

MATERIAL STUDIES OF EASTERN PEQUOT CLOTHING IN  
18TH- AND 19TH- CENTURY CONNECTICUT:  
ISSUES IN COLLABORATIVE INDIGENOUS ARCHAEOLOGY

A Thesis Presented

by

JONATHAN KNIGHT PATTON

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,  
University of Massachusetts Boston,  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

December 2007

Historical Archaeology Program

© 2007 by Jonathan Knight Patton

All rights reserved

MATERIAL STUDIES OF EASTERN PEQUOT CLOTHING IN  
18TH- AND 19TH- CENTURY CONNECTICUT:  
ISSUES IN COLLABORATIVE INDIGENOUS ARCHAEOLOGY

A Thesis Presented

by

JONATHAN KNIGHT PATTON

Approved as to style and content by:

---

Stephen W. Silliman, Associate Professor  
Chairperson of Committee

---

Amy E. Den Ouden, Assistant Professor  
Member

---

Stephen A. Mrozowski, Professor  
Member

---

Stephen W. Silliman, Director  
Historical Archaeology Program

## ABSTRACT

# MATERIAL STUDIES OF EASTERN PEQUOT CLOTHING IN 18TH- AND 19TH- CENTURY CONNECTICUT: ISSUES IN COLLABORATIVE INDIGENOUS ARCHAEOLOGY

December 2007

Jonathan Knight Patton, B.A., Connecticut College

Directed by Professor Stephen W. Silliman

Within a collaborative indigenous archaeological framework, this work is one step in a process of cultural translation. This thesis combines embodied theory derived from the work of Diana Loren, a focus on clothing and adornment artifacts following Mary Beaudry and others, and clothing-related archaeological and documentary data sets from the Eastern Pequot Reservation in North Stonington, Connecticut, in order to examine the relationship of a people and their place in a colonial context during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Eastern Pequot Reservation and the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation and its descendants must be understood as parts of a whole. In the 18th and 19th centuries the Eastern Pequot were living within an industrializing New England and were economically and socially marginalized under overseers appointed by the Connecticut

colonial government, who exerted control over many elements of daily life, including clothing procurements. Analysis of clothing transactions from overseers account books for the Early Industrial Period (1829 to 1859), and an assemblage of clothing-related artifacts from three household areas on the reservation spanning approximately a century of occupation from the 1740s through the 1850s, suggest that these years saw the continuation of a complicated adaptation to colonial domination through clothing, but also suggests that clothing may have been integral to maintaining Eastern Pequot culture through the exchange of clothing knowledge. The Eastern Pequots and their reservation were participants simultaneously in a capitalistic, industrial economy and a dialectical relationship of domination, accommodation, cultural persistence and resistance with their Anglo-American overseers and colonial neighbors, in which clothing reflected many elements simultaneously. They were dressing like their Anglo-American neighbors, but the presence of traditional items such as beads, the elements of choice visible in the accounts, and the presence of sewing hardware, jewelry and mixed styles of buttons and buckles suggest that in the 18th and 19th century those individuals, especially Eastern Pequot women, living on the reservation were neither invisible, nor static. The Eastern Pequot were able to consistently make or acquire their own clothing and to dress within their purchasing power and negotiated identities in a colonial, industrializing world.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is dedicated to Dr. Harold Juli, my mentor and teacher. I wish that I had been able to know him as a friend and colleague. My deepest thanks and praise go to my wife, Stephanie for sticking in for three long years. I would also like to thank my immediate academic peers: Dr. Stephen W. Silliman, Dr. Stephen A. Mrozowski, Dr. Amy E. Den Ouden, Dr. Diana Loren, Dr. Kevin McBride, Dr. (almost) Rae Gould, and Tom Witt, M.A, among many others. I also hope that the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation and the Massachusetts Historical Commission will appreciate this work, and I thank them wholly for their support.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix

### CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. DOCUMENTARY DATA .....	20
3. MATERIAL CULTURE .....	36
Beads.....	40
Jewelry .....	44
Sewing Hardware.....	48
Buckles.....	52
Buttons.....	67
Summary.....	91
4. CONCLUSIONS.....	94

### APPENDIX

A. MASTER CLOTHING DATABASE, 1829-1859 .....	105
B: CLOTHING BY FAMILY NAME, 1829-1859 .....	114
C: CLOTHING BY TYPE, 1829-1859 .....	121
D: CLOTHING BY YEAR, 1829-1859 .....	131
E: MATERIAL CULTURE DATABASE.....	139

REFERENCES .....	144
------------------	-----

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2.1. Shuntaup Family Clothing Purchases 1835-1852.....	26
3.1. Eastern Pequot Reservation Clothing Artifacts .....	38
3.2. Glass Bead Classification (after Silliman 2000, Table 8.7).....	41



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1.1. USGS New London Quad Map, Eastern Pequot Reservation, North Stonington, CT .....	3
3.1. 3mm and 7mm Eastern Pequot Beads .....	43
3.2. Silver Finger Ring.....	45
3.3. Copper Alloy Ring .....	46
3.4. Modified Matron Head Penny .....	46
3.5. Blue Paste Gem.....	47
3.6. Eastern Pequot Small Scissors .....	49
3.7. Eastern Pequot Small Scissors .....	50
3.8. Copper-Alloy Thimble.....	51
3.9. Buckle Anatomy (Grillo, Aultman and Bon-Harper 2003:8) .....	54
3.10. Buckle Hook Shapes (A-E) and Pin Terminal Types (1-5) (Grillo, Aultman and Bon-Harper 2003:11,12) .....	54
3.11. Eastern Pequot "Shuttle Shaped" Buckle and Whitehead #700 Buckle (2003: 106) .....	57
3.12. Eastern Pequot Small Shoe Buckle.....	58
3.13. "Cooking-Pot" Chape.....	59
3.14. Fork Tongue.....	60
3.15. Two-Spike Chape Fragment .....	60
3.16. Type 5 Terminal.....	61
3.17. Rectangular Type 5 Terminal .....	61
3.18. Iron Buckle.....	62
3.19. Iron Buckle.....	62
3.20. Cast White Metal Buckle .....	63
3.21. Whitehead #752, Fancy Silver, Steel, Gem Encrusted Buckle (2003: 116) .....	64
3.22. Artois Tubular Buckle with Boss.....	65
3.23. Cast Copper-Alloy Flat Rectangular Artois Buckle .....	66
3.24. Noël Hume Button Typology, after South (1969: 91) .....	71
3.25. Eastern Pequot Reservation Buttons.....	74
3.26. Wheat Sheaf Design.....	76
3.27. Vest Button .....	77

Figure	Page
3.28. White Metal Button, Type 11 .....	77
3.29. Lathe-Turned Pewter Button.....	78
3.30. Household area #1 Buttons (A-E).....	79
3.31. Type 18, Chevron Shank.....	80
3.32. Type 9, Small And Large Examples .....	81
3.33. 3 cm 'Tombac' .....	81
3.34. Laurel Back Decoration .....	82
3.35. Laurel Shank .....	83
3.36. Eagle and Star Shank .....	83
3.37. Rubber and Glass Buttons (Inverse of the rubber button depicted in right and left sides).....	83
3.38. Type 8, 'Tombac'.....	85
3.39. Type 10 .....	85
3.40. Type 7 .....	85
3.41. Type 29 .....	85
3.42. Cast White Metal Button with Copper-Alloy Button .....	86
3.43. 4-Hole Pearl Buttons.....	86
3.44. R and W Robinson Extra, Attleborough, MA.....	87
3.45. Jacksonian Wheat Sheaf Design (as identified in Luscomb 1997).....	88
3.46. Large Plain and Small Stamped Type 18 .....	89

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Why is it important to talk about the past in the present? It is important because both the past and the present are inextricably linked, and each explains and gives meaning to the other. We can learn about the past in multiple ways, and in New England today a collaborative indigenous archaeology (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008) can fruitfully enhance the connections between past and present. Collaborative indigenous archaeology is the combination of historical documentary research; the heritage, traditions and memories of a descendent Native American community; and archaeology done on tribal lands by tribal members in cooperation with academically trained anthropological archaeologists. These individuals, whether Native or non-Native, understand that their participation in archaeology changes the story that the present writes about the past, even while it is being written. This archaeology uses available sources of information on the past, but also acknowledges present conditions, to more fully narrate both past and present.

This has not always been the case. Only since the Civil Rights years of the 1960s, corollary to the world-wide increase in the study of colonialism and the African-American and Native American Rights Movements in North America, have

archaeologists and Native Americans begun to reshape their relationships (e.g. Deloria, Jr. 1996, 1999; Echo-Hawk 1993; Ferguson 1996; Given 2004; Kerber 2006; Larson 1997; Nassaney 1989; McGuire 2004; Rubertone 2000, 2001; Sider 1987, 1993). The position of archaeology may be seen in two extremes: as an expression of a long history of colonial repression and control, or as a way to regain control of cultural and personal identities by reorienting colonial tools to support Native American identities and goals. There has been a slow shift from the former to the latter in most of North America. However, in Connecticut, Native American-directed archaeology and anthropology has been well integrated since Federal Acknowledgement for the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation (1983) and Mohegan Tribe (1994) and associated successful casinos, which have produced funding for cultural research (Bodinger de Uriarte 2003; Calloway and Salisbury 2003; Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995; Lamb Richmond and Den Ouden 2003; McBride 2005, 1996; Nicolas 2002; Pasquaretta 2003). The collaborative indigenous archaeology currently occurring on the Eastern Pequot Reservation in North Stonington, Connecticut, is writing the next chapter in this story (Figure 1.1).



**Figure 1.1: USGS New London Quad Map, Eastern Pequot Reservation, North Stonington, CT**

Over the past several summers University of Massachusetts Boston archaeologist Dr. Stephen W. Silliman has conducted an archaeological field school in collaboration with members of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation. In this context Native Americans and non-Native American archaeologists trained in Western scientific principles systematically excavating a historically Native American place under guidance and supervision of Tribal Nation representatives, has allowed the gradual formation of a hybrid, collaborative, site-specific archaeology, able to be mobilized for education.

The format of a field school (e.g. Perry 2004) in which the university manages the expenses of running the excavations means that a primary goal of developing documentary and material cultural support for cultural identities can be realized with little or no economic burden on the tribal nation. The tribal nation, in turn, derives further hard evidential support for its cultural identity while also educating the professor and students on Native American perspectives, fostering understanding, respect and goodwill in the academic and wider

communities (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008). This approach to collaborative indigenous archaeology is especially important for those tribal nations, such as the Eastern Pequot, Schaghticoke, Golden Hill Paugusset, and others in Connecticut who, despite state recognition as tribal nations, and years of research, time and money, have been denied Federal recognition as sovereign tribal nations, and the economic opportunities that accompany that status.

The Eastern Pequot Reservation has been continuously inhabited since its creation by the colony of Connecticut in 1683. Present members of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation have participated in the field school investigations since 2003 as historic preservation advisors, tribal interns and Tribal Historic Preservation Officers alongside undergraduate and graduate student in the archaeological survey and intensive excavation of portions of the current 225-acre Eastern Pequot Reservation. This work is a product of that collaborative endeavor which will use documentary and archaeological data to explore the relationship of a people and a place through their clothing, within the wider contexts of colonialism on the Eastern Pequot Reservation and a capitalistic economy in New England during the 18th and 19th centuries. Through an understanding of what clothing the Eastern Pequot people were wearing during this period, and glimpses of how they were wearing that clothing, this work asserts that clothing can be a productive way in which to gain insight into the relationships between people living within a colonial, industrial economy during this period. The role of the Eastern Pequot Reservation in this work is as the focal place of Eastern Pequot culture, where the ancestors and connection to the land are most important. The houses occupied during this period served as the

locus of clothing use, manufacture, modification and the exchange of knowledge related to these things among Eastern Pequot individuals and families.

Archaeologically, this work uses two of the guiding concepts developed for the research model utilized by Kent Lightfoot at Fort Ross, California (1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998). Lightfoot's work employs a contextual, pluralist, multi-scalar, diachronic, holistic and pan-regional methodology in order to understand the complicated lives of individuals in a colonial environment. At Fort Ross, Russian, Native Alaskan and Native Californian ethnicities mingled in economic, kin and domestic household relationships. Using the concepts of context and diachronism in turn, this work begins to address Eastern Pequot clothing choices over an approximately 100 year span, from the mid-18th-century through the mid-19th-century through archaeological and documentary data sets.

The theoretical foundations for these concepts lie in French social theory, especially those of Pierre Bourdieu (1979, 1990), but also Michel Foucault's (1982:778) discourse on the role of power and the subject, as well as other derived theories about the agency of an individual, such as those of Giddens (1979, 1984). Bourdieu's essential explanation of daily life is as a life-in-practice, from the perspective of an individual who has choices, but is also operating within the wider life contexts and determinants of choice or "habitus". Archaeologists have adopted Bourdieu's idea in their interpretations of material culture in colonial contexts (Barrett 2000; Dobres 2000; Silliman 2001, 2006; see also Hall and Silliman 2006).

Lightfoot's summation of practice demonstrates the interconnectedness of the place and people in a colonial environment: "It is through daily practice - how space is structured, how mundane domestic tasks are conducted, how refuse is disposed of - that

people both organize and make sense of their lives. The focus on daily practice is well suited to archaeology...these routine kinds of actions that dominate people's domestic lives produce much of the material culture we recover in the archaeological record" (Lightfoot et al. 1998:281). However, daily practice also applies to the connection between the agent in the past and the construction of agency in the archaeology of the present. Shanks and Tilley have insisted that "we stress that practice, in its structuring, spatiality and temporality, is political and historical, and social systems are contradictory, not homogeneous entities, but characterized by political relations of dominance and subordination. Individuals are competent and knowledgeable while at the same time their action is situated within unacknowledged conditions and has unintended consequences" (1987: 116; see also Tilley 1992). Archaeologists Diana Loren and Mary Beaudry have succinctly summarized these discussions in their assertion that: "Identity formation must be understood within local communities but located within the larger surrounding conversations or discourse that impacted how people created identities and how others viewed them within colonial society" (Loren and Beaudry 2006:256).

Therefore, on the Eastern Pequot Reservation, an understanding of clothing choices through material culture and documentary data over a hundred year period must be approached most broadly through the idea of a colonial space, and more specifically through the ways in which these data illustrate a people and their place in that space. Colonial space is a way to conceptualize the complicated world in which the Eastern Pequot and the Eastern Pequot Reservation were and are situated. Colonial space is historically situated, diachronic, and includes differential power dynamics, and situational social interactions that assist in the definition and maintenance of individual and



corporate identities. Such identities are expressed in multiple forms, and are reflected in documentary and material culture data. The power within colonial space can also be understood here in other critical historical anthropological terms, following Axel (2002), Dirks (2002), Stoler (2002) and Scott (1985), as a progression of control through the establishment and maintenance of modalities of rule, including a multiply layered bureaucracy and symbolic architecture, following from and ultimately supported by an application of violent military force. The Eastern Pequot Reservation can be understood in these terms as an imposed modality of rule in a colonial space, which conditions the relations of individuals within and surrounding its boundaries.

However, within colonial space, place refers to the multiple understandings of the landscape of the Eastern Pequot Reservation itself. Those understandings discuss, conceptualize and interpret its history, and include yet other ways of understanding which encompass how and why it is understood in the present, and the ways in which it was understood in the past, by members of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation, colonial, federal and state officials, neighbors and the archaeologists who pay attention to it. Most importantly, the reservation is a constructed, contested, power-laden, but very real place within New England and the United States, created through several hundred years of global economic connection and hegemonic colonial imposition (Den Ouden 2005). The reservation is and was a homeland (Den Ouden 2005:15), a cultural and political, bounded, spatially-defined place with its own legal and historical reality. The Eastern Pequot Reservation exists as a covert power within colonial space because it contains Native American meanings and their material reflections. The daily, repetitive, mundane life activities which have defined the Eastern Pequot people from 1683 through the

present, and their historical connection to the physical landscape and the ancestors who maintained, inhabited and reside within that landscape are the definition of the reservation within colonial space. The very boundedness of the reservation according to this definition enables its material culture and documentary reflections to represent the domination of colonial space, as well as dialectically the threat to this domination through the continuity of Eastern Pequot culture by repetition in daily life. As will be discussed further below, this connection extends also to clothing, which was made, repaired and discussed within the reservation landscape by the people. Therefore an examination of clothing material culture and associated documentary information can illuminate the relationship of past people and a place in colonial space.

More significantly, the Eastern Pequot Reservation encases a small section of what was once a much broader Pequot cultural and sacred landscape. It is therefore also indistinguishable from and deeply entwined with the Eastern Pequot people themselves. As stated above, people and place simultaneously define, and are defined by, each other. Expressed another way, the connection between space and place is through personal relationships. Following Rodman, “here the emphasis is on places in the world, on the agency of individuals and of forces beyond individual control. Places have multiple meanings that are constructed spatially” (Rodman 1992:641). Keith Basso’s (1996) ethnography on the White Mountain Apache utilizes a place based model to demonstrate that for the White Mountain Apache the landscape and the people are linked by their past and to their past through a network of present sacred places which interface many generations of human activity and natural landforms into a unified tribal cultural whole. The White Mountain Apache are “who they are” because of their places in the landscape.

The landforms are sacred places because they are linked to the people's social and temporal depth of relationship with them.

The same may be said of the Eastern Pequot people and their reservation, including the material cultural evidence of their ancestor's lives, which resides on and under the reservation's created landscape. The Eastern Pequot are who they are in part because they have maintained and through daily labor preserved their reservation as the core of their culture, as a place of unity and connection to ancestral lands and relationships. The reservation is Eastern Pequot because it holds their ancestors and past material culture evidence of past relationships. The majority of this material culture is of an Anglo-American original manufacture, but as will be discussed further below, this material culture is also Eastern Pequot. Material culture recovered from reservations lands, when understood as an inseparable part of Eastern Pequot culture, represents the connection of a people and a place through the relationships that gave that material culture its meanings.

Place, people and material culture must be approached interdependently and contextually within global colonialism and its concurrent industrial capitalism. According to St. George (2000: 5): "becoming 'colonial' was an intricate process. It involved both vernacular theories of lived experience of race, and racial mixture, commercial exchange, kinship alliance, aesthetics, creolization, language, civility, savagery, and ambiguity concerning one's social position and personal power...Certainly *colonial* refers to a relationship in which a majority indigenous (or forcibly imported) population is politically dominated by a minority of foreign invaders. *Colonial situation*, its close companion, refers to a complex of rule, exploitation, and cultural conflict in ethnically heterogeneous political structures that had been created by influence from without".

Essentially, “colonial regimes were neither monolithic nor omnipotent. Against the power which they projected across the globe and against their claim to racial, cultural, or technological dominance, closer investigation reveals competing agendas for using power, competing strategies for maintaining control, and doubts about the legitimacy of the venture” (Cooper and Stoler 1989:609). Furthermore, “herein lies a basic tension of empire: the otherness of the colonized person was neither inherent nor stable; his or her difference had to be defined and maintained; social boundaries that were at one point clear would not necessarily remain so” (Cooper and Stoler 1989:610). Such elemental tensions of empire exist alongside what Cooper and Stoler refer to as the anxiety of colonizers, “...lest tensions among themselves over class, gender, and competing visions of the kind of colonialism they wished to build fracture the façade” (1989:609). These nuances of colonial space have also been profitably examined through multiple waves of feminist and economic archaeology, within the larger culturally created contexts of identity, gender, class and race, as expressed through material culture (see Mrozowski 2000; Spector 1996; Voss 2005, 2006; Wurst 2005; Yentsch and Beaudry 2001). Especially important in the understanding of Eastern Pequot clothing choices during the 18th and 19th centuries in southern New England is a consideration of Stephen A. Mrozowski’s work at the Lawrence Manufacturing Company mill worker’s housing blocks in Lowell, Massachusetts (Mrozowski 2000). The archaeological analysis of the personal material culture of these individuals simultaneously situated these agents, overseers, middle managers, skilled, and unskilled workers within an industrial, class and society-structured, planned environment. This analysis also illustrated the importance of clothing related material culture analysis in accessing past choices which reflect class, style and personal identities.

Within this conceptualization of the role of capitalism in colonial space, and as previously described, the reservation is also a place of fluid tension, differential control and legitimization, equally describable as a dialectic of domination and resistance, that in turn may be observed in the reservation's material culture, especially documents and those small artifacts related to clothing and personal decoration. "Traditionally, small finds have been overlooked as a viable interpretive category in historical archaeology, often because they are relegated to static functional categories, such as 'personal adornment'" (Loren and Beaudry 2006: 253). Loren and Beaudry expound on St. George's ideas of the colonial: "in early America, distinct cultural traditions met and reshaped through new social, sexual, and political interactions. Existing and newly created identities were malleable, subject to politicization in different contexts" (Loren and Beaudry 2006: 254). Loren and Beaudry, to continue their argument in favor of small finds as better able to provide information on colonial identity construction, also utilize Kathleen Deagan's work. "as Deagan notes, small finds - buckles, bracelets, beads and thimbles - are often imbued with 'a great deal more information about gender, beliefs, value system, social opportunities and social identities' (Deagan 2002:4). We share with Deagan the conviction that small finds can lead to more nuanced understandings of how people used material culture in the process of becoming American" (Loren and Beaudry 2006:257).

Diana Loren and Genevieve Fisher have also further explored identity through the idea of the "social skin" and the differentiation between the corporate body and the corporeal body through the idea of embodiment, or lived experience. That is to say that "embodiment must be read in context" but also that "by means of dress, ornamentation, body modification,

posture, gesture, and representation, an individual has the ability to ‘put on a social skin’, allowing self-identification as a member of a larger or different social or interest group. The presentation of self allows an individual to ‘dress up’ or ‘dress down’ enabling one to reveal and conceal different selves and to gain access to restricted social arenas” (Fisher and Loren 2003:225). The corporate/corporeal distinction is a situational one subject to both internal and external pressures: “while the presentation of self can be understood as inherently personal, it is situated within and is in relation to the social and physical landscape. In this larger social discourse, the sentiment intended through self-presentation is open to manipulation and representation by others” (Fisher and Loren 2003:225).

Fisher and Loren indicate that dress, clothing and adornment are multiply situated and negotiated and therefore critical to the understanding of embodiment and identity construction. Inherent in this activity are the agency-derived concepts of taste and choice as corporate determinants of individual embodiments, and vice-versa. The body is at once determined by social interactions while also through active, lived choices and preferences, determining what those social interactions will be in an inexorably linked, dialectical way. “It is then the articulation of embodiment that is key to understanding the lived experience of social actors and, thus, to appreciating the use of material culture in the formation of different identities” (Fisher and Loren 2003: 228). Expressed in another way, this relationship of body, dress, social and self follows from the statement that: “our understanding of bodily presentation cannot be limited by corporeal boundaries since the transformation of the body through modification and ornamentation affects the individual’s relationship to self and society” (Fisher and Loren 2003: 225).

For past individuals in this reservation context, however, limited archaeological and documentary visibility precludes the full revelation of embodiment to a particular body with the sources under consideration in this work. Instead we are limited to more general statements about past clothing use, which nevertheless have significant utility in addition to other archaeological analyses. For the documentary information we can discuss individuals' clothing choices, but only suggest actual relationships of clothing to bodies and the identities that resulted. Likewise, material culture can suggest what was in use on the reservation, but not who exactly wore a particular item of clothing and definitively say what identity they were expressing while wearing that item. As with the example presented through Diana Loren's work below, we can fruitfully illuminate otherwise unconsidered practices to navigate colonial space. But a truly embodied archaeology, that can achieve a complete bodily resolution for the past as is possible in the present requires further personalized contextual information beyond the material culture and general commercial documents currently accessible.

Diana Loren's (2001, 2003; 2004; Loren and Beaudry 2006) work with such an embodied perspective is based on small finds data from several excavations in multi-ethnic locations in 18th-century colonial French Louisiana, - Fort St. Pierre, and the Grand Village of the Natchez Indians, and a Spanish presidio in Texas, Los Adaes. Within French and Spanish colonial systems in North America, ethnographic and documentary data suggest attempts at the imposition of dress rules and regulations governed by race, class, gender and political and social categories and distinctions. However, archaeological assemblages of dress and adornment artifacts from domestic contexts in these locations suggest, in the uniformity, presences and absences of small finds, a much greater freedom to mix and match

items of higher or lower status, and multiple ethnic traditions to achieve a desired social or political identity, while staying true to familiar traditions of dress. By dividing small finds from these assemblages into those types of items directly related to dress or as integral parts of clothing, such as buttons and buckles and those items which could also be worn, but worn over other items of clothing, such as beads, knives, guns, loose jewelry and swords, Loren is able to rework traditional functional ‘personal adornment’ categories. Colonial individuals were remaining true to familiar traditions of clothing, but wearing items over this clothing which represented other traditions, and which may have allowed individuals to negotiate between and among several presupposed social and cultural categories (Loren 2001, 2003; 2004; Loren and Beaudry 2006).

Such a multiply constituted and dialectical conception of embodiment then allows archaeologists to create a more or less detailed interpretive narrative of past personal identities because those small finds of dress and adornment are seen as deeply nuanced and as direct extensions of past individuals, and through them, groups and places. The body and its material culture are connected, and can be understood only when directly situated in the places, which surround and define, or embody, both the individual wearing the clothes and those other people interacting on a daily basis with that person. Thus Loren, Beaudry and Deagan have provided a theoretical basis from which to examine the clothing-related material culture of the Eastern Pequot Reservation, as it relates across time, within colonial space and to place, and people.

Material culture was procured, used, modified, and discarded by Eastern Pequot individuals through the course of daily life on the Eastern Pequot Reservation during the colonial period, which is here understood to continue during the industrialization of New



England into a capitalistic market economy through the 19th century. However, the original location of manufacture of the majority of this material culture could be British or otherwise. These objects were made and exported from mainland English or Continental industrial centers, or from American colonial cities into southeastern Connecticut through larger mechanisms of global colonial economics, personified by local traders such as Isaac Miner, John Punderson or D.B. Wheeler. But because the reservation was an Eastern Pequot place, those artifacts that began their journeys as products of English, French, Dutch or other European hands, once transferred to Eastern Pequot hands and used on the reservation, became Eastern Pequot artifacts (see Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008). Used by Eastern Pequot individuals, these artifacts had the potential to acquire additional, uniquely Native American meanings and uses, in addition to or instead of their Anglo-European conventions of manufacture and function. Such a multiplicity of potential ‘lives’ also includes those later ascribed in an artifact’s ‘lifecycle’ by modern archaeologists and living Eastern Pequot descendants.

This conception of an artifact as imbued with multiple ‘lives’ in a cycle, from original use to artifactual re-use and their associated meanings, is not a new idea, and has been coherently presented in the work of Laurier Turgeon (1997, 2004) and others (Beaudry et al. 1996; Comaroff 1997). Through the examples of beads and copper trade kettles in Canadian ancient, historic and modern contexts, Turgeon indicates that a particular artifact will have many different ‘lives’ over the course of its existence, during which it will have many different meanings and represent different discourses. More recently, Victor Buchli (2005) has revisited Laurier Turgeon’s idea of multiple artifact lives as played out on a temporal continuum from no mass to maximum visibility and

back to no mass in the context of archaeological treatment of an artifact. “The archaeological artifact can be described as emerging from a virtually dimensionless reality of no mass, neither social nor physical (‘unseen,’ ‘unearthed,’ and ‘undiscovered’), to the highly three-dimensional and social ‘massive’ artifact of material culture and then moving further along and diminishing in dimension and social ‘mass’ almost full circle to the yet again ‘buried’ artifact of the archive and hidden museum collection” (Buchli 2005:184).

In acknowledging the multiple lives of artifacts it is also necessary to understand that the process of synthesizing archaeological and documentary data into an interpretation of past places and peoples is a process of cultural translation which occurs in the present as well as the past. According to Rubertone (2001: xiii-xiv), “in summary, each strand of evidence-text, archaeological sources, and memory-lend to the process of translating the lives of Native peoples. Each in a different way recalls a part of the story of their colonial experiences and offers a pathway to understanding. How these strands of knowledge may overlap and intersect with each other is rarely straightforward and always more complicated than supposed. Methodologies that recommend combining, toggling, or opposing do not exhaust the possibilities. Sometimes more than one creative approach is needed, because the ways that the different types of recall articulate with, diverge from, and trace over each other may be illuminating. Cultural translation, then, is a grave undertaking, and one that is especially challenging when the historical experiences being studied are part of an ongoing story of colonial relations”.

Within Rubertone’s summary is the implicit understanding that any document is a product of multiple negotiations, following recent scholarship by Michel Trouillot

(1995, 1997), Ian Hodder (1999, 2001) and Rosemary Joyce (2006). A cultural translation then, includes the combination of many narrators' narratives in order to influence how the present sees the past, and what parts of the past are brought into the present. It is also understood that this collaborative process, for archaeologists and anthropologists, should strive to be a self-reflexive one (Hodder 2001) which acknowledges the backgrounds and active participation of those in the present in the interpretation of those in the past.

What follows will be a clothing-centered exploration, utilizing the collective ideas presented above and the themes of colonial space, place and a people, as understood through clothing as a linking value, and a less refined embodied perspective, to analyze and interpret a selection of primary documentary and archaeological data. These data comprise a subset of a larger archaeological artifact assemblage from several years of collaborative excavation on the Eastern Pequot Reservation, and historical research done in support of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation's most recent Federal Acknowledgment Petition (2003), for recognition as a Native American tribal nation by the United States federal government.

The primary documents are a compilation of specific account book entries that refer to clothing and dress-related articles over a thirty-year period between 1829 and 1859. These account books were kept by 'Overseers' appointed by the colony and later the State of Connecticut to monitor those families and individuals living on the Eastern Pequot Reservation and to look after their finances and record many elements of daily life and economic exchanges in addition to clothing. Analysis of these transactions includes

tabulations of the types of clothing, frequencies of exchange and the number and gender of the Eastern Pequot individuals involved in these transactions.

In contrast, the archaeological assemblage of artifacts includes all recovered artifacts between the 2003 and 2005 project years that may have been worn with clothing or over clothing and include clothing fasteners, decorative additions, and sewing hardware recovered from three distinct household areas on the Eastern Pequot Reservation. These artifacts are compiled from a larger assemblage, which dates from approximately the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century and relates to multiple distinct occupations spread across the reservation. The inclusion of these specific artifacts builds upon previous work by other historical archaeologists, including Ziesing (1989), White (2005) and Loren and Beaudry (2006).

This work will consist of three further chapters and several appendices outlining specific data sets. Chapter Two presents synthesized clothing related documentary data and offer interpretations following the themes of place and the people on the Eastern Pequot Reservation during three decades, beginning in 1829. Chapter Three presents an archaeologically-derived assemblage of artifacts related to clothing and personal adornment in a similar fashion for three generalized household areas encompassing both 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century artifacts. Chapter Four continues to use the themes of colonial space, place and the people within Loren's ideas to offer further interpretive syntheses of the data presented in the preceding chapters and future research directions for the project.

By acknowledging that this work is a step in the process of cultural translation for the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation, it is possible to offer several conclusions based on the combination of data. Primarily, the analysis of clothing related documentary and

archaeological data, according to an embodied and place-focused approach grounded in colonial space, offers more nuanced insights which complement those available in standardized analytical avenues based on conventional artifact and documentary categories. While the data sets are small in comparison, they can be interpreted as indicating that, for the Eastern Pequot residing on the reservation, the 18th and 19th centuries were a continuation of colonization begun in the 17th century, and included simultaneous elements of assimilation and resistance. In the 18th and 19th century those individuals, especially Eastern Pequot women, living on the reservation were not invisible, nor static. Their clothing choices, within the context of relationships with the reservation overseers and as suggested by the archaeological record, indicate that these individuals were maintaining the ability to chose, while simultaneously participating in the wider New England economy. These individuals were wearing Anglo clothing, but keeping Eastern Pequot traditions, such as beading, alive within household areas.

## CHAPTER 2

### DOCUMENTARY DATA

Account books are the focus of this chapter. These books are the products of several prominent Anglo-American men from the towns surrounding the Eastern Pequot Reservation. They record yearly expenditures during the course of these men's individual public service appointments as 'Overseers' to the Eastern Pequot Reservation. These accounts recorded many economic and social interactions, including monthly food and clothing purchases, house repair, wood cutting, and cartage. They offer an invaluable source of information on daily life and material culture during the early Federal (1775-1830) and Early Industrial (1830-1870) periods on the Eastern Pequot Reservation.

The diaspora following the conflict between the English and the Pequot in 1636 and 1637 led to the eventual reconstitution of the Pequot people into two distinct groups under government control on two separate reservations in eastern Connecticut: the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation in Ledyard in 1666, and the Eastern Pequot Reservation in North Stonington in 1683. These reservations are the broader contextual foundation for these documents. The political and military events surrounding the Pequot conflict have been deeply researched and cogently presented in other primary and secondary sources (e.g. DeForest 1850; Den Ouden 2005; Hauptman and Wherry 1990; McBride 1990; Salisbury 1982; for an overview of early colonial southern New England, Bragdon 1996) and can be

seen live on the movie screen and in many exhibits on the lower level of the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center (MPMRC).

The Federal Period and the early Industrial Period for the Eastern Pequot were marked by economic and social marginalization coupled with participation in an increasingly capitalistic and industrializing New England economy. The long lasting effects of multiple colonial wars and the American Revolution, which carried over and established patterns of Anglo-Native interactions, also influenced the Eastern Pequot during these decades (Campisi 2005; Mancini and Naumec 2005; Mandell 2005; Schaefer 2005). Gerald Sider explicitly cites violence as a key element in identity formation for Native American groups during the colonial period: “the point here is not to dismiss violence as secondary, as do many contemporary theorists of ‘hegemony’ but, to the contrary, to embed it at the core of processes that form and transform culture, and so to build strategies for contesting domination” (Sider 1994: 109).

The 18th century and early to mid-19th centuries was punctuated by a succession of Anglo-American ‘Overseers’ - who were wealthy, educated white men appointed by the Colony and later the State of Connecticut to monitor the reservation, to act as steward for the Eastern Pequot people’s land and money, and to act as their representative to the state government. Unfortunately, these men were not always attentive to their appointed duties, and numerous petitions to the State General assembly by Eastern Pequot individuals for redress for encroached lands or change of overseer testify to the problems with this imposed system (Bee 1990; Den Ouden 2005; EPTN 2003: 110-115). These overseers were the direct expression of a series of laws designed by the Colony, and later State, of Connecticut to

control the Eastern Pequot and other reservation imposed Native tribes in the state (see Campisi 1990; Den Ouden 2005, chapter 3).

The establishment of reservations, the overseer system and this body of laws specifically designed to control Native Americans of Connecticut together in the Colonial Period inaugurated a pattern of repression expressed in paternalistic racial and economic terms in the 1700s: “the creation of these Pequot reservations was, on the one hand, an important counterpoint to the claims of military conquest, for here was Pequot identity and the existence of Pequot communities, not only acknowledged by colonial authority but inscribed in the colonial landscape. Nevertheless, Pequot’s rights to their reserved lands were threatened throughout the eighteenth century, and like other reservation communities, Pequot continued to assert their land rights. In so doing they articulated their own historical knowledge and revealed their understanding of the duplicity of colonial claims to legitimacy” (Den Ouden 2005:15). Therefore, these accounts are the product of choices made by overseers and Eastern Pequot individuals as they negotiated colonial space and capitalist economy, while simultaneously reinforcing the power of the reservation for some and against others.

They are representative of standard commercial documents of the times, but also emblematic of overt political power for the state, and covert political power for the Eastern Pequot people, because both are equally recorded in writing as participants in exchanges. The role of writing in reinforcement of a capitalistic system is not to be underestimated in consideration of these commercial documents. The very act of recording those mundane acts of daily life which represented the continuity of Eastern Pequot culture was another way to silence and obscure that cultural expression, because accounting was equivalent to control



and depersonalization. These documents were actively utilized to both reinforce and silence given agendas. According to Trouillot, “silences enter the process of historical production at four critical moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)” (Trouillot 1995:26). Thus a critical reading of a selected portion of these documents with these ideas in mind reveals the act of silencing as well as the mundane activities over time representative of cultural continuity.

The specific account book entries considered here consist of clothing-related entries for a thirty-year period from 1829 to 1859. The choice of this particular sample endeavors to access choices, whether made by the overseer or an Eastern Pequot individual and to illustrate the dialectical nature of these documents in the market economy of 19th-century colonial space. Choices are visible through clothing amounts, types, functions, owners and seasonal schedules of procurement, as written or extrapolated over 30 years of exchanges. This database consists of approximately two hundred individual clothing related entries and is a compromise between sample size, adequacy of sample, document availability, and ease of transcription (see Appendix A). The account books entries describe clothing-related transactions between one of four overseers: Silas Chesborough, Ezra Hewitt, Elias Hewitt and Isaac Miner. One of at least 20 different Eastern Pequot Reservation residents, both men and women, are also named in these accounts. The particulars of each transaction consist of a year, a day, a month, an abbreviated description of the clothing item, usually either a yardage amount of raw cloth or a manufactured article of clothing, the amount of the purchase, and the individual(s) for whom the material is purchased. These records are

presented as literally as possible, as transcribed from copies, with concurrent peculiarities of spelling, phrasing and narrative intact. The original account books are held in the Connecticut State Archive and Library in Hartford (including RG, Secretary of State, Box 11, 1822-1855).

Fundamentally, these accounts were produced by and for the State of Connecticut to continue its acculturative policy of control over its Native American population and to legitimize its own colonial policies by recording these transactions (Den Ouden 2005; Trouillot 1995). Each overseer was simultaneously legitimizing their own position as the primary interface between the Eastern Pequot Reservation and the Connecticut government, regardless of their actual daily relationship with reservation residents. Overseers knew that others might read these accounts in higher government positions. This dual legitimization means that the types of clothing purchases recorded in these documents reflect actual Eastern Pequot's individual's clothing requirements as well as the needs of the overseers to be seen following an acculturative policy of continued colonial control.

Over 40 different types of raw cloth and manufactured garments appear in these accounts. The frequency and size of individual cloth or garment procurements were spread out over the course of a given year and were extended through men, women and children, indicative of the ability of Eastern Pequot individuals to consistently procure what they needed through the established patronage system of the overseer. Seasonality does not appear to coincide with types of clothing purchased, as raw cloth was purchased, and then presumably made into other required articles, throughout the year.

However, there are lags and gaps in clothing procurements occurring in 1830, 1831, 1854, 1857, 1858 and 1859, which break this pattern of consistent multi-yearly clothing

procurements. During these times the Eastern Pequot Reservation residents may have been serviced by alternate vendors, as the overseers themselves were not recording any of the usual clothing procurements for their charges. For two years, from 1857 until 1859, no other clothing procurements, either raw or manufactured articles of clothing, were documented by the current overseer, Isaac Miner, as purchased for Eastern Pequot individuals. Miner continued, however, to document the supply of raw and staple food items to the reservation residents. Such an immediate cessation of previously repeated bi-and tri-yearly cloth and manufactured clothing procurements is particularly interesting, given that Isaac Miner continued to serve as overseer until 1868. Further research is required to determine if Isaac Miner gave another merchant the right to deal in clothing-related articles with the Eastern Pequot Reservation residents, while continuing to supply their staple food requirements, or if the people took their business to someone else at this time.

Clothing procurements throughout these thirty years also suggest that Eastern Pequot individuals were using almost exclusively Anglo-American dress, and chose items appropriate for themselves and their families. Other New England Algonkian peoples were doing likewise, based on photographic evidence collected by Jane Van Norman Turano (1991) for the period 1844 to 1865. In early ambrotype, daguerreotype and glass plate prints, Native-American individuals pose in gender specific, modest Anglo-American dress common to the period (see Nunn 2000: 117-131), with men in white shirts, dark colored, tailored suits, hats and high collars; while women wear long sleeved, full dresses, shawls, and headpieces of fabrics similar to those noted in these records. Further research within the archives of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation may also reveal photographic evidence to complement these records.

It is possible to trace several individuals through their seasonal clothing purchases from their appearance in 1829 through their deaths, and concurrent requirements for grave clothes, up to a decade later. The following chart illustrates the clothing exchanges of two male members of the Shuntaup family, Samuel and Henry, over twenty years from 1835 to 1855 (2.1). It is possible to see Henry Shuntaup's interactions with two overseers. Most striking is the ability to see a life through pairs of boots, shirts, vests and pants, from Henry Shuntaup's yearly pair of thick boots, in this sample first purchased for \$2.00 in early winter of 1838, to his grave clothes (close) in late winter of 1852, purchased for only \$0.75.

**Table 2.1: Shuntaup Family Clothing Purchases 1835-1852**

Year	Entry Date	OV	#	Type	Family Name	Person	\$	Comments
1835	July 28	EH	3 yds	A	Shuntaup	Saml Shuntaup	.38	
1835	July 28	EH		trimmings	Shuntaup	Saml Shuntaup	.06	for same
1835	October 5	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntap	1.50	
1838	December 5	EH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	H. Shuntaup	2.00	thick thick/paid G. Hewitt
1838	December 20	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	H.S.	1.50	
1838	January 4	EH	1	coat	Shuntaup	H. Shuntaup	4.50	broad cloth
1839	December 19	EH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick
1840	January 25	EH	4 yds	cotton cloth	Shuntaup	S. Shuntaup	.40	
1840	December 13	EH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	thick
1841	January 12	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1841	January 15	EH	3 yds	cloth	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.00	
1841	January 15	EH	3/4 yds	sheeting	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.07	
1841	January 15	EH	1 pair	pantaloons	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.25	
1841	April 15	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup		
1842	January 7	EH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1842	January 17	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.50	brogan
1844	April 24	EH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1845	September 15	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1845	December 25	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		brogan
1845	December 25	ELH	1+	cotton cloth	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		shirts at DB
1846	January 1	ELH	1+	hats	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		Wheeler and makings
1846	March 1	ELH	1	cloth	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		shirt
1846	March 1	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		
1846	June 3	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	J. Shuntaup		
1846	June 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		satinnet
1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.92	
1846	November 28	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	

1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1846	November 28	ELH		thread	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.08	
1847	Feburary 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	
1847	Feburary 15	ELH		thread	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.17	
1847	Feburary 25	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	Feburary 25	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	
1847	July 10	ELH		shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	August 13	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	J. Shuntup	.50	
1847	November 27	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick
1847	November 27	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	flannel
1847	November	ELH	1	cloth	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.33	
1847	December 18	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	part worn
1847	December 18	ELH	1	coat	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.75	cloth and vest
1848	May 20	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1848	May 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	
1849	July 8	ELH	2	shirts	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	1.00	
1849	October 2	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	Twilled
1849	October 2	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	cotton
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1850	January 1	ELH	1	coat	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	6.00	cloth
1850	January 1	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	
1850	January 1	ELH	1	vest	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.67	
1850	April 15	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	twilled, collared
1850	May 10	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	
1850	June 10	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	1.00	
1850	June 10	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	.75	Twilled
1850	June 10	ELH	1+	vest	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	.50	
1850	July 9	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	September 1	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	September 20	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.15	cotton woolen, part worn
1850	September 21	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.12	thick
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	satinnnet blue cloth, part worn
1850	December 29	ELH	1	coat	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	3.00	
1850	December 29	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1851	November 18	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.62	
1851	December 19	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.61	
1852	February 7	ELH	1	grave close	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	grave (clothes)
1852	April 1	IM	1	shoes	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	
1852	April 9	IM		cloth	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.59	for pants and lining for the same and making
1853	January 18	IM	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.50	
1853	January 18	IM	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.55	
1853	January 18	IM	1	vest	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	

1855	October 10	IM	1	shoes	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.58	paid Leonard Brown for mending shoes for SS
<b>KEY: (OV)</b> -overseer <b>(EH)</b> -Ezra Hewitt <b>(ELH)</b> -Elias Hewitt <b>(IM)</b> -Isaac Miner								
				(#)-Cloth yardage or amount	(\$)-Amount of purchase in dollars			

The circumstances by which each of these procurements and exchanges were made and recorded are difficult to know, but each illuminates a small moment of a past relationship, as well as represents the mundane, continuous record keeping appropriate in a paternalistic, capitalistic venture. Why did Ezra Hewitt pay another family member on December 20th, 1838 for a pair of thick shoes for Henry Shuntaup, when Henry had just received a pair of thick boots several weeks prior? Had Henry done work in exchange for these shoes and boots, or did Ezra Hewitt give them to Henry out of proceeds from the sale of wood or other products of reservation lands? Did Henry wear these shoes himself or were they passed along to Samuel or another member of the Shuntaup family? Did the Shuntaup family even receive the goods that were recorded as theirs? In the process of their creation these documents contributed to the silencing of both a place and a people by compartmentalizing life in sparse line items. Simultaneously, these simple line items condense and preserve past experience, and through critical questioning they can give voice to the same past people and places they were created to silence as well as illuminate a small aspect of the wider capitalistic economic system of which all were part to some degree.

The wives and mothers, and children of that generation on the Eastern Pequot Reservation are equally visible through these documents in terms of their clothing choices. Appendix B introduces Tyra, Wealthy, Thomas, Polly, Edward and Elsa Nedson, among

many others. Polly, for example, was a seamstress who took in washing and favored calf brogans, calico and collared, wool dresses (see Appendix B, Nedson Family and C, Clothing Types). Both Eastern Pequot men and women were equally involved in clothing transactions and at least fourteen other family names, including husbands, wives, children and possibly other relations, can be identified over this thirty-year period in Appendix D by year, and are shown in Appendix B by family name, as well as in the master database in Appendix A.

This may be a visible example of what Scott (1985) calls passive resistance: “the style of resistance in question is perhaps best described by contrasting, paired forms of resistance, each aimed more or less at the same objective. The first of each pair is ‘everyday’ resistance, in our meaning of the term; the second represents the open defiance that dominates the study of peasant and working-class politics.” (Scott 1985:32). The accounts do not appear to speak to open resistance, because the Eastern Pequot individuals and families were wearing Anglo clothes, but able to choose what they required during a given year, and making their own clothing from raw cloth, as will be discussed further below. The ability to choose and continue home production may represent Scott’s passive resistance because both actions subvert the overseers, who for moral reasons, ease or expense, may have wanted to only provide certain styles and types of cloth and clothing related artifacts, which followed their own acculturative moral, economic or political agendas. The accounts also suggest the pervasive nature of the overseer system and its ability to tie people into the increasingly industrialized, consumable, and accessible, regional New England economy during the early Industrial period.

Regular procurements of from  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a yard to 8 yards of raw cloth were the norm from 1829 through the late 1830s, at which time manufactured clothing selections appears to increase.

Likewise, thread, by the spool and skein, presumably in wool and linen, was regularly purchased from 1835 through 1850. Only one reference highlights pins (2 papers of pins for 31 cents in February of 1837 to an unspecified individual). Nowhere in 30 years of accounts are full sewing needles or needle cases, more common to Anglo households (see Beaudry 2006), recorded as having been exchanged or purchased by an overseer. This lack of basic sewing tools is very strange given the large amounts of raw cloth regularly coming into Eastern Pequot families. It may be supposed that another supplier, such as local merchants John Punderson or D.B. Wheeler, had a better line on needles, and Eastern Pequot people procured all such items from them instead of the overseers. This situation also requires further research, given that the overseers themselves bought goods from private traders (Witt 2007).

Another similar disparity is observed in several entries referencing items, which could be either a finished article of clothing or a specific type of cloth available in raw form. These entries include references to beaver skin in 1835, 1836 and 1838 by three separate Eastern Pequot men, a reference to blanket in 1832 by an Eastern Pequot woman, and several references to coats from 1837 through 1852 by several Eastern Pequot men. Several other fabrics or manufactured clothing articles, including shirts, 'shirting', vests and stocking(s), may be either a type of raw cloth or an actual article of clothing. According to Montgomery's (1984: 160, 169, 201) dictionary of historic American textiles, each of these initial descriptors can be both a specific type of fabric: beaver cloth, blanket, and coating, as well as trapped or manufactured articles of clothing such as beaver skins, blankets and coats.

The most prevalent items of cloth and dress were raw 'calicoes' and several varieties of cotton cloth, 'stripes', 'plaids', 'shirtings' and 'sheetings', with specifically referenced woolen cloth and garments less prevalent (see Appendix C). However, Montgomery (1975; 1984)



indicates that several of these cloth types could be woven from combinations of wools, linens and cottons and could equally describe a method of weaving or the physical characteristics of the fabrics. Unfortunately, because fabric preservation conditions are very poor in New England, and published, archaeologically derived fabric samples are from sensitive burial contexts (Welter 1993), it may not be possible to accurately verify these documentary descriptions. Currently, the Eastern Pequot Reservation archaeological assemblage includes no substantial textile samples, and archaeological testing has disturbed no human remains or burials. According to Montgomery (1984), these fabrics were the result of European attempts to mimic and surpass Indian/Asian printed cotton textiles, and were produced in either English clothing manufacturing centers such as Manchester from the mid-18th century, or as part of increasing local production in Massachusetts and Connecticut mill towns into the 19th century.

Alongside cotton based fabrics, manufactured shoes were the most prevalent items recorded as purchases. Shoes, brogans, and boots of several sorts for men, women, and children were procured regularly throughout the years of this sample and several other entries reference specialty-cobbling activities in December of 1845 and October of 1855. Only one pair of shoes at a time was usually procured for a specific individual, with the previous example of Henry Shuntaup's two pairs in several weeks being an exception. Some of the Eastern Pequot women and female children, such as Polly Nedson and her daughter, possessed multiple pairs of shoes within families, including work-a-day brogans and finer 'calf' shoes or boots, purchased over a year or two. Likewise, individual Eastern Pequot men and boys had both brogans and thick boots throughout the year, as previously mentioned. This situation implies that shoes were important for both work and leisure, but common at between a dollar and two dollars a pair, and that there was enough money available in the reservation accounts

and family economy to purchase new pairs or to share them among families. Other individuals, who may or may not have been Eastern Pequot, such as Jack Randall and Leonard Brown (see shoes in Appendix C), were also contracted by overseers to repair boots and shoes for Eastern Pequot individuals for less money than a new pair of shoes. One example is the case of Isaac Miner paying 58 cents to Leonard Brown to repair a pair of shoes for Samuel Shuntaup in October of 1855.

That other Anglo-American individuals were involved in clothing-related transactions with Eastern Pequot Reservation residents is documented by other private account books of local merchants such as storekeepers of the Wheeler family, including Jonathan and D.B. (see Appendix A) and John Punderson, who dealt also with Mashantucket Pequot Reservation residents (see Witt 2007). Other undocumented transactions, which brought clothing related items into reservation households, may have occurred between Eastern Pequot individuals and itinerant tin peddlers from western Connecticut industrial towns (Keir 1913; Marburg 1942; 1943). Yet another possibility is that Eastern Pequot individuals themselves were at times itinerant peddlers, making and selling a stock of brooms, baskets, cane chairs and repairing or selling tin-ware lamps, kettles and pots and returning to the reservation with money and other manufactured goods (Wolverton 2003). This thread is discussed further in the context of material culture in Chapter 3.

Fancier and more expensive fabrics and manufactured clothing items were procured occasionally from the overseers, although buying these fabrics from alternate sources such as the Punderson or Wheeler stores is also probable. Until these various accounts can be cross-referenced by individuals, as Jason Mancini of the MPMRC is currently doing with Mashantucket Pequot accounts, it is not possible to say which sources had those types of

merchandise favored by which Eastern Pequot families. An acculturative model, used by Linda Welters to describe clothing from burial contexts throughout New England (1993) suggest that by the 19th century Native Americans in New England were fully subsumed in middling to lower class Anglo-American clothing and fashions. According to Welter headbands and hairstyles were the only alternative by which to express any alternative Native American identity. Likewise, other archaeological analyses of clothing and personal adornment items, from Anglo-American inhabitants during the 18th and 19th centuries at the Spencer-Pierce-Little House in Newburyport, Massachusetts and Strawberry Banke in Portsmouth, New Hampshire (Wallace 2004; White 2005), indicate that both the archaeological assemblage and the documentary record taken together provide a more balanced assessment of past clothing contexts. These sources also confirm Turano's photographic evidence and suggest that on the reservation, Eastern Pequot individuals and families were dressing like their Anglo neighbors, but still living in a Native place and possibly wearing their hair and other jewelry or decorations on their clothing to demonstrate a Native American heritage and individuality.

The various types of fabrics and manufactured goods that appear in these overseer's accounts other than the cottons and calicos previously mentioned indicate that Eastern Pequot individuals were procuring small amounts of more expensive fabrics as additions to their daily clothing supplies when they were required or available (see Appendix C). These included crepe, in the color black, several unspecified lengths of 'trimmings' for dresses, lace for 'footings', several yards of 'Cambuck', which may be a variety of cambric, a fine white linen fabric (Montgomery 1984:187), as well as a yard of 'ribbon' and 'book muslin' by the  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a yard over several years. Procurements of finer goods, however, did not extend

in this sample to more expensive fabrics such as silks, brocades, satins, damasks and taffetas (Montgomery 1975).

Procurements of manufactured goods also fit this trend, with hats, bonnets, stockings of cotton, yarn or wool and vests procured more from the later 1830s but less regularly than raw cloth yardages, which are consistent throughout the sample. Coats, pants and ‘pantaloon’ of various serviceable cotton, wool and linen blends such as satinnet, which Montgomery (1984: 342) indicates was a staple of Massachusetts mills from 1810, were a regular addition to Eastern Pequot men’s wardrobes increasingly from 1838. Because of the multiple types of cloth and manufactured garments and descriptive disparities mentioned earlier, as well as the invisibility of other probable yearly clothing procurements from outside sources, it is difficult to definitively base further interpretations on analyses derived from total cloth yardage percentages.

These Eastern Pequot individuals, visible through marginalizing documents, used clothing to support themselves and their reservation. The documents themselves are modalities of rule, which legitimize control, as well as instruments of resistance, which support the Eastern Pequot reservation and Eastern Pequot individuals because they legitimize in writing both the reservation and its people through recording the mundane daily activities that ensured cultural continuity. Encroachment and oppression, according to Den Ouden (2005) and others (Calloway and Salisbury 2003; Campisi 1990, 1991; Cronon 1983; Herndon and Sekatau 1997; Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995; Lamb Richmond and Den Ouden 2003; McBride 1996; Nicolas 2002; Pasquaretta 2003; Silliman 2006) was occurring from the outside in Southern New England during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Eastern

Pequot individuals were simultaneously resisting these forces as well as adapting to them through their ability to purchase, make and repair their own clothing.

In this circumstance clothing is a dialectical expression of individual negotiation of colonial spaces, in that it becomes both the instrument of resistance as well as the instrument of control and encroachment, enhancing the connection of people to their past generations and through them the place of these relationships, as well as seating both firmly within a wider industrialized American culture which intrudes and controls but provides access to a wider world. The overseer system was imposed and reinforced daily, in part, through the ability to supply clothing and potentially also the kinds of clothing supplied. However, by providing clothing the system was also legitimizing the concept of the Eastern Pequot people as a separate, cohesive entity with their own unique place bounded in colonial space, who must be dealt with as legitimate participants in the multiple small exchange relationships recorded in the account books. In this acknowledgement of difference, but partnership in exchange, the reservation is implicitly understood as a tangible demarcation of the difference, even within its explicit intention to control, which is indivisible from the people residing within it. The material culture recovered through archaeological excavations within household areas on the reservation offers another way to look at this role of clothing in daily life as an expression of the connection of people to each other and to a distinct place.

## CHAPTER 3

### MATERIAL CULTURE

To facilitate comparisons of clothing-related artifacts from the Eastern Pequot Reservation to the themes of place and body presented in Chapter 1, these objects are separated into several categories. These categories are based on conventional functional and material descriptors, and include beads, jewelry, sewing hardware, buckles, and buttons. These artifacts were recovered archaeologically from locations within or adjacent to cellar-holes, depressions, and aboveground dry stone foundations and enclosures. These constructed landscape features correspond to previously occupied houses and centers of occupation and are referenced within three general household areas (see Appendix E). The artifact sample covers several named sites and approximately 100 square meters of the reservation. The 100 square meter coverage includes multiple small sampling areas in different locations on the landscape. Due to Eastern Pequot concerns about site privacy, the sites will be referred to only as part of household areas and will not be located on a map in this thesis.

The household areas correspond to those built landscape features investigated over three field seasons, from 2003 to 2005, which fall into three temporal date ranges, based primarily on the types of European-manufactured ceramics associated with above-ground stone features. A more generalized survey oriented archaeological research

design and methodology for some of the collection years is also reflected in this choice of descriptive style. Household area #1 corresponds to those areas of the reservation excavated in 2005, including the first field season at site #102-123, which includes one or more primary foundations and an associated network of dry stone piles and enclosures. The material from this area dates primarily from the second half of the 18th century, roughly from the 1760s through the 1790s (Witt 2007). This area has also been subject to the most systematic excavation over the course of two field schools, with a grid of 1x1 meter excavation units supplemented by 50x50 cm shovel test pits (STPs) placed on and around the primary foundations and above-ground enclosures.

Household area #2 corresponds to those areas, which relate to several foundation-like features and above-ground wall and enclosure traces, around which several 1x1 meter excavation units and a grid of several hundred 50x50 cm STPs were dug. This household area encompasses house site #102-116, house site #102-118, and portions of other areas known as sites #102-114, #102-117, #102-119, #102-120, and #102-121. Based on ceramic chronology this household area dates from the 1770s into the 1840s, which may represent a continuous occupation utilizing older, curated material culture or multiple occupations of the same houses or general living areas separated by years or decades. Because of the lack of intensive systematic open excavation the nature and scope of activities in this area is difficult to determine and probably has the least resolution to specific houses. In contrast, household area #3 was occupied primarily in the early 19th century, probably from the 1820s into the 1850s, and so overlaps those later occupations observed in household area #2. This household area includes those materials related to parts of site #102-113 (Cipolla 2005). Chronologically, as can be seen in the following table the materials from household areas #2 and #3 are the most

directly equivalent to the clothing transactions observed in the overseers document discussed in Chapter 2 (Table 3.1).

**Table 3.1 Eastern Pequot Reservation Clothing Artifacts**

<b>Household Area</b>	<b>1 (1760-1790)</b>	<b>2 (1770-1840)</b>	<b>3 (1820-1850)</b>
<b>Clothing Fasteners</b>			
<i>Copper-Alloy</i>			
Omega Shank	7	4	39
Alpha Shank	1	3	6
Other	1		2
<i>White Metal</i>			
Omega Shank			5
Alpha Shank	1		2
<i>Other</i>		2	2
<b>Buttons (total)</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>54</b>
<i>Copper-Alloy</i>	5		2
<i>White Metal</i>			1
<i>Iron Alloy</i>		1	3
<b>Buckles (total)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Items Worn with Clothing</b>			
<i>Seed</i>	17	2	1
<i>Faceted</i>			1
<b>Beads (total)</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Jewelry</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Sewing Hardware</b>			<b>3</b>

The artifacts mentioned above represent a small fraction of the totals of all artifacts recovered from these household areas. Each type of artifact does not presently occur in



sufficient quantities to allow significant statistical evaluations of past clothing or adornment choices, and so can provide suggestions but not certainties. However, these items represent uniquely Eastern Pequot suggestions of past choices in wardrobe and personal presentation that can complement the later instances known from the overseers' documents.

In other words, of all the other artifacts in the total assemblage, these can most directly assist in recreating a part of the past of the reservation through the clothing and personal adornments of Eastern Pequot individuals. Each bead, ring, thimble, pair of scissors, buckle, and button came from an exchange, such as those identified in the overseers accounts. Similarly, each has a story, beginning with its origins in a factory in western Connecticut, western England, or Massachusetts or other places, and including the path it took to the hands of an Eastern Pequot man or woman, such as Henry Shuntaup or Polly Nedson. The artifacts are also now beginning another life in the archaeological laboratory. Each can tell a little bit of their stories through their locations and visual aspects, which through an embodied representation, and can hint at place, space and power on the reservation in the past and present. The following offers a general discussion of each artifact type as they can inform on the types and styles of dress previous noted through the documents. More specific figures and general tables illustrating the finer details of these small collections supplement each artifact type.

## **Beads**

Glass beads are items of decoration, which may be sewn or woven onto cloth or animal skins, bracelets, baskets, necklaces and many other items in intricate patterns, in order to accentuate meanings of clothing, jewelry and the wearer. Many small beads, such as those in this sample, can be strung together in a wide variety of colors and shapes to draw pictures, and to tell stories on clothing, baskets, earrings, necklaces, rings and bands, to name but a few possibilities. Glass beads have been important to Southern New England Native peoples, especially women, since they first became available through traditional trade networks in the early 16th century from European fishermen on the northern Atlantic coast and became integrated alongside traditionally manufactured wampum beads (Salisbury 1982; Calloway 1997; Richmond and Den Ouden 2003). The art of beading has continued to be an integral part of Native American culture, especially through the elaborately decorated formal dance costumes worn during yearly ‘powwows’ throughout southern New England in the present.

Only 21 glass beads have been recovered from the three household areas excavated on the Eastern Pequot Reservation. Archaeologically, bead description and categorization has been characterized in past literature by a disunity of nomenclature and dispute regarding manufacturing techniques and value as chronological markers. Sources such as Noël Hume (1969), Van der Sleen (1969), Kidd and Kidd (1983), Hayes (1982), Ross (1997), Silliman (2000), and Sprague (2000) have developed organizational and descriptive methodologies for organizing large samples of a wide variety of bead shapes, styles and colors. Also more recently, Carolyn White (2005) has provided a similar overview that applies mainly to beads as worn by Anglo-American individuals in 18th

and 19th-century Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The following descriptions will be based on Silliman's (2000) work at the Mexican-Californian/Native American colonial site of Rancho Petaluma in northern California.

All of these beads were manufactured through a drawing technique by which a tube of glass was blown, drawn and upon sufficient cooling, cut and polished to produce individual beads of essentially uniform diameter and color. The exact techniques with which the cutting, shaping and polishing processes were accomplished are dependent on the primary sources relative to the bead's country of origin; Italy, France, Germany, the Netherlands, India, Africa, China, England and the United States were variously all centers of bead manufacturing throughout the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (Hayes 1982; Kidd and Kidd 1979; Noël Hume 1969; Sprague 2000; Van der Sleen 1969).

For such a small sample I have used Silliman's (2000) descriptive categories, which are derived from the work of Ross (1997) at Fort Ross and in southern California colonial contexts, as illustrated in the following table (Table 3.2):

ATTRIBUTE	OPTIONS								
Manufacturing Technique	D/ <i>Drawn</i>	W/ <i>Wound</i>	Ws/ <i>Wound- and-Shaped</i>	B/ <i>Blown</i>					
Layering	M <i>Monochrome</i>	P <i>Polychrome</i>							
Shape	B <i>Bipyramidal</i>	C <i>Cylindrical</i>	O <i>Ovoidal</i>	M <i>Molded (can include 2 or 4 rows of facets, e.g. M2)</i>	Me <i>Melon</i>	P <i>Pyramidal</i>	S <i>Spheroidal</i>	T <i>Toroidal</i>	
Finish	C <i>Cur</i>	H <i>Hot-tumbled</i>							
Decoration	Db <i>Banded</i>	Df <i>Faceted</i>	Ds <i>Striped</i>	U <i>Undecorated</i>					
Luster <sup>a</sup>	D <i>Dull</i>	G <i>Greasy</i>	I <i>Iridized</i>	S <i>Shiny</i>					

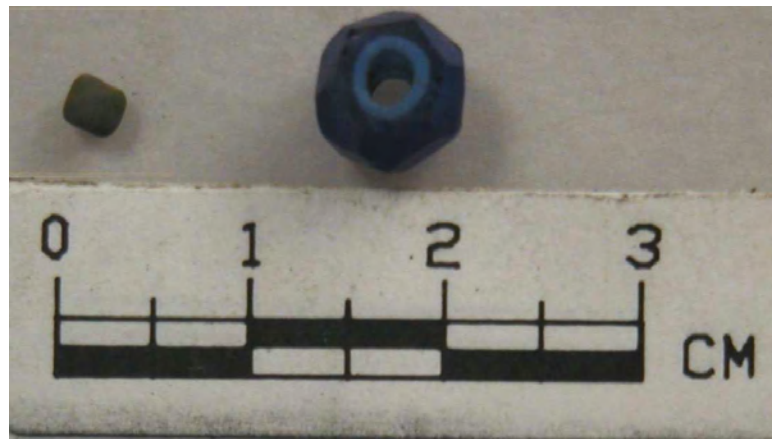
For example, a drawn, polychrome, cylindrical, hot-tumbled, undecorated bead would be classified as D/PCHU.

**Table 3.2: Glass Bead Classification (after Silliman 2000, Table 8.7)**

With one exception, all beads were of the same size, measuring 3mm (see example Figure 3.1) on the average with a single layered glass tubular structure and can be described as D/PCHUD or D/MCHUD within Silliman's classification. In lieu of a definitive universal Munsell color designation, consultation of a generic paint color wheel determined that the beads were one of several primary and graded colors, with 10 white, 5 black, 2 red, 2 sky blue, and 1 navy blue, and 1 blue-gray. The 2 red beads have also been variously identified as the polychromatic variety known as "Cornaline d'Aleppo" which displays a dark green inner core and corresponds to the 19th century and 20th century (Sprague 2000: 209-210), although this identification creates a temporal difficulty as both red beads were recovered within and adjacent to a primary foundation in household area 1, which generally corresponds to the mid-18th century. Definitive identification of the monochromatic, drawn beads, as well as these d'Aleppos, is difficult to determine and requires additional analysis, which may include microscopy or radiography. As these small beads have been disseminated throughout the world as trade goods over several hundred years and are still manufactured in the same locations in the present a larger sample would increase certainty of identification.

The exception was a slightly larger diameter bead (7 mm x 8 mm), described by Silliman as D/POMCDfG and by Sprague as a drawn, faceted 'Russian' bead, with a 'compound' structure of two distinct glass layers, with a white tubular inner layer and a navy blue outer faceted layer. This bead appears to have been faceted by hand on a wheel as all grinding marks run parallel to the long axis of the bead and the facets are of unequal sizes around the bead's circumference (see Figure 3.1). It may also have been

strung as part of an adornment, instead of being sewn close together on jewelry or the surface of clothing, as would be more traditional for the 3mm beads.



**Figure 3.1: 3mm and 7mm Eastern Pequot Beads**

These beads were found both inside and closely outside stone foundations or enclosures in association with other clothing items throughout the three household areas. Consistently scattered in ones, twos and threes around these above-ground features in a low overall concentration, the beads are evidence of household spaces and family places. While small and easily dropped or misplaced items, they may also hint at specialized activity areas for sewing and decorative arts, which correspond to parts of a dwelling requiring abundant natural or artificial light. The relative presence of more base primary colors among the beads in the sample also suggests continuity to modern Eastern Pequot ceremonial regalia, in which white beads are observed to be more abundant and to serve as background for other primary colors in designs. Clearly beads were worn or worked by Eastern Pequot individuals as part of decorated clothing and/or jewelry in reservation households consistently over time.

## **Jewelry**

Also scattered throughout the household areas on the reservation are other reflections of personal choice in material culture: jewelry. The meaning attached to these artifacts may account for their rarity in the archaeological record, although again the small size makes accidental loss during activities a distinct possibility. The presence of these artifacts throughout all three household areas, in low concentrations similar to beads, suggests that Eastern Pequot individuals had access to precious metals and were either making their own jewelry or adapting available products to their own use.

Only two finger rings, one of which may be a recycled object, and one faux glass or 'paste' gemstone (Luscomb 1997) represent all the jewelry found. The first ring, found inside an enclosure in household area #1, is the singular item made of precious metal in the entire assemblage. Slightly tarnished, the band of this silver ring was crushed and broken, either during its initial deposition or subsequently as a result of pedological processes, such as freeze-thaw cycles, over time. These circumstances suggest that the ring could have been lost or discarded during some physical activity within the enclosure. The ring is hand-made, possibly cast, and appears to have been hammered and polished, as ball peen hammer indentations are evident on its underside. It is undecorated or marked except for the surface-face linear pattern seen in Figure 3.2.



**Figure 3.2: Silver Finger Ring**

The ring diameter is under 2 cm and appears to be approximately a size 5 or 6 (1.5-1.7 cm) on a modern ring sizing chart, suggesting that this ring was worn by an individual with small fingers, probably a woman or child, or on the smaller pinkie or ring fingers of a man. However, another ring, recovered from a foundation in household area #2, was probably a larger individual's ring because of its diameter, approximately 2 cm or a modern size 10 or 11 (see Figure 3.3). This copper-alloy band may have originally been part of a mechanical device (washer, spacer) or small bottle top because of its slightly rolled interior edges and an impressed arrow on its inner face. However, it appears to have been recycled into an item of jewelry because the band is asymmetrically flattened and abraded only on its flattened side, corresponding to the shape and actions of an individual's ring worn over time during physical activity.



**Figure 3.3: Copper-Alloy Ring**

Household area #2 has yet another example of possible material reuse and alteration into jewelry. This matron head (1816-1857) style penny has been substantially altered, with one portion clipped to create a hard edge and a tiny hole punched in the opposite side (Figure 3.4).



**Figure 3.4: Modified Matron Head Penny**

These alterations follow with some other related reuse practices suggested by numismatist Theodore Schwartz (1980: 93) for these large pennies in wider colonial



American contexts. Such practices included the wearing of copper pennies on belts or pendants to combat arthritis and other maladies, the nailing of coins to structures for good luck, and the use of cut coins as gun sights or key chains. Equally, African-American tradition utilized pierced coins in similar fashions for spiritual protection, adornments and charms (e.g. DAACS 2004; Russell 1997; Wilkie 1997: 68). Any or all of these practices and others may have been employed by Eastern Pequot individuals in the use of these materials beyond or in concert with adornment meanings.

However, the final artifact from the reservation, which can definitively be described as jewelry, is a ‘paste’ glass faux gemstone. According to White (2005) and Luscomb (1997), these faux gems were molded, colored glass, meant to be glued, or ‘pasted’ into settings on pendants, buttons, brooches or clothing to imitate real precious gems, as in this case a large facet-cut sapphire (Figure 3.5).



**Figure 3.5: Blue Paste Gem**

This glass jewel was not found with any other items that might suggest its setting or owner; however, its size, at 2 cm in width by .5 cm in thickness, and abraded reverse side, suggests that it was inset into a large setting or stuck on a flat surface. Its presence, as with the

few other items of jewelry mentioned here, suggests that the Eastern Pequot were accessing manufactured products and using them on the reservation. However, no jewelry or adornment is mentioned in the documents as being provided through overseer exchanges during the 19th century. When compared to the low numbers of this type of material culture this absence may suggest that these items, unlike clothing, were not intentionally introduced into the reservation households by the overseers, but arrived via other outside sources. Such a differential visibility may relate equally to acculturative efforts of the overseers and the resistance of the Eastern Pequot displayed in the decorations worn on their Anglo-American clothing, by using manufactured goods in slightly different ways during the 19th century. The low archaeological visibility of this material culture also suggests its curation or reuse once in circulation among Eastern Pequot families.

### **Sewing hardware**

The similar low numbers of sewing-related hardware found exclusively in household area #3, together with documented purchases, further shows that individuals, at least in these households, were using scissors, thimbles, needles, pins and thread to make and enhance their own appearances. Beaudry (2006) exhaustively covers sewing hardware in its colonial incarnations and suggests that these artifacts can represent deeper meanings and demonstrate identities, as well as the more functional material information, such as manufacturing techniques and origins. Beaudry's descriptors supplement previous sources such as Noël Hume (1969) and White (2005) and will be used to detail the one thimble and two distinct scissor bows, or finger-holes, found in household area #3. The scissors bows are both of iron and heavily corroded, making exact identification less precise.

However, the first of these scissor bows (Figure 3.6) appears to match Noël Hume's #8 (1969: 268), identified as c. 1780, and the middle pair of Beaudry's (2006: Figure 5.3) from the Winterthur Museum, also dating to the middle of the 18th century, and appears to have wire bows and elaborate ball-like shanks (the portion connecting the bow to the scissor blade). The second ball and small portion of a shank (Figure 3.7) appear to match the left hand pair of scissors in Beaudry's (2006: Figure 5.3) and are described as a flat bow with a possible square reverse shank. Both bows are described as sewing scissors, being less than 10 cm in length based on the < 3 cm size of the bows. Until the middle of the 19th century, most scissors in New England would have been produced in Sheffield, England, by hand, and made to many individual patterns or conventions, allowing elaborated small scissors to be available to everyone.



**Figure 3.6: Eastern Pequot Small Scissors**



**Figure 3.7: Eastern Pequot Small Scissors**

After the establishment of American scissor makers in factory towns in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Connecticut in the 19th century, scissors were more easily acquired in eastern Connecticut. Beaudry indicates that the uses and meanings of these small scissors were myriad and extended to all members of a household or business and all tasks within it. The use of these tools appears to differentially define gender, with Anglo-American colonial men and women negotiating roles as tailors, housewives, producers of clothing to dress the household, and as teachers of sewing to their children over the 18th and 19th centuries (Beaudry 2006). Like scissors, thimbles may carry multiple meanings of gender, age, activity and economic dynamics within families. The sole thimble from the reservation is small, approximately 2 cm in height and diameter, and of rolled manufacture from copper-alloy sheet, with a further rolled body to crown joint, and indistinct rim or base (see Figure 3.8).



**Figure 3.8: Copper-Alloy Thimble**

Shallow machine-made knurling covers only the top centimeter of the thimble body, suggesting that this thimble was made for light cloth and finer needles. The crown, or top, of this thimble is absent, but may also have been rolled copper-alloy sheet. These details suggest that the thimble was made for small figures and finer sewing during the 19th century, possibly as a training thimble for a young woman. This may be an example of a cheap thimble given by overseers to Eastern Pequot women and girls to promote the adoption of Anglo-American sewing habits and gender roles, carrying on the assimilative traditions postulated for the thimbles given by John Eliot to the Native inhabitants of the Praying Indian village at Magunkaquog in central Massachusetts 150 years earlier (Herbster 2005; Mrozowski et al. 2005). The body of the thimble is also dented and deformed, and no use-wear within the knurling is visible, possibly due to pedological processes while in the ground, making an interpretation of daily use, curation or

conservation as an important object difficult. This thimble, like the scissors, may represent uses and meanings unique to Eastern Pequot individuals.

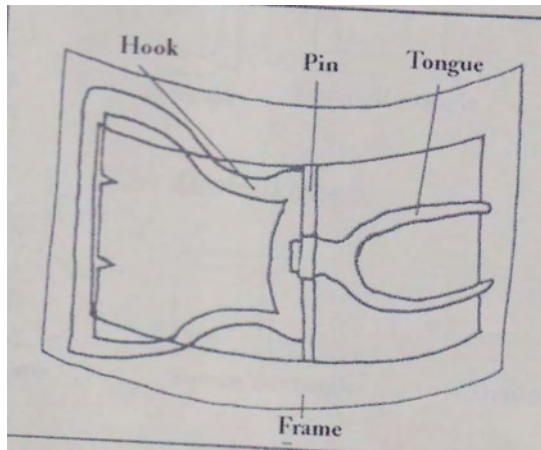
Eastern Pequot men, women and children on the reservation probably were in similar situations to Anglo-Americans during the 18th and 19th centuries, and motivated by the need to support and enhance self and family, such as Polly Nedson's seamstress activities recorded in the overseer's accounts. Sewing was also perhaps a way to represent and continue Eastern Pequot culture despite adoption of Anglo-American clothing styles. The use of beads on baskets, headbands or other items worn with and as daily clothing, indicated by the small but consistent sample of uniformly small beads in multiple primary colors, and presence of scissors and a thimble, have not been found together in other analyses of clothing-related artifacts at Anglo-American households (e.g. White 2005).

### **Buckles**

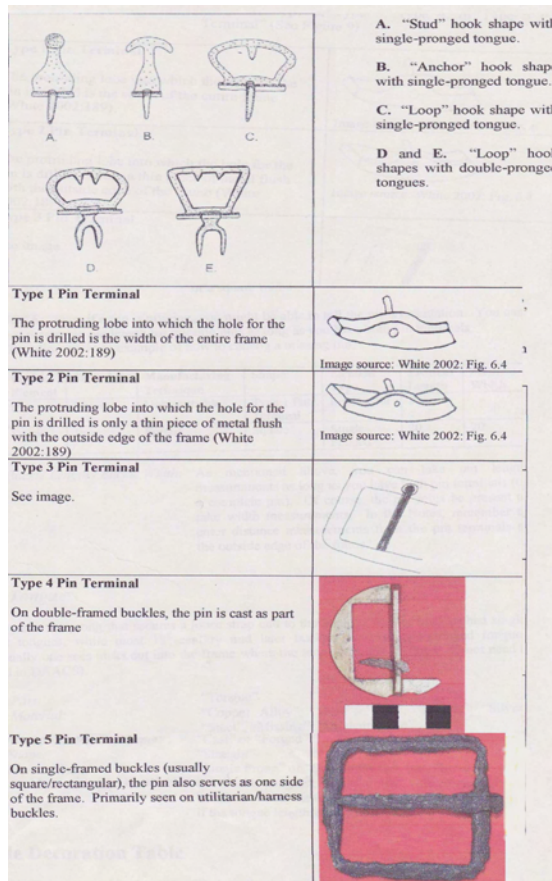
Like sewing hardware, jewelry, and beads, buckles may possess uniquely Eastern Pequot meanings, beyond their purely functional uses as fasteners for clothing, shoes, belts, hats, and military hardware. The assemblage of these items from the reservation household areas is quite small, only thirteen items in total. However, like the other small artifacts, a critical analysis of each individual buckle may relate additional information not normally considered in general archaeological analyses. Buckles can be fairly accurate chronological markers because they were associated with clothing fashions and technological advancements, which changed fairly rapidly during the 18th and 19th centuries. Through material type and functional construction details buckles may suggest chronology, as well as the gender and social position of the wearer. Several of these are indicated by the various types of decorative devices placed on buckles through the molding process, during casting or incised during the

process of hand finishing with punches, as well as the use of tin or gilt coatings with a gold or silver dip, to make a base metal such as brass appear to be gold or silver. Such decorations may also include the application of real or faux 'paste glass' gemstones to buckle bodies (White 2005, Whitehead 2003).

Buckles do not presently have a substantial literature in archaeology, although American sources such as Noël Hume (1969) and White (2005) can be compared to English post-Medieval archaeological sources such as Whitehead (2003) and perhaps provide the most current synthesis of classificatory and typological discussions for colonial contexts in eastern North America. Likewise, the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) at Monticello (Grillo, Aultman and Bon-Harper 2003) has produced a laboratory guide for buckle classification based on White's work, which outlines a numbered typology (Figure 3.9 and 3.10). The form each of these types takes is based on a standard buckle form, which includes four parts: frame, hook, pin and tongue. Together the hook, pin and tongue are together referred to as the buckle's chape, or all the moving parts inside the buckle frame. The shape, manufacturing techniques, dimensions, orientation and decorations of these parts are generally diagnostic for each type of buckle.



**Figure 3.9: Buckle Anatomy**  
(Grillo, Aultman and Bon-Harper 2003:8)



**Figure 3.10: Buckle Hook Shapes (A-E) and Pin Terminal Types (1-5)**  
(Grillo, Aultman and Bon-Harper 2003: 11,12)



Buckle shapes are influenced by both their functions and the stylistic and manufacturing technologies in use during a given time period. In the 18th century buckles were used primarily for attaching shoes to feet, belts to trousers, and to tighten knee breeches, but also for securing a variety of other bands and belts, including hat bands, sword belts, neck stocks, and spurs, as well as for utilitarian tasks related to heavy packaging, horse harness, or tack and wagon strapping. These buckles evolved particular shapes, materials and ranges of elaboration for each task and came to be highly elaborate items of jewelry, as well as fasteners, by the end of the 18th century. In the 19th century buckles simplified with clothing styles and were less often used for shoes, but continued in use for many other similar tasks with the advantages of improvements in materials and manufacturing methods resulting from increased industrialization, especially in New England (White 2005; Whitehead 2003).

Buckles from the Eastern Pequot Reservation are described below and in Appendix F in terms of material, type, form and decorative attributes, as well as overall dimensions. Of the twelve buckles present, four were made of iron, two of some variety of white metal alloy (including tin, lead or zinc), and the remaining six from a copper alloy, including brass and “pinchbeck”, an alloy of four parts copper to one part tin (Grillo, Aultman and Bon-Harper 2003: 9). Of these twelve items, the majority come from the two more extensively investigated foundations in household areas #1 and #3, with only one iron buckle found in household area #2. These buckles are primarily small shoe buckles from the mid to late 18th century, and may belong to women’s or children’s shoes (approx. < 5 cm), with two larger exceptions that may belong to a man’s shoe (approx. > 5 cm) and one that may be either a hat buckle or a small shore buckle.

All of these buckles are unique, and none form a matched pair. Those buckles which are not shoe buckles are less well made iron buckles which may be from a simple hat band, harness straps or belts, as they also are small, hand-wrought iron and undecorated. In household area #1 five buckles were recovered from the primary foundations. Of these five buckles, four were made of copper-alloy or possibly a pinchbeck alloy and one was manufactured from a lead-based white metal alloy. These copper-alloy buckles are represented only by chape fragments, while the white metal buckle is represented by two cross-mendable pieces of decorated frame (Figure 3.11). When cross-mended this buckle appears to be of cast manufacture in an oval shape with a curved profile and has a Type 2 pin terminal, following DAACS typology. The decoration on this frame is a uniformly incised scalloping on the face of the frame, which was probably cast in the mold.

Whitehead's buckle (2003: #700, 109) shown in Figure 3.11 corresponds to this shape, which he calls "shuttle shaped" and which is presumed to have had a double tongue and chape constructed of copper-alloy or steel. The molded decoration, however, is similar but not equivalent, with the Eastern Pequot buckle's scalloping running outward from the interior and the Whitehead buckle's scalloping running uniformly across the body from side to side. This buckle may also have had some additional surface treatment, such as paint or gilt, which has since disappeared.



Figure 3.11: Eastern Pequot “Shuttle Shaped” Buckle and Whitehead #700 Buckle (2003: 106)

Only chape fragments represented the four copper-alloy buckles recovered from household area #1, with one buckle having half of frame, single prong tongue and trapezoidal hook intact. The other three buckles were represented by a complete trapezoidal hook and double-tongue chape, a double-pronged hook fragment and a double-pronged tongue fragment respectively. Without conservation it is difficult to determine the exact manufacturing details of this buckle, but it appears to contain a cast pewter frame with a ferrous pin and a copper alloy hook. The frame may also be decorated, although until the ferrous concretion is removed from around the buckle's pin the decoration is unclear. Due to this composite construction and single prong chape form, as well as its small size at 2.5x1.5 cm, this buckle is probably a late 18<sup>th</sup>-century ladies or children's shoe buckle, following White (2005). This buckle (Figure 3.12) also resembles Whitehead's #649 or #662 (2003:101, 103), with a cast body and single prong tongue with a tinned frame.



**Figure 3.12: Eastern Pequot Small Shoe Buckle**

The other three buckles from this household area are represented by a complete chape, with a double tongue and a trapezoidal hook (Figure 3.13) and fragments of a double tongue (Figure 3.14) and a two-spike chape fragment (Figure 3.15). The whole chape in Figure 3.14 corresponds exactly to example 8E of “cooking-pot shaped” loop chapes with fork-shaped tongues’ (in White 2005: 43), which she ascribes to 1720-1770. Whitehead (2003: 103) also identifies these chape fragments collectively as Georgian shoe buckle hardware, which dates from c. 1720-1790.



**Figure 3.13: “Cooking-Pot” Chape**



**Figure 3.14: Fork Tongue**



**Figure 3.15: Two-Spike Chape Fragment**

In household area #2 only one buckle was recovered (Figure 3.16), which may have been associated with rough clothing, such as a hat band, but also could be ascribed to harness or other utilitarian activities due to its ferrous, rough-hand-forged construction and small (2.5 x 3 cm) square single-frame composition. DAACS identifies this type of buckle as a Type 5 terminal due to its simplicity in having only one pin, which also serves as one side of the frame.





**Figure 3.16: Type 5 Terminal**

This buckle is comparable to a Whitehead #130 (2003: 26, 27), although because of the corrosion it is difficult to determine the exact characteristics of manufacture. Likewise, in household area #3, several other buckles of this general type were recovered. The first of these (Figure 3.17) was of similar utilitarian forged ferrous construction and terminal type (DAACS #5) to that found in household area #2, but was of a rectangular, as opposed to square, shape and 3 cm in length but only 1 cm in width.



**Figure 3.17: Rectangular Type 5 Terminal**

According to White (2005: 43-44) this chape orientation and small size might correspond to a buckle used to secure hat bands or knee breeches, but some form of harness or utilitarian

function may also be possible. Whitehead (2003), however, has nothing comparable to this type and style, raising the question of local American as opposed to imported English manufacture. The other two iron buckles recovered from household area #3 were similar in material, size and pattern to the single buckle recovered in household area #2. These were constructed of flat iron stock, instead of rod, and may have been cast, although since these buckles have not been cleaned and conserved it is again difficult to conclusively identify their construction method (Figure 3.18 and 3.19).



**Figure 3.18: Iron Buckle**



**Figure 3.19: Iron Buckle**

The only white metal buckle recovered from household area #3 is represented by one-quarter of the body, measuring 2.5 cm by 2.5 cm, making definitive size, shape and terminal typology identification difficult. This buckle is square or rectangular in plan but curved in profile and has extensive decoration in the form of a shallow scalloped edge and cast rosette designs in the flat body of the buckle (Figure 3.20). The size and decoration of the buckle fragment suggest either men's or women's shoe or hat application, although the cast construction in white metal, with molded designs, suggests an equivalency to an Anglo-British middling economic status for the purchaser.





**Figure 3.20: Cast White Metal Buckle**

Because of its fragmentary nature this buckle is difficult to accurately assess and may be either a shoe buckle or hat buckle, comparable either to Whitehead's #693 cast pewter rectangular or sub-rectangular shoe buckle styles, with drilled frame for separate spindle (2003: 108), or hat buckles, similar to #721 or #723 (2003: 113). Chronologically, both buckle types fall within the mid to late 18th century, as Whitehead indicates 1770 as the *terminus ante quem* for hat buckles and c.1720-1790s for shoe buckles.

The other two buckles located in household area #3 were both cast and/or stamped and decorated copper alloy shoe buckles corresponding to the extravagant "Artois" style prevalent in the late 18th century (White 2005; Whitehead 2003). This style, popularized in the pre-Revolution French court during the 1770s through the 1790s, was characterized by extremes of buckle size, curve, construction material and decoration to accentuate the shoe, and by extension its owner. However, even though more extravagant in shape than previous buckles, these particular Eastern Pequot buckles were comparatively less extravagant in terms of material and decoration, being constructed of copper alloy as opposed to gold or silver and simply stamped

with basic decorations instead of covered with appliqué gemstones or other Rococo or openwork design flourishes. Figure 3.21 shows an example of the high-style heavily jeweled shoe buckle for comparison.



**Figure 3.21: Whitehead #752,  
Fancy Silver, Steel, Gem Encrusted  
Buckle (Whitehead 2003:116)**

Only the frames remain on both buckles, with one flat and entire in cross-section at 7x5 cm in size, while the other is round and missing one half of its frame but appears to be more square at 8x8 cm in overall size, suggesting construction for larger men's shoes. Both are missing their chape hardware, although both appear to be of a type 2 pin terminal design, where the pin is seated on the frame in a hole, which is not the entire thickness of the frame at that point. The buckle with the round frame also has a decorative rosette stamped in a boss above the pin terminal, beveled corners and a supplemental rod just to the inside of the overall frame which has been bent on one side and broken off entirely on the other (Figure 3.22).



**Figure 3.22: Artois Tubular Buckle with Boss**

This example resembles Whitehead's (2003: 103, 110) #705 cut steel, 1760-1790, Georgian double loop chape and double tongue shoe buckle. This buckle, however, was of cast copper alloy construction, instead of the more expensive cut steel, and may have been gilt or tinned as well as having cast floral patterns on the central roundels. In contrast, the other flat buckle has only cast design motifs, which appear to be floral in character, and which are scattered uniformly along the length of the frame facing (Figure 3.23).



**Figure 3.23: Cast Copper-Alloy Flat Rectangular Artois Buckle**

This buckle appears to be a simplified version of several examples presented in Whitehead (2003:105), including #670, 671 and 673, which were cast copper alloy buckles with double tongue and chape. Unlike these Whitehead examples, which also correspond to a Georgian “Artois” style with heavy molded and appliqué decoration and silver coating, this example has only basic cast floral decoration and may have been gilt.

Overall, this small sample of buckles suggests that Eastern Pequot families and individuals were wearing buckled shoes during the 18th century and had sufficient income to purchase or trade for a decent but not extravagant style of footwear, comparable to those worn by their Anglo-American middling neighbors. This footwear probably arrived on the reservation through similar exchanges with overseers as those observed through the documents a generation later or longer. Another dynamic in operation on the reservation is suggested by the shoe buckle identified in Figure 3.22, which was found in the lower levels of a pit feature in household area #2 (Cipolla 2005). This feature also yielded ground stone lithics, a soapstone vessel, and a gilt

copper-alloy button back-stamped “Imperial Quality,” characteristic of a mid-19th century use-life (Luscomb 1997; Noël Hume 1969; White 2005). Such a mixture of artifacts and dates indicates that extensive curation, reuse and continuity may have been occurring, at least in household area #2. These processes may indicate that, in this case, buckles, identified by Whitehead (2003) as being conserved to wear with multiple pairs of shoes, were also passed among generations and may have had additional meanings attached to them through the relationships of the wearers.

### **Buttons**

Like buckles, the buttons from the Eastern Pequot Reservation may indicate additional meanings beyond their functional attributes. Buttons, like buckles, are fasteners, which may chronologically reflect technological changes and colonial dress styles through their size, manufacturing techniques and materials. Simultaneously, they are material representations of intangible social elements such as gender, economic standing, and individual and group identities. According to White (2005: 57-62), the size, decoration and manufacturing differentials seen in these buttons generally correspond to different types of garments worn during the 18th and 19th centuries by men and boys and later by women and girls. These garments included a wide variety of coats, waistcoats, cloaks, breeches, pants, stocks, sleeves, shirts and handkerchiefs. The basic men’s wardrobe consisting of a shirt, waistcoat, coat and breeches remained similar, though being altered in cut and numbers of buttons, from the late 18th into the 19th centuries.

Buttons were diagnostic indicators of colonial Atlantic world dress styles and manufacturing technologies in a way similar to buckles, with increases seen in size and decoration through the 1780s and into the French Revolutionary period and subsequently returning again to smaller sizes and finely detailed machine-manufactured styles through the first half of the 19th century. Buttons are indicative of personal and household status and wealth, as well as changing styles and advances in manufacturing technologies. Like buckles, those buttons made of richer metals or covered in cloth or ornately decorated, corresponded to higher wealth and status, and those of plain style and baser metals indicated lesser wealth, status or purchasing power. Women's dress employed few buttons during the 18th century but increased through the extravagance of pre-French Revolutionary fashions in a way similar to buckles. Early 19th century Napoleonic ladies' fashions eschewed buttons, but the use of buttons on female garments again increased with Federal and Victorian fashions through the middle to later 19th century as a result of industrialization and concurrent mass-production techniques (Epstein 1990).

A close study of buttons can provide additional information often overlooked. In ways similar to jewelry, scissors and buckles, buttons have extended use-lives and can be used in a variety of ways beyond their functional, manufactured purposes, as well as reused, recycled, and mixed to achieve an individual's desired appearance. In a hypothetical narrative example, a large diameter, ornate, gold button, manufactured as part of a matched set for a wealthy man's waist coat, might be lost or traded and later reused as jewelry or a gaming piece or re-sewn by a woman on her own coat or hat to accentuate her desired appearance. The same set of buttons might equally be divided and

passed from father to sons, accumulating deeper familial meanings in addition to being functionally added to other garments over time, before being discarded in the course of events and beginning another life as an artifact. Similarly, the meanings given to buttons in Anglo-America may not necessarily mirror those applied to these items on the Eastern Pequot Reservation.

Relevant source materials on historic buttons and their metal compositions are not exhaustive and a variety of sources can be usefully applied. These sources include academic publications such as White (2005), Brauner (2000), Karlins (2000), Light (2000), Heath (1999), Scovill Brass (1997), White (1977), Noël Hume (1969), South (1964), Olsen (1963), Marburg (1943, 1942), and Keir (1913), as well as other popular press button collector's guides from English and American sources, including Meredith and Cuddeford (1997), Luscomb (1997), Epstein (1990), works of unknown date by Owens Jr., Porter, a 1998 regional button identification guide without a definitive author and (Beresford 1960). Internet sources, including the cataloging manual from the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery by Aultman and Grillo (2006) are also increasingly important.

The three household areas on the Eastern Pequot Reservation included in this sample produced 74 buttons, making them the largest single artifact type to date among those artifacts related to clothing and dress. By household areas the total buttons of all types were 11 in household area #1, 9 in household area #2 and 54 in household area #3, with 39 of these coming from a single unit outside a house foundation. These buttons, no two of which are identical, encompass a variety of materials available in the late 18th and

19th century, including vulcanized rubber, glass, shell, white metal alloys, copper-alloys and iron. These buttons were manufactured through a variety of different processes over time, which give individual buttons approximately chronologically diagnostic forms (Aultman and Grillo 2006, White 2005, White 1977).

The following descriptions and discussions will be based on Noël Hume's (1969) numbered button typology (see Figure 3.24), which was based in turn on the work of Stanley South (1964) at Brunswick Town (1726-76; 1800-1830) and Fort Fisher (1837-65), North Carolina. This typology is still serviceable for smaller assemblages of buttons such as those from the reservation (see Appendix E) because it combines several elements of description within one classificatory heading, facilitating later comparison. This typology has since been amalgamated in less accessible formats more suitable for large collection data entry operations in such publications as the DAACS button catalog manual by Aultman and Grillo (2006), which is based on the work of White (2005).



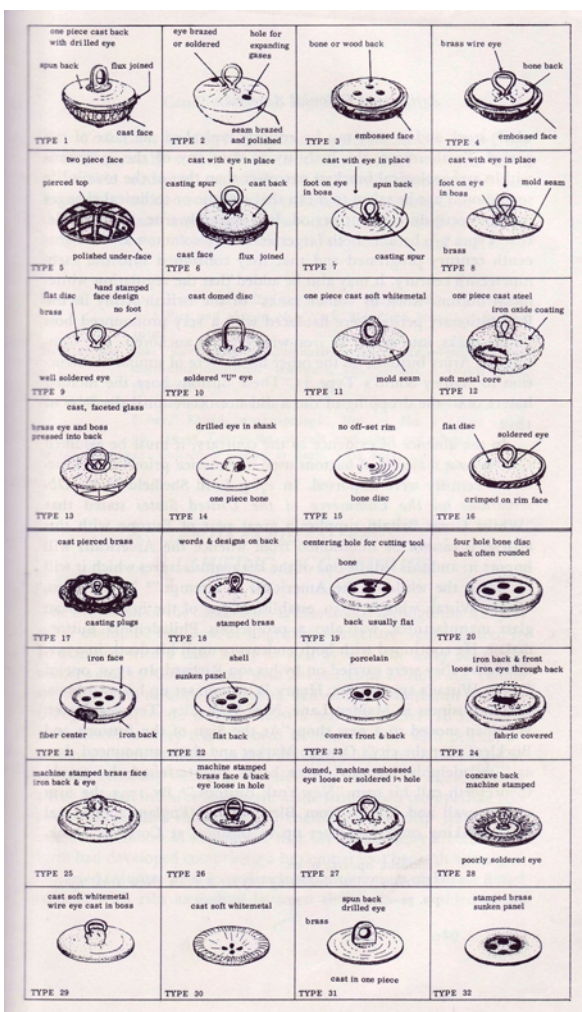


Figure 3.24: Noël Hume Button Typology, after South (1969: 91)

Each of the numbered types presented in this graphic includes material, manufacturing method, shape, decorations, ‘back stamped’ manufacturing information or advertisements, and attachment or ‘shank’ type, which includes two or four holes drilled in the button body or type of wire loop connector, which were bent and soldered or cast within the button body, forming shapes identified as the Greek letters alpha or omega. These attributes are assigned general chronologies, with types 1-16 from 1726-1776, types 17-23 from 1800-1830 and types 18-32, as well as examples of 1, 7, 11, 15, and 16, occurring from 1837 to 1865, indicative of button

reuse and curation between occupation dates at these North Carolina sites. The use of this chronology for a New England site is justified, because button manufacturing was concentrated in the English cities of Birmingham, and to a lesser extent in Sheffield, during the 17th and 18th centuries and all buttons were exported to East Coast cities for dissemination throughout colonial America. After the American Revolution, English button manufacturing, first in pewter and white metals and later in brass and copper-alloys, was adopted in New England industrial regions of Connecticut and Massachusetts, in towns such as Waterbury and Attleborough. There artisans from Birmingham had established operations and American firms had adopted English technology and combined it in large factory towns with new sources of labor, resources and water or steam power (for examples see White 1977; Scovil Brass 1997; Porter; Owens Jr.).

Buttons, as well as the other clothing items previously discussed, traveled onto the reservation and throughout New England and America by land, through trade, via overseers and local traders, and secondary agents such as the itinerant tin-smith (Marburg 1942, 1943), soldiers and seasonal laborers; and by sea with coastal and ocean-going trading vessels manned by sailors, many of whom were African or Native American. According to Mancini and Maumec (2005), a large number of local individuals from Stonington, Ledyard, Groton and the New London area served in Connecticut regiments and on Continental Navy ships during the American Revolutionary War from 1775 to 1783. With a record of recent military service in varied locations throughout North America, these individuals, who might have either lived on the Eastern Pequot Reservation or had relations who lived there, could make money to acquire these items in their travels and return with them to the reservation.

As related by Mark A. Nicolas (2002, 2005), for other southern New England Native communities, such as the neighboring Wampanoag communities of Mashpee, Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard and their participation in the whaling industry, the connection of the sea to reservation lands and commerce was a strong one. Nicolas especially cites Herndon and Sekatau (1997) and Mandell (1998) in linking the maritime industry to the simultaneous shifting of colonial racial categorizations, which pushed both Native and African-Americans in southern New England into more generalized 'colored' ethnic groupings during the 18th and 19th centuries. This shift in racial categorization also was occurring as a result of changing Anglo-Americans perceptions emphasizing the rapid disappearance of local Native American populations (see also Castile 1996), which in turn may have impacted clothing choices, as shown by Turano in the clothing choices employed in early photographs from these areas.

Wampanoag men and women on both land and sea were altering their traditional patterns in order to negotiate a wider maritime-based wage-labor society to keep their homelands together, with voyaging men and working women returning with money to Mashpee or Aquinnah to provide for the relatives still living on the land. That a similar situation was occurring on the Eastern Pequot Reservation is quite possible, with individuals involved in military service, wage-labor and seafaring activities off reservation as a way to gain those remaining at home financial powers to negotiate with the overseers and within the colonial economy (see Witt 2007).

Thus buttons may be seen as significant representations of both Eastern Pequot connection and participation in the wider colonial world, and the interconnectedness of the reservation to the wider Atlantic economy between England and America, as well as to the one

within New England and the American colonies. Several types of the buttons identified by South in his North Carolina samples were probably manufactured in England and New England and exported to North Carolina, through mercantile shipping channels from England, Connecticut or Massachusetts by Anglo-American traders, or even by African-American or Native-American sailors from northern homes serving at Fort Fisher or passing through Brunswick Town. With this background for Eastern Pequot Reservation buttons established, the following table (Figure 3.25) presents the reservation button assemblage.

**Figure 3.25: Eastern Pequot Reservation Buttons**

**Eastern Pequot  
Reservation Buttons**

**Totals by Household Area**

<b>Household Area</b>	<b>1 (1760-1790)</b>	<b>2 (1770-1840)</b>	<b>3 (1820-1850)</b>
<b>Size</b>			
<i>&gt;1.5 cm</i>	0	1	24
<i>1.5-2 cm</i>	9	1	16
<i>&lt; 2 cm</i>	1	6	12
<i>Unknown</i>	1	1	2
<b>Shank Type</b>			
<i>Alpha</i>	1	4	9
<i>Omega</i>	9	3	37
<i>Unknown/Other</i>	1	2	8
<b>Material</b>			
<i>Copper Alloy</i>	8	7	42
<i>White Metal</i>	2	0	7
<i>Ferrous</i>	1	0	3
<i>Other</i>	0	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>54</b>

In differentiating these buttons by size, shank type and material it is possible to cautiously suggest gender and clothing type, as well as chronology. Together with observable decorations and ‘back stamped’ words and phrases, political, economic and regional origins and conditions can also be suggested. For button sizes in the 18th and early to mid-19th centuries, White’s (2005) guidelines pertain primarily to documented men’s clothing, with buttons over 2 cm and into the 3 cm range in diameter defined as having come from a jacket or coat, with waistcoat, shirt and both male and female sleeve buttons ranging in the 1.5 to 2 cm range or smaller for female dress moving into the mid 19th century.

Within a continuum of observed shank types and materials, a 1.5-2 cm, copper-alloy omega shank button with back stamp similar to a Noël Hume type 9, 18 or 28 represents an early 19<sup>th</sup>-century norm, while a >3cm, pewter or white metal, cast, undecorated example similar to a Noël Hume 7 or 8 represents early 18<sup>th</sup>-century, imported buttons. A 1-cm, four-hole, pearl or porcelain button, similar to a Noël Hume type 19 to 23 and 32, is indicative of progression to a later 19<sup>th</sup>-century norm in button manufacture, where shanks had been replaced by multiple threaded loops. Among this range are a myriad of examples specifically identified and named by collectors (Epstein 1990; Luscomb 1997; Meredith and Cuddeford 1997) and in some cases examples that can be exactly matched to a specific date, manufacturer and location (Owens Jr.; Porter). Appendix E outlines the particulars of each button found on the reservation, and the following pages are a summary of the buttons found in each household area and the information they suggest.

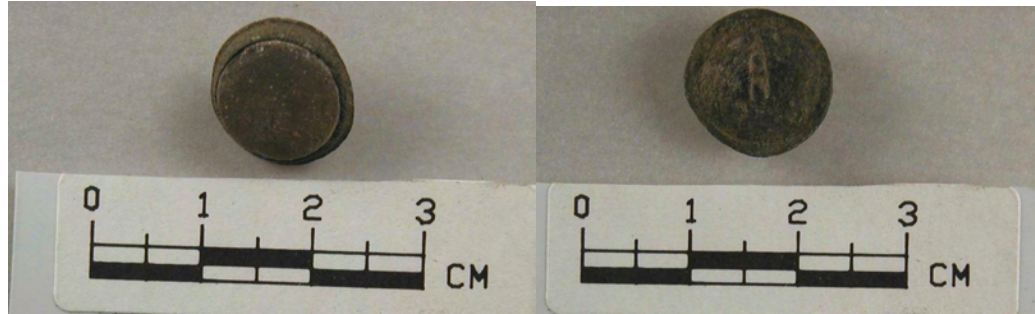
The buttons from the primary foundation and surrounding enclosures in household area #1 represent a mixture of materials and manufacturing styles, and, therefore dates and clothing items. The first of these was a Noël Hume type 26, two-piece, stamped copper-alloy button, which had a rounded cross section and a face stamped with a plant stalk or single sheaf design, as well as a separate bent wire shank (Figure 3.26).



**Figure 3.26: Wheat Sheaf Design**

This two-piece button style is indicative of an early to mid-19th century manufacturing technology according to Luscomb (1997) and is given a date range of 1837 to 1865 based on Noël Hume's typology. Another button from this household area is also representative of a 19th century date. This is a copper-alloy, omega shank button 1.5 cm in diameter (Figure 3.27), which had an inset glass face with a copper-alloy back and shank similar to that late 19th century style of button labeled by Luscomb as 'vest buttons' because of their relative size and extensive use of inset glass face decorations (1997: 211). This dating may indicate a secondary occupation at a later date than that indicated by the earlier date range for the household area, as derived from the ceramic

assemblage (Witt 2007) and other buttons. These small, relatively ornate buttons could be used by either sex, on shirts or dresses and as fancier buttons, may have been reused and recombined on multiple garments as required.



**Figure 3.27: Vest Button**

The nine other buttons from this household area are all undecorated and include a type 11 button more suggestive of the mid-18th century date of the household area, being a 2 cm, undecorated, cast white metal button with a probable alpha cast-in shank (Figure 3.28). This button is suggestive of a men's coat or waistcoat button, and may have been dipped or gilt.



**Figure 3.28: White Metal Button, Type 11**

Another earlier button manufacturing method was represented by only a rim fragment in this household area, however; enough remained to identify it as a type 7, cast pewter, lathe-turned button (Figure 3.29). This button was approximately 1.5-2 cm in

diameter and probably had a wire alpha shank, which was cast in a mold as part of the button, then finished on a lathe, and is suggestive of a men's coat, waistcoat or vest button.



**Figure 3.29: Lathe-Turned Pewter Button**

The eight remaining buttons from this household area continued the observed mixture of early to mid-18<sup>th</sup>-century materials and styles, with white metal, copper-alloy, wood and iron together, and stamped and cast examples of alpha shank and early four-hole styles. These buttons include one 1.5 cm type 10, one 2.5 cm type 9, and one each types 10, 3, 7, 9 and 12, all in the 1.5cm to 2 cm range. Figure 3.30 shows examples of types 3, 7, 9, 10 and 12. Only eleven buttons were present overall, and are indicative of a variety of manufacturing types and dates. Therefore it can be suggested that buttons were reused over time, and probably used on multiple garments by men, women and children throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>-century occupation of the households in this area.





**Figure 3.30: Household area #1 Buttons (A-E)**

In a similar fashion to household area #1 buttons, household area #2 contained ten buttons associated with above ground foundations. The majority of these buttons correspond to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century bracket of the household area and represent both later alpha and omega shank types, but again there are several others that correspond to early to mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century materials and manufacturing methods. Generally the earlier buttons are larger and lack decoration, whereas the later buttons are smaller, more ornate and better crafted, but again there are those in between, such as one type 18, flat stamped, copper-alloy button, 2.5 cm in diameter with an omega-style shank and a faint circular chevron decoration around the shank (Figure 3.31).



**Figure 3.31: Type 18, Chevron Shank**

Those earlier examples from household area #2 include several type 9 of varying larger diameters, including a 1.5 cm hand stamped, plain faced, alpha shank copper-alloy button and a similar undecorated, 3 cm alpha shank copper-alloy button (Figure 3.32).



**Figure 3.32: Type 9, Small and Large Examples**

The largest button, a 3 cm type 9, was an undecorated, alpha shank, stamped copper-alloy example (Figure 3.33).



**Figure 3.33: 3 cm 'Tombac'**

These buttons correspond to an example of the large sized (1/2"-2") undecorated or hand stamped decoration copper-alloy 'tombac' type in Luscomb (1997: 197) and are attributed to the early 18th century. These large examples would have begun their use-lives as part of men's coats or vests but perhaps been of use for other alternative purposes because of their large size.

Those buttons in household area #2 characteristic of the later 18th century and early to mid-19th century include one type 18, 1-cm stamped, omega-shank copper-alloy button (Figure 3.34), that was gilt covered and has a laurel wreath decoration on its back face, representative, perhaps, of later buttons acknowledging feminine styling.



**Figure 3.34: Laurel Back Decoration**

Two other buttons from this later occupation of the household area are both type 18, omega-shank examples of later 19th century machine-aided manufacturing processes, including gilding and stamped back decorations, with one decorated with a continuous laurel pattern around the shank (Figure 3.35), and the other button bearing a eagle and

star motif (Figure 3.36), similar to the motif found on the 1-cm button above in figure 3.35.



**Figure 3.35: Laurel Shank**



**Figure 3.36: Eagle and Star Shank**

The remaining two buttons from this household area were unlike the rest in that they clearly represented mid-19th century manufacturing technology, made from vulcanized rubber and glass and using two and four holes, respectively, instead of shanks for fastening the buttons to the garments (Figure 3.37).



**Figure 3.37: Rubber and Glass Buttons  
(Inverse of the rubber button depicted in right and left sides)**

The vulcanized rubber button was stamped with a maker's identification and date, (Goodyear, 1851), which corresponds to the year Nelson Goodyear secured his patent for

the manufacture of an improved vulcanized rubber button. Nelson Goodyear was also the son of Amasa Goodyear, who had begun a button manufacturing operation in Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1805 and which continued to produce gilt, machine stamped copper-alloy buttons through 1835 (Luscomb 1997; see also Waterbury button chronology in Owens Jr. and Porter).

Further research beyond the scope of this work, is required to determine the exact familial, trade and stylistic connections during what is known to popular collectors as the ‘Golden Age’ of American button manufacturers and their operations in the state of Connecticut, especially around the Naugatuck Valley and the town of Waterbury, during the 19<sup>th</sup>-century. However, it is clear that Eastern Pequot individuals were integrating new button materials and forms into existing sewing and clothing use patterns as they became available on the reservation through the various economic and social channels previously indicated.

Like household areas #1 and #2, household #3 buttons also indicate similar mixed use of 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century buttons together. Examples of 18<sup>th</sup>-century buttons include a type 8, cast, undecorated, alpha shank button 2 cm in diameter characteristic of Luscomb’s (1997:197) ‘Tombac’ buttons and a type 10, copper-alloy, cast button with a soldered U shank 2.5 cm in diameter (Figure 3.38, 3.39).





**Figure 3.38: Type 8, 'Tombac'**



**Figure 3.39: Type 10**

Two other buttons characteristic of early to mid-18th century production include a type 7 cast, lathe-turned, white metal alloy, alpha-shank button 1.75 cm in diameter, and a type 29 cast, white metal alloy, omega-shank button 1.5 cm in diameter (Figure 3.40, 3.41). Another white metal button (see Figure 3.42, with copper-alloy type 8 for comparison) that bridges 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century manufacturing technology is this 2-cm, cast, omega-shank button. This button has a back stamped maker's identification around the rim: 'A. Goody ...Son Hard Wkt', which may be an early example of Amasa Goodyear's 1805 Waterbury factory, or equally may be another unknown American or English button manufacturer.



**Figure 3.40: Type 7**

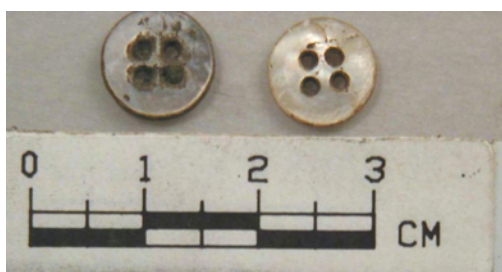


**Figure 3.41: Type 29**



**Figure 3.42: Cast White Metal Button with Copper-Alloy Button**

These white metal and copper-alloy buttons were possibly utilized together, and found in the same contexts as buttons made later, from other materials such as pearl or shell (see Figure 3.43). The two, 1-cm diameter, four-hole pearl buttons found in household area #3 were popularized in the 19th century for both men's and women's fashions (Epstein 1990; Luscomb 1997; Meredith and Cuddeford 1997).



**Figure 3.43: 4-Hole Pearl Buttons**

However, of the total buttons recovered from household area #3, a majority (37/53) are type 18 gilt, copper-alloy, back-stamped, omega-shank forms, between 1 and 2 cm in diameter. The following examples are buttons of this type with diagnostic decorations or markings from which additional information may be gathered. The 1-cm example showed traces of gilt and was decorated on its face with a stamped wickerwork pattern and rolled edge identical to an example from Owens Jr's *American Button*



*Manufacturers Guide* corresponding to an R and W Robinson Extra copper-alloy button (see Figure 3.44).



**Figure 3.44: R and W Robinson Extra, Attleborough, MA**

The R and W Robinson button company was located in Attleborough, Massachusetts, and was actively manufacturing from 1835 until 1848, although Luscomb (1997: 163) indicates the Robinson family enterprise had been active from 1812 through the 1840s, with that particular factory opened in 1827. The presence of at least one Attleborough-manufactured button in southeastern Connecticut is characteristic of the interconnectedness of southern New England during the increasing industrialization of the region in the 19th century. There may be other buttons from this company within the button assemblage, but no other buttons allow definitive associations to Robinson or another Massachusetts button manufacturing company.

All of these buttons from household area #3 correspond to the ‘Golden Age’ of American button manufacture, where decorated and back-stamped copper-alloy, gilt buttons were the popular standard (Epstein 1990; Luscomb 1997; Scovill Brass 1997; see also Porter). That period, from the second decade through the middle of the 19th century, is also verified by this 1-cm gilt, omega-shank from the household area, decorated on its face with a wheat sheaf design corresponding to Luscomb’s ‘Jacksonian’ period buttons. According to Luscomb “Jacksonians are small solid, or one-piece, buttons with a separate plain rim turned over the edge to form a border. All were brass, gilt finished, with plain disk having a raised design” (1997: 108,109). These button designs correspond to the period of Andrew Jackson’s presidency from 1840 into the 1850s (Figure 3.45).



**Figure 3.45: Jacksonian Wheat Sheaf Design (as identified in Luscomb 1997)**

Examples of these Golden Age buttons also include a 1-cm example (see Figure 3.46) of both face- and back-stamped decorations, with the face design being a six-petal rosette around a central boss and an illegible maker’s mark on the back edge. This face design is similar to those shown by both Luscomb (1997) and an undated reference in

Owens Jr. as representative of gilt mid-19th century copper-alloy buttons of American or English manufacture, but cannot be further refined to pinpoint a maker or more specific date range. The other button in Figure 3.46 is a more common, type 18 undecorated face 1.5 cm, omega- shank copper alloy button, with a faint back-stamped multiple circle design around the shank. Additionally, this button bore trace fibers adhering to its shank, the only example of extant recovered textiles from the Eastern Pequot Reservation. Microscopically these fibers were initially identified as blue and green dyed wool thread, although a UV fluorescence test could be performed to verify this identification (Piechota 2006: personal communication).



**Figure 3.46: Large Plain and Small Stamped Type 18**

These buttons represent the simultaneous variety and uniformity characteristic in the products of the 1830 to 1850 period of ‘Golden Age’ mass-produced button manufacturing operations in Waterbury, Connecticut, and elsewhere in New England and England. Like other fasteners, potential uses for these copper-alloy buttons, such as those with striking similar back stamped advertising decorations, including ‘2<sup>nd</sup> QUALITY GILT’, ‘EXTRA RICH COLOUR’, ‘IMPERIAL STANDARD’ and ‘GOODYEAR’s

BEST ANOI.', are many, and their associated meanings for Eastern Pequot individuals may go beyond a simple fastener.

Other variations on the type 18 back decorated copper-alloy omega-shank buttons in the 1-1.5 diameter range include a 1-cm button having a chevron design encircling the shank and a slightly domed cross-section including rolled edges, and a 1.5 cm button having a flat cross-section, with an obscured maker's mark encircling the shank, including several five pointed stars and the legible letters "CO". Two other examples bore back stamped maker's advertisements common to the Waterbury button manufacturers including 'Best Strong Standard' and 'Treble Gilt' but no further maker specific information. Three similar buttons bore other advertising slogan variations, including 'PLATED', 'TREBLE ORANGE', and 'BEST COLOUR', relating to the button's desirability because of their shine and rich golden color.

These buttons were produced to be both attractive and durable, and the various advertisements, maker's marks, designs and slogans stamped into the backs attest to both qualities. The extensive use of dipped tin, gold plating or gilt in combination with various sheet metal rolling technology and machine-assisted die-stamping methods allowed the production of large numbers of cheap, shiny and sturdy copper-alloys buttons, which mimicked more expensive gold or silver varieties. Industrialization made these buttons more readily available to all sexes and social strata. They can be more specifically referenced to a particular manufacturer or region than to a garment or gender (Epstein 1990; Luscomb 1997; Scovill Brass 1997; see also undated references in Owens Jr.; Porter).

The presence of large numbers of these type 18 buttons within household area #3 suggest that additional activities, potentially including repair or piece work production of clothing for an outside vendor, were potentially occurring in addition to family clothing production. Equally, this larger number of buttons may represent other past activities, unique to the particular Eastern Pequot individuals and/or families who resided in that particular household area, about which the archaeological record can only reveal a small portion. However, when compared to the documentary evidence of overseer-supplied clothing for this period, which is characterized by a prevalence of factory-made garments, instead of the raw cloth of earlier decades, such a prevalence of type 18 buttons is quite understandable. Equally, the presence of mixed types of buttons together from household areas #1 and #2 appears to indicate that the prevalence of raw cloth being made into clothing, as seen in the 1830s, by Eastern Pequot seamstresses such as Polly Nedson, was occurring in the 18th century as well.

### **Summary**

Along with these buttons, the beads, buckles, sewing hardware and jewelry from the reservation household areas document the consistent utilization of the products of Anglo-American industry on the reservation by Eastern Pequot people to clothe and decorate themselves and other items of material culture. As previously discussed, these artifacts have multiple lives, and can be both Anglo-American and Eastern Pequot, and are representative of the complicated nature of reservation life in the 18th and 19th centuries. The purchase, use and modification of Anglo-American clothing were not passive acts of simple acculturation, but a more complicated mixture of elements of

accommodation for preservation, passive resistance and adaptation to the dominant colonial, capitalistic and increasingly industrial world. The continued ability of Eastern Pequot people to exert some form of choice in their dress and decoration, as indicated by the modifications, potential alternate uses and reuses and the inclusion of traditional items, suggests that clothing and the elements of its use and manufacture solidified the relationships between generations, and through these relationships also to the place on the reservation where clothing use, manufacture or repair occurred. A detailed understanding of Eastern Pequot family histories and oral traditions of clothing manufacture will, however, ultimately prove or disprove this assertion.

The choice shown in the ability to engage in exchanges, such as those later observed in the accounts, which allowed the tools and raw materials of clothing production, repair and decoration to appear in reservation households, is representative of the integration of Eastern Pequot lives within the wider contexts of a capitalistic economy. However, clothing, cloth, beads, scissors, thread, rings, buttons, buckles and faux gemstones were obtained and used to make and decorate the garments and accoutrements of Eastern Pequot peoples by their own hands, in their own dwellings, on their reservation, according to their own perceived needs and purchasing power throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The ability to procure, make and use clothing, even if that clothing appears the same as their Anglo neighbors, is equivalent to the continued ability to exist as a distinct Eastern Pequot culture.

Similarly, documents and artifacts indicate that Eastern Pequot chose to wear Anglo styles of dress, but suggest that this outwardly conformal dress may have been

worn in particular patterns and colors, or decorated with beaded designs or accompanied by specific types of jewelry, headbands, scarves, decorated bags or other subtle and overt additional items. In doing so, Eastern Pequot individuals strengthened their connection to the people from whom they had learned the skills required to make, modify and decorate clothing, and by extension also to the place where these family connections occurred, where a grandmother, or mother passed knowledge to a son or daughter, allowing the reservation to also reinforce what it means to be Eastern Pequot through a shared knowledge of clothing manufacture and the cultural meanings which accompany the stories or lessons.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSIONS

The importance of clothing to the relationships of Eastern Pequot people, previously suggested through the archaeological record, gains additional meaning when compared to Diana Loren's experience with French and Spanish colonial clothing from a half-century earlier. The clothing-related artifacts from the three household areas on the Eastern Pequot Reservation show much less variety overall, with no military items to wear over clothing, such as swords, guns and their associated sheaths or holsters. As previously mentioned, the overall sample from the reservation is small and reflects the more generalized survey oriented archaeological research design and methodology for some of the collection years.

However, consistently present are items of decoration, such as beads and jewelry, as well as items that may be both part of clothing and decoration for it, such as buckles and buttons, throughout the temporal range on the reservation, as represented for the second half of the 18th century by material culture and for the first half of the 19th century as understood through overseers accounts. Such consistency, as opposed to a wider range of additions, in material culture, suggests that the Eastern Pequot were not shifting themselves very much within colonial hierarchies and chose, or were forced to choose a certain, potentially lower, level of purchasing power that partly determines



clothing choices. The ability to choose what was worn, as well as what was worn over, is clearly not a simple matter for the Eastern Pequot during the 18th and 19th centuries. The choice embodies many simultaneous social, cultural and economic forces, which is opposed to the extremes of having no choice and being forced to use only that material culture provided by the overseer, or having many choices in an environment of apparent social flexibility, as in frontier Louisiana or Texas (Loren 2004; Loren and Beaudry 2006). Diachronically, Eastern Pequot clothing remains very similar over the 100 years encompassed by this sample, suggesting that the mundane activities involved in clothing purchase, repair, decoration and modification are a significant part of cultural maintenance by a subjugated people in a dominated, marginalized place within colonial space.

A general comparison of the relative numbers of clothing- related artifacts per cubic meter of excavated soil further suggests that reservation life was more complicated than is suggested. The intensive site examination, that occurred in household area #1 yielded fewer buttons for many more cubic meters of soil excavated, than did the shovel test pit-based intensive (locational) survey methodology, which utilized few excavation units in use elsewhere on the reservation. The relatively higher numbers of buttons in household area #3 came from one stratified feature, whereas those recovered from household area #1 and #2 represent a scatter around and within sub-surface deposits adjacent to above ground features. Additional site examination level testing in the future within household areas #2 and #3 would assist to clarify the relative visibility and pattern

of utilization of clothing-related artifacts, and by extension, daily life and choice on the reservation.

A consideration of gender is critical to an understanding of life on the reservation and the pivotal nature of clothing and the relationships that it defines. Consideration of gender also is also central to Loren's work, and on the reservation the visibility of gender was suggested by the artifacts, but difficult to definitively prove with archaeology alone. The documentary data suggest that for the first half of the 19th century, home-made clothing was the norm, only giving way to the purchase of manufactured garments as New England industrialized in the 1830s and 1840s, but with extra fineries available when required and fit in part to distinct Eastern Pequot traditions, as seen in the small number but consistent distribution of similar tiny beads of several different colors throughout the household areas.

Through this combination of artifacts and documents, the visibility of gender is also much better and is representative of documented oral Eastern Pequot and other southern New England Native American's familial gender traditions (e.g. Lamb Richmond and Den Ouden 2003) where the women were responsible for home and field. The equal visibility of women in documented clothing purchases for themselves, as well as through their male relations, suggests that they were primary to many of the clothing choices visible to the overseers in the 19th century. However, the resolution of gender roles and their connection to visible clothing choices for the 18th century remains less clear. Given the scant presence of only two pairs of small scissors, one crushed 'training' thimble and the mixed usage of small numbers of older 18<sup>th</sup>-century buttons and 19<sup>th</sup>-

century factory-made buttons together in the household areas- as well as the documented usage of many yards of raw cloth a year, pins, thread, and the absence of documented thimbles or needles- it is plausible that Eastern Pequot women, such as Polly Nedson, were making and repairing clothing, were responsible for reservation households and potentially passing on the tools required for this role within their families. Likewise, these combinations of older and newer buttons together also suggests that buttons were retained over time and re-used, either on multiple garments or in other special ways not visible through the sources at hand, similar to the modified Matron Head penny from household area #2.

Eastern Pequot families were also potentially managing their households in part with other items procured, possibly through their own labors, or from alternate vendors, traveling relatives or itinerant tradesmen outside the overseer's economic purview, as neither scissors nor thimbles appear in these particular documents. These items, following Beaudry (2006), retain value over time and exhibit multiple functional and meaningful use-lives in a way not easy to see in the archaeological record alone. The large relative number of type 18 copper-alloy buttons from household area #3 further reinforces this idea, as these buttons, like the buckles, were coming from other parts of Connecticut, England and in one definite case, from Massachusetts as well. Curation in these circumstances implies additional meanings related to the act of acquisition and the stories behind the circumstance of introduction into reservation households that may relate to family connections and episodes of travel, as suggested by Nicolas (2005). The role of these outside items in determining the presence of local reservation-based cottage

industries which relied on imported raw materials, such as small-scale jewelry production, piece-work manufacture or the re-tailoring and cleaning of garments for cash is intriguing and requires further research and documentation.

The connection of the rest of industrializing New England to those individuals and families, whether through the overseer directly or other avenues, demonstrated by these artifacts appearing in reservation household areas also suggests that Eastern Pequot were leaving the reservation and southeastern Connecticut area but returning with money or goods to support their families. While clearly reflective of capitalism in practice the presence of those decorative personal items, such as the silver ring, faux paste glass gem and the multiple instances of fancier calf boots, bits of ribbon and dress trimmings observed for wives and daughters in the 1830s accounts, also suggests the results of these combined efforts and hints at the importance of clothing to familial relationships and the landscapes of those connections. Because of the power dynamic inherent in colonial space and the dialectic of reservation place, all travel involves regular translations of bounded space, mentally as well as physically, with clothing choice potentially reflective of techniques for external accommodation which may or may not be equivalent to daily clothing choices within reservation households. If possible to distinguish, the choices of clothing used by reservation residents when going out into the wider colonial spaces of North Stonington or New London might be an example of accommodative camouflage entirely separate from those garments worn day-to-day within reservation boundaries. Unfortunately, the clothing and identities specifically employed in these cases are very difficult to separate through the data at hand. A further analysis of the larger sample of

material culture from household area #3 may provide the most resolution for the presence and use of clothing in crossing boundaries within colonial space.

Returning to the concept of cultural translation presented by Patricia Rubertone (2001) in Chapter 1, the interpretations and concluding connections presented here are in part a product of the self-reflexivity (Hodder 2001; Joyce 2006) and creative story-telling of archaeologists, and are interpretations based on incomplete data which may not be equivalent to accurate past meanings. As archaeologists, we may never be able to definitively connect Polly Nedson to a pair of small scissors or a thimble. She cannot share with us the important life stories that truly relate how she may have used her scissors, where she got them and what she felt about them, and from whom she learned to sew or cut cloth and where she preferred to use them, which are so important and which combine to make the story of a people and a place.

A relatively coarse grained embodied archaeological perspective, as presented in Chapter 2 in combination with a collaborative indigenous archaeology, however, may be as close as we in the present can achieve. The use of an embodied perspective to address material culture and documentary data situates the artifacts, whether scissors or the account book entry which describes their acquisition, as a descriptor of and in relation to the idea of an individual, as well as their position as simultaneously a single entity linked to multiple circles of connection with other people, spaces and places, even though the complete connection between body, meaning, identity and material culture is rarely achievable. Through this combination, the perspective can most profitably speak to past personal choices, social interactions, economic influences and the places of these actions.

Whatever the authentic reality in the past, the process of cultural translation depends upon how well we as archaeologists in the present can link many people and diverse threads of information in an honest, respectful fashion. The previous work has been one step within a collaborative indigenous archaeology, which may assist the present members of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation in recovering parts of their past and gaining deeper insights into their present. This document is a beginning and is consequently of limited scope. The next step must be an equal consideration of Eastern Pequot family histories, oral traditions and the cultural meanings that these bodies of knowledge provide to clothing-related artifacts and documentary materials.

The incorporation of such information was an early goal of this document, with the further goal of utilizing such a combination to provide additional educational initiatives in the teaching of Eastern Pequot youth about their reservation and the history of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation. Inherent to the future realization of this activity is the use of an embodied perspective, which allows present Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation members and archaeologists to use clothing-related material culture as a common link in discussions about previous generations of Eastern Pequot men, women and children, in order to understand through familiar relationships more fully what it was like to live on the reservation in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Practically, such an effort is an extended process built upon mutual trust, acceptance of varied perspectives, and the cultivation of personal relationships, which represents one facet of a successful and entirely collaborative archaeology. In this case, initial efforts included formal and informal presentation of a portion of the archaeological

data presented here to the Eastern Pequot Tribal Council and the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation at large during a Council meeting and the 2006 summer powwow gathering. Archaeological interest among members of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation was as varied as the individuals in the community. Questions from Eastern Pequot youth were characteristic of children worldwide, and included elementals such as, What are those things? How old are these artifacts? Where did you find them? Who owns them? and How much is that worth? Especially relevant to future collaborative efforts is one youth's question: "How much could you sell that thing for on eBay?" The partial connection of the reservation place and its archaeological heritage to some of today's generation of Eastern Pequot youth is apparent in these simple questions. Such a situation is quite surprising to archaeologists working within a collaborative, embodied approach, and requires additional self-reflexivity. Archaeologists must understand that just because the artifacts and documents are important to us, they may not be as important to all those involved, even those individuals who are directly related to ancestors who made and used the items recovered through excavation. In this case, the material culture merely reflects what the people already know about themselves and their reservation and may consequently not hold much interest, despite its inherent linking value from an anthropological archaeological perspective. The history embedded in such a landscape of relationships, whether in archaeological narratives, lived experience by residents, or stories passed down through generations, is what matters. The goal is to find a common language.

However, equally important are observations of those Eastern Pequot individuals of all generations, who today utilize beads, buckles, buttons, jewelry and sewing hardware not so different from those items recovered archaeologically on the reservation, to create beautiful regalia for wear during powwows and dance competitions to represent themselves and their Eastern Pequot Tribal National identity. The act of creating and using these worn works of art shows that the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation continues to present itself as inextricably linked to a heritage of clothing production and modification past through generations within or in the context of the unifying space of the reservation land, and as represented by clothing related material culture derived from archaeology on the reservation.

With these varied perspectives and observations, future research directions for anthropological archaeologists, in cooperation with members of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation, include the collection of clothing use and acquisition of information through more in-depth documentary research to expand or refute those themes observed throughout 19<sup>th</sup>-century overseer-based clothing exchanges in this work. Central to this research would be the integration of family memory and oral histories gathered through interviews and examination of family photographic and recorded documentations. The goal of this integrative research would be to follow the clothing choices and uses of clothing over time for one or more Eastern Pequot families, such as the Shuntaups, from their appearance on the reservation in the 17th century through the 20th century. Such a body of information would then provide a reference for comparison of archaeologically



derived artifacts recovered from other reservation households, for which it is difficult to determine an origin, ownership or residence.

Archaeologically, the next step for this line of research based on clothing-related artifacts is a two-fold one. The first research project would consist of comparison of Eastern Pequot household assemblages to assemblages from similar temporal ranges on the Mashantucket Pequot or Mohegan reservations, including households within the area at Mashantucket historically known as “Indian Town”, occupied in the 18th and 19th centuries, for which there are existing definitive documentary linkages to a particular family or individual. The research questions and methodology to guide this comparison would concentrate on defining if Mashantucket Pequot or Mohegan families dressed in a similar fashion to their Eastern Pequot relatives and whether relative access to available goods and raw cloth usage was related to occupation, overseer relationships and family composition.

The second phase of archaeological research would be a more definitive sourcing of clothing-related artifacts than the one begun in this work. This work has described access among Eastern Pequot individuals to clothing-related goods produced by the colonial Atlantic economic system and the Industrial Revolution in New England. However, much more could be done within each artifact classification to determine the path these artifacts took to reach the soils of the Eastern Pequot Reservation and the use lives through which each artifact progressed. The paths and use lives of the Golden Age, Type 18 copper-alloy buttons found in household area #3 deserve a more exhaustive examination of manufacturers, patterns and the factory workers who made the buttons,

which would complement their use among the Eastern Pequot. Another area of complementary research within this research question, which has been initially introduced in Chapter 3 through the work of Nicolas (2002, 2005), would be an examination of maritime trade through southern New England Native American and African-American sailors, tracing particular types of clothing or clothing-related goods which these individuals may have procured during their voyages and carried home to their reservations or villages.

These several future research directions represent basic anthropological and archaeological extensions of the themes presented in this work. Again, the process is one of cultural translation that should strive to employ a collaborative, embodied approach. The past may be gone, but the creation of the histories about the past occur in the present and in doing so defines both.

## APPENDIX A: MASTER CLOTHING DATABASE, 1829-1859

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	May 22	SC	1	cotton	Ned	Tyre Ned	..34	handkerchief/bill DB Wheeler
1829	March 9	SC	7 3/4 yds	cotton sheeting	Fagins	I.Fagins	.14	
1829	August 6	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Filona		
1829	May 22	SC	7 yds	shirting	Ned	Tyre Ned	.12 1/2	
1829	May 22	SC	7 yds	calico	Ned	Tyre Ned	.23	
1829	May 22	SC	10 yds	shirting	Brushel	Lucinda Brushel		
1829	March 29	SC		cotton cloth	Ned	Tyre Ned		for apron
1829	March 29	SC		leather	Ned	Tyre Ned		for shoes
1829	March 25	SC	1 3/4 yds	cotton stripe	Brushel	Moses Brushel	.15	
1829	March 9	SC	7 yds	cotton plaid	Fagins	I. Fagins	.14	
1829	August 14	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Moses		thick
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Fagins	Issac Fagins		handkerchief
1832	January 29	SC	3 yds	shirting	Unk		.10	of DB Wheeler
1832	April 9	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Prude.	.08	
1832	March 26	SC	1	calico	Fagins	Margaret Fagins		frock
1832	March 26	SC	1 pair	shoes	Ned	Tyre Ned	1.25	
1832	March 4	SC	1	grave clothes	Hill	Betsey Hill		
1832	Feburary 17	SC	1	blanket	Unk	Prude.	.50	of DB Wheeler
1832	Feburary 17	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Prude.	1.25	of DB Wheeler
1832	June 21	SC	10 yds	cotton sheeting	Fagins	P. Fagins	.10	
1832	January 29	SC	1/2 yds	calico	Unk		.20	of DB Wheeler
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Fagins	Isaac Fagins		sheet
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Fagins	Isaac Fagins		shirt
1832	October 4	SC	5 yds	cotton cloth	Pompey	Lory Pompey		
1832	July 4	SC	1 pair	shoes	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly	1.50	
1832	July 4	SC	6 yds	cotton	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly	.75	stripe
1832	June 21	SC	1	cotton	Fagins	P. Fagins	.88	shawl
1832	November 7	SC	1 pair	boots	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly		thick
1833	January 21	SC	7 yds	sheeting	Ned	Tyre Ned	.88	by Geo. W.

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1834	January 23	SC	1	shirt	Unk	Filene		
1834	January 23	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Filene		tapping
1835	July 22	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Nedson	Edward Nedson	.38	
1835	July 30	EH	4	thread	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	.04	skains
1835	October 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Fagins	Prue Fagins	1.50	brogan
1835	October 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	1-	
1835	October 5	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntap	1.50	
1835	October 10	EH	8 yds	calico	Nedson	Tyra Nedson	1-	
1835	August 14	EH	8 yds	calico	Nedson	Tyra Nedson	1-	daughter
1835	July 30	EH	6 yds	sheeting	Ned	Richard Ned	.70	
1835	July 30	EH	2 1/2 yds	calico	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	.42 c	children
1835	June 27	EH	7 yds	cotton plaid	Shelly	Hannah Shelly		
1835	July 28	EH	3 yds	A	Shuntaup	Saml Shuntaup	.38	
1835	July 8	EH	2 yds	calico	Nedson	Tyra Nedson		
1835	July 7	EH	1 pair	shoes	Fagins	Prue Fagins	2-	
1835	June 27	EH		thread	Shelly	Hannah Shelly		to make same
1835	July 28	EH		trimmings	Shuntaup	Saml Shuntaup	.06	for same
1835	July 30	EH		cotton plaid	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	1.13	children
1836	December 6	EH	1/2 book	muslin	Nedson	Elsa Nedson		
1836	December 14	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Robbins	Betsy Robbins		brown
1836	December 14	EH	5 yds	sheeting	Robbins	Betsy Robbins		blue
1836	December 6	EH	1 pair	boots	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly		boy
1836	December 6	EH		thread	Ned	Tyre Ned		and trimmings
1836	December 6	EH	1 yd	crepe	Ned	Tyre Ned		black
1836	December 6	EH	3 yds	lace	Nedson	Elsa Nedson		footings
1836	December 24	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Fagins	Prue Fagins		4/4
1836	June 14	EH	1	bonnet	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	1-	
1836	June 14	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Nedson	Edward Nedson	1-	
1836	May 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Tyra Nedson	1.50	
1836	June 14	EH	7 yds	calico	Shelly	Hannah	1.50	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
						Shelly		
1836	May 4	EH	4 yds	calico	Shelly	Hannah Shelly		
1836	March 28	EH	3 yds	cotton plaid	Nedson	Thomas Nedson	2-	
1836	March 2	EH	8 yds	cotton plaid	Nedson	Tyra Nedson	1-	
1836	June 14	EH	1 yd	ribbon	Shelly	Hannah Shelly		
1836	December 6	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Nedson	Elsa Nedson		
1837	Feburary 23	EH	4 yds	shirting	Unk		2.38 (?)	
1837	Feburary 23	EH	2 yds	calico	Unk		1.88	
1837	January 30	EH	6 yds	shirting	Skesucks	Nancy Skesucks	.75	
1837	January 30	EH	10 yds	calico	Skesucks	Nancy Skesucks	1.40	
1837	January 30	EH	3 yds	shirting	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.38	
1837	January 30	EH	7 yds	calico	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.98	
1837	January 11	EH	1 pair	yarn stockings	Shelly	Saml Shelly	.75	
1837	Feburary 23	EH	2 paper	pins	Unk		.31	
1837	January 6	EH	8 yds	cotton plaid	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	1.50	
1837	January 6	EH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Edward Nedson	1.04	thick
1838	December 5	EH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	H. Shuntaup	2.00	thick
1838	December 20	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	H.S.	1.50	thick/paid G. Hewitt
1838	December 20	EH	1	shoes	Nedson	Ned Nedson	1.25	thick/paid G. Hewitt
1838	December 20	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Shelly	Lem Shelly	1.00	paid G. Hewitt
1838	January 4	EH	1	coat	Shuntaup	H. Shuntaup	4.50	broad cloth
1839	July 2	EH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.75	
1839	December 19	EH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick
1839	November 26	EH	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Edward Nedson	1.50	boy
1839	September 7	EH	7 yds	calico	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	1.17	daughter (?)
1839	May 30	EH	8 yds	calico	Unk	Philena	1.34	
1839	September 7	EH	1 yd	bleached cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.17	
1840	December 28	EH	10 yds	cotton cloth	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.00	
1840	January 25	EH	4 yds	cotton cloth	Shuntaup	S. Shuntaup	.40	
1840	June 25	EH		thread	Unk		.02	
1840	January 15	EH	3/4 yd	calico shirting	Nedson	Wealthy Nedson	.20	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1840	January 15	EH	8 yds	calico	Nedson	Wealthy Nedson	1.00	
1840	January 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Ned Nedson	1.25	
1840	January 13	EH		trimmings	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.17	for dress
1840	May 25	EH	8 yds	calico	Unk	Philena	1.30	
1840	May 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena	1.25	daughter (?)
1840	June 25	EH	15 yds	sheeting	Unk		1.50	
1840	June 25	EH	4 yds	calico	Unk		.50	
1840	June 25	EH	3/4 yds	sheeting	Unk		.07	
1840	October 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena	1.25	
1840	December 11	EH	8 yds	bleached cloth	Pompey	Shelly and Sarah	1.30	
1840	December 11	EH	3/4 book	muslin	Unk		.22	
1840	December 11	EH	1 spool	thread	Unk		.07	
1840	December 11	EH	1 pair	cotton stockings	Unk		.20	
1840	January 13	EH	8 yds	woolen cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	2.00	dress
1840	December 13	EH	1 pair	pantaloon	Unk		1.00	
1840	January 13	EH	1 pair	shoes	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	1.23	
1840	December 13	EH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	thick
1841	July 12	EH	1/2 yds	muslin	Nedson	Wealthy Nedson	.16	Book for child
1841	July 12	EH	1 spool	thread	Unk		.06	
1841	November 8	EH		Cambuck	Nedson	Thos Nedson	.88	Cambric(?)
1841	December 7	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly	1.50	
1841	July 10	EH	2	hats	Unk		.50	Palmhaq(?)
1841	January 12	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1841	July 10	EH	3 yds	calico	Unk		.37	
1841	July 12	EH	2 1/2	Cambuck	Unk		.34	Cambric(?)
1841	May 31	EH	5 yds	cotton cloth	Unk		.45	
1841	July 10	EH	6 yds	bleached shirting	Unk		.60	
1841	May 31	EH	8 yds	calico	Unk		1.34	
1841	May 12	EH	12 yds	calico	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.50	wife
1841	April 15	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup		
1841	April 12	EH	1 pair	stockings	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.20	
1841	April 11	EH	3/4 yd	cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.25	
1841	April 11	EH	4 yds	cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	1.00	
1841	January 15	EH	1 pair	pantaloon	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.25	
1841	July 10	EH	1 spool	thread	Unk		.07	
1841	January 15	EH	3/4 yds	sheeting	Shuntaup	Samuel	.07	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
						Shuntaup		
1841	January 15	EH	3 yds	cloth	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.00	
1841	April 15	EH	3 yds	cloth	Unk		.75	
1842	January 17	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.50	brogan
1842	June 29	EH	1	grave clothes	Pawhage	Prue Pawhage	.34	paid for making
1842	January 7	EH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1842	July 2	EH	17 yds	calico	Nedson	Thos Nedson	2.10	children
1843	October 9	EH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Nedson	Thos Nedson	.10	wife
1843	April 12	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Unk		.24	
1843	April 12	EH	1 pair	shoes	Unk		1.08	
1843	April 12	EH	3 yds	cloth	Unk		.75	
1843	June 21	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Brushel	Moses Brushel	.30	
1843	October 9	EH	1	shirt	Brushel	Moses Brushel	.34	
1843	October 9	EH	1 pair	pants	Brushel	Moses Brushel	.50	
1843	October 9	EH	1	grave clothes	Brushel	Moses Brushel	1.50	
1843	October 9	EH	8 yds	calico	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.00	wife
1844	April 24	EH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1845	September 15	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1845	September 15	ELH		calico	Unk	Philena		for dress
1845	September 15	ELH		cotton cloth	Unk	Philena		for shirts
1845	December 1	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Randall	Jack Randall		as per his bill
1845	December 18	ELH	4	macs	Shelly	G. Shelly		
1845	December 25	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		brogan
1845	December 25	ELH	1+	cotton cloth	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		shirts
1845	June 27	ELH		calico	Shelly	Polly Shelly		
1846	December 24	ELH	8 yds	calico	Unk	Philena	1.10	
1846	April 9	ELH	1 pair	booters	Gorden	Molly Gorden		
1846	June 3	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	J. Shuntaup		
1846	June 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		satinnet
1846	June 20	ELH	8 yds	calico	Unk	Clarry (Mrs. Hewitt?)		for dress
1846	June 20	ELH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Unk	Clarry (Mrs. Hewitt?)		lining for dress

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1846	April 9	ELH	2	shirts	Unk	Philena		
1846	October 14	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.00	calf brogans
1846	March 1	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Unk	Lea	.34	
1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.92	
1846	October 11	ELH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Unk	Philena	.50	
1846	April 9	ELH		cloth	Unk	Philena		for dress
1846	April 20	ELH	1	grave clothes	Shelly	C. Shelly		
1846	April 10	ELH	1	shirt	Shelly	C. Shelly	.75	
1846	March 1	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		
1846	March 1	ELH	1	cloth	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		and makings shirt
1846	January 24	ELH	1+	pants	Shelly	G. Shelly		britches
1846	January 24	ELH	1+	shirts	Shelly	G. Shelly		
1846	January 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena		brogans
1846	January 1	ELH	1+	hats	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		at DB Wheeler
1846	November 28	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1846	April 10	ELH	1	shirt	Shelly	C. Shelly	.50	
1846	November 28	ELH		thread	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.08	
1846	December 24	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena	.84	
1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	August 13	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.08	brogans for daughter
1847	July 14	ELH	2 yds	cotton cloth	Fagins	Fagins		girls
1847	Feburary 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	
1847	July 14	ELH	9 yds	calico	Fagins	Fagins		girls
1847	July 1	ELH	6 yds	sheeting	Nedson	Ed Nedson	1.10	
1847	July 1	ELH	1	coat	Nedson	Ed Nedson	2.00	
1847	July 1	ELH	1	hat	Nedson	Ed Nedson	.50	
1847	August 10	ELH	1	dress	Unk	Philena	1.69	dress
1847	August 10	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena	.98	calf
1847	August 13	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	J. Shuntup	.50	
1847	July 14	ELH		thread	Fagins	Fagins	1.67	girls
1847	November 27	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick
1847	November 27	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	flannel
1847	November 27	ELH	1	cloth	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.33	
1847	December 18	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	part worn
1847	December 18	ELH	1	coat	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.75	cloth and vest
1847	December 21	ELH	1	dress	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.39	calico
1847	August 10	ELH	6 yds	sheeting	Unk	Philena	.60	



Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1847	Feburary 15	ELH		thread	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.17	
1847	April 25	ELH	1	dress	Unk	Philena	1-	
1847	July 10	ELH		shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	Feburary 25	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	Feburary 25	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	
1847	Feburary 25	ELH		cloth	Nedson	Nedson	1.50	for child's grave clothes
1847	March 14	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Gardner	Molly Gardner	1.00	
1847	April 2	ELH	8 yds	calico	Ned	Thankful Ned	1.00	
1847	April 2	ELH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Ned	Thankful Ned	.30	
1847	April 10	ELH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Unk	Philena	1.50	
1847	April 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Ned	Thankful Ned	1.20	
1848	May 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	
1848	January 15	ELH	1	shirt	Unk	Young Indian	.50	
1848	Feburary 8	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Ned	Thankful Ned	1.00	
1848	April 4	ELH	1	grave clothes	Unk	Philena	6.00	and coffin
1848	Feburary 8	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Nedson	Thos Nedson	2.13	
1848	January 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Young Indian	1.00	
1848	April 3	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.00	brogans for daughter
1848	May 20	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1848	January 15	ELH	1	coat	Unk	Young Indian	2.00	
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1849	July 8	ELH	2	shirts	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	1.00	
1849	July 8	ELH	4 (yds)	calico	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.87	dress lining
1849	July 8	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.00	Booters (?)
1849	October 2	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	cotton
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1849	October 2	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	Twilled
1850	December 29	ELH	1	coat	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	3.00	blue cloth, part worn
1850	June 3	ELH	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Nedson girl	1.17	calf
1850	June 10	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	1.00	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1850	December 29	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	January 1	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	
1850	June 3	ELH	1	dress	Nedson	Nedson girl	1.10	calico
1850	June 3	ELH	1	dress	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.50	collared and wool
1850	May 10	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	
1850	April 15	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	twilled, collared
1850	April 1	ELH	1	calico	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.20	dress and lining
1850	January 30	ELH		boots	Randall	Jack Randall	2.50	for mending boots for Indians
1850	January 12	ELH		thread	Ned	Ned.	.08	
1850	January 12	ELH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Ned	Ned.	.27	
1850	September 1	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	January 1	ELH	1	vest	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.67	
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	satinnnet
1850	January 1	ELH	1	coat	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	6.00	cloth
1850	June 10	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	.75	Twilled
1850	June 10	ELH	1+	vest	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	.50	
1850	July 9	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	September 20	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.15	cotton
1850	September 21	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	woolen, part worn
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.12	thick
1850	January 12	ELH	3 yds	sheeting	Ned	Ned.	2.25	
1851	January 3	ELH	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.00	calf
1851	January 20	ELH	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Thos Nedson	.90	calf for daughter
1851	December 19	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.61	
1851	November 18	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.62	
1852	February 21	IM	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.00	
1852	February 7	ELH	1	grave close	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	grave (clothes)
1852	December 20	Isaac Minor (IM)	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Polly Nedson	.75	
1852	April 1	IM	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	
1852	April 9	IM		cloth	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.59	for pants and lining for the same and

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
								making
1852	June 7	IM	1+	shirts	Nedson	Polly Nedson	.50	paid for washing shirts
1852	August 5	IM	1	shirt	Unk		.60	
1852	October 10	IM	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Polly Nedson	.92	
1852	October 10	IM	4 yds	cotton cloth	Nedson	Polly Nedson	9.36	
1852	May 6	IM	1	coat	Unk		2.50	dress
1853	January 18	IM	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.50	
1853	January 18	IM	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.55	
1853	January 18	IM	1	vest	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	
1855	October 10	IM	1	shoes	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.58	paid Leonard Brown for mending shoes for SS
1856	January 14	IM	1	shoes	Brown	Leonard Brown	.25	taps for shoes

## APPENDIX B: CLOTHING BY FAMILY NAME

### FAGINS

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	March 9	SC	7 3/4 yds	cotton sheeting	Fagins	I.Fagins	.14	
1829	March 9	SC	7 yds	cotton plaid	Fagins	I. Fagins	.14	
1832	June 21	SC	10 yds	cotton sheeting	Fagins	P. Fagins	.10	
1832	June 21	SC	1	cotton	Fagins	P. Fagins	.88	shawl
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Fagins	Isaac Fagins		shirt
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Fagins	Isaac Fagins		sheet
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Fagins	Issac Fagins		handkerchief
1832	March 26	SC	1	calico	Fagins	Margaret Fagins		frock
1835	July 7	EH	1 pair	shoes	Fagins	Prue Fagins	2-	
1835	October 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Fagins	Prue Fagins	1.50	brogan
1836	December 24	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Fagins	Prue Fagins		4/4
1847	July 14	ELH	9 yds	calico	Fagins	Fagins		girls
1847	July 14	ELH	2 yds	cotton cloth	Fagins	Fagins		girls
1847	July 14	ELH		thread	Fagins	Fagins	1.67	girls

### BRUSHEL

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	March 25	SC	1 3/4 yds	cotton stripe	Brushel	Moses Brushel	.15	
1829	May 22	SC	10 yds	shirting	Brushel	Lucinda Brushel		
1843	June 21	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Brushel	Moses Brushel	.30	
1843	October 9	EH	1	shirt	Brushel	Moses Brushel	.34	
1843	October 9	EH	1 pair	pants	Brushel	Moses Brushel	.50	
1843	October 9	EH	1	grave clothes	Brushel	Moses Brushel	1.50	

### GARDNER

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1847	March 14	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Gardner	Molly Gardner	1.00	

### GORDEN

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1846	April 9	ELH	1 pair	booters	Gorden	Molly Gorden		

**HILL**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1832	March 4	SC	1	grave clothes	Hill	Betsey Hill		

**NED**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	March 29	SC		leather	Ned	Tyre Ned		for shoes
1829	March 29	SC		cotton cloth	Ned	Tyre Ned		for apron
1829	May 22	SC	7 yds	calico	Ned	Tyre Ned	.23	
1829	May 22	SC	7 yds	shirting	Ned	Tyre Ned	.12 1/2	
1829	May 22	SC	1	cotton	Ned	Tyre Ned	.34	handkerchief/bill DB Wheeler
1832	March 26	SC	1 pair	shoes	Ned	Tyre Ned	1.25	
1833	January 21	SC	7 yds	sheeting	Ned	Tyre Ned	.88	by Geo. W.
1847	April 2	ELH	8 yds	calico	Ned	Thankful Ned	1.00	
1847	April 2	ELH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Ned	Thankful Ned	.30	
1847	April 15	ELH	1pair	shoes	Ned	Thankful Ned	1.20	
1835	July 30	EH	6 yds	sheeting	Ned	Richard Ned	.70	
1836	December 6	EH	1 yd	crepe	Ned	Tyre Ned		black
1836	December 6	EH		thread	Ned	Tyre Ned		and trimmings
1850	January 12	ELH	3 yds	sheeting	Ned	Ned.	2.25	
1850	January 12	ELH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Ned	Ned.	.27	
1850	January 12	ELH		thread	Ned	Ned.	.08	
1848	February 8	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Ned	Thankful Ned	1.00	

**NEDSON**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1835	July 8	EH	2 yds	calico	Nedson	Tyra Nedson		
1835	July 22	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Nedson	Edward Nedson	.38	
1841	July 12	EH	1/2 yds	muslin	Nedson	Wealthy Nedson	.16	Book for child
1841	November 8	EH		Cambuck	Nedson	Thos Nedson	.88	Cambric(?)
1842	July 2	EH	17 yds	calico	Nedson	Thos Nedson	2.10	children
1843	October 9	EH	8 yds	calico	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.00	wife
1843	October 9	EH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Nedson	Thos Nedson	.10	wife
1846	October 14	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.00	calf brogans
1847	February 25	ELH		cloth	Nedson	Nedson	1.50	for child's grave clothes
1835	August 14	EH	8 yds	calico	Nedson	Tyra Nedson	1-	daughter
1835	October 10	EH	8 yds	calico	Nedson	Tyra Nedson	1-	
1836	March 2	EH	8 yds	cotton plaid	Nedson	Tyra Nedson	1-	
1836	March 28	EH	3 yds	cotton plaid	Nedson	Thomas Nedson	2-	
1836	May 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Tyra Nedson	1.50	
1836	June 14	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Nedson	Edward Nedson	1-	
1836	December 6	EH	1/2 book	muslin	Nedson	Elsa Nedson		
1836	December 6	EH	3 yds	lace	Nedson	Elsa Nedson		footings
1836	December 6	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Nedson	Elsa Nedson		
1837	January 6	EH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Edward Nedson	1.04	thick
1838	December 20	EH	1	shoes	Nedson	Ned Nedson	1.25	thick/paid G. Hewitt
1839	November 26	EH	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Edward Nedson	1.50	boy
1840	January 15	EH	8 yds	calico	Nedson	Wealthy Nedson	1.00	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1840	January 15	EH	3/4 yd	calico shirting	Nedson	Wealthy Nedson	.20	
1840	January 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Ned Nedson	1.25	
1840	December 28	EH	10 yds	cotton cloth	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.00	
1841	May 12	EH	12 yds	calico	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.50	wife
1847	July 1	ELH	6 yds	sheeting	Nedson	Ed Nedson	1.10	
1847	July 1	ELH	1	coat	Nedson	Ed Nedson	2.00	
1847	July 1	ELH	1	hat	Nedson	Ed Nedson	.50	
1849	July 8	ELH	4 (yds)	calico	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.87	dress lining
1849	July 8	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.00	Booters (?)
1850	April 1	ELH	1	calico	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.20	dress and lining
1850	June 3	ELH	1	dress	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.50	collared and wool
1850	June 3	ELH	1	dress	Nedson	Nedson girl	1.10	calico
1850	June 3	ELH	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Nedson girl	1.17	calf
1851	January 3	ELH	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.00	calf
1851	January 20	ELH	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Thos Nedson	.90	calf for daughter
1852	December 20	Isaac Minor (IM)	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Polly Nedson	.75	
1852	June 7	IM	1+	shirts	Nedson	Polly Nedson	.50	paid for washing shirts
1852	February 21	IM	1 pair	boots	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.00	
1852	October 10	IM	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Polly Nedson	.92	
1852	October 10	IM	4 yds	cotton cloth	Nedson	Polly Nedson	9.36	
1847	August 13	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.08	brogans for daughter
1847	December 21	ELH	1	dress	Nedson	Polly Nedson	1.39	calico
1848	February 8	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Nedson	Thos Nedson	2.13	
1848	April 3	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Nedson	Thos Nedson	1.00	brogans for daughter

#### PAWHAGE

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1842	June 29	EH	1	grave clothes	Pawhage	Prue Pawhage	.34	paid for making

#### POMPEY

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1832	October 4	SC	5 yds	cotton cloth	Pompey	Lory Pompey		
1837	January 30	EH	7 yds	calico	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	98	
1837	January 30	EH	3 yds	shirting	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	38	
1839	July 2	EH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.75	
1839	September 7	EH	7 yds	calico	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	1.17	daughter (?)
1839	September 7	EH	1 yd	bleached cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.17	
1840	January 13	EH	1 pair	shoes	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	1.23	
1840	January 13	EH	8 yds	woolen cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	2.00	dress
1840	January 13	EH		trimmings	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.17	for dress
1840	December 11	EH	8 yds	bleached cloth	Pompey	Shelly and Sarah	1.30	
1841	April 11	EH	4 yds	cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	1.00	
1841	April 11	EH	3/4 yd	cloth	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.25	
1841	April 12	EH	1 pair	stockings	Pompey	Sarah Pompey	.20	

# SHELLY

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1832	July 4	SC	6 yds	cotton	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly	.75	stripe
1832	July 4	SC	1 pair	shoes	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly	1.50	
1832	November 7	SC	1 pair	boots	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly		thick
1835	June 27	EH	7 yds	cotton plaid	Shelly	Hannah Shelly		
1835	June 27	EH		thread	Shelly	Hannah Shelly		to make same
1835	July 30	EH	2 1/2 yds	calico	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	.42	children
1835	July 30	EH		cotton plaid	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	1.13	children
1841	December 7	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly	1.50	
1845	June 27	ELH		calico	Shelly	Polly Shelly		
1845	December 18	ELH	4	macs	Shelly	G. Shelly		
1846	January 24	ELH	1+	shirts	Shelly	G. Shelly		
1846	January 24	ELH	1+	pants	Shelly	G. Shelly		britches
1846	April 10	ELH	1	shirt	Shelly	C. Shelly	.50	
1846	April 10	ELH	1	shirt	Shelly	C. Shelly	.75	
1846	April 20	ELH	1	grave clothes	Shelly	C. Shelly		
1835	July 30	EH	4	thread	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	.04	skains
1835	October 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	1-	
1836	May 4	EH	4 yds	calico	Shelly	Hannah Shelly		
1836	June 14	EH	7 yds	calico	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	1.50	
1836	June 14	EH	1	bonnet	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	1-	
1836	June 14	EH	1 yd	ribbon	Shelly	Hannah Shelly		
1836	December 6	EH	1 pair	boots	Shelly	Cyrus Shelly		boy
1837	January 6	EH	8 yds	cotton plaid	Shelly	Hannah Shelly	1.50	
1837	January 11	EH	1 pair	yarn stockings	Shelly	Saml Shelly	.75	
1838	December 20	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Shelly	Lem Shelly	1.00	paid G. Hewitt

# SHUNTAUP

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1835	October 5	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.50	
1835	July 28	EH	3 yds	A	Shuntaup	Saml Shuntaup	.38	
1835	July 28	EH		trimmings	Shuntaup	Saml Shuntaup	.06	for same
1838	January 4	EH	1	coat	Shuntaup	H. Shuntaup	4.50	broad cloth
1838	December 5	EH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	H. Shuntaup	2.00	thick
1838	December 20	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	H.S.	1.50	thick/paid G. Hewitt
1839	December 19	EH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick
1840	January 25	EH	4 yds	cotton cloth	Shuntaup	S. Shuntaup	.40	
1840	December 13	EH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	thick
1841	April 15	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup		
1841	January 15	EH	3/4 yds	sheeting	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.07	
1841	January 15	EH	3 yds	cloth	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.00	

Year	Entry Date	Overs eer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1841	January 12	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1841	January 15	EH	1 pair	pantaloon	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.25	
1842	January 7	EH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1842	January 17	EH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.50	brogan
1844	April 24	EH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1845	December 25	ELH	1+	cotton cloth	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		shirts
1845	September 15	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1845	December 25	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		brogan
1846	November 28	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1846	March 1	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		
1846	November 28	ELH		thread	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.08	
1846	March 1	ELH	1	cloth	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		and makings shirt
1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1846	June 3	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	J. Shuntaup		
1846	June 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		satinet
1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.92	
1846	January 1	ELH	1+	hats	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup		at DB Wheeler
1847	Feburary 25	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	
1847	Feburary 25	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	Feburary 15	ELH		thread	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.17	
1847	Feburary 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	
1847	August 13	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	J. Shuntup	.50	
1847	November 27	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick
1847	December 18	ELH	1	coat	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.75	cloth and vest
1847	November 27	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	flannel
1847	November 27	ELH	1	cloth	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.33	
1847	July 10	ELH		shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	December 18	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	part worn
1848	May 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Shuntaup	Henry	2.00	



Year	Entry Date	Overs eer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
						Shuntaup		
1848	May 20	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1849	October 2	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	Twilled
1849	October 2	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	cotton
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1849	July 8	ELH	2	shirts	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	1.00	
1850	September 1	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	December 29	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	December 29	ELH	1	coat	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	3.00	blue cloth, part worn
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	satinnet
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.12	thick
1850	September 20	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.15	cotton
1850	July 9	ELH	1+	shirts	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	June 10	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	.75	Twilled
1850	June 10	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	1.00	
1850	May 10	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	
1850	April 15	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	twilled, collared
1850	January 1	ELH	1	vest	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.67	
1850	January 1	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	
1850	January 1	ELH	1	coat	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	6.00	cloth
1850	June 10	ELH	1+	vest	Shuntaup	Shuntaup	.50	
1850	September 21	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.50	woolen, part worn
1851	November 18	ELH	1 pair	boots	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	1.62	
1851	December 19	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.61	
1852	April 1	IM	1 pair	shoes	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	
1852	April 9	IM		cloth	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.59	for pants and lining for the same and making
1852	February 7	ELH	1	grave close	Shuntaup	Henry Shuntaup	.75	grave (clothes)
1853	January 18	IM	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	1.50	
1853	January 18	IM	1	shirt	Shuntaup	Samuel	.55	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
						Shuntaup		
1853	January 18	IM	1	vest	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	
1855	October 10	IM	1	shoes	Shuntaup	Samuel Shuntaup	.58	paid Leonard Brown for mending shoes for SS

#### SKESUCKS

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount
1837	January 30	EH	10 yds	calico	Skesucks	Nancy Skesucks	1.40
1837	January 30	EH	6 yds	shirting	Skesucks	Nancy Skesucks	.75

#### UNKNOWN FAMILIES

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	August 6	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Filona		
1829	August 14	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Moses		thick
1832	January 29	SC	1/2 yds	calico	Unk		.20	of DB Wheeler
1832	January 29	SC	3 yds	shirting	Unk		.10	of DB Wheeler
1832	February 17	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Prude.	1.25	of DB Wheeler
1832	February 17	SC	1	blanket	Unk	Prude.	.50	of DB Wheeler
1832	April 9	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Prude.	.08	
1834	January 23	SC	1	shirt	Unk	Filene		
1834	January 23	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Filene		tapping
1841	July 10	EH	6 yds	bleached shirting	Unk		.60	
1841	July 10	EH	1 spool	thread	Unk		.07	
1841	July 10	EH	3 yds	calico	Unk		.37	
1841	July 12	EH	2 1/2	Cambuck	Unk		.34	Cambric(?)
1841	July 12	EH	1 spool	thread	Unk		.06	
1843	April 12	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Unk		.24	
1843	April 12	EH	1 pair	shoes	Unk		1.08	
1843	April 12	EH	3 yds	cloth	Unk		.75	
1845	September 15	ELH		calico	Unk	Philena		for dress
1845	September 15	ELH		cotton cloth	Unk	Philena		for shirts
1846	January 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena		brogans
1846	March 1	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Unk	Lea	.34	
1846	April 9	ELH		cloth	Unk	Philena		for dress
1846	April 9	ELH	2	shirts	Unk	Philena		
1846	June 20	ELH	8 yds	calico	Unk	Clarry (Mrs. Hewitt?)		for dress
1846	June 20	ELH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Unk	Clarry (Mrs. Hewitt?)		lining for dress
1846	October 11	ELH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Unk	Philena	.50	
1846	December 24	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena	.84	
1846	December 24	ELH	8 yds	calico	Unk	Philena	1.10	
1847	April 10	ELH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Unk	Philena	1.50	
1847	April 25	ELH	1	dress	Unk	Philena	1-	
1837	February 23	EH	2 yds	calico	Unk		1.88	
1837	February 23	EH	4 yds	shirting	Unk		2.38 (?)	
1837	February 23	EH	2 paper	pins	Unk		31	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1839	May 30	EH	8 yds	calico	Unk	Philena	1.34	
1840	May 25	EH	8 yds	calico	Unk	Philena	1.30	
1840	May 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena	1.25	daughter (?)
1840	June 25	EH	15 yds	sheeting	Unk		1.50	
1840	June 25	EH	4 yds	calico	Unk		.50	
1840	June 25	EH	3/4 yds	sheeting	Unk		.07	
1840	June 25	EH		thread	Unk		.02	
1840	October 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena	1.25	
1840	December 11	EH	3/4 book	muslin	Unk		.22	
1840	December 11	EH	1 spool	thread	Unk		.07	
1840	December 11	EH	1 pair	cotton stockings	Unk		.20	
1840	December 13	EH	1 pair	pantaloon	Unk		1.00	
1841	April 15	EH	3 yds	cloth	Unk		.75	
1841	May 31	EH	8 yds	calico	Unk		1.34	
1841	May 31	EH	5 yds	cotton cloth	Unk		.45	
1841	July 10	EH	2	hats	Unk		.50	Palmhaq(?)
1848	April 4	ELH	1	grave clothes	Unk	Philena	6.00	and coffin
1852	May 6	IM	1	coat	Unk		2.50	dress
1852	August 5	IM	1	shirt	Unk		.60	
1847	August 10	ELH	1	dress	Unk	Philena	1.69	dress
1847	August 10	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Philena	.98	calf
1847	August 10	ELH	6 yds	sheeting	Unk	Philena	.60	
1848	January 15	ELH	1	coat	Unk	Young Indian	2.00	
1848	January 15	ELH	1	shirt	Unk	Young Indian	.50	
1848	January 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Young Indian	1.00	

## APPENDIX C: CLOTHING BY TYPE, 1829-1859

### BEAVERSKIN

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1835	October 5	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Samuel Shuntap	1.50	
1836	June 14	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Edward Nedson	1-	
1838	December 20	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Lem Shelly	1.00	paid G. Hewitt

### BLANKET

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1832	Feburary 17	SC	1	blanket	Prude.	.50	of DB Wheeler

### BLEACHED SHIRTING

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1841	July 10	EH	6 yds	bleached shirting		.60	

### BLEACHED CLOTH

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1839	September 7	EH	1 yd	bleached cloth	Sarah Pompey	.17	
1840	December 11	EH	8 yds	bleached cloth	Shelly and Sarah	1.30	

### BONNET

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1836	June 14	EH	1	bonnet	Hannah Shelly	1-	

### BOOTERS

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1846	April 9	ELH	1 pair	booters	Molly Gorden		

### BOOTS

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1832	November 7	SC	1 pair	boots	Cyrus Shelly		thick
1836	December 6	EH	1 pair	boots	Cyrus Shelly		boy
1839	December 19	EH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick
1839	November 26	EH	1 pair	boots	Edward Nedson	1.50	boy
1840	December 13	EH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	thick
1846	March 1	ELH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup		
1847	November 27	ELH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	2.12	thick
1850	June 3	ELH	1 pair	boots	Nedson girl	1.17	calf

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1850	January 30	ELH		boots	Jack Randall	2.50	for mending boots for Indians
1851	November 18	ELH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	1.62	
1851	January 20	ELH	1 pair	boots	Thos Nedson	.90	calf for daughter
1851	January 3	ELH	1 pair	boots	Polly Nedson	1.00	calf
1852	February 21	IM	1 pair	boots	Polly Nedson	1.00	

#### CALICO

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	May 22	SC	7 yds	calico	Tyre Ned	.23	
1832	January 29	SC	1/2 yds	calico		.20	of DB Wheeler
1832	March 26	SC	1	calico	Margaret Fagins		frock
1835	October 10	EH	8 yds	calico	Tyra Nedson	1-	
1835	July 8	EH	2 yds	calico	Tyra Nedson		
1835	July 30	EH	2 1/2 yds	calico	Hannah Shelly	.42	children
1835	August 14	EH	8 yds	calico	Tyra Nedson	1-	daughter
1836	June 14	EH	7 yds	calico	Hannah Shelly	1.50	
1836	May 4	EH	4 yds	calico	Hannah Shelly		
1837	February 23	EH	2 yds	calico		1.88	
1837	January 30	EH	10 yds	calico	Nancy Skesucks	1.40	
1837	January 30	EH	7 yds	calico	Sarah Pompey	98	
1839	September 7	EH	7 yds	calico	Sarah Pompey	1.17	daughter (?)
1839	May 30	EH	8 yds	calico	Philena	1.34	
1840	May 25	EH	8 yds	calico	Philena	1.30	
1840	June 25	EH	4 yds	calico		.50	
1840	January 15	EH	8 yds	calico	Wealthy Nedson	1.00	
1841	July 10	EH	3 yds	calico		.37	
1841	May 12	EH	12 yds	calico	Thos Nedson	1.50	wife
1841	May 31	EH	8 yds	calico		1.34	
1842	July 2	EH	17 yds	calico	Thos Nedson	2.10	children
1843	October 9	EH	8 yds	calico	Thos Nedson	1.00	wife
1845	September 15	ELH		calico	Philena		for dress
1845	June 27	ELH		calico	Polly Shelly		
1846	December 24	ELH	8 yds	calico	Philena	1.10	
1846	June 20	ELH	8 yds	calico	Clarry (Mrs. Hewitt?)		for dress
1847	July 14	ELH	9 yds	calico	Fagins		girls
1847	April 2	ELH	8 yds	calico	Thankful Ned	1.00	
1849	July 8	ELH	4 (yds)	calico	Polly Nedson	1.87	dress lining
1850	April 1	ELH	1	calico	Polly Nedson	1.20	dress and lining

#### CALICO SHIRTING

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1840	January 15	EH	3/4 yd	calico shirting	Wealthy Nedson	.20	

#### CAMBUCK

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1841	July 12	EH	2 1/2	Cambuck		.34	Cambric(?)
1841	November 8	EH		Cambuck	Thos Nedson	.88	Cambric(?)

## CLOTH

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1843	April 12	EH	3 yds	cloth		.75	
1846	March 1	ELH	1	cloth	Henry Shuntaup		and makings shirt
1846	April 9	ELH		cloth	Philena		for dress
1847	February 25	ELH		cloth	Nedson	1.50	for child's grave clothes
1841	January 15	EH	3 yds	cloth	Samuel Shuntaup	1.00	
1841	April 11	EH	4 yds	cloth	Sarah Pompey	1.00	
1841	April 11	EH	3/4 yd	cloth	Sarah Pompey	.25	
1841	April 15	EH	3 yds	cloth		.75	
1852	April 9	IM		cloth	Samuel Shuntaup	1.59	for pants and lining for the same and making
1847	November 27	ELH	1	cloth	Henry Shuntaup	.33	

## COATS

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1838	January 4	EH	1	coat	H. Shuntaup	4.50	broad cloth
1847	December 18	ELH	1	coat	Henry Shuntaup	2.75	cloth and vest
1847	July 1	ELH	1	coat	Ed Nedson	2.00	
1848	January 15	ELH	1	coat	Young Indian	2.00	
1850	December 29	ELH	1	coat	Henry Shuntaup	3.00	blue cloth, part worn
1850	January 1	ELH	1	coat	Henry Shuntaup	6.00	cloth
1852	May 6	IM	1	coat		2.50	dress

## COTTON

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	May 22	SC	1	cotton	Tyre Ned	.34	handkerchief/bill DB Wheeler
1832	June 21	SC	1	cotton	P. Fagins	.88	shawl
1832	July 4	SC	6 yds	cotton	Cyrus Shelly	.75	stripe

## COTTON CLOTH

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	March 29	SC		cotton cloth	Tyre Ned		for apron
1832	October 4	SC	5 yds	cotton cloth	Lory Pompey		
1836	December 6	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Elsa Nedson		
1839	July 2	EH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Sarah Pompey	.75	
1840	December 28	EH	10 yds	cotton cloth	Thos Nedson	1.00	
1840	January 25	EH	4 yds	cotton cloth	S. Shuntaup	.40	
1841	May 31	EH	5 yds	cotton cloth		.45	
1841	April 15	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Samuel Shuntaup		
1843	April 12	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth		.24	
1843	June 21	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Moses Brushel	.30	
1843	October 9	EH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Thos Nedson	.10	wife
1845	December 25	ELH	1+	cotton cloth	Henry Shuntaup		shirts
1845	September 15	ELH		cotton cloth	Philena		for shirts
1846	October 11	ELH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Philena	.50	
1846	June 20	ELH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Clarry (Mrs. Hewitt?)		lining for dress
1847	April 10	ELH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Philena	1.50	
1847	July 14	ELH	2 yds	cotton cloth	Fagins		girls

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1847	April 2	ELH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Thankful Ned	.30	
1850	January 12	ELH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Ned.	.27	
1852	October 10	IM	4 yds	cotton cloth	Polly Nedson	9.36	

#### COTTON PLAID

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	March 9	SC	7 yds	cotton plaid	I. Fagins	.14	
1835	June 27	EH	7 yds	cotton plaid	Hannah Shelly		
1835	July 30	EH		cotton plaid	Hannah Shelly	1.13	children
1836	March 2	EH	8 yds	cotton plaid	Tyra Nedson	1-	
1836	March 28	EH	3 yds	cotton plaid	Thomas Nedson	2-	
1837	January 6	EH	8 yds	cotton plaid	Hannah Shelly	1.50	

#### COTTON SHEETING

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	March 9	SC	7 3/4 yds	cotton sheeting	I.Fagins	.14	
1832	June 21	SC	10 yds	cotton sheeting	P. Fagins	.10	

#### COTTON STOCKINGS

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1840	December 11	EH	1 pair	cotton stockings		.20	

#### COTTON STRIPE

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	March 25	SC	1 3/4 yds	cotton stripe	Moses Brushel	.15	

#### CREPE

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1836	December 6	EH	1 yd	crepe	Tyre Ned		black

#### GRAVE CLOTHES

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Isaac Fagins	
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Isaac Fagins	
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Issac Fagins	
1832	March 4	SC	1	grave clothes	Betsey Hill	
1842	June 29	EH	1	grave clothes	Prue Pawhage	.34
1843	October 9	EH	1	grave clothes	Moses Brushel	1.50
1846	April 20	ELH	1	grave clothes	C. Shelly	
1848	April 4	ELH	1	grave clothes	Philena	6.00

**HATS**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1846	January 1	ELH	1+	hats	Henry Shuntaup		at DB Wheeler
1841	July 10	EH	2	hats		.50	Palmhaq(?)

**LACE**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1836	December 6	EH	3 yds	lace	Elsa Nedson		footings

**LEATHER**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	March 29	SC		leather	Tyre Ned		for shoes

**MACS**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1845	December 18	ELH	4	macs	G. Shelly		

**MUSLIN**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1836	December 6	EH	1/2 book	muslin	Elsa Nedson		
1840	December 11	EH	3/4 book	muslin		.22	
1841	July 12	EH	1/2 yds	muslin	Wealthy Nedson	.16	Book for child

**PANTALOONS**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount
1848	February 8	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Thos Nedson	2.13
1847	December 18	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Henry Shuntaup	2.00
1850	May 10	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Henry Shuntaup	1.00
1848	May 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Henry Shuntaup	2.00
1841	January 15	EH	1 pair	pantaloons	Samuel Shuntaup	1.25
1846	June 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Henry Shuntaup	

**PANTS**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1843	October 9	EH	1 pair	pants	Moses Brushel	.50	
1846	January 24	ELH	1+	pants	G. Shelly		britches
1849	October 2	ELH	1 pair	pants	Henry Shuntaup	.75	cotton
1850	January 1	ELH	1 pair	pants	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	
1850	June 10	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	1.00	
1850	September 21	ELH	1 pair	pants	Henry Shuntaup	.50	woolen, part worn
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	pants	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	satinet
1853	January 18	IM	1 pair	pants	Samuel Shuntaup	1.50	

**PINS**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1837	February 23	EH	2 paper	pins		31 c	



## RIBBONS

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1836	June 14	EH	1 yd	ribbon	Hannah Shelly		

## SHEETING

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1833	January 21	SC	7 yds	sheeting	Tyre Ned	.88	by Geo. W.
1835	July 30	EH	6 yds	sheeting	Richard Ned	.70	
1835	July 22	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Edward Nedson	.38	
1836	December 24	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Prue Fagins		4/4
1836	December 14	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Betsy Robbins		brown
1836	December 14	EH	5 yds	sheeting	Betsy Robbins		blue
1840	June 25	EH	3/4 yds	sheeting		.07	
1840	June 25	EH	15 yds	sheeting		1.50	
1841	January 15	EH	3/4 yds	sheeting	Samuel Shuntaup	.07	
1847	August 10	ELH	6 yds	sheeting	Philena	.60	
1847	July 1	ELH	6 yds	sheeting	Ed Nedson	1.10	
1850	January 12	ELH	3 yds	sheeting	Ned.	2.25	

## SHIRT

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1834	January 23	SC	1	shirt	Filene		
1842	January 7	EH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1843	October 9	EH	1	shirt	Moses Brushel	.34	
1844	April 24	EH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1845	September 15	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1846	April 10	ELH	1	shirt	C. Shelly	.50	
1846	April 10	ELH	1	shirt	C. Shelly	.75	
1846	June 3	ELH	1	shirt	J. Shuntaup		
1847	February 25	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1848	May 20	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1850	April 15	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.75	twilled, collared
1850	June 10	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	.75	Twilled
1851	December 19	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.61	
1852	August 5	IM	1	shirt		.60	
1853	January 18	IM	1	shirt	Samuel Shuntaup	.55	
1847	August 13	ELH	1	shirt	J. Shuntup	.50	
1848	January 15	ELH	1	shirt	Young Indian	.50	

## SHIRT(S)

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1846	January 24	ELH	1+	shirts	G. Shelly		
1846	April 9	ELH	2	shirts	Philena		
1846	November 28	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.50 c	
1847	July 10	ELH		shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.50 c	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1849	July 8	ELH	2	shirts	Shuntaup	1.00	
1849	October 2	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.75 c	Twilled
1850	July 9	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.58 c	Twilled
1850	September 1	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.58 c	Twilled
1850	September 20	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.15 c	cotton
1850	December 29	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.58 c	Twilled
1852	June 7	IM	1+	shirts	Polly Nedson	.50 c	paid for washing shirts
1847	November 27	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	flannel

#### SHIRTING

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	May 22	SC	10 yds	shirting	Lucinda Brushel		
1829	May 22	SC	7 yds	shirting	Tyre Ned	.12 ½	
1832	January 29	SC	3 yds	shirting		.10	of DB Wheeler
1837	January 30	EH	3 yds	shirting	Sarah Pompey	38	
1837	January 30	EH	6 yds	shirting	Nancy Skesucks	75	
1837	Feburary 23	EH	4 yds	shirting		2.38 (?)	

#### SHOES

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	August 6	SC	1 pair	shoes	Filona		
1829	August 14	SC	1 pair	shoes	Moses		thick
1832	July 4	SC	1 pair	shoes	Cyrus Shelly	1.50	
1832	Feburary 17	SC	1 pair	shoes	Prude.	1.25	of DB Wheeler
1832	March 26	SC	1 pair	shoes	Tyre Ned	1.25	
1832	April 9	SC	1 pair	shoes	Prude.	.08	
1834	January 23	SC	1 pair	shoes	Filene		tapping
1835	July 7	EH	1 pair	shoes	Prue Fagins	2-	
1841	December 7	EH	1 pair	shoes	Cyrus Shelly	1.50	
1842	January 17	EH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup	1.50	brogan
1843	Aprl 12	EH	1 pair	shoes		1.08	
1845	December 1	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Jack Randall		as per his bill
1845	December 25	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup		brogan
1846	January 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Philena		brogans
1846	October 14	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Polly Nedson	1.00	calf brogans
1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup	.92	
1846	December 24	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Philena	.84	
1847	Feburary 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	
1847	March 14	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Molly Gardner	1.00	
1847	April 15	ELH	1pair	shoes	Thankful Ned	1.20	
1835	October 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Hannah Shelly	1-	
1835	October 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Prue Fagins	1.50	brogan
1836	May 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Tyra Nedson	1.50	
1838	December 20	EH	1 pair	shoes	H.S.	1.50	thick/paid G. Hewitt
1840	January 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Ned Nedson	1.25	
1840	May 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Philena	1.25	daughter (?)
1840	October 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Philena	1.25	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1841	January 12	EH	1 pair	shoes	Samuel Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1849	July 8	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Polly Nedson	1.00	Booters (?)
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1852	December 20	Isaac Minor (IM)	1 pair	shoes	Polly Nedson	.75	
1852	April 1	IM	1 pair	shoes	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	
1852	October 10	IM	1 pair	shoes	Polly Nedson	.92	
1855	October 10	IM	1	shoes	Samuel Shuntaup	.58	paid Leonard Brown for mending shoes for SS
1856	January 14	IM	1	shoes	Leonard Brown	.25	taps for shoes
1847	August 10	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Philena	.98	calf
1847	August 13	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Thos Nedson	1.08	brogans for daughter
1848	January 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Young Indian	1.00	
1848	February 8	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Thankful Ned	1.00	
1848	April 3	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Thos Nedson	1.00	brogans for daughter

#### STOCKINGS

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1846	March 1	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Lea	.34	
1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	February 25	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Henry Shuntaup	.58	
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Henry Shuntaup	.50	

#### THREAD

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1835	June 27	EH		thread	Hannah Shelly		to make same
1841	July 10	EH	1 spool	thread		.07	
1841	July 12	EH	1 spool	thread		.06	
1846	November 28	ELH		thread	Henry Shuntaup	.08	
1847	February 15	ELH		thread	Henry Shuntaup	.17	
1835	July 30	EH	4	thread	Hannah Shelly	.04	skains
1836	December 6	EH		thread	Tyre Ned		and trimmings
1840	June 25	EH		thread		.02	
1840	December 11	EH	1 spool	thread		.07	
1847	July 14	ELH		thread	Fagins	1.67	girls
1850	January 12	ELH		thread	Ned.	.08	

#### TRIMMINGS

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1835	July 28	EH		trimmings	Saml Shuntaup	.06	for same
1840	January 13	EH		trimmings	Sarah Pompey	.17	for dress

#### VEST

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1850	January 1	ELH	1	vest	Henry Shuntaup	.67	
1850	June 10	ELH	1+	vest	Shuntaup	.50	
1853	January 18	IM	1	vest	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	

**WOOLEN CLOTH**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1840	January 13	EH	8 yds	woolen cloth	Sarah Pompey	2.00	dress

**YARN STOCKINGS**

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1837	January 11	EH	1 pair	yarn stockings	Saml Shelly	75	

## APPENDIX D: CLOTHING BY YEAR, 1829-1859

### 1829

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Family Name	Person	Amount	Comments
1829	March 9	SC	7 3/4 yds	cotton sheeting	Fagins	I.Fagins	.14	
1829	March 9	SC	7 yds	cotton plaid	Fagins	I. Fagins	.14	
1829	March 25	SC	1 3/4 yds	cotton stripe	Brushel	Moses Brushel	.15	
1829	March 29	SC		leather	Ned	Tyre Ned		for shoes
1829	March 29	SC		cotton cloth	Ned	Tyre Ned		for apron
1829	May 22	SC	10 yds	shirting	Brushel	Lucinda Brushel		
1829	May 22	SC	7 yds	calico	Ned	Tyre Ned	.23	
1829	May 22	SC	7 yds	shirting	Ned	Tyre Ned	.12 1/2	
1829	May 22	SC	1	cotton	Ned	Tyre Ned	.34	handkerchief/bill DB Wheeler
1829	August 6	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Filona		
1829	August 14	SC	1 pair	shoes	Unk	Moses		thick

### 1832

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1832	June 21	SC	10 yds	cotton sheeting	P. Fagins	.10	
1832	June 21	SC	1	cotton	P. Fagins	.88	shawl
1832	July 4	SC	6 yds	cotton	Cyrus Shelly	.75	stripe
1832	July 4	SC	1 pair	shoes	Cyrus Shelly	1.50	
1832	October 4	SC	5 yds	cotton cloth	Lory Pompey		
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Isaac Fagins		shirt
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Isaac Fagins		sheet
1832	October 13	SC	1	grave clothes	Issac Fagins		handkerchief
1832	November 7	SC	1 pair	boots	Cyrus Shelly		thick
1832	January 29	SC	1/2 yds	calico		.20	of DB Wheeler
1832	January 29	SC	3 yds	shirting		.10	of DB Wheeler
1832	Feburary 17	SC	1 pair	shoes	Prude.	1.25	of DB Wheeler
1832	Feburary 17	SC	1	blanket	Prude.	.50	of DB Wheeler
1832	March 4	SC	1	grave clothes	Betsey Hill		
1832	March 26	SC	1 pair	shoes	Tyre Ned	1.25	
1832	March 26	SC	1	calico	Margaret Fagins		frock
1832	April 9	SC	1 pair	shoes	Prude.	.8	

### 1833

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1833	January 21	SC	7 yds	sheeting	Tyre Ned	.88	by Geo. W.

# 1834

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1834	January 23	SC	1	shirt	Filene		
1834	January 23	SC	1 pair	shoes	Filene		tapping

# 1835

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1835	June 27	EH	7 yds	cotton plaid	Hannah Shelly		
1835	June 27	EH		thread	Hannah Shelly		to make same
1835	July 7	EH	1 pair	shoes	Prue Fagins	2-	
1835	July 8	EH	2 yds	calico	Tyra Nedson		
1835	July 22	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Edward Nedson	.38	
1835	July 28	EH	3 yds	A	Saml Shuntaup	.38	
1835	July 28	EH		trimmings	Saml Shuntaup	.06	for same
1835	July 30	EH	2 1/2 yds	calico	Hannah Shelly	.42	children
1835	July 30	EH		cotton plaid	Hannah Shelly	1.13	children
1835	July 30	EH	4	thread	Hannah Shelly	.04	skains
1835	July 30	EH	6 yds	sheeting	Richard Ned	.70	
1835	August 14	EH	8 yds	calico	Tyra Nedson	1-	daughter
1835	October 10	EH	8 yds	calico	Tyra Nedson	1-	
1835	October 5	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Samuel Shuntap	1.50	
1835	October 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Hannah Shelly	1-	
1835	October 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Prue Fagins	1.50	brogan

# 1836

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1836	March 2	EH	8 yds	cotton plaid	Tyra Nedson	1-	
1836	March 28	EH	3 yds	cotton plaid	Thomas Nedson	2-	
1836	May 4	EH	4 yds	calico	Hannah Shelly		
1836	June 14	EH	7 yds	calico	Hannah Shelly	1.50	
1836	May 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Tyra Nedson	1.50	
1836	June 14	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Edward Nedson	1-	
1836	June 14	EH	1	bonnet	Hannah Shelly	1-	
1836	June 14	EH	1 yd	ribbon	Hannah Shelly		
1836	December 6	EH	1/2 book	muslin	Elsa Nedson		
1836	December 6	EH	3 yds	lace	Elsa Nedson		footings
1836	December 6	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Elsa Nedson		
1836	December 6	EH	1 yd	crepe	Tyre Ned		black
1836	December 6	EH		thread	Tyre Ned		and trimmings
1836	December 6	EH	1 pair	boots	Cyrus Shelly		boy
1836	December 14	EH	5 yds	sheeting	Betsy Robbins		blue
1836	December 14	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Betsy Robbins		brown
1836	December 24	EH	3 yds	sheeting	Prue Fagins		4/4

# 1837

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1837	January 6	EH	1 pair	shoes	Edward Nedson	1.04	thick
1837	January 6	EH	8 yds	cotton plaid	Hannah Shelly	1.50	
1837	January 11	EH	1 pair	yarn stockings	Saml Shelly	75	
1837	January 30	EH	7 yds	calico	Sarah Pompey	98	
1837	January 30	EH	3 yds	shirting	Sarah Pompey	38	
1837	January 30	EH	10 yds	calico	Nancy Skesucks	1.40	
1837	January 30	EH	6 yds	shirting	Nancy Skesucks	75	
1837	Feburary 23	EH	2 yds	calico		1.88	
1837	Feburary 23	EH	4 yds	shirting		2.38 (?)	
1837	Feburary 23	EH	2 paper	pins		31	

# 1838

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1838	December 5	EH	1 pair	boots	H. Shuntaup	2.00	thick
1838	December 20	EH	1 pair	shoes	H.S.	1.50	thick/paid G. Hewitt
1838	December 20	EH	1	shoes	Ned Nedson	1.25	thick/paid G. Hewitt
1838	December 20	EH	3 yds	beaverskin	Lem Shelly	1.00	paid G. Hewitt
1838	January 4	EH	1	coat	H. Shuntaup	4.50	broad cloth

# 1839

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1839	May 30	EH	8 yds	calico	Philena	1.34	
1839	July 2	EH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Sarah Pompey	.75	
1839	September 7	EH	7 yds	calico	Sarah Pompey	1.17	daughter (?)
1839	September 7	EH	1 yd	bleached cloth	Sarah Pompey	.17	
1839	November 26	EH	1 pair	boots	Edward Nedson	1.50	boy
1839	December 19	EH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick

# 1840

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1840	January 13	EH	1 pair	shoes	Sarah Pompey	1.23	
1840	January 13	EH	8 yds	woolen cloth	Sarah Pompey	2.00	dress
1840	January 13	EH		trimmings	Sarah Pompey	.17	for dress
1840	January 15	EH	8 yds	calico	Wealthy Nedson	1.00	
1840	January 15	EH	3/4 yd	calico shirting	Wealthy Nedson	.20	
1840	January 25	EH	4 yds	cotton cloth	S. Shuntaup	.40	
1840	January 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Ned Nedson	1.25	
1840	May 25	EH	8 yds	calico	Philena	1.30	
1840	May 25	EH	1 pair	shoes	Philena	1.25	daughter (?)
1840	June 25	EH	15 yds	sheeting		1.50	
1840	June 25	EH	4 yds	calico		.50	
1840	June 25	EH	3/4 yds	sheeting		.07	
1840	June 25	EH		thread		.02	
1840	October 15	EH	1 pair	shoes	Philena	1.25	
1840	December 11	EH	8 yds	bleached cloth	Shelly and Sarah	1.30	
1840	December 11	EH	3/4 book	muslin		.22	

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1840	December 11	EH	1 spool	thread		.07	
1840	December 11	EH	1 pair	cotton stockings		.20	
1840	December 13	EH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	thick
1840	December 13	EH	1 pair	pantaloon		1.00	
1840	December 28	EH	10 yds	cotton cloth	Thos Nedson	1.00	

#### 1841

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1841	July 10	EH	6 yds	bleached shirting		.60	
1841	July 10	EH	1 spool	thread		.07	
1841	July 10	EH	3 yds	calico		.37 c	
1841	July 12	EH	1/2 yds	muslin	Wealthy Nedson	.16 c	Book for child
1841	July 12	EH	2 1/2	Cambuck		.34 c	Cambric(?)
1841	July 12	EH	1 spool	thread		.06 c	
1841	November 8	EH		Cambuck	Thos Nedson	.88 c	Cambric(?)
1841	December 7	EH	1 pair	shoes	Cyrus Shelly	1.50	
1841	January 12	EH	1 pair	shoes	Samuel Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1841	January 15	EH	3 yds	cloth	Samuel Shuntaup	1.00	
1841	January 15	EH	3/4 yds	sheeting	Samuel Shuntaup	.07 c	
1841	January 15	EH	1 pair	pantaloon	Samuel Shuntaup	1.25	
1841	April 11	EH	4 yds	cloth	Sarah Pompey	1.00	
1841	April 11	EH	3/4 yd	cloth	Sarah Pompey	.25 c	
1841	April 12	EH	1 pair	stockings	Sarah Pompey	.20 c	
1841	April 15	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Samuel Shuntaup		
1841	April 15	EH	3 yds	cloth		.75 c	
1841	May 12	EH	12 yds	calico	Thos Nedson	1.50	wife
1841	May 31	EH	8 yds	calico		1.34	
1841	May 31	EH	5 yds	cotton cloth		.45 c	
1841	July 10	EH	2	hats		.50 c	Palmhaq(?)

#### 1842

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1842	January 7	EH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1842	January 17	EH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup	1.50	brogan
1842	June 29	EH	1	grave clothes	Prue Pawhage	.34	paid for making
1842	July 2	EH	17 yds	calico	Thos Nedson	2.10	children

#### 1843

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1843	April 12	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth		.24	
1843	April 12	EH	1 pair	shoes		1.08	
1843	April 12	EH	3 yds	cloth		.75	
1843	June 21	EH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Moses Brushel	.30	
1843	October 9	EH	1	shirt	Moses Brushel	.34	
1843	October 9	EH	1 pair	pants	Moses Brushel	.50	
1843	October 9	EH	1	grave clothes	Moses Brushel	1.50	
1843	October 9	EH	8 yds	calico	Thos Nedson	1.00	wife



Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1843	October 9	EH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Thos Nedson	.10	wife

#### 1844

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1844	April 24	EH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	

#### 1845

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1845	June 27	ELH		calico	Polly Shelly		
1845	September 15	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1845	September 15	ELH		calico	Philena		for dress
1845	September 15	ELH		cotton cloth	Philena		for shirts
1845	December 1	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Jack Randall		as per his bill
1845	December 18	ELH	4	macs	G. Shelly		
1845	December 25	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup		brogan
1845	December 25	ELH	1+	cotton cloth	Henry Shuntaup		shirts

#### 1846

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1846	January 1	ELH	1+	hats	Henry Shuntaup		at DB Wheeler
1846	January 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Philena		brogans
1846	January 24	ELH	1+	shirts	G. Shelly		
1846	January 24	ELH	1+	pants	G. Shelly		britches
1846	March 1	ELH	1	cloth	Henry Shuntaup		and makings shirt
1846	March 1	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Lea	.34	
1846	March 1	ELH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup		
1846	April 10	ELH	1	shirt	C. Shelly	.50	
1846	April 10	ELH	1	shirt	C. Shelly	.75	
1846	April 20	ELH	1	grave clothes	C. Shelly		
1846	April 9	ELH		cloth	Philena		for dress
1846	April 9	ELH	2	shirts	Philena		
1846	April 9	ELH	1 pair	booters	Molly Gorden		
1846	June 3	ELH	1	shirt	J. Shuntaup		
1846	June 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloons	Henry Shuntaup		satinet
1846	June 20	ELH	8 yds	calico	Clarry (Mrs. Hewitt?)		for dress
1846	June 20	ELH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Clarry (Mrs. Hewitt?)		lining for dress
1846	October 11	ELH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Philena	.50	
1846	October 14	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Polly Nedson	1.00	calf brogans
1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup	.92	
1846	November 28	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1846	November 28	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1846	November 28	ELH		thread	Henry Shuntaup	.08	
1846	December 24	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Philena	.84	
1846	December 24	ELH	8 yds	calico	Philena	1.10	

# 1847

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1847	February 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	
1847	February 15	ELH		thread	Henry Shuntaup	.17	
1847	February 25	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	February 25	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Henry Shuntaup	.58	
1847	February 25	ELH		cloth	Nedson	1.50	for child's grave clothes
1847	March 14	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Molly Gardner	1.00	
1847	April 2	ELH	8 yds	calico	Thankful Ned	1.00	
1847	April 2	ELH	1 yd	cotton cloth	Thankful Ned	.30	
1847	April 10	ELH	6 yds	cotton cloth	Philena	1.50	
1847	April 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Thankful Ned	1.20	
1847	April 25	ELH	1	dress	Philena	1-	
1847	July 1	ELH	6 yds	sheeting	Ed Nedson	1.10	
1847	July 1	ELH	1	coat	Ed Nedson	2.00	
1847	July 1	ELH	1	hat	Ed Nedson	.50	
1847	July 10	ELH		shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1847	July 14	ELH	9 yds	calico	Fagins		girls
1847	July 14	ELH	2 yds	cotton cloth	Fagins		girls
1847	July 14	ELH		thread	Fagins	1.67	girls
1847	August 10	ELH	1	dress	Philena	1.69	dress
1847	August 10	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Philena	.98	calf
1847	August 10	ELH	6 yds	sheeting	Philena	.60	
1847	August 13	ELH	1	shirt	J. Shuntup	.50	
1847	August 13	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Thos Nedson	1.08	brogans for daughter
1847	November 27	ELH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	2.25	thick
1847	November 27	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	flannel
1847	November 27	ELH	1	cloth	Henry Shuntaup	.33	
1847	December 18	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	part worn
1847	December 18	ELH	1	coat	Henry Shuntaup	2.75	cloth and vest
1847	December 21	ELH	1	dress	Polly Nedson	1.39	calico

# 1848

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1848	April 4	ELH	1	grave clothes	Philena	6.00	and coffin
1848	May 20	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.50	
1848	May 20	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	
1848	January 15	ELH	1	coat	Young Indian	2.00	
1848	January 15	ELH	1	shirt	Young Indian	.50	
1848	January 15	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Young Indian	1.00	
1848	February 8	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Thos Nedson	2.13	
1848	February 8	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Thankful Ned	1.00	
1848	April 3	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Thos Nedson	1.00	brogans for daughter

# 1849

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1849	July 8	ELH	2	shirts	Shuntaup	1.00	
1849	July 8	ELH	4 (yds)	calico	Polly Nedson	1.87	dress lining
1849	July 8	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Polly Nedson	1.00	Booters (?)

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1849	October 2	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.75	Twilled
1849	October 2	ELH	1 pair	pants	Henry Shuntaup	.75	cotton
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	shoes	Henry Shuntaup	2.00	thick boots
1849	December 3	ELH	1 pair	stockings	Henry Shuntaup	.50	

#### 1850

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1850	January 1	ELH	1	coat	Henry Shuntaup	6.00	cloth
1850	January 1	ELH	1 pair	pants	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	
1850	January 1	ELH	1	vest	Henry Shuntaup	.67	
1850	January 12	ELH	3 yds	sheeting	Ned.	2.25	
1850	January 12	ELH	3 yds	cotton cloth	Ned.	.27	
1850	January 12	ELH		thread	Ned.	.08	
1850	January 30	ELH		boots	Jack Randall	2.50	for mending boots for Indians
1850	April 1	ELH	1	calico	Polly Nedson	1.20	dress and lining
1850	April 15	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.75	twilled, collared
1850	May 10	ELH	1 pair	pantaloon	Henry Shuntaup	1.00	
1850	June 3	ELH	1	dress	Polly Nedson	1.50	collared and wool
1850	June 3	ELH	1	dress	Nedson girl	1.10	calico
1850	June 10	ELH	1 pair	pants	Shuntaup	1.00	
1850	June 10	ELH	1	shirt	Shuntaup	.75	Twilled
1850	June 10	ELH	1+	vest	Shuntaup	.50	
1850	June 3	ELH	1 pair	boots	Nedson girl	1.17	calf
1850	July 9	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	September 1	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled
1850	September 20	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.15	cotton
1850	September 21	ELH	1 pair	pants	Henry Shuntaup	.50	woolen, part worn
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	2.12	thick
1850	December 25	ELH	1 pair	pants	Henry Shuntaup	2.50	satinet
1850	December 29	ELH	1	coat	Henry Shuntaup	3.00	blue cloth, part worn
1850	December 29	ELH	1+	shirts	Henry Shuntaup	.58	Twilled

#### 1851

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1851	January 3	ELH	1 pair	boots	Polly Nedson	1.00	calf
1851	January 20	ELH	1 pair	boots	Thos Nedson	.90	calf for daughter
1851	November 18	ELH	1 pair	boots	Henry Shuntaup	1.62	
1851	December 19	ELH	1	shirt	Henry Shuntaup	.61	

#### 1852

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1852	February 7	ELH	1	grave close	Henry Shuntaup	.75	grave (clothes)
1852	December 20	Isaac Minor (IM)	1 pair	shoes	Polly Nedson	.75	
1852	April 1	IM	1 pair	shoes	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	
1852	April 9	IM		cloth	Samuel Shuntaup	1.59	for pants and lining for the same and making

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1852	May 6	IM	1	coat		2.50	dress
1852	June 7	IM	1+	shirts	Polly Nedson	.50	paid for washing shirts
1852	February 21	IM	1 pair	boots	Polly Nedson	1.00	
1852	August 5	IM	1	shirt		.60	
1852	October 10	IM	1 pair	shoes	Polly Nedson	.92	
1852	October 10	IM	4 yds	cotton cloth	Polly Nedson	9.36	

### 1853

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1853	January 18	IM	1 pair	pants	Samuel Shuntaup	1.50	
1853	January 18	IM	1	shirt	Samuel Shuntaup	.55	
1853	January 18	IM	1	vest	Samuel Shuntaup	.75	

### 1855

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1855	October 10	IM	1	shoes	Samuel Shuntaup	.58	paid Leonard Brown for mending shoes for SS

### 1856

Year	Entry Date	Overseer	Quantity	Type	Person	Amount	Comments
1856	January 14	IM	1	shoes	Leonard Brown	.25	taps for shoes

## APPENDIX E: MATERIAL CULTURE

### BEADS

#### Area #1

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
796	607	2004	1x1	1	1	BE	blk	glass	seed
797	606	2004	1x1	6E	1	BE	blue	glass	facet

#### Area #2

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
540	530.5	2003	1x1	A3	1	BE	white	glass	seed
540	530.5	2003	1x1	A3	1	BE	white	glass	seed

#### Area #3

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material
302	1051	2005	1x1	4	2	BE	white/red	glass
302	1048	2005	1x.5	10	1	BE	white	glass
307	1056	2005	1x1	4	1	BE	white	glass
309	1054	2005	1x1-E	7W	1	BE	sky blue	glass
309	1051	2005	1x1-B	1	1	BE	black	glass
309	1054	2005	1x1-E	11W	1	BE	white	glass
309	1054	2005	1x1-E	6W	1	BE	white	glass
311	1053	2005	1x1-J	4	3	BE	black	glass
311	1052	2005	1x1-I	3	1	BE	sky blue	glass
311	1052	2005	1x1-I	3	1	BE	white	glass
311	1053	2005	1x1-J	3	1	BE	blue-grey	glass
312	1052	2005	1x1-O	3	1	BE	red	glass
312	1050	2005	1x1-K	5	1	BE	white	glass
313	1051	2005	1x1-S	4-N half	1	BE	white	glass

### JEWELRY

#### Area #1

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Material	Comments
258	1032.5	2005	1x1	5	1	RI	Silver	stamped/etched design

#### Area #2

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
610	410	2003	STP	A	1	RI			ringlike ?

### Area #3

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
796	607	2004	1x1	3	1	OT		CA	worked Matron head lg penny 1816-1857

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
798	605	2004	1x1	6DW	1	OT	blue	Glass	faux cut gemstone/2 cm

### SEWING HARDWARE

#### Area #3

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
797	605	2004	1x1	8E	1	OT		CA	hand rolled sheet thimble/2.5 cmx1.5 cm

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Material	Comments
794	605	2004	1x1	4F	1	ME	Fe	nail/sewing scissors/2 cm finger hole/ Hulme #5

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Material	Comments
797	606	2004	1x1	3W	1	ME	Fe	nail/sewing scissor/ornamented haft/Hulme #8-c1780

### BUCKLES

#### Area #1

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Material	Comments
302	1048	2005	1x.5	10	1	BK	Cu/Pinchbeck	shoe/cast double oval hook fragment/3 cm
302	1047	2005	1x.5	11	1	BK	Cu/Fe/Pewter	shoe/cast trapezoid single-prg tongue/loop hook
311	1052	2005	1x1-I	3	1	BK	Cu/Pinchbeck	shoe/trapez. frame/dbl prg tongue/3x3 cm/White 8E
312	1052	2005	1x1-O	3	2	BK	White Metal	shoe/cast rect./incised oval dec./T2 term./3x2 cm
313	1051	2005	1x1-S	4S	1	BK	Cu/Pinchbeck	shoe/cast double prg tongue fragment/ 3 cm

#### Area #2

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
600	500	2003	STP	A	1	BK		Fe	forged /square single framed/T5 terminal/ 3x3 cm

### Area #3

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
608	497	2004	1x1	3	1	BK		Fe	cast forged rod/undec./single frame/T5 term./3x1cm
793	604	2004	1x1	3	1	BK		Fe	?
794	605	2004	1x1	5F	1	BK		White Metal	shoe/cast/dec./ square single frame/unkn term.
794	604.5	2004	1x1-S	3	1	BK		Fe	forged/square single frame/T5 terminal/3x3 cm
796	607	2004	1x1	6	1	BK		CA	shoe/cast rod/dec./square frame/T1/2 term. /8x8 cm
796	607	2004	1x1	5	1	BK		CA	shoe/cast/stamped rect./dec./T2 terminal/7x5 cm
796	606	2004	1x1	3	1	BK		Fe	cast/forged/undec./sq. single frame/T5 term./3x3cm

### BUTTONS

#### Area #1

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
258	1032.5	2005	1x1	3	1	BT	26	CA	stamped sheaf design/wire shank/1837-1865/1.5 cm
302	1051	2005	1x1	5	1	BT		CA/glass	glass inset/o shk/Luscomb "vest button"/1.5 cm
302	1047	2005	1x.5	14	1	BT	7	Pewter	rim fragment/cast/spun
302	1047	2005	1x.5	10	1	BT	12	Fe/Pb	cast shank/undec./2 cm/1726-1776
307	1052	2005	1x1-Q	7	1	BT		CA	cast shank/ fragment
309	1052	2005	1x1-C	17S	1	BT	10	CA	domed disc/soldered shank/undec./1.5 cm/1726-1776
309	1053	2005	1x1-D	6	1	BT	29	Fe/Pb alloy	cast body/wire eye/1.5 cm
311	1053	2005	1x1-J	4	1	BT	3	CA/wood	stamped 2 piece/4 hole/1.5 cm/Luscomb "Gent's BT"?
312	1052	2005	1x1-O	3	1	BT	18	CA	stamped A shank/undec./1.5 cm/1837-1865
312	1050	2005	1x1-K	5	1	BT	12	Fe/Pb alloy	cast shank/ round/undec./ 1.5 cm/see 302/1047-10
313	1051	2005	1x1-S	4S	1	BT	10	Br/Fe	stamped/ferrous shank/undec./2.5 cm/ 1726-1776

#### Area #2

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Quantity	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
370	490.5	2003	79x.5	1	black	rubber	'Goodyear' 2 hole/1851
370	490.5	2003	79x.5	1	white	glass	4 hole fragment/1837-1865
370	490.5	2003	79x.5	1	9	CA	hstamped/undec./no shank/3 cm
490	510	2003	STP	1	9	CA	hstamped/A shank/undec./3 cm/ Luscomb "tombac"
560	520	2003	STP	1	18	CA	stamped/gilt/laurel bk/O shank/2.5 cm
600	500	2003	STP	1	18	CA	stamped/gilt/ eagleandstar bk/O shank/2 cm/1837-1865
610	500	2003	STP	1	?	?	?

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Quantity	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
690	390	2003	STP	1	18	CA	hstamped/bkstmp chevron/O shank/2.5 cm
690	380	2003	STP	1	18	CA	stamped/gilt/laurel bk/O shank/ 1 cm
710	370	2003	STP	1	9	CA	hstamped/undec./A shank/ 1.25 cm
780 (720)	360	2003	STP	1	9	CA	hstamped/undec./A shank/ 3 cm

### Area #3

Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
607	495	2004	1x1	5S	1	BT		Fe	fragment
607	495	2004	1x1	3	1	BT	18	CA	r stamped dec./gilt/O shank/1.5 cm/ thread frags
607	495	2004	1x1	4S	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/gilt/R+W Robinson extra- 1835-1848/1 cm
607	495	2004	1x1	4	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/domed/rolled edge/undec./O shank/1 cm
607	495	2004	1x1	5S	1	BT	18	CA	hstamped/ undec./A shank/1.5 cm/ Luscomb 'tombac'
607	495	2004	1x1	5S	1	BT		Fe	fragment
607	495	2004	1x1	3	1	BT	18	CA	f/r mstamped dec./O shank/1 cm-name on rev unclear
608	497	2004	1x1	2	1	BT	29	White Metal	cast/O shank/f dec./"A.GOODY...SON HARD WKT/2 cm
608	497	2004	1x1	2	1	BT	9/18	CA	hstamped/O shank/gilt/undec./1.25 cm
608	497	2004	1x1	3	1	BT		White metal	cast/undec./O shank/1.5 cm
611.5	498	2004	1x1	4	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/rolled edge/domed/r dec./1 cm
611.5	498	2004	1x1	4	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/O shank/r dec.'CO..'/gilt/1.5 cm
611.5	498	2004	1x1	4	1	BT	8	CA	cast domed/ undec./A shank/2 cm/Luscomb 'tombac'
794	606	2004	1x1	5F	1	BT	18	CA	castdomed/ undec. /A shank/1.5 cm/Luscomb 'tombac'
794	505	2004	1x1	3F	1	BT		Fe	heavily corroded/2.5 cm
794	605.5	2004	1x1-S	4	1	BT	18	CA	f/r stamped dec./gilt/ 1 cm/O shank/no name
794	606	2004	1x1	6F	1	BT	18	CA	stamped/gilt/1.75 cm/O shank/rolled edge
794	605	2004	1x1	7F	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/f/r dec./gilt/"Imperial Quality"/1.25 cm
795	606	2004	1x1	5	1	BT	25	CA/Fe	2 piece/stamped f dec./Fe O shank
795	605	2004	STP	A	1	BT	18	CA	hstamped/undec./A shank/2 cm
795	610	2004	1x1	A	1	BT	28	CA	mstamped/domed/undec./unkwn shk/1.25 cm
796	606	2004	1x1	7	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/O shank/gilt/"TREBLE ORANGE"/1.5 cm
796	607	2004	1x1	6	1	BT	18	CA	h/mstamped/O shank/gilt/"..LOOM.."/1.5 cm
796	607	2004	1x1	6	1	BT	18	CA	h/mstamped/O shank/gilt/"IMPERIAL STANDARD"/1cm
796	606	2004	1x1	4	1	BT	8/18	CA	cast/stamped/O shank/ undec./1.5 cm
796	606	2004	1x1	3	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/domed/O shank/f dec.boss design/2 cm
796	607	2004	1x1	6	1	BT	18	CA	h/mstamped/O shank/gilt/"2nd Quality Gilt"/2 cm



Unit Northing	Unit Easting	Field Season	Unit Type/Letter	Level	Quantity	Object	Color/South Type	Material	Comments
796	607	2004	1x1	6	1	BT	18	CA	h/mstamped/O shank/gilt/"EXTRA RICH COLOUR"/1.5cm
796	606	2004	1x1	6	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/O shank/"BEST COLOUR"/2 cm
796	607	2004	1x1	5	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/gilt/O sk/1cm/"Goodyear's Best ANOI"
796	606	2004	1x1	S1	1	BT	18	CA	h/mstamped/silver plated/O shank/"PLATED"/2 cm
796	607	2004	1x1	5	1	BT	18	CA	hstamped/spun/undec./O shank/1.25 cm
796	607	2004	1x1	4	1	BT	8	White Metal	cast/f weave dec./A shank/1.5 cm
796	607	2004	1x1	3	1	BT	29	White Metal	cast/domed O shank/undec. but tinned /1 cm
796.5	605.5	2004	1x1	1	1	BT	18	CA	stamped/gilt/O shank/1.75 cm/"Extra Rich Color"
797	611	2004	1x1	4	1	BT	18	CA	stamped f/r dec./O shank/1 cm/chipped edge
797	606	2004	1x1	2W	1	BT	7/8	White Metal	cast domed/undec./O shank/1 cm
797	606	2004	1x1	6	1	BT	18	CA	stamped/undec./A shank/1.25 cm
797	605	2004	1x1	6	1	BT	18/28	CA	hstamped/domed/O shank/undec./1.25 cm
797	606	2004	1x1	2W	1	BT	18	CA	hstamped/gilt/r dec. "GILT"/O shank/1 cm
797	606	2004	1x1	4SW	1	BT	7	CA	cast/undec./A shank/1.25 cm
797	605	2004	1x1	11	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/gilt/1 cm/ Luscomb "Jacksonian"-1840-50
797	605	2004	1x1	5N	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/gilt/O sk/r dec. "Super Fine London"/1 cm
797	605	2004	1x1	8E	1	BT	7/28	CA	hmade/rough cut/poorly soldered shank/undec./2 cm
797	606	2004	1x1	W	1	BT	9/18	CA	hstamped/O shank/undec./2 cm
797	605	2004	1x1	7	1	BT	18	CA	stamped/gilt/1.25 cm/r dec. "Treble * Gilt"
797	606	2004	1x1	3W	1	BT	18	CA	bkstmp dec./gilt/O shank/1cm/ "Hallock Moore"
797	605	2004	1x1	9F	1	BT	18	CA	mstamped/gilt/1.5 cm/ "Best Strong Standrd"
797	606	2004	1x1	2NW	1	BT	18	CA	hstamped/r dec. "LONDON"/2 cm
798	605	2004	1x1	7	2	BT	white	Pearl	4 hole/ 1 cm
798	605	2004	1x1	2	1	BT	7	White Metal	cast/spun/undec./ f scratched/A shank/1.5 cm
798	605	2004	1x1	6CW	1	BT	29	White Metal	cast/O shank/undec./1.5 cm
810	610	2004	STP	A	1	BT	10	CA	cast/domed/soldered U shank/undec./2.5 cm

## REFERENCES

Aultman, Jennifer, and Kate Grillo

- 2006 *DAACS Cataloging Manual: Buttons*. Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery, Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Monticello, VA.  
<<http://www.daacs.org>>.

Axel, Brian Keith (Editor)

- 2002 Introduction: Historical Anthropology and Its Vicissitudes. In *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and its Futures*, pp. 1-44. Durham Press, London, UK.

Barrett, J. C.

- 2000 A Thesis on Agency. In *Agency in Archaeology*. M.A. Dobres and J. Robb, Editors, pp. 61-68. Routledge, New York, NY.

Basso, Keith

- 1996 *Wisdom Sits in Places*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM.

Beaudry, Mary C.

- 2006 *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Beaudry, Mary C., Lauren J. Cook and Stephen A. Mrozowski

- 1996 Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse. In *Images of The Recent Past: Reading in Historical Archaeology*, Charles E. Orser Jr., Editor, pp. 272-310. Altamira Press, London, UK.

Bee, Robert L.

- 1990 Connecticut's Indian Policy: From Testy Arrogance to Benign Bemusement. In *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*. Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, Editors, pp.194-212. Oklahoma University Press, Norman, OK.

Beresford, L. G.

- 1960 Brummagem Brass. Presidential Address to the Birmingham Metallurgical Society, October 27th. <[http://www.oldercopper.org/brummagem\\_brass.htm](http://www.oldercopper.org/brummagem_brass.htm)>.

Bodinger de Uriarte, John J.

- 2003 Imagining the Nation with House Odds: Representing American Indian Identity at Mashantucket. *Ethnohistory* 50(3): 549-563.

Bourdieu, Pierre

- 1979 *Outline of the Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Bourdieu, Pierre

- 1990 *The Logic of Practice*. Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.

Bragdon, Kathleen J.

- 1996 *Native Peoples of Southern New England 1500-1650*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK.

Brauner, David R. (Editor)

- 2000 *Approaches to Material Culture Research for Historical Archaeologists*. Society for Historical Archaeology, California, PA.

Buchli, Victor

- 2004 Material Culture: Current Problems. In *A Companion to Social Archaeology*. Robert W. Preucel and Lynn Meskell, Editors, pp.179-194. Blackwell Press, Malden, MA.

Calloway, Colin G.

- 1997 *New Worlds For All: Indians, Europeans and the Remaking of Early America*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

Calloway, Colin G. and Neal Salisbury (Editors)

- 2003 *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience*. The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston, MA.

Campisi, Jack.

- 1990 New England Tribes and Their Quest for Justice. In *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*. Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, Editors, pp.179-193. Oklahoma University Press, Norman, OK.
- 1991 *The Mashpee Indians: Tribe on Trial*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, NY.
- 2005 A Changing World. In *Eighteenth Century Native Communities of Southern New England in the Colonial Context*. The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Occasional Paper No. 1, pp. 8-18. Mashantucket, CT.

Castile, George Pierre

- 1999 The Commodification of Indian Identity. *American Anthropologist* 98(4): 743-749.

Cipolla, Craig

- 2005 Negotiating boundaries of colonialism: Nineteenth-century lifeways on the Eastern Pequot Reservation, North Stonington, Connecticut, Master's Thesis, Department of Historical Archaeology, University of Massachusetts, Boston, Boston, MA.

Comaroff, Jean

- 1997 The Empire's Old Clothes: Fashioning the Colonial Subject In *Situated Lives: Gender and Culture in Everyday Life*. Louis Lamphere, Helena Ragone and Patricia Zavella, Editors, pp. 400-419. Routledge Press, New York, NY.

Cooper, Fredrick and Ann L. Stoler

- 1989 Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule. *American Ethnographer* 16(4): 609-620.

Cronon, William

- 1983 *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. Hill and Wang, New York, NY.

Deagan, Kathleen

- 2002 *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean 1500-1800, Volume 2: Personal Portable Possessions*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

DeForest, John W.

- 1852 *History of the Indians of Connecticut from the Earliest Known Period to 1850*. Connecticut Historical Society, pp. 438-445. Native American Book Publishers, Grand Rapids, MI.

Deloria, Vine, Jr.

- 1996 *Earth, White Lies: Native American and the Myth of Scientific Facts*. Fulcrum Publishing, Golden, CO.
- 1999 *Spirit and Reason: The Vine Deloria, Jr., Reader*. Barbara Deloria, Kristen Foejner and Sam Scinta, Editors. Fulcrum Publishing, Golden, CO.

Den Ouden, Amy E.

- 2005 *Beyond Conquest: Native Peoples and the Struggle for History in New England*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NB.

Dirks, Nicholas B.

- 2002 Annals of the Archive: Ethnographic Notes on the Sources of History. In *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and its Futures*. Brian Keith Axel, Editor, pp.47-65. Durham Press, London, UK.

Dobres, Marcia-Ann

- 2000 *Technological and Social Agency: Outlining an Anthropological Framework for Archaeology*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, UK.

Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation

- 2003 *Petition for Federal Acknowledgement as an American Indian Tribe, submitted by the Eastern Pequot Tribe of Connecticut*. Report submitted to the Branch of Acknowledgement and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

Echo-Hawk, Roger C.

- 1993 Exploring Ancient Worlds. In *Working Together: Native Americans and Archaeologists*. Kurt, Dongoske, Mark Aldenderfer and Karen Doehmer, Editors, pp.3-7. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.

Epstein, Diana

- 1990 *A Collector's Guide to Buttons*. Walker and Company, New York, NY.

Ferguson, T. J.

- 1996 Native Americans and the Practice of Archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25: 63-79.

Fisher, Genevieve, and Diana DiPaolo Loren

- 2003 Embodying Identity in Archaeology. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13: 225-230.

Foucault, Michel

- 1982 The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry* 8:777-798.

Giddens, Anthony

- 1984 *The Constitution of Society*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Given, Michael

- 2004 *The Archaeology of the Colonized*. Routledge Press, New York, NY.

Grillo Kate, Jennifer Altman, and Nick Bon-Harper

- 2003 *DAACS Cataloging Manual: Buckles*. Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery, Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Monticello, VA.  
<<http://www.daacs.org>>.

Hall, Martin, and Stephen W. Silliman

- 2006 Introduction: Archaeology of the Modern World. In *Historical Archaeology*. Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, Editors, pp. 1-19. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.

Handsman, Russell, and Trudie Lamb Richmond

- 1995 Confronting Colonialism the Mahican and Schaghticoke Peoples and Us. In *Making Alternative Histories*. Peter Schmidt and Thomas Patterson, Editors, pp. 87-117. School of American Research Press, Sante Fe, NM.

Hauptman, Laurence M. and James D. Wherry (Editors)

- 1990 *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*. Oklahoma University Press, Norman, OK.

Hayes, Charles F. (Editor)

- 1982 *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference*. Rochester Museum and Science Center, Research Records No. 16. Rochester, NY.

Herbster, Holly

- 2005 A Documentary Archaeology of Makunkaquog. Master's Thesis, Department of Historical Archaeology, University of Massachusetts, Boston, Boston, MA.

Herndon, Ruth Wallis, and Ella Wilcox Sekatau

- 1997 The Right to a Name: The Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era. *Ethnohistory* 44(3): 432-462.

Hodder, Ian. (Editor)

- 1999 *The Archaeological Process*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, UK.

Hodder, Ian

- 2001 *Archaeological Theory Today*. Polity Press, Oxford, UK.

Hume, Ivor Noël

- 1969 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Innovations, Copper Development Association

- 1998 The History of Brass Making in the Naugatuck Valley. Copper Development Association, CT.  
<<http://www.copper.org/innovations/1998/03/naugatuck.html>>.

Joyce, Rosemary

- 2006 Writing Historical Archaeology. In *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*. Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, Editors, pp. 48-68. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY.

Karklins, Karlis (Editor)

- 2000 Introduction. In *Studies in Material Culture Research*. Karlis Karklins, Editor, pp.1-3. Society For Historical Archaeology, California, PA.

Keir, R. Malcolm

- 1913 The Unappreciated Tin-Peddler, His Services to Early Manufacturers. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 46: 183-188.

Kerber, Jordan (Editor)

- 2006 *Cross-Cultural Collaboration Native Peoples and Archaeology in the Northeastern United States*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NB.

Kidd, Kenneth E. and Martha A. Kidd

- 1983 A Classification System for Use of Field Archaeologists. In *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference*. Rochester Museum and Science Center, Research Records No. 16, Rochester, NY.

Larson, Sidney

- 1997 Fear and Contempt: A European Concept of Property. *American Indian Quarterly* 21(4): 567-577.

Light, John D.

- 2000 A Field Guide to the Identification of Metal. In *Studies in Material Culture Research*. Karlis Karklins, Editor, pp.20-31. Society for Historical Archaeology, California, PA.

Lightfoot, Kent G.

- 1998 Daily Practice and Material Culture in Pluralistic Social Settings: An Archaeological Study of Culture Change and Persistence from Fort Ross, California. *American Antiquity* 63(2): 199-222.



Lightfoot, Kent G., Antoinette Martinez, and Ann M. Schiff

- 1995 Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 60(2): 199-217.

Loren, Diana DePaolo

- 2001 Social skins: orthodoxies and practices of dressing in the early colonial lower Mississippi Valley. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1(2): 172-189.
- 2003 Refashioning a Body Politic in Colonial Louisiana. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13(2): 231-237.
- 2004 Creolization in the French and Spanish Colonies. In *North American Archaeology*. Timothy R. Pauketat and Diana DiPaolo Loren, Editors, pp. 297-318. Blackwell Press, Malden, MA.

Loren, Diana DiPaolo, and Mary Beaudry

- 2006 Becoming American: Small Things Remembered. In *Historical Archaeology*. Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, Editors, pp. 251-271. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.

Luscomb, Sally C.

- 1997 *The Collector's Encyclopedia of Buttons*. Schiffer Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Mancini, Jason R., and David J. Naumec

- 2005 *Connecticut's African and Native American Revolutionary War Enlistments: 1775-1783*. Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Mashantucket, CT.

Mandell, Daniel R.

- 1998 Shifting Boundaries of Race and Ethnicity: Indian-Black Inter-marriage in Southern New England, 1760-1880. *Journal of American History* 85(2): 466-501.
- 2005 The Times are Exceedingly Altered: The Revolution and Southern New England Indians. In *Eighteenth Century Native Communities of Southern New England in the Colonial Context*. Jack Campisi, Editor, pp.160-189. The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Occasional Paper No. 1, Mashantucket, CT.

Marburg, Theodore F.

- 1942 Commission Agents in the Button and Brass Trade a Century Ago. *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 16(1):8-18.

Marburg, Theodore F.

- 1943 Brass Manufacturing During the 1830's. *The Journal of Economic History* 3: 33-37, Supplement: The Tasks of Economic History.

McBride, Kevin A.

- 1990 The Historical Archaeology of the Mashantucket Pequots, 1637-1900: A Preliminary Analysis. In *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*. Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, Editors, pp. 81-95. Oklahoma University Press, Norman, OK.
- 1996 Legacy of Robin Cassacinamon: Mashantucket Pequot Leadership in the Historic Period. In *Northeastern Indian Lives 1632-1816*. Robert S. Grumet, Editor, pp. 74-92. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, MA.
- 2005 Transformation by Degrees: Eighteenth Century Native American Land Use. In *Eighteenth Century Native Communities of Southern New England in the Colonial Context*. Jack Campisi, Editor, pp. 35-56. The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Occasional Paper No. 1., Mashantucket, CT.

McGuire, Randall H

- 2004 Contested Pasts: Archaeology and Native Americans. In *A Companion to Social Archaeology*. Robert W. Preucel and Lynn Meskell, Editors, pp. 374-395. Blackwell Press, Malden, MA.

Meredith, Alan, Gillian Meredith, and Michael J. Cuddeford

- 1997 *Identifying Buttons*. Mount Publications, Essex, UK.

Montgomery, Florence M.

- 1975 Textiles. *American Art Journal* 7(1): 82-92.
- 1984 *Textiles in America 1650-1870*. Norton and Company, New York, NY.

Mrozowski, Stephen A.

- 2000 The Growth of Managerial Capitalism and the Subtleties of Class Analysis in Historical Archaeology. In *Lines That Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class and Gender*. James A. Delle, Stephen A. Mrozowski, and Robert Paynter, Editors, pp. 276-305. The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, KT.

Mrozowski, Stephen A., Holly Herbster, David Brown and Katherine L. Priddy

- 2005 Magunkaquog: Native American Conversion and Cultural Persistence. In *Eighteenth Century Native Communities of Southern New England in the Colonial Context*. Jack Campisi, Editor, pp. 57-71. The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Occasional Paper No. 1., Mashantucket, CT.

Nassaney, Michael S.

- 1989 An Epistemological Enquiry into Some Archaeological and Historical Interpretations of 17th Century Native American-European Relations. In *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. S. J. Shennan, Editor, pp. 76-93. Unwin Hyman Ltd, London, UK.

Nicolas, Mark A.

- 2002 Mashpee Wampanoags of Cape Cod, the Whalefishery, and Seafaring's Impact on Community Development. *American Indian Quarterly* 26(2): 165-198.
- 2005 New Maritime History and Southern New England Indians. In *Eighteenth Century Native Communities of Southern New England in the Colonial Context*. Jack Campisi, Editor, pp. 212-230. The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Occasional Paper No. 1. Mashantucket, CT.

Nunn, Joan

- 2000 Fashion in Costume. New Amsterdam Books, Chicago, IL.

Olsen, Stanley J.

- 1963 Dating Early Plain Buttons by Their Form. *American Antiquity* 28(4): 551-554.

Orser, Charles E. (Editor)

2001 *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, UT.

Owens, Thomas W. Jr.

[1900s] *American Button Manufacturers, Located in Waterbury, CT*.

Pasquaretta, Paul.

2003 Land, Literacy and the Lord: Pequot Tribal Advocacy in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. In *Gambling and Survival in Native North America*. Paul Pasquaretta, Editor, pp. 63-87. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ.

Pauketat, Timothy R., and Diana DiPaolo Loren (Editors)

2005 *North American Archaeology*. Blackwell Press, Malden, MA.

Piechota, Dennis

2006 Personal Communication, University of Massachusetts-Boston, Conservation Laboratory.

Perry, Jennifer E.

2004 Authentic Learning in Field School: Preparing Future Members of the Archaeological Community. *Archaeological Pedagogies* 36(2), 236-260. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, UK.

Porter, Elsie V.

[1940s] *Golden Age Buttons*, pp.7-9. Keystone Button Club, PA.

Richmond, Trudie Lamb, and Amy E. Den Ouden

2003 Recovering Gendered Political Histories: Local Struggles and Native Women's Resistance in Colonial Southern New England. In *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience*, Colin G. Calloway and Neal Salisbury, Editors, pp. 174-231. The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston, MA.

Rodman, Margaret C.

1992 Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality. *American Anthropologist* 94(3): 640-656.

Rubertone, Patricia E.

- 2000 The Historical Archaeology of Native Americans. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29: 425-446.

- 2001 *Grave Undertakings: An Archaeology of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Russell, Aaron E.

- 1997 Material Culture and African-American Spirituality at the Hermitage. *Historical Archaeology* 31(2): 63-80.

Salisbury, Neal

- 1982 *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans and the Making of New England, 1500-1643*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY.

Schaefer, Patricia M.

- 2005 On Acot of ye Warr with France and Spain: New Londoners and the Major Events of the Eighteenth Century, 1711-1758. In *Eighteenth Century Native Communities of Southern New England in the Colonial Context*. Jack Campisi, Editor, pp. 19-26. The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Occasional Paper No. 1., Mashantucket, CT.

Scott, James C. (Editor)

- 1985 Normal Exploitation, Normal Resistance. In *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Resistance*. James C. Scott, Editor, pp. 29-42. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Scovill Brass

- 1997 *Scovill Brass: Buttons, Cameras, and Cartridge Cases*. Naugatuck Valley Development Corporation, Waterbury, CT.

Schwarz, Theodore

- 1980 *A History of United States Coinage*. The Tantivy Press, London, UK.

Shanks, Michael A. and Christopher Tilley

- 1987 *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Sider, Gerald

- 1987 When Parrots Learn to Talk, and Why They Can't: Domination, Deception and Self-Deception in Indian-White Relations. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29(1): 3-23.
- 1993 *Lumbee Indians Histories: Race, Ethnicity and Indian Identity in the Southeastern United States*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- 1994 Identities as History: Ethnohistory, Ethnogenesis and Ethnocide in the Southeastern United States. *Identities* 1(1): 109-122.

Silliman, Stephen W.

- 2000 *Colonial Worlds, Indigenous Practices: The Archaeology of Labor on a 19th-Century California Rancho*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, CA.
- 2001 Agency, Practical Politics and the Archaeology of Culture Contact. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1(2): 190-209.
- 2005 Culture Contact or Colonialism? Challenges in the Archaeology of Native North America. *American Antiquity* 70(1).
- 2006 Centuries of Colonialism in Native New England: An Archaeological Study of Eastern Pequot Community and Identity. Senior Proposal to National Science Foundation Grant Committee.

Silliman, Stephen W. and Katherine H. Sebastian Dring

- 2008 Working on Pasts for Futures: Eastern Pequot Field School Archaeology in Connecticut. In *Collaborative Indigenous Archaeology at the Trowel's Edge: Exploring Methodology and Education in North American Archaeology*. Amerind Studies in Archaeology Series, University of Arizona Press, AZ.

South, Stanley A.

- 1964 Analysis of buttons from Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher. *Florida Anthropologist* 17(2): 113-133.

Spector, Janet R.

- 1996 What this Awl Means: Toward a Feminist Archaeology. In *Contemporary Archaeological Theory*. Robert W. Preucel and Ian Hodder, Editors, pp. 485-500 Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, UK.

Sprague, Roderick.

- 2000 Glass Trade Beads: A Progress Report. In *Approaches to Material Culture Research for Historical Archaeologists*. David R. Brauner, Editor, pp. 202-220. Society for Historical Archaeology, California, PA.

Starna, William A.

- 1990 The Pequots in the Early Seventeenth Century. In *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*. Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, Editors, pp. 33-47. Oklahoma University Press, Norman, OK.

St. George, Robert Blair (Editor)

- 2000 Introduction. In *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*. Robert Blair St. George, Editor, pp. 1-32. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Tilley, Christopher

- 1992 Chapter 11: Archaeology as Socio-Political Action in the Present. In *Reconstructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. Michael Shanks and Christopher Y. Tilley, Editors, pp. 246-260. Routledge, London, UK.

Turano, Jane Van Norman

- 1991 Taken from Life: Early Photographic Portraits of New England Algonkians, ca. 1845-1865. In *Algonkians of New England: Past and Present*. Peter Benes, Editor, pp. 121-143. The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings 1991, Boston University, Boston, MA.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph

1995 *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Beacon Press, Boston, MA.

1997 *Silencing the Past: Layers of Meaning in the Haitian Revolution*. In *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations*. Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith, Editors, pp. 31-61. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, ONT.

Turgeon, Laurier

1997 The Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object. *Ethnohistory* 44(1).

2004 Beads, Bodies and Regimes of Value: From France to North America, c. 1500-c.1650. In *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies*. Tim Murray, Editor, pp. 19-47. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Van der Sleen, W. G. N.

1969 *A Handbook on Beads*. George Shumway Publisher, York, PA.

Voss, Barbara L.

2005 From *Casta* to *Californio*: Social Identity and the Archaeology of Culture Contact. *American Anthropologist* 107(3): 461-474.

2006 Engendered Archaeology: Men, Women and Others. In *Historical Archaeology*. Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, Editors, pp. 107-127. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.

Wallace, Lacey Mayo

2004 *Fastening Identities, Dressing for Display: Artifacts of Personal Adornment from the Spencer-Peirce-Little Farm in Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635-1986*. Independent work of distinction for Bachelors of Arts Degree, Boston University, Boston, MA.

Welters, Linda

1993 From Moccasins to Frock Coats and Back Again: Ethnic Identity and Native American Dress in Southern New England. In *Dress in American Culture*. Patricia A. Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab, Editors, pp. 6-40. Green State University Press, Bowling Green, WV.



White, Carolyn L.

- 2005 *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment: 1680-1820*. Altamira Press, New York, NY.

White, D. P.

- 1977 The Birmingham Button Industry. *Journal of Post-Medieval Archaeology* 11: 67-79.

Whitehead, Ross

- 2003 *Buckles: 1250-1800*. Greenlight Publishing, Essex, UK.

Wilkie, Laurie A.

- 1997 Sacred and Secular: Contextualizing the Artifacts of African-American Magic and Religion. *Historical Archaeology* 31(4): 81-106.

Witt, Thomas

- 2007 Negotiating Colonial Markets: The Navigation of 18th-Century Colonial Economies by the Eastern Pequot. Master's Thesis, Department of Historical Archaeology, University of Massachusetts, Boston, MA.

Wolverton, Nan

- 2003 A Precarious Living: Basketmaking and Related Crafts Among New England Indians. In *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience*. Colin G. Calloway and Neal Salisbury, Editors, pp. 341-368. The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston, MA.

Wurst, LouAnn

- 2005 A Class All Its Own: Explorations of Class Formation and Conflict. In *Historical Archaeology*. Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, Editors, pp. 190-208. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.

Yentsch, Anne and Mary C. Beaudry

- 2001 American Material Culture in Mind, Thought and Deed. In *Archaeological Theory Today*. Ian Hodder, Editor, pp. 214-240. Polity Press, Oxford, UK.

Zeising, Grace H.

- 1989 Analysis of Personal Effects from Excavations of the Boott Mills Boardinghouse Backlots in Lowell. In *Volume III The Boarding House System As A Way of Life, Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills Lowell, Massachusetts*. Mary C. Beaudry and Stephen A. Mrozowski, Editors, pp. 141-168. LOWE300 Lowell National Historical Park Survey Project, Lowell, MA.