the sake of the analysis, and not without realization that these households were more than the daily practices that are reflected in the material culture—they were also a locus of social ties and relationships that strengthened the bonds of the Eastern Pequot community.

Site Background

As an archaeological subject, the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation's reservation, or as it is also known, the Lantern Hill Reservation,in North Stonington, Connecticut (Figure

1), is particularly conducive to pursuing this type of inquiry. The reservation and local towns surrounding it are today referred to by living tribal members and anthropologists as the "Social Core Area" (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 27). In this aspect, the reservation serves to center "the extended group, and represents Eastern Pequot history, heritage, and continued survival" (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 47). As such, it is an essential component in how the extended living tribal community experiences, enacts and informs their identity as Native Americans.

The ceramic assemblage used for my analysis was collected in the summer of 2003, the first season of fieldwork conducted on the reservation by the University of Massachusetts Boston field school under the direction of Professor Stephen Silliman. Historical documentation has contributed to our knowledge of the continued presence of Eastern Pequot households on the reservation from 1683 (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 23). Contemporary tribal members provided us with knowledge of the modern landscape of the reservation. Often their anecdotes about growing up and playing as children in foundations on the reservation, or the stories they had heard about these foundations from their parents and grandparents would lead us to the areas of the reservation where the remains of these foundations were still visible. This greatly assisted our pedestrian survey of the (approximately) 225-acre tract and allowed us to determine a starting point for our sub-surface testing.

The ceramics used for the analysis were derived from 232 shovel test pit units that were dug within the northwest quadrant of the reservation. The landscape of this area contained at least three distinct stone surface structures, possibly household

foundations,which greatly influenced our field testing strategy. Intensive testing of this area produced hundreds of artifacts associated with domestic activity, the majority of which were European and locally produced colonial ceramics.

Since a significant portion of the ceramic artifacts found at this site was associated with large stone structures, it is reasonable to assume their function as components of past daily domestic experience. As these households are located on the Lantern Hill reservation, it is also reasonable to assert their existence as historic Eastern Pequot households. This site, therefore, offers an excellent, and rare, opportunity to explore how a Native identity and community is fostered and maintained even as the physical and material components of that existence are changing.

Structure of Thesis

The second chapter of this thesis will deal with theoretical frameworks that consider the formation of identity, culture, and community through daily practice. Although these topics of inquiry are quite popular among many social theorists and anthropologist, my main goal is to explore how these larger social theories are being incorporated into archaeological practice, fieldwork and theory. In this chapter I will briefly establish the tenets of some of these theories and review in more detail some of the archaeological literature that incorporates these theoretical perspectives.

Chapter Three is a review of the historical resources that provide evidence of the Pequot and later Eastern Pequot community in southern New England. Here I look at the
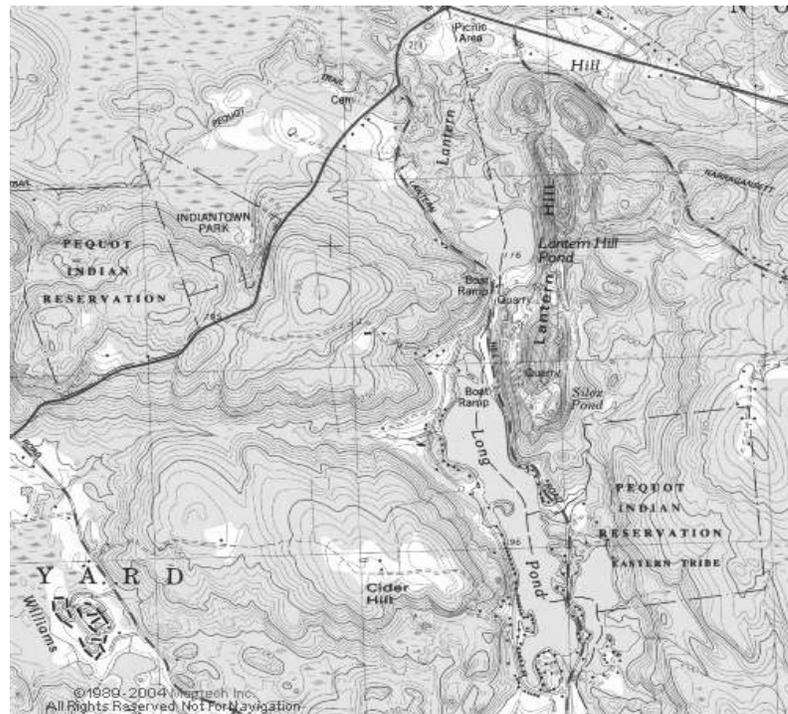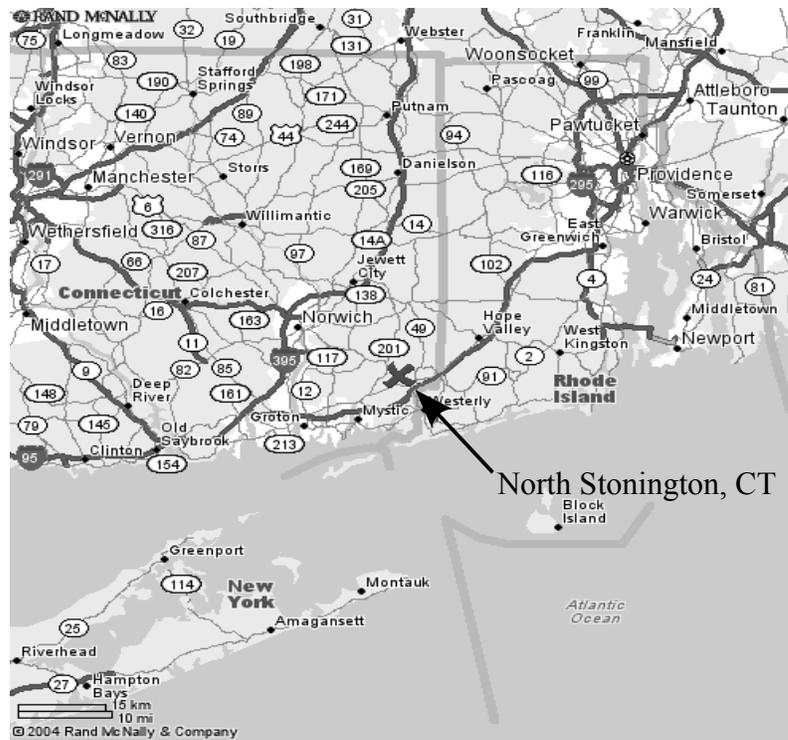
Figure 1. State of Connecticut with location of town of North Stonington and close up of Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation Reservation and surrounding area.

roots of the community in sachemdoms or sachemships (Bragdon, 1996) during the "prehistoric" and early "contact" periods. I hope to trace how the group continued to maintain its Native identity into the early colonial period during drastic upheavals that separated Pequots into two distinct communities, the Eastern and Western tribes. I will rely on archival evidence to understand how the Eastern Pequot have since developed their identity into the separate and unique community that exists today.

Chapter Four deals primarily with the analysis of the ceramic assemblage from the site. Here I outline the field methods used to recover the information and the laboratory methods used to analyze the data. Finally I present the results of the analysis and some of the basic interpretations of the data set.

The final chapter presents my overall interpretations and conclusions based on the analysis of the data. I combine this analysis with a consideration of how these data contribute to an understanding of larger social issues including community identity and persistence, as well as consider how they contribute to a better understanding of the past realities of Eastern Pequot people.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The consideration of how material culture and community identity may be related is one that currently engages a number of archaeologists. Archaeologists struggle to deal with the non-physical experiences of the past through the physical data. Can community and identity, which are human social constructs, be manifested in the physical—material culture? How do people, or a people, construct their identities, both as a group, and as individuals within that community through the physical? These are vast questions with many possible answers, ones that I believe archaeology is particularly well positioned to explore. A balance must be struck between a consideration of the physical remains and the actual experiences of the past. The correlation is not direct or exact between artifacts and identities, as has been posited by acculturation models. Archaeology must engage with substantial theory more fully to draw the connections between the material and the experiential. Below, I will consider some perspectives that I believe aid in these considerations.

I am certain that "how people attach themselves to material things and commodify identities is incredibly more variable than has been supposed by acculturation models" (Rubertone, 2000: 431). The process is also more complex than any positivist explanation that relies on quantitative models and typologies to produce "hard" facts or data. In archaeology, the physical, material evidence must be closely connected by the archaeologist to the conceptual and structural frameworks of a past society that they

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determine. People are more than their material surroundings. There must be a complex consideration of the relationship between those who produce material culture and those who come to use that material culture. For the archaeologist, it is essential that: "data come to be 'laden' with theory, such that it acquires evidential significance through rich interpretive construction, and yet still has a capacity to surprise, to challenge settled expectations" (Wylie, 1996: 441).

One effective way that archaeology has connected material data to the realities of past experiences involves borrowing theories from other branches of the social sciences and humanities and employing them in different contexts. In particular, the considerations of past daily practices and individuals as agents have helped to elucidate some understanding of the experiences and identities of actors in the past. In applying these social theories to past societies and communities, the archaeologist must accept a mediating position that recognizes "without contradiction, both that knowledge is constructed and bears the marks of its makers, and that it is constrained, to a greater or lesser degree, by conditions that we confront as external 'realities' not of our own making" (Wylie, 1996: 441).

The Archaeology of Contact, Continuity and Identity

In North America, archaeologists who choose to study cultural contact have the responsibility of representing more than one people's experiences in a given time frame and in a given spatial context. This is a unique realm of mediation, as the archaeologist must consider more than the documentation of European colonists as an evidential source

in order to best determine and describe the multiplicity of experiences in the past. It is important that the archaeologist attempt to formulate an understanding of the many identities forged at these sites, usually even within one community. Any attempt to explicate past realities that draws too largely upon "historical", as opposed to archaeological, sources will likely overlook or under-represent the many experiences and identities that existed in the colonial world.

It is important to recognize that, "(t)he active voices of Native Americans are rarely heard in the historic record, and largely only through the lens of observation by cultural outsiders with the occasional report of words" (Howlett, 2002: 9). The bias that exists within these primary accounts of first entanglements between Native Americans and Europeans has problematically colored the understanding of the indigenous peoples of this continent into the modern day. Unquestioning acceptance of European historical documents to understand and interpret Native American experiences of the past has overwhelmingly favored the observational abilities of the "conquering" Europeans (Galloway, 1992:182). It has also preferenced the Western methods of knowledge, thereby muting other methods of recounting the past and our knowledge of many people in the past, including Native Americans.

Today, as well as throughout the colonial period, Native Americans had to contend with the circumstances of being colonized. Upon entanglement with the invasive Europeans, the concept of a Native identity was solidified; it was "other" than European, and thus, in the colonial realm, Native American identities were constructed and viewed by the colonizers as feared outsiders (Sider, 1997: 76-77; Sider, 1987: 16). Their

identities as an other to the Europeans were first constructed in the historical documents by Europeans, often in ways that misrepresented, sometimes intentionally, the actual lived experiences of Native Americans in this time period. Ironically, today, descendants of these Europeans constantly challenge this Native American identity (Clifford, 1988: 281-285).

In part, these challenge to Native American identities stem from the complexities of what an identity is and the diversity that exists between Native American peoples living in the United States today. These diversities, come, in part, again out of the differing experiences of colonialism. Native Americans were told they were "other", and therefore inferior to Europeans; the historical documents of the invaders is laced with tales and expectations of just how Native Americans were other (Sider, 1987; Ulrich, 2001). Native Americans were encouraged, coerced and forced to try to become "more civilized" or less Native, even while a distinction was consistently maintained by the colonizers between Native peoples and Europeans (Sider, 1987: 8-15; Ulrich, 2001: 53-59).

Native Americans were forced to come together under this oppression, strengthening the bonds of their communities, but also changing the conditions of their livelihood (Sider, 1997: 76-77; 1987: 15-16). Today, it is often argued that because Native Americans no longer "act" as they did in the records of the invaders, that they are somehow less or non-Native Americans; they are now often forced to embrace past practices that were used by colonizers to assert them as different and then subject them to horrible oppression. If identities are to be constructed and understood solely from the

historical documentation, Native Americans and Native American identity is something that must be dictated to them by their colonizers. The issues surrounding Native American identities are immensely complex and are constantly bound by highly problematic concepts of tradition or traditional (Sider, 1997: 72-73).

Archaeology offers a different method of constructing these pasts, for understanding the experiences of colonization , and also for understanding the constructions of Native American communities and identities in the past, but also into the present day (i.e. Lightfoot, 1998; Silliman, 2001a; Voss, 2000). In the context of Native American's experiences during and through colonization and contact, this is best done by eschewing the fictional boundaries of "pre-history" and "history"; neither of which is a legitimate indicator of stasis, change, or experience (Lightfoot, 1995: 200; Silliman, 2004: 273). Also, archaeologists must be willing to understand Native American cultures and identities beyond the assumed "traditional" (see argument in Sider, 1997: 72-73)

The archaeology of colonial entanglements and Native American experiences is a broad topic, as "diverse Native American peoples encountered versions of Western expansion, colonialism, capitalism, and worldviews" (Silliman, 2004: 273; also Silliman, 2005). As such, it is best to adopt a multiscalar research approach that can engage with an understanding of the micro-locale experiences of individuals within a community, and relate that knowledge to both the larger colonial setting and the establishment and enactment of past and modern worldviews (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 199). As a framework for this approach, two recent social theories are particularly conducive to the archaeological research of colonial sites, where communities and identities were

continually formed, transformed and maintained as social groups and individuals related to one another.

The first of these theories is the practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu, which seeks to engage with the practical logic of everyday life. Bourdieu argues that the daily actions of an individual or group are externally dictated by a series of structures or principles that "generate and organize" these practices (Bourdieu, 1990: 53). These principles are then embodied in an individual or social agent as the *habitus*. Structures and *habitus* operate within a dialectical relationship as "the objectified products and the incorporated products of historical practice", respectively (Bourdieu, 1990: 52).

As the *habitus* is a "product of history" it is also capable of producing both "individual and collective practices—more history—in accordance with the schemes generated by history" (Bourdieu, 1990: 56). This produces systems of logic within which the individual agent and collective social group operate. These systems are "a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future" (Bourdieu, 1990: 56) and are therefore not constrained solely by an individual's material culture or physical surroundings. The individual and collective *habitus* will exhibit "the principle of continuity and regularity" even within the bounds of temporally "immediate constraints" (Bourdieu, 1990: 56).

"Society"—or culture(s), or communities—and the logic by which these structuring structures operate are thus perpetuated by the individual on a daily basis through the social agent's regular activities. It is through these normative routines that an agent's identity is formulated, regulated, embodied, and perpetuated. As Bourdieu stated:

> "(I)n every social universe, each agent has to reckon, at all times, with the
> fiduciary value set on him, which defines what he is entitled to...(b)ut the extent to

which differences are objectified…rather than being marked by simple statistical limits, is the source of very important differences in symbolic practices" (Bourdieu, 1990: 138)

Through our daily practice we subconsciously assert our identity and thereby define our community, but our connections to these practices become symbolic of who we are. In moving these practices to the conscious, the discursive, we negotiate how we will interact with others and how others will define and understand us. In turn, these practices as conscious and discursive may be used to assert an identity (Loren, 2001:174-176; Silliman 2001a:194-196)

Similarly to Pierre Bourdieu, the social theories of Anthony Giddens engage with the conscious and unconscious practices that govern daily life. Giddens' theories contribute even further to our understanding of how social agents, or individuals, as actors demonstrate the power of reflexive choice within their daily activities and actions (Giddens, 1984: 9). Similar to Bourdieu's theory, Giddens details how agents operate within structures, which he defines as "recursively organized sets of rules and resources…out of time and space…marked by an 'absence of the subject'" (Giddens, 1984: 25). Giddens views these structures as components of systems, including social systems, in which relations between agents and groups are enacted and performed (Giddens, 1984: 25). These systems and structures are governed via Giddens' concept of structuration, which is the series of conditions that allow the perpetuation or diversion of both the structures and the social systems that they compose (Giddens, 1984: 25).

I find Giddens' work particularly conducive to understanding identity and material culture because of his discussion of agency and power. Giddens speaks to how an

individual reasonably demonstrates choice by and through their daily actions (Giddens, 1984: 9). Whilst the daily actions of the agent may be conscious, sub-conscious or unconscious, they produce a series of significant and non-significant outcomes which are influenced by and further influence the institutionalized practices of structuration (Giddens, 1984: 12-13). Giddens argues that these actions demonstrate the power of the agent. Power, in Giddens' assessment, is the ability of the agent to deploy action. Action "depends upon the capability of the individual to 'make a difference'" within a given context (Giddens, 1984: 14). Within social systems, power is mediated through resources, both material and non-corporeal (Giddens, 1984: 16). This conceptualization of power presumes systems whereby unequal access to resources exists in an institutionalized form of dependence. This theoretical stance allows that "all forms of dependence offer some resources whereby those who are subordinate can influence the activities of their superiors" (Giddens, 1984: 16).

As such, power is neither solely expressed nor measurable only in the actions of the ruling or dominant class. Power is an individual expression manifested by a set of choices given and the experience of the day-to-day choices made in the agents. The experiences of the dominant and dominated are enmeshed in social relations that are both limiting and manipulatable to a degree. Here there exists a distinction in our understanding of agency as embracing two types of power; "power over" and "power to" (Miller & Tilley 1984: 6; also in Silliman, 2001b: 382). "Power over" may be understood as the power of domination, while "power to" is the way in which actors may "enact social agency in their ability, albeit circumscribed, to control and orient their lives"

(Silliman, 2001b:382). Both of these avenues of exerting agency are entangled in the colonial experience in North America, but they are impossible to understand solely through the lens of historical documents.

The two theoretical frameworks outlined offer an effective way by which archaeologists may move beyond historical documents and engage with past realities and identities at the microscale level, using the archaeological record to encounter and understand past daily practices. It is imperative that archaeologists remember that the actual practices associated with these activities, and not specifically the form of material culture, mark identity. For Native Americans, contact with Europeans often began through trade relations, which brought to these indigenous communities a new range of material culture. This new material culture did not, however, make these groups somehow less "Native American" or more "European". Identity is not formed through material acquisition, but rather may be expressed by and through it—specifically, through the unique practices that become associated with or channeled through a given material possession or structure. Through analysis and understanding of the practices associated with the objects of everyday life, archaeologists can best understand that relationships were forged between the owner and the object and can possibly understand how that relationship manifested in the public world. It is within and through the ritualized monotony of everyday domestic practices that people most express their own identity as a culmination of embodied history and active agency.

The application of these theories to the field of archaeology is a fairly recent endeavor; however, a number of archaeologists applying these theories to their research

of Native American communities in colonial settings have produced some truly novel understandings of the realities of past experiences (i.e. Loren, 2001; Pauketat & Alt 1999; Silliman, 2001a).

In their study of Fort Ross, Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff (1998) laid out some of the reasons and methods they saw for incorporating practice theory into their research. Largely, they saw a need for archaeologists to incorporate more multiscalar approaches, ones which tied the microscale world of individuals within communities to the macroscale political realms of colonial policy and production of world views (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 199-201). Their aim was to develop an archaeology of pluralistic colonial communities that addressed issues beyond the scope of simple artifact analysis (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 200). They sought to consider artifacts and space as co-arbiters of "individual intentionality and social action" within these diversified social spaces—as indicative of social and personal identity (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 200, 202). Artifacts exist multi-dimensionally. They are a physical expression of function use and consumption, but also a manifestation of individual and communal social interaction and agency. For the archaeologist, their context within a site is as meaningful as their form and function:

> "It is through daily practices…that people both organize and make sense of their lives…. [R]outine kinds of actions that dominate peoples' domestic lives produce much of the material culture we recover…. [T]he performance of daily routines produces patterned accumulations of material culture that are often among the most interpretable kinds of deposits in archaeological contexts" (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 201).

The authors integrated this approach at the Fort Ross site in California, a 19th century pluralistic social setting that brought together Native Californian women, Alaskan

men, and Russian colonists, all of whom had relocated to the fort in order to pursue the fur-trade enterprise (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 203-205). At this site, the authors developed and implemented a field strategy that considered both internal and external domestic space within the "Native Alaskan Neighborhood", where Native Californian women and Native Alaskan men lived in domestic partnerships, as indicative of daily practices (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 203-206). They considered a "suite of daily practices" visible within the material culture from this area, and compared the practices visible within the Fort Ross site with known sites from both the Native Californian women's and Native Alaskan men's homelands. This technique was used to best isolate and understand both changes and persistence in daily practices of these distinct groups within the new social setting of Fort Ross (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 202-203, 215-216). From this strategy, Lightfoot et al. were able to understand how the Native individuals and groups at the Russian colonial site asserted and maintained as well as remade their identities through daily practices (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 215-216).

Archaeologists who wish to consider practice, structuration, and identity at archaeological sites have tended to rigorously engage with space and spatial relations at a given site. In Lightfoot et al.'s work, they chose to look very closely at the areas inside and outside of known residences as examples of how practices which related to the daily functioning of a household were expressed in the archaeological record (Lightfoot et al., 1998: 206). Other archaeologists have chosen to look more closely at how domestic architecture and space condition social action or demonstrate the structuration of a society (Donley-Reid, 1990; Voss, 2000).

In this realm, two interesting studies investigate elements of culture contact, gender, and identity through architectural forms in both eastern Africa and northern California. In the first, Donley-Reid (1990) considers the ethnic identity of the Swahili people by looking at changes in household architecture, while also evaluating the internal architecture of the Swahili house as it pertains to inter-societal gender relations. Donley-Reid highlights "five elements of structuration" that represent reflexive relationships critical to the analysis of people and architectural space: people-space, people-objects, objects-objects, objects-space, and space-space (Donley-Reid, 1990: 116).

From at least the second century A.D., Swahili communities along the east coast of Africa have negotiated their position between Arabic and African identities, and this identity was mediated through their architectural space (Donley-Reid, 1990: 117-119). Within this stratified society, the materials used to make a house, whether grass, coconut leaf or coral, signified both social status and ethnic identity (Donley-Reid, 1990: 119). The internal architecture of the coral house, the most elite of household structures, is also subdivided to reinforce gender relations and status (Donley-Reid, 1990: 121). Donley-Reid combines an investigation of the architectural remains found in the archaeological record with ethnohistorical and ethnographic accounts to best understand how these building forms structured the daily practices, lives and identities of the Swahili people (Donley-Reid, 1990: 118).

The second study deals with architecture and domestic practice in Alta California's Spanish colonial missions (Voss 2000). Like Donley-Reid, Voss considers the connections between daily practice and structured domestic architecture. Yet, Voss

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takes a somewhat different approach in that she considers how changes in the domestic

architecture and space of Native Californian communities in the 18th and 19th centuries

demonstrate alterations in their daily practices that resulted from their contact with

Spanish colonists (Voss, 2000: 39-42).

Voss is especially interested in considering sexuality within the archaeological

record (Voss, 2000: 35). By combining this intent with practice theory and

considerations of structured space, she is able to trace how the persistent use of sexual

violence by Spanish military and missionary personnel against indigenous Californian

women forced changes in the living space of entire Native Californian communities

(Voss, 2000: 39-43). Later, the spatial confinement of unmarried Native Californian

women in *monjerios* at Spanish missions forced changes in the sexual practices of these

Native communities (Voss, 2000: 43-47). Finally, missionaries also sought to force

conformity of Native Californian populations' sexual practices to the valued Catholic

norm of inter-marital heterosexual relations by restructuring their domiciles (Voss, 2000:

47-51). By comparing these archaeologically "visible" architectural patterns with "pre-

contact" Native Californian settlement patterns, Voss demonstrates the reflexive

relationship between space and sexual practice (and/or violence) (Voss, 2000: 49-53).

A cultural group's domestic residences and the style of these residences are

"closely linked to cultural behavior and the symbolic systems of [the] given society"

(Donley-Reid, 1990: 114). The importance of space and spatial relationships within the

archaeological record is incredibly important. The agents' use of and relationship to

internal and external domestic space shaped the daily practices of the people whose pasts

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we study, and offer the archaeologists distinct loci in which they may investigate these practices.

Ceramics, Identity and Archaeology

Domestic space not only structures daily practice, but it also gives meaning to the material objects it contains, which in turn serve to further mold these practices:

> "[O]bjects, too, derive meaning through daily household and ceremonial uses. Therefore objects are not neutral or passive backdrops for life, they also actively participate in creating and maintaining power relations…. [O]bjects may be said to 'hold' ideas for the people who use them" (Donley-Reid, 1990: 115).

One group of objects that holds a great deal of meaning, for both people using them in the past and for archaeologists in the present, is ceramic wares. For historical archaeologists, European ceramic wares and types offer some key diagnostic material culture at a given site. Archaeologists have used this type of material culture to date domestic habitation at historic-period sites to within a 25- to-50 year time span (McBride, 1990: 110; also see Sussman, 2000a, 2000b). European ceramic wares and types have also been fairly effective indices for archaeologists of both economic and class status of the people who once inhabited certain domestic sites (i.e. Beaudry et al., 1991; see also Miller, 2000).

Yet, ceramics are even more telling to the archaeologist when they are considered as more than just diagnostic artifacts of time or presumed social categories. As mundane household artifacts, they often speak volumes about the people who used them, allowing archaeologists some insight into the realities of those lives. Identity does not, and cannot exist within these artifacts, but questions of identity may be partially approached through

these artifacts because their existence and their function contributed daily to the structuring of the lives of those who used them. Several archaeologists have used European ceramic ware analysis to foster intriguing insights into how people, including those not of European descent, have utilized European manufactured ceramic vessels in forming and manifesting their non-European identities.

In a study of Southern plantation archaeology, Adams and Boling (1989: 111) considered ceramic artifacts as indicators of status, both economic and social. Three economic and social status groups were considered in this study: planter (big plantation slave owner), sawyer (small plantation slave owner), and slave (Adams & Boling, 1989: 119). The goal of this study was to compare economic value of ceramic possessions with actual social status, based on excavations at three antebellum Georgian plantations.

To consider economic status, the authors used Miller's 1980 CC (cream colored ware) Index, which accounts for both ceramic types and vessel forms (Adams & Boling, 1989: 123). However, the study operates as more than a simple evaluation of economic status. The authors found that the economic value of the ceramics at these sites did not necessarily reflect the social hierarchy present in the antebellum South, where slaves often possessed ceramic goods whose economic value significantly outweighed those of the white planters, even while their social status was that of chattel (Adams & Boling, 1989: 123-132).

Though the authors do not explicitly take a practice or agency theoretical perspective in their study, it does speak powerfully to the role of agency and material culture. On the one hand, it indicates that ceramics may not be good indicators of either

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social or economic status (Adams & Boling, 1989: 135). However, ceramics may be powerful indicators of choice and agency. While there is no denying that slaves in the antebellum South led violently oppressed lives, this study offers insight into the reflexive relationship between cultural agents and material culture. While oppressed by the bonds of their social status, the ceramic material culture possessed by Southern plantation slaves indicates that they obviously "developed their own culture and some participated freely within the Southern market economy" (Adams & Boling, 1989: 136).

In another study of ceramics as they relate to identity and meaning, Burley (1989) looks at the role European ceramics played in structuring the social actions of the *Hivernant* Metis, a Canadian people of both indigenous and European descent. Burley's excavations and research on this group had focused on four wintering villages in southern and central Saskatchewan (Burley, 1989: 401). As the Hivernant Metis were a nomadic community of bison hunters, much of their domestic refuse is archaeologically ephemeral. Yet considering the highly mobile lifestyle of this people, Burley was struck by the prodigious presence of fragile European transfer printed earthenwares (Burley, 1989: 400-401).

In considering the role these ceramics may have had in the lives of the *Hivernant* Metis, Burley offers that:

> "[i]ndividual artifacts are not simply adaptive materials tied directly to functional roles….[R]ather, they represent one component in a consumptive pattern and this consumptive pattern provides a structured and understandable universe" (Burley, 1989: 405).

In the case of the *Hivernant* Metis, a people of mixed ancestry, both European and indigenous Canadian, these European ceramics provided the medium through which they socially integrated themselves within the larger Canadian fur-trade society (Burley, 1989: 405-407). By "socially integrating" I do not mean to introduce here, and nor does Burley, a form of acculturation. Rather, I mean to assert that in choosing to integrate European ceramics into their daily and communal practices, the *Hivernant* Metis also exhibited their participation within a larger social structure, while maintaining a unique community identity (Burley, 1989: 405-407).

Identity, both personal and communal, may also be manifested in a physical manner through ceramics. An excellent example of this comes from the Brimstone Hill Fortress site on St. Kitts, West Indies. The site had been inhabited from 1690 to 1854 by British officers, British soldiers, and enslaved Africans from diverse cultures (Schroedl & Ahlmann, 2002: 38-39). As a military site, expressions of individuality and identity were to be suppressed by the officer corps, who felt that these manifestations within both the slaves and soldiers would undermine their rank and the whole daily operations of the fort (Schroedl & Ahlmann, 2002: 39). Yet the slaves and soldiers at this site still managed to exert both their personal and communal identities within this oppressive environment.

Excavations and research at the site uncovered a number of ceramic potsherds which had been intentionally marked with both English letters and geometric designs (Schroedl & Ahlmann, 2002: 38, 43-44). Schroedl and Ahlmann interpreted these markings as indicative of personal possession at the site (Schroedl & Ahlmann, 2002: 44). It is likely that the English letters represented the initials of the British soldiers while

the geometric shapes and designs were likely made by enslaved Africans, mimicking

designs on their "traditional" African ceramics or meaningful religious symbols (Schroedl

& Ahlmann, 2002: 44-46). As individuals from these communities at the Brimstone Hill

Fort asserted their possession, they also intentionally indicated their identity. Here

ceramics were actively used to display personal and cultural/communal identities.

Summary

The research mentioned above offers a number of ways to approach the material

culture of the Lantern Hill reservation sites in order to investigate the archaeological

manifestation of personal and communal identities. As Lightfoot et al. (1998: 199-200)

proposed, an archaeologist must conduct multi-scalar research, and I argue, an approach

to any site must consider the site on both theoretical and methodological scales.

The first scale of research in considering identity and community on the Eastern

Pequot Reservation is to understand how their daily practices contributed to and

demonstrated their group and individual identities. This approach incorporates the

theoretical concepts outlined by both Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens, and allows

the archaeologist to consider domestic spatial relations. In particular, it requires the

archaeologist to investigate the relationships between material culture and intra-and extra-

mural domestic space. In this first season of research, I have only analyzed the ceramics

recovered from outside of the several foundations. Eventually, the ceramics from within

these former domestic structures will also be analyzed. These analyses will allow us to

develop a better understanding of the domestic existence of the Eastern Pequot people in "historic" times.

Secondly, there is the consideration of the material culture itself. What can material culture tell an archaeologist about its owners? Certainly the ceramic analyses listed above demonstrate that artifacts are far more than mere functional devices. Material culture, including ceramics, is incorporated within the daily life of an individual, thereby shaping and thus becoming part of their individual and group identity. Artifacts are laden with identity. While this manifestation of identity may not be as blatant as at the Brimstone Hill site, ceramics are active markers of agency; they demonstrate choices made by the individuals that chose to use them.

These studies have also offered to me specific methods by which I may engage with the ceramics from the Lantern Hill reservation. As an entry point into considering identity, ceramics may (or, perhaps, may not) offer indications of social and community experiences that contribute to identity. Economic, social and group status may all be exhibited through ceramics. The question remains as to how these three factors actually contribute to the formation of identity.

These studies also indicate that there is good reason to suspect that European ceramics would have been kept and used by the Eastern Pequots for somewhat different reasons than by Euro-Americans. Combining an analysis of these ceramics with a review of the historic record of the Eastern Pequots will hopefully generate some insight into the nature of these differences and therefore contribute to an understanding of the formation, manifestation and persistence of Eastern Pequot identities.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF THE EASTERN PEQUOT PEOPLE

What is known about the European ceramics from the Lantern Hill Reservation is that they belonged to Eastern Pequot peoples. The historical documents are clear as to who the primary reservation residents were throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. So whilst materially the ceramics may be of European manufacture, their context and the identity that they exhibit is very much other than. If interrogated on the basis of their manufacture, these ceramics could be discussed according to ware type, economic value, perhaps location of manufacture, and vessel type, and certainly they would be used to date the given site. Yet little to nothing could be said about the identity of the people who used these artifacts without a consideration of the past social contexts in which they existed. Most notably, these artifacts are from a reservation site in Connecticut, one of the oldest extant reservations in the United States. Here I must discuss the trajectory of the past that allows these artifacts to hold significant social and communal meaning.

Archaeologists always negotiate the line that divides the study of "historic" or "contact" period Native American archaeological sites and the incorporation of "historical documentation". The ever-present question of bias looms largely in these discussions (Galloway 1991:181-184; see discussion in Stahl 2002). "History" – in the sense of written documents – does not, and cannot, relay the breadth and depth of the Eastern Pequot community's past realities. "History" for Native Americans involves stories told by someone else, and often these are tales poorly told. The past of the Eastern

Pequot community existed well before the concept of "history". While it is convenient for the archaeologist to use "history" as a temporal concept, it constrains knowledge of the Eastern Pequot past. Similarly difficult are ideas of "pre-history", "proto-history" and "contact" as they attempt to encapsulate and define the boundaries of past realities and past experiences of Native peoples (Lightfoot, 1995; Silliman, 2005). The past should instead be understood as a continuum of existence, in which "history" is one strand of evidence, one source of knowledge that the archaeologist may incorporate into their understanding (Wylie, 1996: 447; Wylie, 2002: 197).

Yet, both archaeology and history, no matter how obviously biased, do offer compelling and undeniable evidence of the continued existence of Pequot communities, and later the Eastern Pequot community in Connecticut, for thousands of years. The projection of these valued interpersonal connections and relationships through time have accounted for the persistence of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation into the present day. I will now summarily recount some of what is known of this community from well before European documentation, through the trauma of colonization and into the present day as it relates to our understanding of the continued maintenance through community bonds of a Native American identity, of Eastern Pequot.

The Distant Pequot Past

Human beings have inhabited southern New England from at least 11,000 years ago (Dincauze, 1990: 19-21). Though archaeological traces of these "Paleoindian" peoples exist, they are somewhat ephemeral. Most of the sites that represent these people

are small and contain few artifacts, having been occupied for only brief time periods (Dincauze, 1990: 20). Yet what is known is that these groups moved through the regions in small bands, gathering and hunting foodstuffs. Interpersonal group relations allowed these people to maintain a livelihood in a somewhat harsh landscape. These group relations would certainly have fostered individual's creation of their personal identities in relation to the larger group. Though they are temporally distant, these people represent the first communities in the New England, as well as distant Pequot past.

In her "A Capsule Prehistory of Southern New England", Dincauze (1990) relates the environmental changes that occurred several thousand years ago that allowed the relatives of these nomadic "Paleoindian" peoples to settle into distinct communities in the region. The retreat of the Wisconsin glacier and warming temperatures within the region allowed for larger, more settled communities to form beginning about 8,000 years ago (Dincauze, 1990: 23). Between 4,700 and 2,300 years ago, the descendants of these communities were living in still larger, more settled village-like communities (Dincauze, 1990: 24-25). As distant travel became less necessary to obtain food resources, communities grew in size, which in itself limited the movement of these groups. Therefore, these "communities became somewhat larger, more numerous and more localized. Territories [of the community] were probably better defined" (Dincauze, 1990: 25). It is here, archaeologically, that we begin to see the outlines of very distinct communnity organization in the southern New England area.

Dincauze offers that at this time the "social environments had begun to overshadow (the) natural environment" (Dincauze, 1990: 25). This is to say that the

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maintenance of both internal community ties and external community ties became imperative in obtaining environmental resources (Dincauze, 1990: 25). The adoption of ceramic technology and trade in certain luxury goods at this time speak to the increase of extra-communal relations (Dincauze, 1990: 28-29). By at least 3,000 years ago, trade and exchange relationships with communities to the west of New England, particularly in New York State, increased drastically (Dincauze, 1990: 28). Certainly, the importance of group identity and communal organization would have been highlighted in this time of increased contact, distinguishing one's own people from the newly encountered others. Similarly, linguistic studies of this era indicate that between 3,000 and 2,500 years ago the "Proto-Algonquian" language, from which the later "Proto-Eastern Algonquian" and even later "Pequot-Mohegan" languages are derived, may be first distinguished (Bragdon, 1996: 33). These language breaks further illuminate the development of distinct group identities in the Northeast region at this time.

Also associated with this time, and into the period of 1,000 years ago, is the pattern of increasing settlements in coastal regions (Bragdon, 1996: 35). This time period, also known as "Middle Woodland", is noted for an increase in ceremonialism, differential mortuary treatment, advanced horticultural practices, and increased "manipulation of the natural world" (Bragdon, 1996: 35-36; Dincauze, 1990: 30-31). These changes are consistent with what are often archaeologically referred to as "chiefdoms", which speaks to the establishment of distinct communities along the southeastern New England coastline at this time (Bragdon, 1996: 35). It is in these "chiefdoms" that the Pequot, and later Eastern Pequot, communities were established.

Most of our knowledge of Native New England communities in the Late Woodland is based on the writings of the Europeans who first engaged with these people in the 15th and 16th centuries. Though certainly skewed by their own understandings of what "society" was (Galloway 1991: 182), it is striking that many of these travelers commented on the established local polities that they encountered. This certainly attests to the strength of the bonds which held these communities together and through which they engaged with neighboring communities. Though it is difficult to project back from the "contact period" to discuss these earlier communities, some recent anthropological research combined with the historical documentation and oral tradition does allow a partial insight into how these communities may have functioned. It is important here to give some detailed description of these "chiefdoms" as it is within these groups that the modern Pequot and Eastern Pequot community and identity formed.

Bragdon (1996) provides an in-depth account of these Native communities, known as *sontimooonk*, or sachemships. The sachemship was a complex social network of people, a community, which revolved around the political workings of a leader or principal man (usually), the sachem (Bragdon, 1996: 140-141; Salisbury, 1982: 42). The sachemship was mostly a hereditary position, but could also be gained through marriage (Bragdon, 1996: 141). However, membership within the sachemship community was not contingent upon loyalty to the contemporary headman, but went beyond the leadership and was more fixed upon loyalty to the community group as a whole (Bragdon, 1996: 141; Salisbury, 1982: 42-43).

The sachemship was not a monarchical political structure, so in many ways the term "chiefdom" becomes a difficult descriptor for these communities. The structure of these societies certainly revealed hierarchy, though, as early accounts by Europeans describe what they perceived as a seemingly class system at work, with the sachem at the head, his relatives as royalty, and the inclusion of "yeomen" and slaves within many of these communities (Bragdon, 1996: 142-143). Yet the power of the sachem was not absolute, and communal loyalty to a sachem could be swayed and changed if necessary (Bragdon, 1996: 146-148; Salisbury, 1982: 43).

The role of the sachem was often distinguished by wealth, garnered mostly through the tribute of community members (Bragdon, 1996: 147-148). As John Eliot describes, this tribute often took the form of payment in kind through corn or animal hides, but also through labor, where wigwams and other domestic improvements could be made as tribute to the sachem (Bragdon, 1996: 148). Yet, this wealth and these tributes only partially translated into authority.

The role of the sachem within the community had more to do with coordination of intra- and extra-tribal activities than with outright dictatorial powers. By English accounts, seemingly his, or at times her, primary role was the allocation of land rights and responsibilities to community members (Bragdon, 1996: 144). By establishing these bounds, the sachem was also able to establish what tribute could be assessed and paid to him: "Sachems assigned garden plots to families, and received portions of each harvest in return" (Salisbury, 1982: 43; see also Bragdon, 1996: 144-145). Besides monitoring the territorial lands of the group, the sachem also had primary responsibility for "conducting

diplomatic activities, receiving visitors and dispensing justice" (Bragdon, 1996: 145).

That is to say that the sachem regulated the activities of the whole group, or for the

group's best interest. However, the sachem had little to no control over the day-to-day

activities of families or even individuals within the community (Salisbury, 1982: 42).

Even more importantly, it was not the role of the sachem, or even the authority

invested in the sachem, that actively maintained the community. In southern New

England, Native communities were kin affiliated either through blood lineage or

intermarriage (Salisbury, 1982: 41). Often this affiliation extended outward to

neighboring communities as well, so that marriage ties would link neighboring

communities and families (Salisbury, 1982: 41). Family relations were the binding ties

within these communities, where the sachemship "effectively combined notions of kin

and family, of continuity through reproduction and marriage, with the strong emphasis on

hierarchy, dependency, and advocacy reflected in economic relationships" (Bragdon,

1996: 155). The sachem acted, in many ways, as the mouthpiece of the community. Yet

the active units within the community were families.

While the sachem's role may have been to assign family plots for domestic use, it

was on these land plots that "the daily interactions that served to maintain and define

social relations were played out" (Bragdon, 1996: 102). Daily practices and work seem to

have been separated into spheres of women's work and men's work (Bragdon, 1996: 107-

123; Salisbury, 1982: 41). Tasks associated with women were localized, in that they were

carried out in defined communal areas, such as tilling and clearing fields, planting,

shellfishing, and weaving (Bragdon, 1996: 107-116). Though few of these tasks required

major organized group efforts in order to be carried out, they were often performed as sociable activities, thereby furthering the bonds of community. The realm of men's work, mostly fishing, hunting, and trading, required a somewhat more formalized organization of the group (Bragdon, 1996: 116-123; Salisbury, 1982: 40-41). These non-local activities required an extended representation of the group solidarity, a commitment to community that allowed these tasks to be carried out effectively. Both realms of work, the female and male, also acted to both structure the actions and day-to-day routines of members of the group, and in doing so, furthered the ties of the community.

Daily tasks within these communities centered on providing for family, immediate and extended, intra-communal and, at times, extra-communal. Reciprocity and generosity were integral parts of creating and maintaining community ties and were strongly and routinely used as structuring social norms (Bragdon, 1996: 130-132, Salisbury, 1982: 44). Though reciprocity could often be ritualized, it was also an expected part of the quotidian (Bragdon, 1996: 130-132, Salisbury, 1982: 44). The ability to provide for kin revolved around access to land (Bragdon, 1996: 138). Though overseen by the sachem, the land was a large part of the communal identity, a distinct marker of "us" to "them", "ours" versus "theirs". As Roger Williams noted: "To make use of land was to be a member of the corporate community, to eat its products was to 'own' the land from which they were gathered. To lack these privileges was to be only a 'non-member' or servant, one without name" (Bragdon, 1996: 138-139).

As kinship and land would define the "us" or "we" of the community, the role of the sachem and the boundaries of the sachemship could also be established and

distinguished through relations with other communities. This was likely particularly

evident through trade relations in which the sachem played a pivotal role. Middle and

Late Woodland (A.D. 200-1510) period archaeological sites from inland New York State

containing "proto-wampum" speak to the extent of the inland-coastal exchange network

that existed well prior to European contact (Ceci, 1990: 49; also Bragdon, 1996: 97). The

sachem would have made the extra-communal contacts necessary to involve his people

within these trade associations (Bragdon, 1996: 153). Likewise, the sachem would play a

pivotal role in discontinuing these contacts, and in engaging violently with other groups;

the sachem had the final decision in conducting warfare (Bragdon, 1996: 148-149).

It is within this complicated series of social relations that the Pequot, and later

Eastern Pequot, identity was formed. Through kin ties, land base, daily practice, trade

and warfare, this group's intra- and extra-communal relationships were shaped,

maintained and changed, as their group identity became distinctly manifest. It is also

these sachemships, these distinct communities, which European traders and settlers to the

later New England region first encountered and described in their written accounts.

The "Historic" Pequot Past

The period of European contact in the northeast region of North America was

extensive and violent. "Contact" likely began as casual exchanges between fisherman

and Native peoples along the coast, possibly as early as 1480 to 1481 (Salisbury, 1982:

51). However, these casual contacts rapidly became regular and systematized networks

of exchange as European utilitarian commodities and Native furs became highly valued by the opposing parties (Salisbury, 1982: 50-51).

For the Native peoples living in this area, this trade network brought about changes to their basic residential and subsistence patterns (Salisbury, 1982: 50). Somewhat secondarily, but perhaps having a far more profound impact on the Native peoples of the Northeast, these "casual" encounters with Europeans also exposed these populations to a host of infections to which they had no natural immunities. The effects of these diseases devastated the populations of Native Americans living in these areas (Salisbury, 1982: 8-10). The population decimations that occurred in these communities furthered their reliance on the European trade network to provide their everyday domestic goods (Salisbury, 1982: 50-52; Wolf, 1997: 161-170).

However, the Pequots were somewhat secluded from the first waves of disease epidemics that had so drastically affected other Native groups in northeastern North America (Starna, 1990: 45). The area later known as southeastern New England and the people who lived there did not "encounter" Europeans or, at least, were not part of the historic record until Giovanni da Verrazzano engaged with the Narragansett people at Narragansett Bay around A.D. 1524 (Salisbury, 1982: 52). Though the Pequot sachemship neighbored the Narragansett territory and both groups regularly interacted with each other, no mention was made by Verrazzano of the Pequots. However, Verrazzano did note that the Narragansett had little need for the European utilitarian goods that he and his crew carried, but were rather more interested in decorative "trinkets" (Salisbury, 1982: 52). It has been suggested that this lack of interest in most of

the utilitarian "necessities" indicates the small degree to which the Native peoples of this region were participating in direct trade with Europeans at this point (Salisbury, 1982: 53).

The Pequots themselves, though likely recipients of some European goods through pre-existing tribal exchange networks, did not seemingly encounter Europeans steadily until the 17th century. The first historical mention of the Pequots appears in the written records of Dutch sailors under the command of Adrien Block, who noted the "Pequatoos" that they encountered whilst "exploring" the Thames River in what is now Connecticut (Salisbury, 1982: 82; Starna, 1990: 34). Pequatoo is an Algonquian word that means "shallow place in the water" (K. Sebastian, personal communication, Trumball, 1903). Of course, "(o)ut of these contacts, a series of new trade nexuses would soon arise" (Salisbury, 1982: 82), in which the Pequot peoples would have a central role.

Not until the late 1620s and into the early 1630s did the Pequots come into regular contact with both Dutch and English traders and settlers; at least, it was not until this time that they become very visible in the historic record (Hauptman, 1990: 71; Starna, 1990: 34). At the time of contact, the Pequot community was spread throughout their territory in several small hamlets or villages, at least two of which were fortified (Hauptman, 1990: 71; McBride, 1990: 102). Their territorial land base extended "between Niantic Bay and the Pawcatuck River, and along the Thames and Mystic Rivers", where Block's crews had first noted their presence (Hauptman, 1990: 71).

With this land base at their disposal, the Pequots and the neighboring Narragansetts had, by 1622, come to a position of dominance in the production and trade

of wampum beads and materials in the Northeast (Ceci, 1990: 59; Salisbury, 1982: 149-150, 204). The Pequots also formed kin-based alliance with the Mohegan through marriage and enjoyed similar alliances with the Narragansett, which furthered their dominance in this trade (Salisbury, 1982: 150, 206). In many ways, this entrepreneurial positioning would prove catastrophic for the Pequots. As both Dutch and English traders partook more heavily in the fur-trade, they noted the value placed on the shell beads by the Native groups they traded with, particularly the Iroquois (Ceci, 1990: 58-59). Eventually, wampum would become an acceptable colonial monetary form (Ceci, 1990: 59-60). This would drive the European settlers and traders to "gain control of their local currency and the commodity basic to their fiscal stability and profitmaking" (Ceci, 1990: 60).

Whereas until this point the Pequots had enjoyed somewhat of a monopolistic control over the wampum resources, they were, by the early 1630s, placed in a central position of tension with the intruding Europeans. An outbreak of smallpox in the Native communities of New England in 1633 likely exacerbated these tensions, logically making the Pequots even more wary of their new "neighbors" (Starna, 1990: 45-46). Yet, even if the diseases and epidemics that had so affected the Native populations north of Narragansett Bay could not quash the strong Pequot communities, European traders and settlers would turn to unprovoked acts of outright violence to gain access to the Pequot's land and resources by any means necessary.

It must be mentioned here that European peoples in the southern New England region encountered the Pequots with very different purposes in mind. On the one had, the

Dutch settlers in New Amsterdam had at first attempted to maintain open, "friendly"

relationships with the Native groups they encountered. Their goal was trade, and they

relied on materials and goods from these groups, including the Pequots, to sustain this

activity and far-reaching network (Salisbury, 1982: 85). As their goals were somewhat

short-term, their intrusion into Pequot territory was often brief. On the other hand, the

English approached the southern New England region with the goal of settlement, which

should be read with the goal of forcibly taking land from its Native inhabitants in order to

provide arable farming land for the quickly expanding English settlers. Of course, this

long-term goal virtually assured their conflict with New England's Native peoples

(Salisbury, 1982: 85). As the Pequots controlled key coastal areas and a far-reaching

trade network, they were prime targets for violent British action. By the mid-1630s, the

Pequots were embroiled in a situation whereby their land base and their primary trade

resources, two distinct markers of their communal identity, were becoming threatened

into non-existence.

As tensions escalated, the existence of the Pequot community was thoroughly

challenged. As early as 1622, a Dutch trader, Jacques Elekens, kidnapped and ransomed

a Pequot sachem (Tatobem) for wampum (Salisbury, 1982: 148). In the early 1630s, this

tense situation further escalated as Pequot relations with the Narragansett and Mohegans

began to sour, turning into outright skirmishes by 1632 (Salisbury, 1982: 206). The

Dutch West India Company, which had enjoyed a monopolistic trading status in the

Connecticut region until this point, quickly changed their policy to ally with the

Narragansetts (Salisbury, 1982: 207). In doing so, the Dutch trading company sought to

establish control over the Connecticut River trade, and in doing so, purposefully put themselves into direct conflict with the Pequot (Cave, 1996: 58; Hauptmann, 1990: 71-72; Salisbury, 1982: 207).

In 1634, the Pequots engaged with Native peoples (possibly Narragansett) near the Dutch trading post "the Hope". In retaliation for this attack, Dutch traders would again capture the Pequot sachem Tatobem, whom they ransomed again for wampum, but then murdered (Hauptmann, 1990: 71; Salisbury, 1982: 210-211). The death of Tatobem caused great upheaval for the Pequot community, including large population defections to other nearby tribes, especially the Mohegan and Narragansett (Salisbury, 1982: 210-211). More violence followed these events, as an English trader, John Stone, was murdered near the Pequot territories, possibly by the Pequots or the Western Niantics (Cave, 1996: 114-116; Hauptman, 1990: 72; Salisbury, 1982: 210-211).

In an attempt to quiet this storm of violence, Sassacus, the new head sachem of the Pequot, attempted to form an alliance with the Massachusetts Bay colonists. The Pequots met the heavy demands set upon them by the Massachusetts Bay Colony and in return were sent the English trader, John Oldham (Hauptmann, 1990: 72-73; Salisbury, 1982: 210-211). Oldham was murdered off the shores of Block Island, possibly by the Narragansetts, but the Pequots were held responsible for the murder (Hauptman, 1990: 72). In 1636, the English organized a military expedition against the Pequot, raiding Block Island and Pequot Harbor (Cave, 1996: 110-120; Hauptmann, 1990: 72). The Pequot retaliated in 1637 by raiding Wethersfield, Connecticut (Cave, 1996: 135; Hauptmann, 1990: 72-73). For the Pequot, this act followed the continued belligerence of

the English and was legitimated as retaliation for several previous aggressions (Cave, 1996: 119-120, 135). For the English, this retaliation "became the excuse for a full-scale…colonial war of extermination against the Pequots" (Hauptman, 1990: 72-73). The goal of this war was to literally wipe the Pequot peoples off the colonial landscape, to fully stamp out their identity as a community.

This offensive war levied by the English, from both Massachusetts and Connecticut, culminated in the events of May 26, 1637. At daybreak, or just before dawn, English soldiers under Captains John Underhill and John Mason, allied with Mohegans under the command of Uncas, sacked and burned the Pequot's fortified village on the Mystic River (Cave, 1996: 149-154; Hauptman, 1990: 73). The English massacred, mostly through the burning of wigwams, somewhere between 300-700 Pequot people. Most of these individuals were women, children and elderly persons, as many of the men were away from the village at that time (Hauptman, 1990: 73).

Although fighting continued between the English and Pequots after the massacre at Fort Mystic, Pequot survivors were confused and divided by the events (Cave, 1996: 156-158). The English were "determined to eradicate the presumed Pequot menace once and for all", raising troops and heavily pursuing the fractional Pequot groups (Cave, 1996: 158). If, and ultimately when, the English failed at physically eradicating the Pequot peoples, they then turned to disposing of the community via political disenfranchisement.

In 1638, after the English acknowledged their own victory over the Pequot, a number of surviving Pequot sachems approached the English to plea-bargain for their

lives (Cave, 1996: 161). The negotiations stemming from this action are known as the Treaty of Hartford (1638). The statutes of this treaty provided for the awarding of surviving non-combatant Pequots to both the Mohegans and the Narragansett, whilst those found guilty of war with the English were to be executed (Cave, 1996: 161). The surviving Pequots, whose lives had been spared, were warned never to return to their villages nor to speak their tribal name, Pequot, again (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 22; Cave, 1996:161-162). Though overall a highly unsuccessful venture by the British, the treaty's most lasting effect was to divide the tribe into two wholly autonomous groups. These groups would later be known as the Western, or Mashantucket, and Eastern Pequots. Effectively, in its attempt to eradicate the Pequot community, the British colonial government only succeeded in creating two Pequot communities.

Immediately following "the Pequot War" and the Treaty of Hartford, the Eastern Pequot Tribe with the Narragansett peoples in southwestern Rhode Island, where they established a small, sovreign community of approximately 120 males, along with women and children (McBride, 1990: 105). However, this residence in Rhode Island was short and did not prevent the Eastern Pequot peoples from re-establishing a Native community back in the Mystic area (McBride, 1990: 105). Though "large Indian concentrations" were not allowed and were even strictly forbidden in their traditional territory, or what is now referred to as the social core area, until 1650 (McBride, 1990: 97), by 1648, the Eastern Pequot, led by Wequash, or Weqhashcook, had established a small community west of the Pawcatuck River (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 22). Similarly, the Mashantucket Pequot community had also resettled within this "traditional territory", and

by 1666 were granted their own reservation to subdue local land conflicts (McBride, 1990: 106).

Land settlement issues seemingly plagued the colonial government of Connecticut throughout the latter half of the 17th century. There were still many Native tribes who legally held land rights throughout the region. In order to sort out competing claims between would-be settlers and Native landowners, the colony took to setting aside lands for Native peoples and essentially stealing what land was not "set-aside". Legally, this colonial policy was put on record in 1680 as a reservation law that guaranteed this established land to the Native group and "their heirs" for the rest of time (Den Ouden, in press: 13).   Within three years of the establishment of this law, fear of further conflict between the Eastern Pequot and Connecticut colonists led the Colony of Connecticut to purchase a 280-acre land parcel specifically for the Eastern Pequot community (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 23). The Colony established and recognized this land as belonging to the Eastern Pequot and, thereby, according to the recent law, guaranteed its existence and protection to the future generations of the community. The establishment of the land for this specific purpose also re-established recognition of the Eastern Pequot community within the colony of Connecticut. The English had again failed in their attempt to erase the Pequot existence, and at least governmentally, had now come to recognize it. Today this land parcel, now slightly reduced in size to roughly 225 acres, comprises what is currently referred to as the Lantern Hill Reservation (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 23).

However, life on the reservation in the 18th century was not idyllic by any stretch of the imagination. Though technically and legally recognized by the colonial

government of Connecticut, the Eastern Pequot had to continually defend their reservation land from the further encroachments of English settlers in the area (Den Ouden, in press: 13-14). Likely, the policies of the Connecticut government at that time were predicated on the notion that most of the small communities of Native people in the colony would soon be extinct, or "disappear into the ranks of the state's (sic) most impoverished laborers" (Bee, 1990: 195). They were wrong. Yet, there was a constant struggle to maintain and protect the Lantern Hill reservation lands and thereby to maintain and protect the community identity, which was now associated with this social core area. In defending their land claims, the Eastern Pequot throughout the 18th century and onward asserted their own identity as a distinct political body, as a community (Den Ouden, in press: 14-15).

Information about the nature of these struggles is recorded in "history" largely because of the petitions of Native persons to the colonial government of Connecticut regarding their land rights. In the 18th century, the Euro-American population of Connecticut expanded rapidly, and land became a highly sought after commodity (Den Ouden, in press: 194-195). Again and again, Native reservations throughout the colony were encroached upon, and the Lantern Hill Reservation was no exception. The reservation itself was largely unsuitable for farming, as the soils were poor and much of it consisted of rocky ledges (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 35). Yet, even with the poor land, local settlers repeatedly intruded on the reservation. Part of this issue was due to the fact that the previous owner, Isaac Wheeler, had been granted herbage rights on the land (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 35). This settlement allowed for a number of European

settlers in the local community to rent grazing lands on the reservation, yet often the grazing animals would be allowed and likely encouraged to go beyond these pastures and into fields and gardens of the Eastern Pequot inhabitants (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 35). Yet, as this reservation land had become synonymous with the Eastern Pequot people, with their communal identity, they willingly fought to maintain control over the meager 280 acres that the colony had granted them—with the promise that it was theirs and their heirs' forever.

One such defensive action can be seen in the petitions of Mary Momoho in the first half of the 18th century. Mary was the surviving wife of the former sachem Momoho and had come to some political authority in her own right within the Eastern Pequot community (Den Ouden, in press: 204). Mary petitioned the general assembly of Connecticut to legally deal with neighboring European settlers who continued to invade and poach off of the reservation lands (Den Ouden, in press: 202-205).

Instead of aiding Mary and her community, the colonial government in 1723 at first attempted to downsize the reservation lands, in a likely ruse to aid their white colonial subjects. Mary and the Eastern Pequot community immediately challenged this action, based largely on the law of 1680 (Den Ouden, in press: 204-206). Mary recognized that the continued and pervasive intrusions on the land by these colonists were also blatant threats to the community (Den Ouden, in press: 202-203). She also asserted that her community was very much still there, whether living on those lands or living in the larger North Stonington area (Den Ouden, in press: 205-206). Yet this group was still

the Eastern Pequot, and they were entitled to their reservation lands and also to protection by the colonial government.

These land struggles would continue for the Eastern Pequot throughout the 18th century and well into contemporary times (Den Ouden, in press: 209). By the second half of the 18th century, the scarcity of the land and the conditions of abject domestic poverty that resulted largely from the meager land led many Eastern Pequot to seek employment off the reservation (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 35-36). Often, Eastern Pequot children were hired out to local families as servants in return for their room and board (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 35; Den Ouden, in press: 205-206).

In the 18th century, the education of the Eastern Pequot children became yet another tool by which colonial society used to subvert Native identity. The religious fervor of the colonies percolated into perceived charity towards the Native peoples of New England. Starting in the 17th century, but continuing more fervently throughout the 18th century, missionaries and preachers were sent throughout the region to attempt to convert members of tribal nations to Christianity. This Christian-Indian movement, conducted by such groups as the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England" (S.P.G.N.E., begun in 1649), sent these preachers and educators for lengthy periods to the various reservations (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 37). A primary goal was the conversion of Indian souls, but also the group often provided for the European education, or "civilization," of, in particular, native children (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 114).

The Eastern Pequots, like many other groups, did accept the educational aid

provided by the S.P.G.N.E. in 1732 (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 37). Eventually,

throughout the late 18th and early 19th century, most if not all Eastern Pequot tribal

members and families accepted the Christian faith. Yet conversion to Christianity did not

equate with accepting the European way of life; in fact, many members of the Eastern

Pequot used the "Christian identity…to create community within the tribe" (Bragdon &

Simmons, 1998: 39). A few community members even took part in the Brotherton Indian

movement of the later 18th century, whereby a whole community of Christianized Native

Americans formed, yet still under the leadership of Samson Occum, a Mohegan (Bragdon

& Simmons, 1998: 40-41).

Even today, Christianity is a means by which the Eastern Pequot continue to

foster their identity as a community and as Native Americans:

> "widespread participation in religious activities by members of the Eastern Pequot
> community…is a demonstrable link to their Indian past, and many Eastern
> Pequots…consider that religious worship conducted in the presence of other
> Native people is a valuable means of sustaining their separate identity as Indians"
> (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 40).

The use of Christianity to further strengthen the bonds of the Eastern Pequot community

offers yet another example of how this group has continued to draw upon both old and

new resources as a way to maintain their community and to assert their identity.

In the latter part of the 18th century, the American Revolution would literally

encompass the entire New England region in warfare. For Native Americans, their

communities were again threatened by the emergence of a new government, the federal

government of the new United States of America. While bound under the new

Constitution to honor extant treaties and engagements (Articles IV & VI), the new

government consistently demeaned the Native populations and willingly exploited their

lands (Hamilton et al., 2001: 149, 237). The absence of Eastern Pequot men, many of

whom fought in the various colonial wars including the Revolutionary War, further

strained the community and economic resources of the community at this time (Bragdon

& Simmons, 1998: 35).

The economic standing of the Eastern Pequot community did not improve in the

19th century. Descriptions of the inhabitants of the reservation at this time refer to their

houses as consisting of both rumble down shacks and wigwams (Bragdon & Simmons,

1998: 39-40). A number of the tribal members were described by an individual with the

surname of Morse as basket, mat and broom weavers (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 40).

Though the housing and labor associated with the Eastern Pequots at this time does not

necessarily denote poverty, as it may imply tastes or preferences, without fail, the

inhabitants of the reservation were also referred to as "poor and miserable" (Bragdon &

Simmons, 1998: 40). Land encroachment by "neighbors" and difficulties with overseers

persisted (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 118-119). Still, even under these trying

conditions, or perhaps in spite of them, a number of people eked out a living on the

Lantern Hill reservation or maintained very close ties to the reservation whilst settling in

the nearby towns as laborers (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 35-36; 39-40).

The second half of the 19th century saw the eruption of the Civil War, the effects

of which would again challenge the very existence of the Eastern Pequot community.

Particularly damning were the reforms that swept the post-war nation, which called for

the detribalization of northern Native peoples (Glaza & Grant-Costa, 2001: 133). The attempt to detribalize these nations came with the hope of their assimilation into "mainstream" American, or Euro-American, society; this was similar to the policy that was being used for newly freed slaves (Glaza & Grant-Costa, 2001: 133). Of course, the local overseer and Euro-American settlers in North Stonington eagerly sought the sale of the Lantern Hill reservation in hope of both profit and further land acquisition (Glaza & Grant-Costa, 2001: 133).

However, the Eastern Pequot, under the leadership of Calvin Williams, would once again successfully pull together as a community and reject the "opportunities" offered by detribalization as well as rid themselves of the opportunistic overseer who fully backed the movement (Glaza & Grant-Costa, 2001: 133-134). These actions highlight not only the strength of the intra-communal leadership, but also suggest how firmly the community felt about its Native identity. They were unwilling to "assimilate", and they did not want to simply meld into part of the mainstream American culture—they were Eastern Pequot. Regardless of how they may have participated in some aspects of the larger society, their identity was still, and continues to be, that of an autonomous Native community.

The 20th and now 21st centuries have been no less trying for the Eastern Pequot community and to the Eastern Pequot identity. Most recently, the tribe has moved towards federal recognition. Though granted to the tribe in 2002, the community has waited through an appeals process which now preposterously spans nearly three years. In this process, the Eastern Pequots have literally had to prove that they are in fact "a

distinct, Indian community" (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 3). Again their identity and

their community are challenged, and yet, once again, the Eastern Pequot have risen to this

challenge. Like so many times before, the Eastern Pequot community "buoys" itself up

on the ludicrous constructions of an intruding government, constructions meant to

regulate and "assimilate" their lives. Yet, once again, the Eastern Pequot have used these

constructions to strengthen their community and more readily assert their identity as an

autonomous Native American Nation.

CHAPTER 4

CERAMIC ANALYSIS

Thus far I have considered how, through case studies, ceramics may be manipulated by their owners, or users, to exert an identity. In order to tie the physical artifacts to the larger theoretical questions of identity and community, and to the history of the Eastern Pequot community itself, I now move to an analysis of the recovered ceramic sherds from the 2003 field season.

In previous chapters, I noted how domestic spatial analysis through archaeological data and the recovery and analysis of material culture from domestic areas can enlighten archaeologists about the daily practices of past people. This approach to archaeology is important, particularly when considering peoples whose voices have been subverted in history. In order to know more about the past experiences of the community and its members, we must first understand how the members of this community on the reservation lived from day-to-day. Here I will analyze through a number of attributes the ceramics recovered from the Lantern Hill Reservation. I plan to recount both the field and laboratory methods used to collect the data and produce the analysis, as well as the results of the data analysis.

Review of Site Elements and Field Methods

Field work on the Lantern Hill/Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation Reservation began in the summer of 2003 as a collaborative effort between the University of Massachusetts

Boston and the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation. As previously noted, this area is historically documented as a reservation since 1683. However, as part of the "traditional" Pequot land base, the expectation was that the 225-acre area would produce material culture related to that group that well pre-dated "history". Yet, since 1683, the documentation indicates the presence of what had then become the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation community members living on the reservation and working the land there. The goal of the fieldwork is partially to connect the landscape of the reservation and the material culture associated with that land to the limited historic documentation.

The undertaking of this fieldwork was initiated by Dr. Stephen Silliman on the reservation in July 2003 with a pedestrian survey of the entire 225-acre reservation. This survey allowed for the determination, with the help of several tribal interns, of the location of a number of architectural remains on the surface of the reservation including house foundations, stone walls and stone piles. Several of these structures were found throughout the reservation, including at least nine stone foundations which indicate the presence of historic-period framed houses. This pedestrian survey allowed Dr. Silliman and the Tribal Council to gain a much better understanding of the layout of the reservation and assess possible archaeological sites in the bounds of the reservation. It also aided in determining a starting point for the sub-surface surveying of the property.

The northwest quadrant of the reservation was chosen as the beginning location for subsurface testing based on a number of factors. Primarily, this quadrant was chosen because a number of visible foundations exist in close proximity throughout the area. Also within this quadrant lies a known burial ground, again indicating the communal

nature of the residents of the reservation and the need to sensitively avoid the area during surveying. The area is also covered by a complex of interconnected stone walls and many stone piles, both of which may indicate farming or gardening activities near and associated with the households.

The subsurface surveying was conducted through a series of 0.5 m x 0.5 m shovel test pit (STP) units, which were laid out at intervals of 10.0 m using standard surveying equipment. This grid was chosen to cover a wide area, with the goal of catching the maximum number of the visible foundations or foundation areas possible during the preliminary sub-surface surveying. Were a large concentration of artifacts to be encountered, this grid could easily be tightened to a 5.0 m or 2.5 m interval to better outline or follow the concentration. However, in this first season of research on the reservation, it was more appropriate to cover as large an area of the reservation as possible with STP units.

Each STP was dug to a depth of 0.75 m where sterile B- or C-subsoil was generally encountered or until the ground became impenetrable. The majority of artifacts were recovered from the A soil horizon, which extended normally to a depth between 28-38 cm below the surface level. Occasionally artifacts were also recovered in the A/B soil interface or in the B horizon, which extended up to 68-70 cm below the surface level. No cultural remains were recovered from the C horizon, though a few ecofacts were collected from this stratum. Using an electronic total data station, the 232 shovel test pit units were also mapped so that their associated cultural material could be related to known structures and above-ground features and topographic contours in the northwestern quadrant of the

reservation. This allowed us to determine where artifact densities increased and how these increases related to the locations of foundations, stone piles and stone walls in the area. This information is particularly important for discussing issues of practice and domestic space, as discussed in previous chapters.

Although many of the test pits produced material culture, the results of the sub-surface surveying were diverse: some shovel test pits contained hundreds of artifacts, while others revealed only one or two, if any. However, these shovel test pit units did distinguish some distinctive site patterns in the northwest quadrant, which were later used to determine the placement of 1.0 m x 1.0 m excavation units. I chose to focus on the data from the shovel test pit units rather than the larger units due to the correlation the these test pits allowed me to draw between interior and exterior domestic spaces. The larger excavation units were few in number and did not encounter these comparative spaces at any of the foundations. In engaging with the data from the shovel test pit units, three main areas of relatively high ceramic artifact density were encountered during the sub-surface testing (Figure 2). Each of these areas closely correlates to a nearby stone foundation structure, making it possible to consider both issues of daily practice and local community as they relate to household functions. By household functions, here I mean the daily practices and on-goings that were associated with the specific locale or dwelling that the foundation is the remains of, though I do realize that the household, based on kin-ties, likely extended well beyond this locale as well. For purposes of discussion, I will refer to these three areas as A, B, and C.[1]

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[1] Due to the sensitive nature of the reservation property, all precise locations have been omitted from this document.

The artifacts associated with these three areas were recovered from the nine most artifact-rich shovel test pits. Each of the test pits associated with the areas A, B, and C were located within 10-20m of each other, being sequential or nearly sequential on the 10m grid. The artifacts from these nine test pits, 4% of the 232 test pits completed, accounted for slightly more than 55% of the ceramic assemblage for the entire season. Significantly, area B overwhelmingly accounted for the largest concentration of ceramics, at 35% of the total assemblage. Area A accounted for 13% of the assemblage, while Area C accounted for 7% of the assemblage. As these percentages are based on shovel test pit units, the percentage of the assemblage that they account for is likely highly dependent upon their proximity and relative position to the local foundation. Therefore, the STP units which represent area B may be higher in ceramic density due in part to their falling either closer to that foundation, or in areas spatially more consistent with earlier refuse dumping practices. These three areas will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Review of Laboratory Methods and Ceramic Database

After collection in the field by the archaeological team and then inspection by the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation temporary tribal historic preservation officer, Bobby Sebastian, the ceramic and other site artifacts were transported to the New England Archaeology Laboratory at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. Currently, this laboratory acts as the storage facility for this collection until the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation finds a suitable location for the reservation artifacts. The laboratory component of
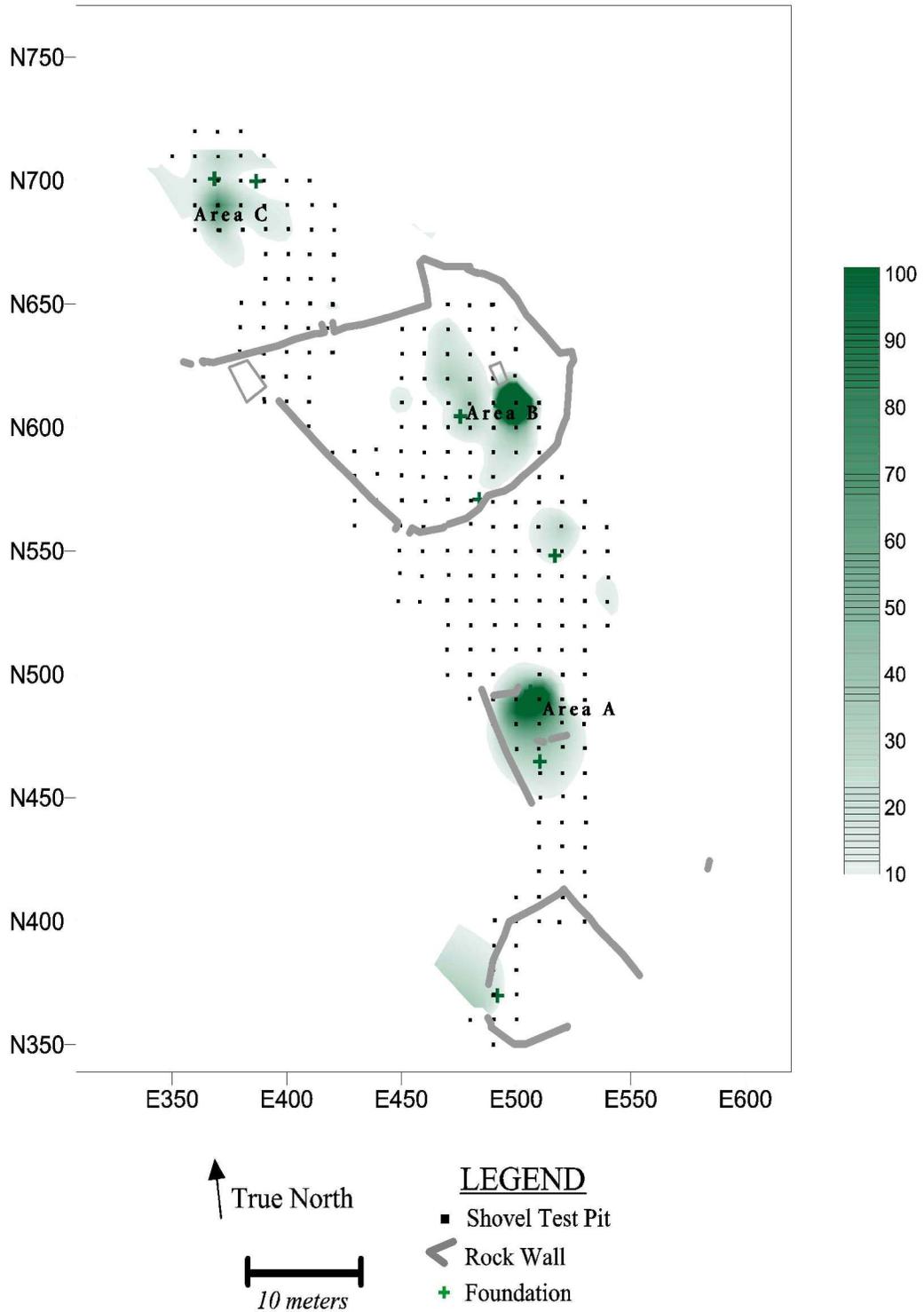
Figure 2. Isopleth map showing subassemblage areas and density (scale) of ceramic artifacts (map courtesy of Dr. Stephen Silliman and Matthew Stoltz).

this research project was completed in the 2003-2004 academic year. In order to determine how these ceramics may have contributed to Eastern Pequot identity, the identity of the ceramics must first be established. Identity in this sense refers to the standard historical archaeological practice of identifying their ware types, origins, and dates. To do this, I had to produce a database in which each of the ceramic sherds could be recorded according to its ware, type, glaze, decoration, color, size, etc. I collected this information on each shovel-test-pit ceramic in the spring semester of 2004. However, this database represents only the end-product of a series of laboratory methods undertaken to process these artifacts.

I chose to look more closely at ceramics partly because of the quantity at the site, but also due to the fact that European ceramics are often some of the most diagnostic material at colonial-period sites (McBride: 1990, 110). There also exists a seemingly strong connection between ceramics and daily household practices, which in turn, as previously shown, would lend themselves to better understanding how both individual and community identity is structured and manifested.

In order to begin the analysis, the ceramics in each shovel test pit were cleaned and then classified according to a number of attributes that address ceramic type, economic/consumer value, possible date range, possible use(s) and also potential reasons for its destruction, deposition, or interment; all of these aspects may contribute to an understanding of the households at this site. These attributes acted as field headings in a database. Within the database, each of the options under the separate field headings was

designated by a three letter code, which is listed in parentheses next to these options in

the list below:

Ware: earthenware (EAR), stoneware (STN), porcelain (POR)

Type: native ware (NAT), slipware (SLP), redware (RED), brown stoneware (BRN), grey stoneware (GRY), white salt-glazed stoneware (WSG), creamware (CRM), pearlware (PRL), whiteware (WHT), pearlware/whiteware indeterminate (PRW), yellowware (YEL), US porcelain (USP), Chinese porcelain (CHN), Japanese porcelain (JPN), Jackfield (JCK), basaltware (BAS), delftware (DLF), unknown ware type (UNK), unidentifiable ware type (UNI)

Glaze: (based on typical types used on historic period ceramics) unglazed (UNG), manganese glaze (MNG), lead glaze (PBG), salt-glaze (SGL), tin glaze (SNG), white-salt glaze (WSG), Rockingham (RCK), standard glaze (STD—found on pearlware, creamware, etc.), indeterminate (IND)

Decoration: hand-painted (HDP), transfer print (TRP), combed (COM), incised (INC), sponged (SPG), annular (ANN), mocha (MOC), shell-edged (SHE), feather-edged (FEE), flow blue (FLB), decalcomania (DEC), slipped (SLP), undecorated (UND), indeterminate decoration (IND).

Decorated faces: visible decoration on that particular sherd, either one face only (1), only one face visible (1X), both faces (2), or indeterminate (IND).

Color: blue (BLU), black (BLK), green (GRN), red (RED), brown (BRN), purple (PUR), yellow (YEL), white (WHT), polychrome (PLY), not applicable (N/A)

Vessel portion: rim sherd (RIM), base sherd (BAS), body sherd (BOD), handle portion (HND), neck (NCK), unidentified (UNI)

Vessel type: when identifiable, plate (PLT), bowl (BWL), teacup (TEA), saucer (SAU), chamberpot (CHM), jar (JAR), bottle (BOT), figurine (FIG), unknown (UNK), unidentifiable (UNI) or, in many cases a basic designation of either flatware (FLT) or hollow-ware (HOL).

Size: measured in centimeters at four intervals of <1cm, 1<2cm, 2<3cm, 3<5cm, and ≥5cm

Burn: unburned (NOT), lightly burned (BRL) or heavily burned (BRH)

The database also included a field-heading for extension, to facilitate additional division of STP artifact lots into individual pieces, and one for commentary, to note such information as conjoining pieces.

Finally, I used the database to analyze the whole STP assemblage, as well as the sub-assemblages from areas A, B, and C. In doing so, I used the database to query a number of important areas of the site. First, I looked at the breakdown of ware types by percentage of the total assemblage and then the respective sub-assemblages. This information is necessary for determining possible common patterns of ware use at the site, but has also in other studies been used as a possible indicator of economic or social status (i.e. Adams & Boling, 2000; Burley, 2000).

The next information I considered in the analysis was ware type. In this part of the analysis I focused particularly on the distribution of the earthenware group by types, as these types are abundant and are the most sensitive data by which to establish mean dates for the assemblage and sub-assemblages. This information is necessary for determining the era of settlement represented by these nearby foundations. In order to generate this information, I used the ceramic *terminus post quem* dates generated by Miller et al. (2001) to calculate a simple mean date for the assemblages and sub-assemblages.

This information may indicate agency by choice and, like ware types, economic and social status. I also considered the stoneware in this fashion, though it is a less sensitive set of data for mean dating. However, I did not analyze the porcelain by ware types due to its paucity in the collection. In a somewhat similar fashion, I also queried the categories of decoration, vessel type, size and burn as possible indicators of agency and domestic practice.

Results of Ceramic Analysis

As previously discussed, ceramics from this assemblage were analyzed as four groups: the full assemblage, as well as three subassemblages from the most artifact-dense areas of the site, represented by 9 out of the 232 shovel-test-pit units dug in the summer of 2003. The full assemblage consisted of 2,054 very diverse ceramic sherds. The overwhelming majority of the ceramic artifacts collected from these test pits were earthenwares, which are soft-bodied ceramics fired at low temperatures (900-1150° C)[2]. These ceramic wares composed 80% of the assemblage, or 1,952 ceramic artifacts. Stoneware, a non-porous type of ceramic that is partially vitrified due to its high-temperature firing process (1200° C), accounted for slightly less than 5% of the assemblage (n=100). Porcelain, the most highly fired of ceramic types (1250-1500° C), and the most costly ceramic ware by most accounting, accounted for less than 1% of the assemblage at 2 sherds.

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[2] Ceramic temperature information from www.jefpat.org/diagnostic/.

The types of ceramics represented in this assemblage were diverse, but nearly all the identifiable sherd types in the assemblage lent themselves to the determining of the mean date for the assemblage. The types of earthenware ceramics included in the assemblage were creamware, pearlware, whiteware, yellowware, and locally made redwares. There were also three basic types of stoneware identified within the assemblage, which were white salt-glazed stoneware, grey stoneware, and brown stoneware.

In many instances, a specific ceramic type could not be assigned to a sherd, most often due to the fact that either the ceramic was damaged beyond recognition or the sherd size was too small to indicate the type with any accuracy. In these cases, the sherds were assigned as type "other" for this analysis, and not considered in generating mean dates. Locally made redwares were also not used in determining the mean date of the assemblage as this ware type was produced throughout the colonial period, and little research exists that indicates the potential for accurate dating and seriation of these ceramic types.

The full assemblage largely consisted of creamware and pearlware; creamware accounting for 42% of the assemblage, and pearlware accounting for 29% of the assemblage. Redware also accounted for a significant portion of the full assemblage at 14%. The percentages from the remaining ceramic types, which were far less represented in the assemblage, are indicated in Table 1.

Portion	Count	CRM %	PRL %	WHT %	RED %	YEL %	WSG %	GRY %	BRN %	OTH %
Full assemblage	2054	42	29	2	14	<1	<1	3	1	8

Table 1. Assemblage breakdown based on ceramic types (see prior list for code information).

From this data, I determined a mean date range for the entire assemblage of 1817, or the early 19th century. These dates were calculated using a traditioanl statistical analysis that correlates the established mean dates (from Miller, 2001; Hume, 1969) of ware types and decorative styles to determine an average mean date for the entirety of the assemblage. This established date range of 1817 relates well with the type of architecture that was likely present at the site based on the foundation remains. This is historically near to the period that the Eastern Pequot community was first noted in the documentation as living in "European" style framed houses (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 39).

Another notable aspect of the full assemblage was that the ceramic artifacts from the site were largely undecorated, 80% of the recovered artifacts were plain sherds (Table 2). However, the remaining 20% of the assemblage included artifacts that were decorated in diverse manners. Within this portion of the assemblage, the styles of decoration represented were annular (ANN), feather-edged (FEE), hand-painted (HDP), incised (INC), mocha (MOC), shell-edged (SHE), slipped (SLP) and transfer-printed (TRP). There were also a small number of sherds that were decorated, but the style could not be determined due, again, either to damage or their miniscule size. These sherds are represented in Table 2 as indeterminate (IND).

Portion	Count	ANN %	FEE %	HDP %	INC %	IND %	MOC %	SHE %	SLP %	TRP %	UND %
Full Assemblage	411	<1	<1	8	<1	1	1	2	4	3	80

Table 2. Percentage of decorated ceramics based on decoration styles (see prior list for code information).

Certainly, the high percentage of undecorated sherds may, in part, be attributed to their being portions from an undecorated area of a decorated vessel. Considering the state of the assemblage, this is a distinct possibility. Again, the majority of this assemblage consisted of very small ceramic sherds, 45% of which were smaller than 1 cm in maximum dimension and less than 15% of which were larger than 1-2 cm in maximum dimension. It is difficult to determine if the small nature of these artifacts is a result of pre-depositional events or is related to bio-turbation and post-depositional ground disturbance (i.e. landscaping, gardening, trampling, etc.).

The small size of the ceramic artifacts, combined with the very few opportunities for vessel refitting, made it almost impossible to determine, with any real certainty, specific vessel form. There were a few occasions where based on rim or base form and size, it seemed likely that a piece derived from a plate, saucer, or jar; but these forms were so rarely identifiable that they would each account for less than 1% of the assemblage if analyzed by specific forms. Because of this, and in order not to unnecessarily skew the data, I chose to analyze vessel form based on the broad categories of hollowware and flatware, again including a category for indeterminate pieces (Table 3).

Portion	Count	Hollowware %	Flatware %	Indeterminate %
Full Assemblage	2054	28	25	47

Table 3. Breakdown of assemblage based on vessel form (information is based on all sherd types).

A final significant characteristic of the full assemblage was the high incidence of burn damage visible on the ceramics. Just under half of the full assemblage of ceramic artifacts demonstrated patterns of burning including charring, cracking, and de-glazing associated with direct exposure to fire. In all, 42% of the assemblage was considered lightly burned, while 5% of the total showed damage from heavy burning. Just over half, or 52%, of the assemblage was unaffected by burning.

Analysis of Areas A, B, & C

The analysis above represents the results from the full assemblage of 2,054 ceramic sherds from 232 shovel-test-pit-units. However, over half of the ceramics in this assemblage (55%) came from just 9 STP units, all of which were closely related to one or more foundation remnants. These 9 STP units accounted for three areas of relatively intense artifact density, which I have called areas A, B, and C. I will now look more closely at these three areas to indicate how they relate to the larger assemblage and how they might inform about the nearby house foundations.

The high artifact density in area A was encountered in 2 STP units which together produced 267 ceramic artifacts, or 13% of the entire assemblage. Of these ceramics, 261 (98%) of the sherds were earthenwares and 6 (2%) of the sub-assemblage were

stoneware. No porcelain was associated with area A. As with the larger assemblage, the majority of these wares were creamware and pearlware. However, unlike the larger assemblage, pearlware accounted for the largest type group in this sub-assemblage (Table 4).

Portion	Count	CRM %	PRL %	WHT %	RED %	YEL %	WSG %	GRY %	BRN %	OTH %
Area A	267	23	36	4	10	2	0	<1	2	22

Table 4. Breakdown of Area A assemblage based on ceramic types.

The larger percentage of pearlware combined with the relatively high proportion of whiteware and yellowware from this sub-assemblage pushed the mean date range to a slightly later decade in the 19th century than the full assemblage or the other sub-assemblages. The mean date range for area A was 1827.

The sub-assemblage from area A was also interesting because it had the highest percentage of decorated wares of any of the given assemblages and the most types of decoration. One-quarter of the ceramic sherds from this subassemblage was decorated, and each pattern of decoration found in the larger assemblage was also found in this subassemblage (Table 5).

Portion	Count	ANN %	FEE %	HDP %	INC %	IND %	MOC %	SHE %	SLP %	TRP %	UND %
Area A	267	2	<1	8	<1	5	<1	3	3	2	75

Table 5. Breakdown of ceramics from Area A based on decoration styles.

Similar to the larger assemblage, the sherds from this subassemblage were also mostly quite small, 40% of which measured <1 cm in maximum dimension. Partly because of this, many of these ceramics could not be attributed to a specific vessel form, and 43% were unidentifiable as such. However, 16 % of these ceramics seemed to be from hollowware vessels, while 41% seemed related to flatware vessel forms.

Finally, Area A exhibited ceramics with less burning than did the larger assemblage or other subassemblages. Only 36% of the ceramics from this subassemblage indicated evidence of burning. However, of the burned ceramics from this unit, 11% showed damage from heavy burning and intense heat, a far higher proportion in comparison to the other assemblages.

The subassemblage from area B contained by far the largest amount of ceramics, representing 35% of the total assemblage. The 720 potsherds recovered from this area derived from 4 STP units that encountered a rich artifact deposit(s) closely associated with a large stone foundation. One of these STP units alone produced over 25% of the ceramics from the entire assemblage. In this sub-assemblage, 682 (95%) of the sherds were earthenwares, while 38 (5%) of the sherds were stoneware. There was no porcelain in this subassemblage.

The earthenwares from area B were relatively well distributed between the creamware and pearlware types, though there was a bit more creamware identified in this assemblage. The area also revealed a significantly higher proportion of redware than in area A (Table 6).

Portion	Count	CRM %	PRL %	WHT %	RED %	YEL %	WSG %	GRY %	BRN %	OTH %
Area B	720	38	33	3	16	<1	<1	3	1	4

Table 6. Breakdown of Area B subassemblage based on ceramic type.

For this subassemblage, the data indicate a mean ceramic date of 1817, the exact same date as that of the whole assemblage, as would be expected by its relative proportions.

In a similar fashion to area A and relative to the larger assemblage, over three-quarters of this sub-assemblage (76%) consisted of undecorated ceramic wares. Interestingly, although 24% of the assemblage was decorated, a comparable proportion to both the larger assemblage and subassemblage A, in comparison with these two ceramic groups, the diversity of decorative pattern types represented in sub-assemblage B is proportionately much lower (Table 7).

Portion	Count	ANN %	FEE %	HDP %	INC %	IND %	MOC %	SHE %	SLP %	TRP %	UND %
Area B	720	<1	0	9	<1	1	0	2	6	5	76

Table 7. Breakdown of Area B subassemblage based on decoration styles.

Unlike area A, more hollowware vessel forms were identified in the area B subassemblage. These data may be skewed however, as fewer than half of the ceramic sherds (44%) were able to be associated with a vessel form from this density area. This is, again, largely due to the small size and poor condition of the artifacts from these units. A full 86% of the ceramics in this subassemblage were less than 2 cm in maximum dimension, with 49% being even smaller at <1cm in maximum dimension. The ceramic

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artifacts from area B also demonstrated a significant amount of burning. Well over half

of these ceramics were burned, with 56% being lightly burned and the other 2%

demonstrating heavy burning.

The subassemblage from area C had the lowest artifact density. It consists of 146

artifacts collected from 3 STP units. As with the full assemblage and the other

subassemblages from areas A and B, this group also predominantly consisted of

earthenwares at 94% of the sub-assemblage. Stoneware made up the other 6% of this

sub-assemblage, and again, there was no porcelain in this group.

As with the other two subassemblages, the majority of the artifacts in this group

were split between the creamware and pearlware types, at 32% and 31%, respectively

Interestingly, though, significantly more locally made redware occurred in this

subassemblage than in the other two subassemblages (A, B) or in the full assemblage

(Table 8).

Portion	Count	CRM %	PRL %	WHT %	RED %	YEL %	WSG %	GRY %	BRN %	OTH %
Area C	146	32	31	0	23	1	<1	4	<1	6

Table 8. Breakdown of Area C according to ceramic types.

With this breakdown, I calculated a mean date range of 1802.

Area C was similar to the subassemblage representing area B in that there were

less decorative patterns represented in this portion of the full assemblage than in either

the full assemblage itself or in the subassemblage from area A. Overall, the

subassemblage from area C had proportionally the least amount of decoration, with 88% of the sub-assemblage as undecorated (Table 9).

Portion	Count	ANN %	FEE %	HDP %	INC %	IND %	MOC %	SHE %	SLP %	TRP %	UND %
Area C	146	<1	0	6	1	0	0	0	3	<1	88

Table 9. Breakdown of Area C according to decoration styles.

The vessel forms represented in this unit were identified as being 35% from hollowware and 29% from flatwares. However, as with the other subassemblages, a large portion (36%) of these ceramics remained unidentified as to vessel form due largely to their size. Again in area C, 47% of these sherds were less than 1cm in maximum dimension and another 37% were between 1-2 cm in size. Also, many of these sherds demonstrated considerable damage from burning, with 59% showing patterns of light burning and another 4% exhibiting signs of heavy burning.

Summary

To summarize this analysis, the 232 shovel-test-pit units completed in the summer 2003 field season at the Lantern Hill reservation produced 2,054 ceramic artifacts. These ceramics were diverse in their types, but 95% of these ceramics were earthenwares. The types of ceramics represented in this assemblage included creamware, pearlware, whiteware, locally produced redware, yellowware, white salt-glazed stoneware, grey stoneware, brown stoneware and porcelain. This combination of ware types produced a mean date range for the assemblage of 1817.

The majority of ceramic sherds within the larger assemblage were undecorated pieces. However, the decoration pattern types included annular, feather-edged, hand-painted, incised, mocha, shell-edged, slipped wares, and transfer-printed. Although some specific vessel forms could be detected from the sherds in the larger assemblage, the identification of these forms was limited in the analyses. This is in large part due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the sherds in the full assemblage were less than 2 cm in maximum dimension, and nearly half of these pieces measured less than 1 cm in size. The ceramics from the full assemblage also indicated damage from heat or fire, as 48% of the full assemblage was considered either lightly or heavily burned.

Over half of these ceramic artifacts (55%) came from just nine of the shovel test pits. These nine test pits represent three distinct areas – labeled A, B, and C – of artifact density encountered in the northwestern quadrant of the reservation. Each of these areas is somewhat closely associated with nearby foundation remains and thus indicate some of the past daily domestic practices on the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation Reservation.

The three subassemblages of artifacts from each of these areas were somewhat similar in content to each other and with the larger assemblage. However, each area exhibited some unique differences, especially in decoration, but also in ware. These differences allowed for some temporal differences to become apparent through mean dating of the three different areas. Area C seems to be the earliest deposit, with a mean ceramic date of 1802. Area B is the second oldest deposit, with a mean date range of 1817, while Area A is the youngest of the subassemblages, with a mean date range of 1827. Though these mean dates are slightly distant from one another, there is a distinct

possibility that these houses were in fact contemporaneous structures. Both socioeconomic factors and decisions of personal taste made by the former inhabitants of these structures may affect the mean dates of the associated sub-assemblages. The information from these three subassemblages may indicate in their own way some of the past realities of the Eastern Pequot community on the Lantern Hill Reservation.

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this thesis, I asserted that my interest in the material culture, and specifically the ceramics, from the Lantern Hill Reservation was largely formed around the specific research question: Is identity, the persistence of an identity, and the public manifestation/perception of an identity more a result of a physical/material expression or interpersonal relationships? Also, how can archaeology contribute to the answering of this question?

In exploring this question throughout this paper, I have indicated a number of theoretical frameworks, in particular those of Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens, which I believe are useful in considering these issues. I have also engaged with how these practice theories can and have been incorporated into archaeological considerations of the past. Although it will take years of research with the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation and on the Lantern Hill Reservation to really begin to understand their ancestors' past practices and experiences, the current data from this ceramic assemblage do speak to some aspects of agency and community, to the structuration of identity.

The first aspect that the results of the ceramic analysis can address concerns the foundation remains located in the northwestern quadrant of the Lantern Hill Reservation. The ceramic analysis suggests general occupation periods for these three areas. Certainly, all of the houses that these foundations represent were occupied by Eastern Pequot peoples at the turn of the 19th century and possibly for some time before that. The

proximity of these three high-density areas to one another, and the similarities of the full ceramic assemblage, could possibly indicate the formation of a smaller, micro-community on the reservation in the late 1700s and early 1800s, though further excavations on the reservation will be necessary to determine if this is in fact the case.

Based solely on mean ceramic dates, these assemblages could represent a gradual settlement of this micro-community with Area C representing the first occupation of the area, with B following and then A. It seems likely that at some point during this time span, all of these homes were simultaneously occupied; the residents were neighbors. However, these homes may have been settled contemporaneously as well, the paucity of certain ceramic types then being indicative of economic status and the family's ability to acquire the ceramic goods. This interpretation would indicate that the family occupying Area C was relatively more impoverished than their neighbors at Areas A and B. This socio-economic interpretation will be discussed further below.

The spatial orientation of these households is also very intriguing. Their layout does not immediately suggest a patterned planning, though it is hard to know their exact orientation from just the foundation remains. Though the houses are near each other, but not in a quickly discernible pattern, their are some indication of what the layout of these houses may speak to. The short distances between the homes or areas may indicate small garden areas that were maintained by Eastern Pequot peoples for subsistence purposes, which are briefly referred to by Glaza and Grant-Costa in their report on the Eastern Pequot community in the latter half of the 19th century (Glaza & Grant-Costa, 2001: 131). This evidence is possibly supported by the large amount of small stone piles in and

around the several foundations. Considering the highly valued role of kinship ties in this community (i.e. Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 45-49; see also Bragdon, 1990; Salisbury, 1982) this pattern of residence may even possibly be associated with generations of an extended family.

Whether these ceramics and their associated foundations represent family units or just neighboring households, they do shed some light on the past practices of their residents. For one, their location and the other non-ceramic artifacts associated with the assemblage do indicate something about material refuse disposal. It seems that all refuse, whether organic or inorganic, was deposited directly outside of the house. This was particularly evident in area B, where the densest concentration of artifacts was located within 2 m of the foundation structure. It is also possible that this refuse was deposited in a midden-heap, as no features were encountered which indicated pits or trenches had been dug to enclose the refuse area. However, this may also be an unintentional "artifact" of the STP sampling strategy.

A second fact to consider in this disposal issue is the condition of the ceramic artifacts themselves. Many of them are quite "beat-up", as glaze is often chipped, cracked or at times ground off. Also, the vessels they represent seem to have been completely shattered, as many of the sherds are small. Most of this damage likely came from depositional decay on these ceramics', however, the nature of the deposits, particularly those of Area B also indicates the heavy use and discard of these ceramics. This may be indicative of an intensive use of these vessels prior to their disposal, which may have been out of economic necessity. Alternatively, the large amount of broken

ceramics may also indicate the ready availability and low value placed on these vessels by their users, which I will discuss momentarily.

There also seems to be a high incidence of fire in this smaller community area, as each of the density areas had strong indications of destruction of many of the ceramic artifacts by heat and flame. Also, the small size of the majority of the pieces does indicate some heavy destruction possibly before the sherds were deposited. Whether this resulted from house fires is difficult to determine, as few wood charcoal remains are associated with any of these three subassemblage areas. However, there does seem to be a pattern of burning associated with each of these denser deposit areas, which may in part indicate the reason for their deposition.

Apart from their disposal and their "beat-up" appearance, the ceramic wares, types and decoration in this assemblage also indicate some socio-economic aspects and practices of this community. The high proportion (42%) of creamware, and especially undecorated creamware, throughout the assemblage, and relatively within each of the subassemblages, does support the documentary evidence that people living on the reservation were economically poor (Bragdon and Simmons, 1998: 35-39). Miller has determined that by the turn of the 19th century, creamware was the least expensive refined earthenware available (Miller, 2000: 86). There is also no good evidence of matching tableware or tea sets at all within the assemblage, though, based on the very small and beat-up nature of the ceramics, it was impossible to do a vesselation count on the material. However, the ceramic analysis does suggest that household dinnerware at these

three areas was a collection of mismatched decorated patterns and undecorated bowls and plates which were heavily used.

This, coupled with the large percentage of locally-made redwares, and the relative paucity of stoneware and porcelain throughout the assemblage may suggest that the people of this community selected the most affordable European-style ceramics available. As more types of ceramics became available on the market through time, they were included into these Eastern Pequot households. This variance could be implicated in the types of ceramics found between the three distinct areas discussed above, though at this time this evidence is relatively inconclusive.

However, economic availability or limitations does not preclude the role of choice and agency involved in assembling a household's collection of ceramics in the first place. Though the acquisition of these ceramics is unclear, whether they were bought or given to the residents cannot be determined at this time, however, the people represented by this assemblage may have actively chosen to purchase and/or acquire these European-made wares. They were choosing between a range of available types and, for seemingly more aesthetic purposes, between a wider range of decorative styles and patterns. They chose to use these wares as part of their daily existence and likely in rather intensive ways. This refers back to the issue of whether the heavy wear on the ceramics could indicate economic hardship or rather a socio-economic worldview that was disaffected by how status could be conveyed through ceramics. Likely it was a combination of both.

It is possible, and may be likely, that the residents of these households had one small, mismatched set of dishes for all of their meals, which they used until they were

completely broken or even shattered. This scenario certainly indicates a lifestyle whereby the acquisition of certain goods was limited by economic factors, including the acquisition of matching dish sets. These economic limitations may also have in some ways forced people to get a maximum return for their economic expenditures, particularly on common household goods.

However, the lack of matching sets and heavy wearing of these ceramics may also indicate that the people living in this community viewed their household ceramics with very functional intent and that they were not ensconced in the contemporaneous Euro-American consumer trends. This is to say that for them, ceramic value and ownership of a matching table ware set may have been a relatively inconsequential indicator of status within their own social sphere or community. This is very unlike the outside "other", Euro-American society, for whom ceramic types and sets would have been key indicators and displays of economic wealth and therefore social status (Adams & Boling, 2000: 111). Of course, that worldview was created by and for Euro-American society, and possibly the Native American society and community represented in this assemblage did not participate in or share it.

This possibility indicates the ways in which material culture in general, and these ceramics in particular, may speak to the formation of identity. However, the question still remains as to how then these ceramics indicate their owners' unique Native and Eastern Pequot identity. In many ways, this assemblage "looks" European, which is to say, it consists largely of European-made ceramics. Out of context, this assemblage would be very similar to that from a poor Euro-American household. Yet its location on the

Lantern Hill Reservation and the documentary evidence associated with that reservation show that it would have belonged to the households and people that made up part of the Eastern Pequot community in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

What is interesting to note here is that these Eastern Pequot peoples could have chosen not to live on the reservation. There were several members of the broader Eastern Pequot community who did live in the townships, or the social sore area, surrounding the reservation in the 18th and 19th century (Bragdon & Simmons, 1998: 24-27, 30-33). Yet, these foundations and the material culture associated with them indicate that the individuals who resided in these former homes actively chose to maintain residencies on the reservation; they could have chosen otherwise. In many ways the discrepancies here between the identities relayed through who made the ceramic artifacts versus those who used these artifacts is resolved in the statement by Simmons cited earlier. Simmons' discussion asserts that during the contact period and throughout the colonization and settlement of the New England landscape, the New England tribes, including the Eastern Pequot largely:

> experienced an overwhelming series of events…which challenged their confidence and understanding and undercut the infrastructure of their societies. In the aftermath of these and other watersheds, the survivors buoyed themselves up by means of social and cultural constructions that drew upon the new as well as the old (Simmons, 1986: 261).

The use of these European ceramics by the Eastern Pequot people shows that members of this community were actively partaking in the emerging colonial economy and society. However, the deposition of these artifacts on the Lantern Hill reservation, in a small group or sub-community of households, indicates how strongly these same people

were tied to their own smaller society, to their defining Eastern Pequot identity. That is who they were. In choosing to utilize European-made ceramics, these individuals were not choosing to become more "Euro-American". Rather, in choosing those ceramics, in bringing them into their households, community, and daily lives, these people were re-establishing these artifacts within the sphere of their individual and collective identity—as Eastern Pequot.

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