NEGOTIATING COLONIAL MARKETS: THE NAVIGATION OF 18TH-CENTURY COLONIAL ECONOMIES BY THE EASTERN PEQUOT

A Thesis Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

NEGOTIATING COLONIAL MARKETS: A LOOK AT THE NAVIGATION OF COLONIAL ECONOMIES BY THE EASTERN PEQUOT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

June 2007

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By the middle of the 18th century, the Eastern Pequot of southern Connecticut were deeply entrenched in colonial economies. The Eastern Pequot worked and traded with Euro-American colonists on a regular if not daily basis, and European manufactured goods became commonplace in Native homes, and in Native lives. These economic exchanges took pace within the context of colonialism, which had a tremendous, if not overwhelming impact on the lives of Native people across New England. Although the harsh constraints of colonialism shaped and impacted these economic activities, these exchanges also became a means of cultural survival for these indigenous groups. The labor and consumer decisions are choices that are influenced by colonial contexts, but are not decided by them, and therefore can reveal the preferences of individual agents.

Examining the consumption and labor practices of the Eastern Pequot reveals that the constraints of colonial contexts had powerful impacts on the economic activities on the Eastern Pequot. These constraints however did not overwhelm them, and as reliant as the Eastern Pequot had become on exchange with Europeans, economic exchange

became a way of navigating colonial constraints and a means of maintaining their independence. Both archaeological and documentary evidence points to adaptability and diversity as powerful tools for the Eastern Pequot in the 18th century as the colonial world closed in around them. Though the Eastern Pequot existed at the margins of the Euro-American economy, economic exchanges became a means to ensure their independence and cultural survival into the present day.

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APPENDIX

TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURES

TABLES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

By the time English colonists established their first settlements in New England in the early 17th century, Native Americans were already economically engaged with European traders. Trade and exchange began almost a century before with fur traders, and these goods moved through trade networks all across the Northeast. By the 18th century, Native Americans were deeply entrenched in colonial economies, and many of the goods being used in Native household were similar to those found in European ones. Native Americans worked on European farms, in European households, and far from home as soldiers, whalers and many other occupations in the colonial economy. Native Americans exchanged goods with European merchants through both trade and purchase as active participants in the economy of New England, and European-manufactured goods became common fixtures in Native homes.

Acculturation models have interpreted this shift as the loss of Native cultural identity. These models are at their worst racist and colonialist, and at best misrepresentative of the complex interactions between Native Americans and European colonists. Acculturation presents a view of colonial interactions that are deterministic and unidirectional, and reinforces the stereotype of 'pristine' Native cultures who have forever vanished or been diluted thanks to European presence (Cohen 1982; Cusick 1998; Silliman 2005). While colonialism certainly involved domination, this power dynamic is

far more complex than a unidirectional obliteration of Native culture by a dominant European one. Examining this power dynamic in a more critical way requires researchers to look not only at the power imposed by dominant groups, but the actions and activities that actively and passively resist this dominance (Nassaney 2004:335). In addition, colonial contexts should be viewed as sites not only of cultural violence, but also of cultural production, where both European and Native lives changed by the creation and reproduction of new identities and material practices (Lightfoot 1995; Silliman 2005). The issue of cultural production rather than elimination allows for a better understanding of the resistance and persistence of indigenous cultures otherwise dealing with colonial domination.

Studying colonial encounters is a complex and difficult task, not only because of the long term effects that these interactions had on both colonizer and the colonized, but also because the complex motivations behind encounters and exchanges between cultural groups often changed over time. It is not enough to say that colonialism was about economic expansion, religious conversion, or political hegemony. While these are all certainly aspects of colonialism, broad views of colonialism based on these motivations fail to recognize the complex and sometimes contradictory motivations of the colonizers and ignore the varied responses of the colonized (Seed 2001; Stern 1992). It is equally as dangerous to assume that the responses to colonialism were homogenous. Different social groups and individuals within those communities reacted differently to colonialism (Axel 2002: 1-33). Viewing colonial encounters in terms of "contact" not only ignores the long term effects of colonialism on Native lives, but also limits the understanding that the motivations, methods and responses to colonialism changed as these encounters

continued (Silliman 2005). This continues the mistaken view of pristine and homogenous cultures, believing that change in indigenous societies is always from the outside, and that their role in these changes is always passive.

Capitalism played a major role in colonial encounters. The introduction of capitalism though colonial exchanges not only brought new technologies and materials, but fundamentally different relationships between people and the material world (Comaroff 1991). It created a market value for surplus, which in many cases had never existed and which had drastic impacts on local resources and social relations (Cronon 1983: 96-97). Capitalism and consumption also helped to produce and define differences not only between colonizer and colonized, but also within and between indigenous communities (Comaroff 1991). Capitalism and consumerism, like other mediums of colonization, affected all aspects of life, from economic, to social and political.

The introduction of mercantilist and capitalist economics into indigenous communities in southern New England had a tremendous impact on Native lives from the earliest interactions with Europeans, especially with regard to the commodification of native produced goods such as wampum or animal furs (Campisi 1990b). These impacts did not die after the Pequot War in 1637, but continued through the colonial and American periods, and still impact Pequot peoples to this day (Campisi 1990a). Although the impact of European economic systems on Native lives is undeniable, it is not my intention to attribute the changes and continuities in Native lives to economic forces alone. Instead, my focus on economics serves as a means to an end. Most Native groups had frequent economic interactions with European and Euro-American settlers, making economics a medium of potential cultural exchange between these groups.

Studying the medium of economics, for which an ample amount of data exists, to examine the complexity of these interactions promises to illuminate unique cultural dimensions in these colonial settings.

Economics may not have been the driving force behind the interactions between Europeans/Euro-Americans and Native Americans, but it quickly became a medium of exchange which both impacted and was impacted by these colonial contexts. For this reason, it is vitally important that we understand how colonial contexts impacted these economic exchanges and how indigenous people negotiated these contexts in their daily lives. Many Native Americans in New England, particularly by the mid-17th century, existed at the very margins of the economy, on poor quality land, and with restrictions placed on their movements and access to resources. Though many Native people across New England were affected by similar colonial constraints, individuals, families, and communities each negotiated these constraints in a variety of ways and with an equal variety of results. Understanding the complexity of Native economic interactions with Euro-Americans is important for understanding colonialism and its impact on colonizer and colonized alike.

For archaeologists, the study of consumer practices can be an effective way of looking at economic interactions. Consumption is a form of economic exchange and one that had measurable material outcomes. By looking at consumption, the physical remains uncovered during excavations can be linked to the lives of the people who acquired them. Many types of consumption can be studied, including the use of natural resources, acquisition through trade and exchange, and market transactions for commodities and currency. Mary Douglas uses the term consumption to mean "a use of material

possessions that is beyond commerce and free within the law" (Douglas 1979:57). This definition is usable, but it attempts to include dimensions of consumption in non-market economies. Although consumer practices need to be considered in non-market contexts, in the context of Native American consumption patterns in the 18th century I feel it is better to distinguish between goods that are produced and ones that are acquired through exchange.

For the purpose of this paper, I use consumption to refer to the practice of acquiring, rather than producing, goods. To further clarify, purchased food would be considered consumption, whereas hunted game would not. European ceramic, whether purchased, stolen, or gifted, would be considered consumption, but the manufacture of Native ceramics would not be. In doing this, I do not devalue manufactured or produced goods, or place them on a level beneath that of European manufactured goods. Rather, I find the acquisition of non-produced goods through exchange, especially under the constraints of colonial contexts, to be quite telling of the economic, social, and political influences that shape that acquisition.

Consumption is about choice. This includes the consumer decisions that people make when purchasing goods, as well as the decision of whether to consume goods at all. The decisions that some make when they acquire goods outside of their own production can indicate not only their material needs, but also their desires and preferences. Modern studies of consumption have recognized the symbolic and creative meaning that material possessions can take (Douglas and Isherwood 1978; Mullins 1999; Nassaney 2004; Wall 2000; Wilkie 2000). Rather than viewing the consumption of European manufactured goods as a sign of cultural loss, it may be more productive to view it as a place for

imprinting new meaning on these objects (Nassaney 2004:340). These meanings would be related not only to the Europeans who produced these goods, or the Natives who consumed them, but also to the interactions between them.

Consumption is about choice, but it is choice constrained by a variety of factors. The cultural identities of individual agents, the groups and communities they identify with, and the social, political, and economic contexts in which they live can all impact the consumer choices people made (Cook et al 1996:51; McGuire and Wurst 2002). To understand the way consumption can be a manifestation of both individual and group identities, it is necessary to try to understand the preferences behind these consumptive choices. This can be problematic when consumer's decisions are constrained by their access to goods. Consumption can be limited by a variety of factors such as economic constraints based on access to capital, geographic constraints caused by distance and limited access to sources of material, or sumptuary laws or boycotts that can prevent consumption based on social or political influences. Understanding the constraints that affect consumption will offer a better understanding of the effects that colonialism had on indigenous communities, and how Native groups and individuals negotiated these constraints in both their labor and consumer practices.

If economic, social, and political forces constrain consumer practices, then by analyzing consumption it should be possible to gain an understanding of those constraints as well as the possibilities of consumption. Doing so requires careful contextualization and more creative and detailed interpretations of archaeological remains. Historical archaeologists are familiar with including data from a variety of sources to assist in the interpretations of material remains. For studies of consumer practices, a wealth of

contextual data is available in the records left by European merchants and in other documentary sources such as wills and probates. Critical analysis of this documentary data can help inform the interpretation of archaeological data, as well as provide insights into both Native labor and consumer practices that can be difficult to interpret from physical remains.

The Case Study

This thesis will attempt to look at the labor and consumer practices of the Eastern Pequot in the 18th century and the ways in which their consumer choices reflected both the constraints of their consumer context and their negotiation of these constraints in their consumer practices. To do this I will draw upon archaeological data from a late 18th-century site excavated in 2005 by the University of Massachusetts Boston on the Eastern Pequot Reservation in North Stonington, and documentary data from the account books of Jonathan Wheeler, a merchant-farmer in Stonington who had frequent economic interactions with the Eastern Pequot.

The Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation reservation was established in 1683 and is located in North Stonington, Connecticut, along the eastern edge of Long Pond (figure 1). Since that time, members of the Eastern Pequot community have continually occupied that land and have participated in local and regional economies. During the 18th century, the Eastern Pequot on the North Stonington reservation were living in a highly constrained consumer context. The constraints on Eastern Pequot consumption were more than just economic; racist and colonialist contexts affected the political, social, and geographic lives of the Eastern Pequot, and these in turn had an impact on their economic activities and their relationships with the Euro-Americans with whom they interacted.

Though the Eastern Pequot lived at the margins of the European economy constrained by harsh colonial contexts, they navigated these contexts through their daily practices.

Structure of Thesis

This thesis will attempt to understand the contexts that constrained the consumer choices of the Eastern Pequot in the 18th century and the Eastern Pequot negotiations of those constraints in their consumer choices. To do this I will first examine some of the most relevant theoretical data concerning consumption, consumer practices, and archaeological interpretation. Chapter 2 will attempt to construct a theoretical model for interpreting the documentary and archaeological material that provides the data for this study. Chapter 3 will provide a contextual overview of economics in 18th-century southern New England. I will also provide a brief historical overview of Eastern Pequot history from their first engagement in economic interactions with Europeans, with particular emphasis on the late 18th century. These are not meant to be exhaustive histories for either 18th-century economics or Eastern Pequot history. Both of these overviews are meant to assist in the interpretation of the documentary and archaeological data by placing them within social, political, economic, and historical contexts. The histories in Chapter 2 are meant primarily to contextualize the types of data addressed in later chapters.

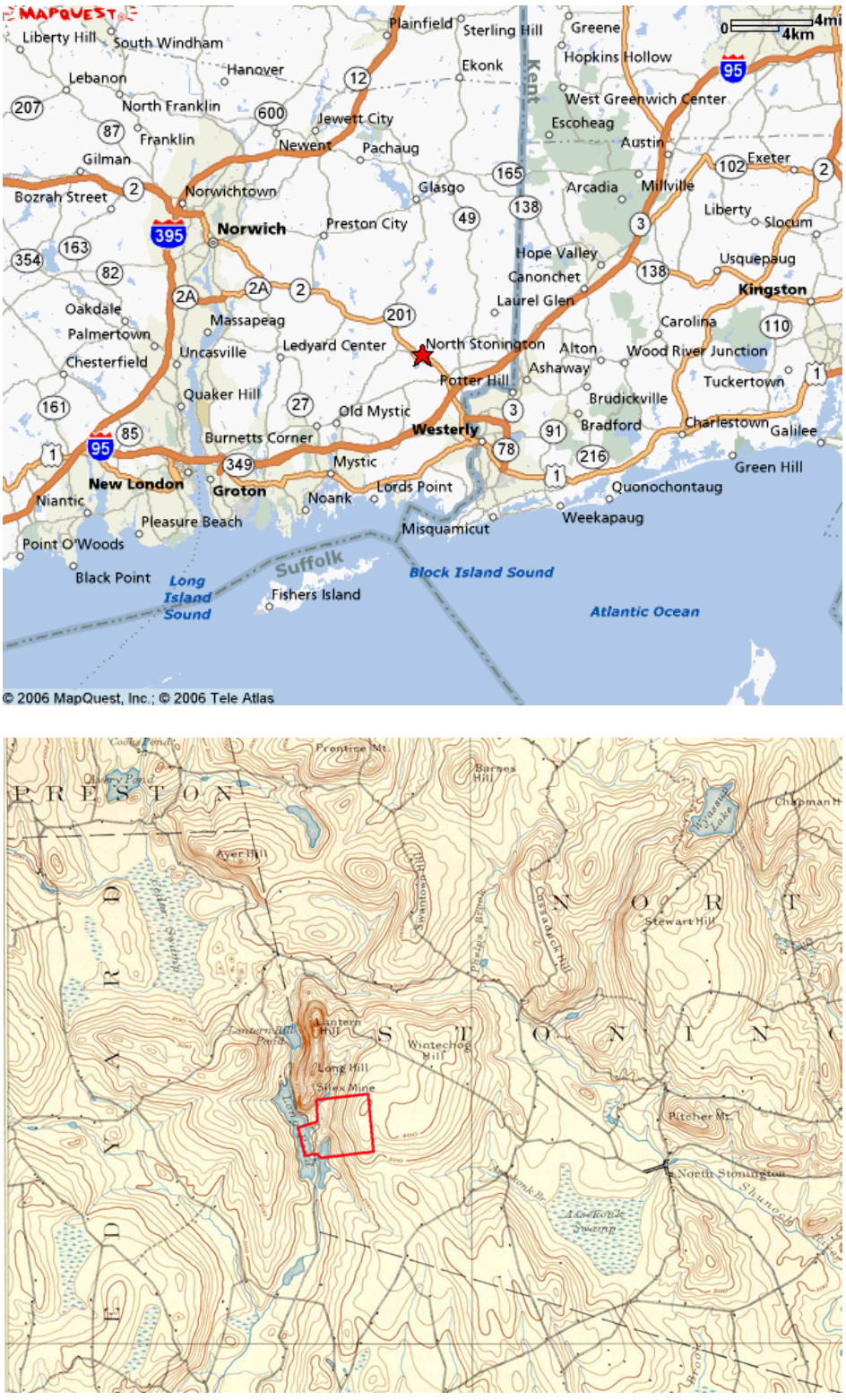


Figure 1

Map of Southern Connecticut showing the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation Reservation in North Stonington.

The next two chapters consist of the data I collected during my research. Chapter 4 will examine the account records of Jonathan Wheeler, a merchant-farmer in Stonington who had frequent interactions with the Eastern Pequot. I will attempt to look at his interactions with particular individuals looking at their labor and consumer practices. Chapter 5 will look at the data collected during the 2005 excavation on Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation lands in North Stonington. This excavation centered on a late 18th-century foundation and some of the surrounding area. Although a variety of material data will be briefly discussed, my primary focus will be on the ceramic goods uncovered at this site. The final chapter will attempt to synthesize the preceding chapters and offer interpretations about the economic interactions between the Eastern Pequot and Euro-Americans in southern Connecticut in the 18th century. The general history will be used to frame my interpretations of the data, but I will also use the data to critically question this general history and see how individual Eastern Pequot negotiated colonial contexts in their daily lives.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO CONSUMPTION

Consumption is one facet of economic activity with particular value in historical archaeology. Consumption is a choice that has tangible and observable consequences in the types and quantities of goods that are acquired and the results of consumer activities are visible in the documented exchanges of goods, for credit, cash and services, in probate and debt records, and in the artifacts recovered from archaeological excavation. Since consumer choice is shaped by the complex preferences and tastes of the consumer, as well as the economic constraints and by the meanings that outsiders place on certain consumer goods, studying consumption allows us to examine the choices that people made as individual participants in a larger consumer culture, as well as the contexts in which consumer activities are taking place.

While overlying social structures can have tremendous influence on consumer decisions, it is the actions of individual agents that shape that structure. The idea of the dualism between social agency and structural influence is based on Anthony Giddens' theory of "structuration" (Giddens 1984). Giddens' outline of structuration recognizes that while social structures shape the way people interact with the world, it never removes the power of social agents from both recognizing this structure and acting in relation to it. The dual forces of agency and structure influence each other in a dialectical relationship where structure influences people's decisions which thereby influence social structure.

The effects of structure or context can impact the choices an individual makes, both consciously and unconsciously. Although choice implies conscious decision, the actions of social agents are often reflected in the daily routines of individuals (Silliman 2001). The daily practices of individuals, which can embody or reinforce cultural traditions, are not only influenced by the contexts in which people live, but can also both actively and passively affect those contexts (Pauketat 2001; Silliman 2001). In colonial contexts, these actions can take more conscious forms, as acts of resistance, or unconsciously through the maintenance of traditional practices, or the day-to-day routines of individuals. It is the interplay between agency and structuration that shapes the relationship between choice and context.

Both context and preference shaped the economic activities of the Eastern Pequot in the 18th century. Therefore, it is important that we understand both sides of this dialectic relationship by examining the impacts that colonial contexts had on consumer activities, along with how the Eastern Pequot negotiated these contexts through their labor and consumer practices. To do so it is important to understand the roles that context and preference play in people's consumer activities and how these relate to the economic activities in which Eastern Pequot were engaged.

In economic exchanges such as labor and consumption, choices where to work, and what to consume, or even the decision to engage with Europeans at all can carry significant meaning. The choice not to consume could be as meaningful to an individual as the consumption of particular goods. The decisions to consume, or not to consume, could be seen as active resistance to capitalism, but it may also be the maintenance of traditional practices, or the desire to maintain stronger kin relations or social ties to local

communities rather than laboring abroad. Consumerism, both the choices to consume or not to consume, can be a way of acquiring needed goods, a form of social expression, or a means to an end, in some relief from economic constraints. This chapter will look at these multiple roles that consumption plays in peoples lives.

Taste and Symbolic Consumption

In looking at the archaeological remains of economic activities and the economic relations between people, studies of consumption can be a powerful tool. Studying consumption as a practice allows archaeologists to link the material remains (the objects) with the people who acquired and used these goods (the subjects). It also helps to relate labor and subsistence activities with one product of that labor, manufactured goods. It is sometimes easy to forget that when we analyze the artifacts from an excavation we are not really interested in the plate, nail, or stone tool we are studying. What we are interested in is a better understanding of people who acquired, owned, used, and discarded these objects. This is the reason that Daniel Miller argues so strongly in favor of shifting the focus of study from one based on production to one that includes consumption (Miller 1987; Carrier 1994). While it would be foolhardy to ignore the impact that technological improvements had on the production, and therefore consumption, of affordable goods, it is the decision to consume these goods that consumption theory pursues, and not the production and introduction of these goods into colonial markets.

While a symbolic aspect has likely always existed in the production, consumption, and use of objects, increased industrialization in the 18th century changed

people's relationships to the things that they owned and used. The mass production of goods allowed for wider distribution and an increased amount of goods being used by people who were distanced from their manufacture. Along with a growing number of goods manufactured outside the home came an increase in foreign "luxury" goods. The increase in the variety of goods available in European markets through the expansion of foreign exchange increased the symbolic potential of certain goods and industrialization made many of these goods available to a wider range of consumers. These changes had a dialectical relationship on consumer behavior as the social meaning of consumption affected both supply and demand (Smith 2002).

Changing consumer practices can reflect changing views on both the goods being purchased and the social meaning of consumption itself (Smith 2002). While it is important not to overlook the role function will always play in certain contexts, it is equally important that we recognize the symbolic quality that goods represent in society. Modern anthropological, archaeological and historical studies of consumption have also reflected this focus on the symbolic meaning of goods. Work by Douglas and Isherwood (1978), Miller (1987), Smith (2002), and Appadurai (1986) all focus on the symbolic dimensions of consumption. Though functional analysis of consumption should not be thrown out prematurely, it is important to recognize that there can be symbolic meaning in even functional consumer purchases.

Consumption is about choice, not only the choice to consume goods, but also the decision over what goods to consume. People regularly make choices between the types of goods to purchase and their styles. Modern consumptive theory tries to get away from purely functional approaches, which see need as the driving force in consumption, to one

in which "taste" is at least a strong motivating influence (Appadurai 1986; Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Spencer-Wood 1987). These studies of consumption change the focus of consumption theory from one based on fulfilling needs, to making choices that are a reflection of the people making them and the social relations which affect their lives.

Ann Stahl has made a strong argument for the role that taste plays in understanding the ways in which people engaged with their material environment (Stahl 2002). Studying tastes allows for a greater interplay between the meaning associated with goods during their production and distribution, as well as the meanings that consumers can instill in consumed goods. Taste is an important component of consumption, since it deals not only with the preferences and choices of the consumer, but also with the contextual environment which influences those decisions.

Smith provides a detailed analysis of taste and the symbolic meaning of consumption on a large scale, associating changes in the consumption of certain goods over time with changing social relations and social standing, attributing such qualities as taste, domesticity, respectability, and gentility, to the purchases and acquisitions of people in Europe in the 17th through 19th centuries. Smith shows that while values of gentility were not accessible to all, respectability was a position available for those who could afford it (Smith 2002). Though Smith's analysis is well supported for the large scale consumptive patterns of Europeans on both sides of the Atlantic, it is unclear how accurate these interpretations are for individual households, or for people other than white Europeans. Status, gentility, and respectability are relational and cultural, and the connections to consumption depend on both the consumer and those with whom they interact. Unfortunately the role that these influences play on consumer practices can be

difficult to ascertain in smaller markets, or in ones constrained by harsh economic contexts. This type of analysis implies that consumer choices are being made out of preference, which should not be taken as a given in many contexts.

Consumption and Constraints

The 18th century saw massive changes in the industrial output of Great Britain. This industrialization greatly increased the quantity and availability of manufactured goods such as ceramics. While there is some merit to the notion that increased industrialization exacerbated the alienation between production and consumption (and certainly Native American consumers would be an example of this), there is a risk in overstressing this disassociation (Carrier 1994). Objects do not have a static meaning created at its production in a factory. The meaning of objects in peoples lives are created and recreated throughout the biography of that object, from its production, through its sale, use and re-use, until its destruction or disposal (Koptyoff 1982: 66-68). With Native groups such as the Eastern Pequot, the very alienation between production in Europe and consumption in New England may have insulated the Eastern Pequot from many, if not all, meanings intended by their producers. Consumer models that focus on production do not adequately consider the people making the choices to consume these goods. It also puts undue focus on the relationship between people and goods, rather than on the relationships between people, and on the objects themselves rather than the practice of consumption (Miller 1987: 204; see also Douglas and Isherwood 1979, Silliman 2006). Carrier also expresses his fear that studies of consumption have become too object centered, focusing too much on the "sign value" of objects, or the symbolic meaning that

people place on goods through consumption. Carrier proposes instead a focus on the circulation of goods.

> To point to a distinct role for circulation in shaping peoples understanding of objects is not to deny the importance of production as an influence. It is, rather, to argue that those who ignore circulation can understand only part of what is involved. (Carrier 1994:360)

Carrier is critical of Miller's work, as well as Douglas and Isherwood's, but there is little significant difference between a focus on materials as symbols of social interactions and a focus on materials as symbols of circulation as representative of social interactions. Carrier's point is a good one. Consumption does not take place in a vacuum. The way in which goods are acquired can be as telling of people's lives as the goods themselves. Goods more than just symbolize social exchange; they embody the structure of that exchange, or the *consumer context*, not only reflecting the structure of that context, but carrying with it the capacity to reinforce or resist those contexts.

Studies of consumer practices and consumer contexts often center on socioeconomic structures such as class or status. These models are a positive shift in the focus from "what people need" to "what people want". The difficulty in answering the question of "what people want", however, is that models that attempt to predict the ebb and flow of consumption often look at the patterns of large scale systems and overlook the complexities of individual economic choices. The idea that purchasing patterns are deterministically controlled by an individual's socio-economic position makes the consumer a passive actor who is controlled by the system of economics. Though socioeconomic influences should not be ignored,

> these models also tend to ossify the complexity of class relations and consumption patterns into relatively simplistic measures that merely reflect class standing and status. Consumer choice models actually leave us little choice in the range of interpretations for real world cases and force these consumption patterns into reified assumptions of choice in behavior (O'Donovan and Wurst 2002: 74).

Attributing the wide range of consumer choices into generalized influences such as class takes no account of the complexity of social relations or of the constraints upon consumption. It also oversimplifies the complexities of people who are at the margins of European economic activity.

To say that people are at the margins of an economy is not the same as saying they are marginalized *by* that economy. Several studies have looked at the consumer practices of people at the margins of the European economy, and these studies have shown that people at the margins of an economy are still active participants in that economic system since it does not inherently dominate them (Brighton 2000; Mullins 1999; Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999). Three examples of how studies of consumer practices can reveal the consumer contexts influencing those practices are Paul Mullins' (1999) study of free African communities in Annapolis, Stephen Brighton's (2001) look at lower class immigrants in New York, and Wilkie and Farnsworth's (1999) study of enslaved Africans in the Caribbean.

Mullins looked at the consumer practices of free African Americans in Annapolis during the 19th century (Mullins 1999). His research showed that through the consumption of mass produced goods from large retail stores and through mail order, African-American groups were able to circumvent racist shopkeepers and acquire goods

on equal footing with whites. Mullins' study shows that goods can be used actively by people as a means of negotiating oppressive social environments and that the consumption of goods is more complex than functional or purely economic models represent. His research also reveals that detailed studies of consumer practices can elicit information about the social relations and contexts of the consumers themselves.

Stephen Brighton's (2001) study of lower class households in New York shows that immigrants living in New York were able to acquire high quality ceramics through second-hand stores or through public auctions. This allowed lower-class families to purchase finer dishes at prices which made them affordable. By making use of alternative sources for consumer goods, lower-class families were able to navigate economic constraints and acquire goods which would have been associated with middle- or upper-class households.

The ability for people to navigate political and economic constraints can be seen most clearly in Laurie Wilkie and Paul Farnsworth's study of the consumer practices of Bahamian slave households (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999). Wilkie and Farnsworth found that even with slave households, who were marginalized not only economically but also by limited market access, were making ceramic purchases that not only set them apart from the planters, but also reflected a pan-African identity among the enslaved community. These practices show how consumption was a place of cultural production where the diverse views of an enslaved community were creolized in an effort to set themselves apart from the slave owners.

These three studies reveal two important aspects about the interpretive possibilities for studying consumption. First, even for people living in the margins of the

European economy, consumer practices can be a means of self expression and a way of navigating political and economic constraints. Second, consumer practices can be studied to help understand the contexts surrounding, and impacting, that consumption. In each of these cases, the consumer practices were being influenced by the social, political, and economic contexts in which the people made these purchases.

The contexts surrounding consumer purchases shape the nature of the exchange and can be related to both the goods being exchanged as well as the medium in which goods are consumed (Appadurai 1986). For example, a plate purchased firsthand is likely to be viewed differently than one purchased at an antique shop, or one that is inherited. In addition to the meanings associated with the goods themselves, meanings are also associated with their exchange. Goods received as a dowry or as a gift may differ in meaning to those purchased. Heirlooms passed down from one generation to the next, or those sold out of desperation for necessities, carry different meanings than other types of consumption. The context surrounding the exchange as well as the values and traits associated with the objects themselves influence the meanings of these goods in people's lives. These objects then become a reflection of that exchange and of the context in which they were acquired.

Understanding the context of consumption is needed in order to understand the meanings people placed in the goods they obtained. Since consumer contexts can shape the meaning and the exchange of goods, it is possible that the examination of the goods and their consumption can yield information about these consumer contexts and the lives of the consumers. Rather than looking at artifacts as only symbols of people, if we look at them as indicators of the exchange in which they are acquired, we can understand

something of the social environments in which people lived. This goes beyond the simple economic factors of the rich being able to afford nicer things. The consumption of goods, especially for 18th-century Native groups, was far more complex than simple money for good exchanges. These exchanges involved issues of land, autonomy, disenfranchisement, oppression, and racism, as well as physical and cultural survival as populations dwindled and people struggled to survive.

Consumer Preference and Consumer Choice

When examining the lives of consumers through their material acquisitions, it is important to distinguish between consumer preference and consumer choice. Consumer preference, being the choices a person would make free from constraints, is significantly different than what Sen (1982) describes as "revealed preference" which constitutes a person's actual consumer choices. In a world free of constraints, a person's consumer preference and the resulting consumer choices would be identical. The Eastern Pequot in the 18th century were certainly not living in a world without constraints. As described in the next chapter, their consumption was constrained from all directions by issues of economics, politics and access to goods.

Understanding consumer preference can inform us of the values people place on the goods they consume, and what is more often accessible to archaeologists and historians are the consumer choices revealed in the archaeological remains as well as probate and account records. As Sen describes it,

> From the point of view of introspection of the person, the process runs from his preference to his choice, but from the point of view of the scientific observer the

> arrow runs in the opposite direction: choices are observed first and preferences are then presumed from these observations. (Sen 1982: 55)

Choice is significantly easier to study than preference, but it is the negotiation between what people prefer and the choices they make that can inform the researcher about the contexts that are constraining and influencing consumer decisions. Studying the consumer activities of people living in such constrained contexts can inform us about how they negotiated these contexts in their daily lives. For instance, to understand consumer preferences it is important to try to reveal the details between the consumer choices the Eastern Pequot were making, and the contexts that may have been influencing these decisions.

Sen describes consumer preference in terms of the consistent choice of one good over another. The study of consistent activity can be useful since consistent consumer choices made in frequently changing contexts may be an indication that certain goods are preferred rather than being made out of necessity. Recognizing consistency is problematic given the complex range of factors that can influence a consumer purchase (Sen 1982:56). Couple this complexity with the understanding that tastes are constantly changing, and defining consistent consumer patterns becomes very difficult (Sen 1982:56-57).

Inconsistency can be equally problematic. Inconsistency is an observation of another's actions; it is not an explanation of those actions. A person is not likely to view their own actions as inconsistent. Observed inconsistency is a good indicator that as observers we do not truly understand everything that influences action. Therefore we should look for inconsistencies, or dissonances (Galloway 2006), not as places where

people's actions are inconsistent, but where we need a better understanding of what is influencing these decisions, and as areas where more complex interpretations of material or textual data are required. Sen claims that "if consumption is consistent it must be explainable by behavior" (1982:56). The opposite should also be true, however. Inconsistent consumption should also explainable by behavior. This behavior, however, is influenced by factors that are not yet understood. Therefore, it should be the task of archaeologists studying consumption to examine inconsistencies in consumer patterns to understand what may have influenced consumer behavior.

Historical Archaeology of Native American Consumer Contexts

Inconsistencies can exist both within a body of data and between bodies of data. These inconsistencies are what this thesis will attempt to examine, first by looking at what the individual sources of data can tell us about the contexts that influenced Eastern Pequot consumption, and then what can be said about these inconsistencies when these sources of data are used in concert. Documentary data are invaluable in the study of consumption both in the information they can provide on labor and consumer practices and in the contextual information about the influences on that consumption (Cook et al. 1996). The combination of historical and archaeological data can help to create detailed and critical understanding of consumer practices and consumer contexts. As a result, my research has focused on two primary bodies of data: the archaeological remains from a late 18th-century Eastern Pequot household and the account books from a merchant living near the reservation and trading with the Eastern Pequot in the middle of the 18th century.

Though I will briefly address some other bodies of data, the primary focus will be on these two primary data sources.

It has long been recognized that both artifacts and texts need to be examined critically (Galloway 2006: 43-44; Hodder 1999: 184). Reflexive examination of archaeological method and theory reveals that bias shapes the study of material remains at a variety of levels, from the excavation strategy, to the curation and identification of artifacts, to the interpretation of data. Documentary evidence is affected by similar biases. Probate inventories, for example, measure only goods of a certain value, and only show a person's possessions at the time of the inventory. Documents are also imbedded with the biases of the authors, and are used by researchers outside of their context, making interpretation of documentary data, rather than unquestioning reliance, essential. In artifacts, this can be seen clearly in the use of descriptive identification of historical ceramics. It is unlikely that people purchased "comb and dot, slip decorated earthenware"; what they bought were bowls, plates, and platters. Though some descriptive codes do relate to the names give to these goods by producers, the identification of ceramics is a classic example of how our process of analyzing data may be influencing our interpretation.

Though most archaeologists recognize that historical documents carry the bias of the author, this is far from the only place that bias can enter a document or its larger place within an archive. This is particularly relevant when dealing with Native Americans who had little to no control over the documentary records that are often used to construct their histories. In addition to the bias of authorship, the archival process further obscures the lives of Native Americans. Records are kept in systems that are centered on European

and Euro-American lives. Indian records, if they are cataloged at all, are typically lumped together as "Indian papers". Records that do not directly involve Natives as subject or object are not placed with these "Indian papers"; therefore, account records, military records, probates, wills, deeds, and all other types of archival data which may involve Native Americans are obscured so that it appears that few records exist.

Account records, probates, and excavated remains each provide unique data for the study of consumption, along with complementary data that can be used to strengthen that analysis Interpretation of these data as independent lines of evidence can be used to support an argument where the data agree, or reveal the weakness of arguments where they disagree (Leone and Potter 1988; Wylie 1999: 35-36). Analyzing multiple sources of data can also reveal inconsistencies between the sets of data, exposing complexities that documentary or archaeological data alone can overlook. In the case of consumer studies, account records can reveal the consumption of goods that are either not deposited or not preserved in archaeological deposits. Archaeological data can reveal details of consumer goods that are not recorded in existing archives or at all, or goods that were acquired through alternative means.

Summary

Consumption and economic relationships are an excellent medium for studying Native and European interactions in 18th-century New England. Looking at economic lives does not mean dehumanizing people into faceless consumers. Rather, my focus on economics is as a medium through which to understand Eastern Pequot's struggles – real, material struggles – during the 18th century. Loss of land, the spread of Eastern Pequot community members across New England for work or military service, and the struggle

of those that remained on their land to survive are all tied up with economic interactions with European settlers. In many ways, the physical conflicts of the 17th century were replaced by equally violent economic conflicts in the 18th century. Understanding these conflicts is an important step in understanding the lives of the Eastern Pequot.

The consumption of goods can be a way in which people represent themselves to the people around them, just as it demarcates specific, on-the-ground mechanisms for survival. Consumption should be seen, not only as a relationship between people and their possessions, but as a representation of the social relationships in their lives. The context surrounding consumption can affect the meaning of these goods in people's lives. The interpretation of consumer practices should attempt to focus on understanding the consumer contexts that shape these practices, and how these contexts are a reflection of people's lives.

Consumption is not just about taste, since the impact of political, social and economic constraints will limit what people can consume. Consumption is not entirely governed by these constraints, however, as studies like those of Farnsworth and Wilkie (2000), Mullins (1999) and Brighton (2001) clearly show. Studies of consumption are about preference and choice. The difference between preference and choice is a reflection of the consumer context, the political, social and economic environment that constrains consumption. There is no way to separate the economic lives of the Eastern Pequot in the 18th century from the complex social and political interactions they had with European colonists in New England. Consumer activity is influenced and constrained by these interactions, and therefore are a reflection of the nature of these social relationships.

Details of consumer practices and consumer contexts can often be seen in the patterns of inconsistency that appear in the data. In the following sections, I will attempt to place the consumer activities of the Eastern Pequot into the social and political contexts that may have influenced these purchases and to look at the goods that the Eastern Pequot were choosing to consume and what these details can show us about the lives of the Eastern Pequot living in North Stonington in the 18th century. Doing so requires a critical exploration of both documentary and archaeological data.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

People's actions are never truly free. There are impacted and influenced by the circumstances of the world in which they live. The political, economic and social climate influencing their decisions make up the consumer context that shape their economic activity. Because there are always multiple possibilities for the interpretation of data, the range of these possibilities can be narrowed by placing these data in a historical context that attempts to frame the influences on people's decisions. This chapter offers such framing for the Eastern Pequot case study. As a result, I do not intend this chapter to be an exhaustive description of the political, social, and economic history of New England nor of Eastern Pequot history, but rather as a general overview of the major factors that impacted Eastern Pequot economic activity and daily life in the 18th century.

In order to understand the economic exchanges between Native Americans and Europeans, it is necessary to look back at the 16th and 17th centuries. When Europeans first arrived in North America, it was for trade. This trade brought into contact capitalist and mercantilist practices with the pre-existing Native American economy. In pre-colonial North America resource acquisition, the ownership of property and the exchange of goods took a very different form than it did in 18th century European colonies. Exchange of goods, rather than being measured by a market value for commoditized goods, was based on systems of reciprocity, which had as much to do with the reaffirmation of social and kin ties as it did with the acquisition of resources (Bragdon

1996:130-132). While ownership of goods could be a sign of increased status in native society especially "luxury" goods acquired through exchanges, the accumulation of surplus resources did not equate to wealth they way it did in Europe.

In pre-colonial North America, land was not owned individually, but used communally. A sense of land rights did exist in pre-colonial Native society and disputed territory between two groups could be strongly and sometimes violently contested. These disputes however, were not about bounded parcels of land, but about access to the resources on that land. Land, by European standards, needed to be improved, its boundaries fixed and the land shaped. Europeans saw the Native use of land as wasteful, and saw vast open areas of land that were "unused" and therefore free for settlement (Cronon 1983: 55-57).

Differing views on labor and gender also affected early colonial exchanges with Native Americans. In Europe, Agricultural labor was not the domain of women, but of men and only in poor families did women worked in the fields. In Native society, women did most of the agricultural work, while the men spent their time hunting and fishing. Many Europeans, particularly the religious zealots who were among many of the first colonists also had ideological views about the value of labor, not only in economic terms, but also in terms of the spiritual value of work and leisure (Cronon 1883: 55-57).

Views on labor, land ownership and the commoditization of resources presented the two most drastic differences between the economies of Europe and those of the pre-colonial new world. Trade and colonization brought these two systems in to contact and conflict, and shaped the very nature of the colonial discourse for colonial encounters to this day. This chapter primarily looks at the economic context of the 18th century, but it

is important to recognize that the social, political, and economic exchanges are not isolated in this time period, but are the results of colonial conflicts which began from the arrival of the first Europeans in southern New England, and continue to affect Native lives in the present day. The differences in the European, and Native economies, and the way they viewed issues of land and resources represents a powerful, and consequential exchange between Europeans and Native peoples such as the Eastern Pequot.

Economic Context of 18th-Century Connecticut

Many studies have attempted to understand the nature of colonial economies from the first European settlements to the formation of true capitalist systems in the 19th century (East 1946; Main and Main 1988; McCusker and Menard 1985; Richardson 1991). The difficulty in truly understanding the economic context of 18th-century New England lies in the diversity of economic activity during this time period (McCusker and Menard 1985: 91-92). New England colonists were involved in various activities depending on their location, wealth, land, and an almost infinite number of other factors. People's economic activities could change from year to year, season to season, and possibly month to month. Colonists combined economic activity based on subsistence with both foreign and local trade. New Englanders practiced fluid economic activity which changed depending on available resources. Three of these resources stand out in their impact on New England economic activity: labor, capital, and natural resources.

With the decline of the fur trade at the end of the 17th century, many New England colonists struggled to find a new medium of exchange to support their economy. The

poor soil and short growing season relative to the southern colonies made agricultural activity a poor replacement for large-scale trade. It also affected labor, making slavery unappealing since it required supporting workers who would have little to do in the winter months but would still require food and housing (McCusker and Menard 1985:239). For this reason the plantation system of the South was inadaptable to New England, and free labor was more prevalent. This does not mean that slaves or indentured servants were absent from New England. These systems were in place, but unlike the South they were not the center of the New England economy. Some have argued that cheap land and high wages decreased the size of the available labor force, but it is unclear how much of a factor this played in labor economics in New England (McCusker and Menard 1985:235). Labor shortages did not appear to increase the use of slave labor, but it may have encouraged a variety of economic activities or the hiring of seasonal workers.

Labor was not the only influencing factor in the New England economy throughout the 18th century. New Englanders were becoming more and more involved in trade with both Europe and the Caribbean (Richardson 1991). This trade, referred to as a triangular trade between Europe, the Caribbean and the American Colonies, became central to New England economics. Two of New England's most marketable natural resources in these exchanges were fish and timber, both of high value in the Atlantic economy. Fish could be shipped to Caribbean planters who were in need of food to support their plantations. It became such an important resource for New England that by 1770, 10% of adult males were in some way involved in the fishing industry (McCusker and Menard 1985: 99). Timber could be turned into ship masts, or made into barrels,

both of which were in high demand (McCusker and Menard 1985: 98-100; Richardson 1991:260). In return for these products, New England colonists were provided with all manner of manufactured goods from England, which made their way throughout the colonies.

A third factor influencing the large-scale New England economy was the lack of hard currency within the colonies (Breen and Hall 1998). There was a general movement of specie from the colonies to Europe, meaning that hard currency was somewhat scarce in New England. Exchanges were usually supported by systems of credit and through paper money, whose values could fluctuate wildly. The lack of hard currency and the insecurity of local paper money was a real concern for merchants in New England who relied heavily on a combination of foreign and domestic exchange. The mid-eighteenth century saw a number of debates over the lack of hard currency, and this remained an issue even after the American Revolution and into the 19th century (Breen and Hall 1998).

Though these three factors seem to support the idea of an unstable and fragile economy, the eighteenth century was a prosperous time for New England colonists (Richardson 1991). The variety of economic activities in New England helped to develop a "diverse and tightly integrated commercial economy. Farming, fishing, and trade employed the bulk of the population in an interdependent and profitable round of economic activity" (McCusker and Menard 1985:110). There was no one staple crop, style of labor, or economic activity which dominated in New England. This was true on a local scale as well as a regional one. New Englanders were involved in a variety of

exchanges, domestic and foreign, for both cash and credit, using slave, indentured and free labor.

While it is generally accepted that the 18th century, until the American Revolution, was a prosperous time for European colonists and Euro-Americans in southern New England, there is some question of the best way to measure that prosperity.
The value of consumed goods found in probate records can be used as a measure of wealth (Jones 1972; Steckel and Moehling 2001), but this technique has a number of flaws that need to be considered. First, probates measure accumulated wealth rather than per annum wealth. This means that a person who acquires and preserves consumed goods over longer periods of time may show the same accumulated wealth as a person who acquired more wealth over a shorter period. Also, probates show only the wealth of a person in the last years of life. Strong surges or dips in wealth in the final years of life may skew this average (McCusker and Menard 1985:264). A third concern is that many probates do not consider the value of real estate holdings, something that during the 18th century was in increasing demand and decreasing supply (Main and Main 1988; McCusker and Menard 1985: 104-105, 263).

Gloria and Jackson Main (1988) provide a different model for economic growth in New England during the 18th century. Rather than using wealth in consumer goods, they choose to look at the accumulation of real estate as a measure of economic growth and wealth among New England colonists. Main and Main assert that as families grew in wealth, the consumption and value of manufactured goods tapered off. Industrialization in Europe decreased the value and availability of manufactured goods, and as families grew wealthier in New England, they began to put their money in real estate and

livestock. This may also be linked to increasing population placing pressure on land acquisition, increasing the value of land and ability to pass inheritance on to children (McCusker and Menard 1985: 104-105; Richardson 1991: 243).

Land played a key role in the economic activities of New Englanders. Since a majority of New England colonists and early Americans would have been at least partially involved in agricultural activity, either for subsistence or trade, land would have been of high value especially as populations increased. This placed colonists in frequent conflict with Native Americans over control of reservation lands, many of which were established in the preceding century. Encroachment and sale of Native-controlled land dominated Native-colonist interactions during the 18th century. Legal battles raged over the sale and theft of land, as well as the damage done by and to domesticated animals set to graze on those lands. Battles over the legitimacy of Native leaders were often related to land sales to colonists, as colonial governments attempted to replace troublesome sachems (or traditional leaders) with those more supportive of colonial expansion (Den Ouden 2005).

The dominant historical event for New England in the 18th century was the American Revolution. The American Revolution greatly affected both the colonial economy as well as the flow of European goods into New England. While some effort has been devoted to examining the economic influences on the American Revolution (Egnal and Ernst 1972), much less work has been done on understanding the effects of the revolution on both the overall economy and on the economic activities of smaller communities (McCusker and Menard 1985:358). Part of this is due to the difficulty in piecing together the impacts of the war. Documentary evidence is less abundant during

the revolutionary years. In addition to this, political events may have had little result in the overall economic patterns or the accumulation of British goods in the colonies. An example of this is the non-importation agreements which led to boycotts on British goods. Although drops in imports did occur during non-importation years, the short duration of these boycotts, together with an increase in imports in the years following them, make it difficult to determine their overall impact (McCusker and Menard 1985: 161-162).

Other impacts of the revolution had significant impacts on the economy. The restricted flow of goods to the Caribbean certainly impacted the New England economy. Overall the restrictions on trade affected the exportation of American goods more than it affected the importation of British ones. This led to a rise in privateering which may have shifted the economic balance in local communities as merchants suffered losses due to restrictions on the export trade (McCusker and Menard 1985:361-362). This also may have impacted the roles of local merchants who dealt more in domestic rather than foreign trade. War also required soldiers, which impacted the available labor force in the colonies. A number of local merchants were also militia leaders, and their labor force often made up the bulk of the soldiers under their command. War took farmers away from their fields, possibly forever, which impacted both the labor availability during the war and in the years that followed.

Though the American Revolution (and the preceding Seven Years War from 1756-1763) had an impact on the economy of the North American colonies, the economic system experienced no dramatic change until the 19th century (McCusker and Menard 1985). Labor, resources, and capital continued to be central issues in the economy of

American New England, and the variety of economic activities in which New Englanders were engaged continued to be diverse. Systems of exchange continued to include both credit and cash as the insecurity of paper money continued to be a problem for American merchants.

Economics and Native Americans in the 18th Century

Before the first permanent settlers arrived in New England, European had had economic exchanges with Native Americans. Manufactured goods arrived with fur traders from different European countries, such as France who exchanged goods for furs with Native groups in southern New England without establishing permanent settlements. Though Native lives were already being affected by the commoditization of fur in this exchange, the establishment of permanent settlements in New England in the early 17th century magnified the effects of this exchange. Wampum, once a symbol of status in indigenous communities, became a commodity of exchange, making the production of wampum a major industry and elevating the power of the Pequot Indians in the Long Island Sound area who had control of large supplies of whelk and quahog (Ceci 1991). The increased Pequot power in southern New England caused tensions with their neighbors, the Mohegan and Narragansett, as well as with the British who wanted more control over the production of wampum. These tensions culminated in the Pequot War of 1636-1637 which resulted in dissolution of the Pequot into smaller groups controlled by the Narragansett, Mohegan and Niantic, as well as a large number sold into slavery or killed (Campisi 1993:118; Ceci 1993:60-61). Into this vacuum flowed English settlements that took control of Pequot lands and Pequot wampum production.

The Narragansett and Mohegan Indians fared similarly in their interactions with the English. Warfare and encroachment, along with the decreased importance of New England in the fur trade, decreased the power, population, and land base of these groups, circumscribing smaller populations of Native Americans onto smaller sections of land. This trend would continue into the 18th century and beyond, as European, and later American encroachment continued to nibble away at Native land (Bragdon 2001:28-30; Grumet 1995:129-152).

By the end of the 17th century, two Pequot tribes held reservation land in Connecticut. The Pequots who had been living under the Mohegan separated from them to form the Mashantucket Pequot, and were granted a reservation near the town of Ledyard in 1666. The Pequot living with the Narragansett became the Eastern Pequot and were given a reservation near North Stonington in 1683 (Bragdon 2001: 50-51; Campisi 1990; Salisbury 1990). In later centuries, the colonial government established "overseers" who acted as an intermediary between the colonial government and the Eastern Pequot community for. These overseers acted as a source of goods for trade and purchase, and as link to the colony and the state to fight the loss of land from encroachment. Too often however, these overseers used their position to enrich themselves, holding back money owed the Pequot, and selling off reservation lands (Den Ouden 2005; St. Jean 1999).

The land that remained in the hands of these Native groups, in the form of "protected" reservations, was rocky and poor for agricultural activity. Though some Native people continued to use old hunting territories, the expansion of English settlement and the spread of grazing animals made the continuation of previously

successful subsistence activities difficult. In addition to land loss, Native populations were impacted through disease, migration to religious communities, and participation in colonial militias (Bragdon 2001: 50-51). The combination of land loss and population decrease had a serious impact on subsistence activities of Native Americans and their ability to participate in European markets.

Throughout the 18th century, the loss of land continued to be the largest obstacle in the struggle for Native survival. Lands granted to these various southern New England indigenous groups by the colonial governments of Rhode Island and Connecticut were being slowly taken away by Euro-American landowners. This encroachment took several forms. In some cases, colonial overseers who were charged with protection of reservation boundaries were selling pieces of land for their profit. While some overseers attempted to protect Native lands from encroachment by petitioning the colonial government, others were selling Native land outright, or turning a blind eye as Euro-American colonists fenced off reservation lands for their own use, or destroyed Pequot fences to gain access to pasture lands (Den Ouden 2005; St. Jean 1999).

Debt was another means by which Native groups lost their lands. Economic hardships caused by poor quality land for subsistence activity, a decrease in trade resources, and denied access to hunting territories created an increased need for purchased products from Euro-American merchants *and* a decreased capital to pay for these goods. In addition to rising debt over survival goods, lawyers enlisted to fight encroachment cost money. The successful protection of land would often create so much debt that it could only be paid by the sale of that land. Failed legal battles were therefore doubly expensive in the debt accrued along with the loss of land. The Narragansett

Sachem Ninigret II incurred so much debt over legal battles to protect his land and to prove his legitimacy as sachem that he was forced to sell tribal land, putting him at odds with his own counselors and creating a large rift among the Narragansett (Simmons and Simmons 1982:xxx-xxxvii).

The combination of land loss by debt and by encroachment by Europeans made for a nearly impossible situation for Natives in New England. Poor agricultural land, limited access to hunting territories, and decreases in the trade resources that were used the century before made many Native people dependent on trade with settlers for survival. In order to pay those debts, many Native Americans were forced to rent or sell land to colonists for pasturing, sometimes leading to its loss outright. Another was through the sale of natural resources or produced goods such as timber or fur (Cronon 1983). This further depleted the resources on the ever-decreasing land in Native control. A third way was to engage in wage labor and labor exchange in the surrounding area. While this could often be the best way for Native Americans to earn money, or credit for goods, it often took the Native people away from their land leaving it susceptible to encroachment.

These economic hardships were made more hazardous by laws passed to restrict the movements of Native people in New England. Native Americans who were found outside of their community without a pass could be treated as a runaway slave. During times of conflict with Native groups, these restrictions grew more harsh and more violent, including rewards for killing an "Indian enemy", an act that required little in the way of proof (Den Ouden 2005:78-79). Restricting the movements restricted many of the

subsistence activities that Natives were engaged in. This placed further constraints on what was already a bad situation for Native people in New England.

The colonial wars of the 18th century had drastic impacts on the lives of Native Americans in southern New England. Native participation in these wars was costly both in the loss of life and in the separation between Native males and their communities. Most of the New England tribes fought alongside the British during the French and Indian war. With reservation populations severely reduced by the loss of the male population, indebtedness and colonial encroachment increased (Campisi 1990: 124). Many New England Natives also became involved in the American Revolution on the side of the colonists, although the exact numbers of Natives involved is not clear.

Although the loss of life for Native Americans during this later conflict seems to be less severe, the post-revolution years show drastic changes in reservation populations (Mandell 2005). The struggling New England economy after the war forced some Natives to leave reservation lands for work in the whaling industry. Others who, had been involved with the Brotherton movement, a religious movement associated with the increase in small scale religious worship known as the "Great Awakening" moved to New York, and later to Wisconsin to establish new Christian communities (Mandell 2005). This further depleted the already declining reservation populations and increased the difficulties for the Native communities living there.

This is not to say that Native Americans in southern New England had no resources for exchange or that subsistence agriculture was completely futile. Hunted game, plant resources (both grown and gathered), and marine resources continued to be a means of subsistence for these groups, supplemented by goods acquired from nearby

farmers and merchants. Both men and women would exchange labor with local merchants in return for credit on subsistence purchases or for durable goods such as clothing or tools. Baskets, brooms, and other manufactured goods were often sold by women in nearby towns. Though this seems to have been stable work for some Native women, it also took them away from lands, which took away watchful eyes to protect against encroachment (O'Brien 1996; Wolverton 2003).

For men, wage labor could be local or could involve travel taking them to larger towns or cities. It could even require abandonment of Native lands altogether, since labor on whaling vessels or in local militias was dangerous and could take them away from both their land base and their family and community ties. Labor in more urban environments or on whaling ships could mean a better chance of cash wages rather than credit, as well as access to more competitive markets for exchange. However, it could also lead to dependency and enslavement as living costs surpassed income causing laboring workers to fall deeper into debt (Silverman 2001). The lives of Native Americans in 18th-century New England was a struggle for survival in ever increasing cycles of indebtedness and land loss.

> [A] cycle began: first, a native family was pressed to rely on purchased food for a season or two; then, with creditors calling, adults went to work for Englishmen and neglected the subsistence activities of the traditional economy; the next cold season, they were back at the store to buy things they had been unable to provide for themselves during the previous year; and thus debts mounted again and the pattern repeated itself (Silverman 2001:628).

Similarly, "[t]These conditions also led to record low populations on reservation lands as an increasing number were forced into labor off Native lands and into colonial towns and cities" (Campisi 1993: 125).

Labor should not be seen solely in terms of the constraints and hardships. A more complex view of labor recognizes that "labor comprises both aspects of opportunity and constraint" (Silliman 2006:160). Labor and labor relations were places of interaction between Native and colonial communities and individuals. Labor relations and economic interactions are a place of negotiation where Native cultures found new forms of expression in colonial contexts. Labor is about both group relations and the relationships between individuals: "Agents can be studied in how they negotiate the rules, resources, constraints and opportunities of the labor relations that surround them" (Silliman 2006: 153). Wage labor was an increasing part of Native lives, and as a result it structured the relationships between Native and Euro-American engaged in these activities.

The combinations of subsistence, exchange, and wage labor, along with demands placed on the protection of land from encroachment or loss from indebtedness, created complex consumer contexts. For Native Americans who had working wages, these wages varied greatly depending on the year, the season or the labor performed (Rothenberg 1988: 540). Differences between labor at home and labor away, as well as trading in cash or credit, also increased the complexity of access to material wealth. The variability of constraints upon Natives in southern New England from these various sources creates complex contexts that would have had varying effects on individuals. These economic and political contexts constrain the access and availability of consumer goods, and will

have an impact on the nature of consumption, and the differences between consumer preference and consumer choice.

Summary

The 18th century was a difficult time for Native Americans in southern New England. Restricted access to hunting territories and favorable agricultural land limited traditional subsistence activities, and the resources and land they maintained access to, was growing smaller every day as Euro-Americans closed in around them. By the end of the 18th century, many Native Americans were actively involved in the colonial economy and many lived in Euro-American communities.

The Eastern Pequot, like many Native groups in southern New England, were forced to balance their economic involvement with Euro-Americans with the maintenance of familial and community connections and the protection of land that was susceptible to loss. The diversity of the colonial economy in southern New England presented a variety of opportunities for employment and exchange with Euro-Americans, but often these opportunities were unstable, leading to both debt and drastic decreases in reservation populations. This harsh context shaped the interactions between the Eastern Pequot and their colonial neighbors in the 18th century, and impacted both the economic and social interactions between them.

CHAPTER 4: DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

Although overlooked by some archaeologists, documentary data can provide a wealth of information about consumer activity. Historical documents can be used to contextualize material remains and can provide a link between consumer goods and the individuals making those consumer choices (Cook et al. 1996:52-53). The last chapter dealt with the general background and histories of southern Connecticut in the 18th century and of the Eastern Pequot. This chapter will address the documentary record directly in order to understand how individual Eastern Pequot negotiated these economic, material, and social contexts. The goal of this chapter is to address the documents themselves, independently of the archaeological material at first, and to try to understand how specific Eastern Pequot negotiated colonial contexts through their labor and consumer practices. I do so through a focused analysis of one particular set of documents that hold information about Eastern Pequot practices but has not been widely used in archaeological or historical studies: the Jonathan Wheeler account books, volumes I and II, compiled between 1708-1796 (Jonathan Wheeler Account Books, Vol. 1 and 2 (1739-1775) hereafter, JW-I and JW-II). These account books come from a Stonington farm owner who had economic exchanges with Eastern Pequot individuals, as well as other Native Americans, both in labor and the purchase and sale of goods. In addition to these account books, some probate records and debt records will be used for several of the Eastern Pequot who are engaged in economic exchanges with Jonathan Wheeler. I will

look at two Eastern Pequot individuals in particular: George Toney, who worked as a laborer for Jonathan Wheeler from 1744 to 1754, and James Nead who had occasional exchanges with Wheeler from 1752 to 1760.

Throughout this chapter I make frequent references to merchants-farmers. Since most Europeans at this time were involved in a variety of economic activities, many European colonists could be called merchants, farmers, or shopkeepers. Many colonists at this time were involved in a mixture of these activities, and each of these terms is inadequate to describe the economic activities these people were involved in. Jonathan Wheeler is clearly a farmer, but he traded in a variety of goods acquired from others in the Stonington area. My use of the term merchant-farmers is not meant to imply that the people encountered in the Wheeler account books were all importers who were involved in foreign trade. I merely use the term out of convenience to describe a general class of people who were engaged in diverse economic activities but whose role as merchants and farmers marked their interactions with the local Pequot communities.

Account Books as Documentary Evidence

Account records are particularly helpful in looking at consumer practices. Since hard currency was scarce in New England in the 18th century, most economic exchanges were done through an intricate system of credit. Though still based on the pounds-shillings-pence monetary system, little cash money actually changed hands, but the currency system that underwrote the exchange permits researchers to examine the values placed on certain goods, as well as the overall consumer power of individuals who appear in these records. Labor was exchanged for a credit value which was in turn exchanged

for goods. These credit exchanges even carried over to third-party exchanges as debts and credits to other shopkeepers, farmers, and merchants. Debts incurred at one merchant could be paid off by another merchant in exchange for labor or trade goods. This system is by its nature a reflection of the social and economic relations between people. Because these exchanges rarely included cash, detailed records needed to be kept to keep track of credits and debts (Flynn 2005). This makes these account books an excellent source of data for tracking economic activities over time.

In any interpretation of documentary sources, it is important to recognize as much what the documents reveal as what they are not able to tell us, especially considering what the documents may be intentionally or unintentionally hiding. On the one hand, merchants recorded all types of goods being consumed, including materials rarely found preserved in excavations. Organic materials, such as food clothing and goods made of wood or iron can be difficult to find archaeologically, but historical researchers can be assured of their existence, sometimes even by specific quantities, through documentary analysis.

On the other hands, since account books were meant to record data for the shopkeeper, or merchant, some information was excluded. For example, although Jonathan Wheeler had frequent exchanges with the Eastern Pequot, he did not record in these account books who was or was not a Pequot. Some people who appear in these account books are listed as "Indian," but there is no indication as to whether these "Indians" were Pequot, Mohegan, or Narragansett. Several of the Eastern Pequot with whom Wheeler had frequent contact, such as George Toney, are not listed as "Indian" at

all. The determination of who in these account books is an Eastern Pequot needs to come from alternative documentary sources.

Such information can be gained through tax, census, and military records, but these types of documents rarely took account of Native Americans living in reservation communities. The Eastern Pequot identified in the Wheeler books derived in large part to extensive efforts by Jason Mancini and the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center. Through exhaustive historical research Mancini has traced the names of many Pequot families through the documentary records (Mancini 2005). The effort to find these families in Eurocentric documents is difficult as Natives were often overlooked or misrepresented in these accounts, and it is likely that many more Native households and individuals have yet to be identified in these records.

In addition, the account books provide no information on where people resided. Throughout the 18th century there was a great deal of movement on and off of the Eastern Pequot reservation lands in North Stonington. Males frequently left the reservation for work on whaling ships or on local farms. Women and children were often indentured in European households. Significant differences likely exist between the lives of Eastern Pequot living on the reservation lands and those living in European towns, but these account records, such as the Wheeler books, offer no clarification. This information needs to be interpreted from the details of their economic activities.

Moreover, account records like Jonathan Wheeler's were produced for a purpose, and that purpose served the needs of Jonathan Wheeler and not the benefit of some future researcher who might seek full disclosure. Though third-party exchanges with nearby merchants and farmers sometimes appear in these texts, this information is often vague,

and produces grey areas in our understanding of these economic exchanges. Jonathan Wheeler was certainly involved in some of the exchanges between the Eastern Pequot and other area shopkeepers and merchants. In some instances, Wheeler marks both the goods purchased and their value such, as George Toney purchasing "…6 pipes frm M^{r} Minor" (JW II: 18). Other instances are more vague, listing only who provided the goods, such as George Toney's earlier purchase "Jly y^{e} 16 day to goods at M^{r} Minors" (JW-II: 8). Exchanges between Eastern Pequot and other area farmers and merchants that did not pass through Jonathan Wheeler would not appear at all in these account records. Some of these holes and grey areas can be filled with the use of other documentary data, such as probate, debt, and military records. These documents can be difficult to find for Eastern Pequot individuals, but when located, they can provide valuable data for understanding the economic activities of the Eastern Pequot.

Jonathan Wheeler

Jonathan Wheeler was a farmer and merchant who lived along Stony Brook approximately 3 miles from the Eastern Pequot Reservation (Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut May 1726-1735: 355). He had frequent economic interactions with his neighbors Joseph Page, Samuel Frink, Ebenezer Rossiter, and Clement Minor, as well as with other area farmers and merchants. He also had frequent interactions with Native Americans, both in economic exchanges for goods and services, but also as paid laborers. Between 1737 and 1760, he had a number of Eastern Pequot laborers who may have lived on his property. These were not slaves or indentured servants, but paid

laborers; they were paid for the days they worked and either docked money or forced to make up days that they missed (JW-I, JW-II).

Jonathan Wheeler appears to have dealt mainly in foodstuffs such as pork, beef, apples, cider, molasses, and rye, as well as livestock such as sheep and pigs. He also had some trade in clothing, especially shoes, although it is possible this was merely a trade to keep his workers clothed (JW-I, JW-II). Another product that appears frequently in the account books is barrels. Barrels came in a range of sizes and varieties (Hart barrels, firkins, rundlits, hogsheads) and were important for the transport of bulk goods, as well as a container for high-volume liquids. They were also of great importance in the Atlantic trade with both Europe and the Caribbean (McCusker and Menard 1985: 100; Richardson 1991: 260-261). Wheeler traded in a variety of other goods, acquired through exchanges with other area merchants and farmers. Foreign goods such as silks, cinnamon, ginger, were exchanged though in much smaller quantities. Although Wheeler seems to have dealt primarily with goods that could have been produced on his farm, other goods seem to have changed hands through Wheeler either as a direct exchange or as an intermediary between laborers and other merchant-farmers.

There is little indication that Wheeler directly traded much in ceramics. The only possible occurrence of ceramics in the Wheeler account books is a platter, six plates, and a basin which appears to have been purchased for his own use, and not for trade (JW-I: 9). Since we know that the Eastern Pequot acquired ceramic goods from somewhere, given their prevalence in the archaeological record on the reservation, it stands to reason either that they were getting these goods through other merchants or that their appearance in the Wheeler account books falls under the vague descriptions of "goods from…" so-

and-so. Frequent mentions of goods that Eastern Pequot are acquiring through Wheeler from other merchants may be telling. One of the most frequent, Clement Minor, seems to have had some stock of ceramics (New London Probate District [NLPD] 1758 # 5335). Another was William Denison (JW-I: 53).

Jonathan Wheeler offers a classic example of the local merchant-farmer who traded in a variety of goods for both credit and cash. He seems to have been more involved in local trade than foreign or regional trade and dealt in smaller volumes. This said, however, the local trade still involved both foreign luxury goods and European manufactured goods, which would only have been available through larger trade networks. In addition, he may have been connected to a wider transoceanic economy through the exchange of barrels, an important commodity in the Atlantic exchange (McCusker and Menard 1985:100). Wheeler's access to imported goods from Europe and its colonies meant that these goods would have been available to the Eastern Pequot through him.

George Toney

There is no indication from the Jonathan Wheeler account books that George Toney was an Eastern Pequot, likely due to the familiarity that Wheeler would have had with him. Wheeler's references to "Indians" seem more common with people with whom he had limited exchanges. Similarly, no reference to George Toney as an Eastern Pequot exists in his debt records or his probate records (NLPD #5335 1758). The only reference that lists George Toney as an Eastern Pequot is in the records of his military service in 1757 and 1758 (French and Indian War, v. 1: 192, v. 2 73). George Toney fought with

the militia under Captain Denison and died in 1758. It seems likely that Toney died as a result of his military service, but since the records do not indicate how he died, I can offer this only as a working hypothesis.

The first record of George Toney in Jonathan Wheeler's account books is in 1744, when he is noted as gone for a month in March. Toney does appear to have worked in March of that year, although he does miss several days to various activities. His purchases from Wheeler also began about this time. In 1744, George Toney worked for Jonathan Wheeler from March until August for 20 pounds, 12 shillings of credit (JW-I: 46). George Toney soon spent that credit, beginning in March of 1744 and continuing until February of 1745. Most of this credit was spent either in food, cash, or in credit with other people. The remainder of his account was settled in February of 1745 and was paid to him "in cash & in noates to Minor" (JW-I: 49).

Where George Toney lived at this time is unclear from these records. George Toney may have been housed somewhere on Jonathan Wheeler's property, but the rest of the time may have been spent elsewhere since Wheeler makes reference to George Toney being gone (JW-I: 46). Several of the records also make reference to George Toney going "home" (JW-I: 46; JW-II: 4, 14). Whether he spent the winter months on the Eastern Pequot reservation lands is not clear, but it certainly remains a good possibility.

This pattern of summer labor paying for goods year-round continues in all the years that George Toney works for Wheeler. The account books show Toney working for Wheeler from 1744 to 1754. Each year follows a similar pattern of Toney working April through September, sometimes as late as November, and using the credit he accumulates to make purchases throughout the year. One noticeable absence occurs in the

year 1751 where there is no record for economic exchanges between Toney and Wheeler. Records do not indicate where George Toney may have been during this time.

George Toney spent the majority of his credit from Wheeler in exchanges with other area merchants or in cash (see Table 1). In 1744, George Toney received over 14 pounds in cash or in credit and notes to other merchants; the same year he received only 2 pounds and 12 shillings in goods from Jonathan Wheeler. A similar pattern appears for most of the other years of George Toney's work for Jonathan Wheeler, with the majority of his credit being spent with other merchants.

Unfortunately these records do not always indicate the types of goods that George Toney purchased from other merchant-farmers. Purchases from other merchant-farmers tended to be of higher values, but this may be due to bulk purchases rather than the

Year	Jonathan Wheeler	Capt. Denison	Clement Minor	Simon Whipple	Other Merchants	Cash**
1744	2=17=0	0	13=7=0	0=10=0	1=12=0	4=18=4
1745	4=0=6	1=5=15	11=2=5	0=7=6	3=11=6	1=6=3
1746	3=2=8	0	5=11=2	0=15=0	0=7=0	1=15=0
1747	4=6=0	0	6=11=6	0	3=8=10	0=12=0
1748	4=8=9	0	6=8=2	0	4=17=6*	8=9=0
1749	6=11=0	0=10=0	13=6=0	6=3=6	2=17=0	4=13=0
1750	7=12=9	1=5=6	11=17=6	0	4=7=0	0=5=0
1751	0	0	0	0	0	0
1752	3=0=10	0=10=0	1=0=0	3=3=0*	0=3=0	0=8=0
1753	2=17=9	0	19=5=9	0	15=5=9*	0
1754	9=6=3	0=10=0	2=6=0	0=16=0	2=10=0	0

* High values of these records due to large payments to single individuals
** "Cash" category does not include cash payments to other merchants. They apply only to undesignated payments of "cash".

Table 1

Value of purchases made by George Toney through Jonathan Wheeler.
Values are in Pounds-Shillings-Pence
(Adapted from Jonathan Wheeler Account Books I and II)

consumption of higher value goods. Other than Jonathan Wheeler, the merchant that George Toney most frequently purchased from is Clement Minor. Most purchases made George Toney at Minor's are greater that 2 pounds in value; one purchase in July of 1748 was worth over 13 pounds (JW-II:18). This may be due to a greater distance traveled to get to Clement Minor's, leading to higher volume purchases rather than the smaller volume purchases with closer merchants, or it may be due to higher value purchases.

The variety of goods that Jonathan Wheeler obtained from Clement Minor suggests that Minor dealt in a wide variety of goods. Minor seems to have been the primary supplier of non-comestibles to Wheeler, and many of the non-food related goods that Toney receives from Wheeler may also have come from Clement Minor. Later debts that George Toney had to Clement Minor were mainly for clothing (NLPD #5335 1758) or pipes (JW-II), but since the last two years of George Toney's life were spent in military service, it should not be assumed that these debts reflected his earlier purchasing patterns. It does not appear that Toney spent as much with Captain Denison, who we know from earlier records trades in a wide range of goods including plates, candlesticks, platters, and cutlery (JW-I: 9).

Although George Toney appears to be regularly employed by Wheeler, there are a fair number of breaks and absences in this labor. In addition to the winters, during which Wheeler does not employ George Toney, other absences from work are marked in the account books. There are some references to him being at "home" (JW-I: 46; JW-II: 4, 14), but these are infrequent. Most records for missed work are simply listed as "lost days" which could be times that George Toney spent wherever he called home, but this is difficult to say with any certainty. Mary Toney also appears in Wheeler's account linked

to credit that George Toney had accumulated implying some familial connection between them. It seems likely that Mary Toney was George's wife, but the lack of marriage records and her absence from the probate and debt records at the time of his death make this difficult to ascertain (NLPD # 5335).

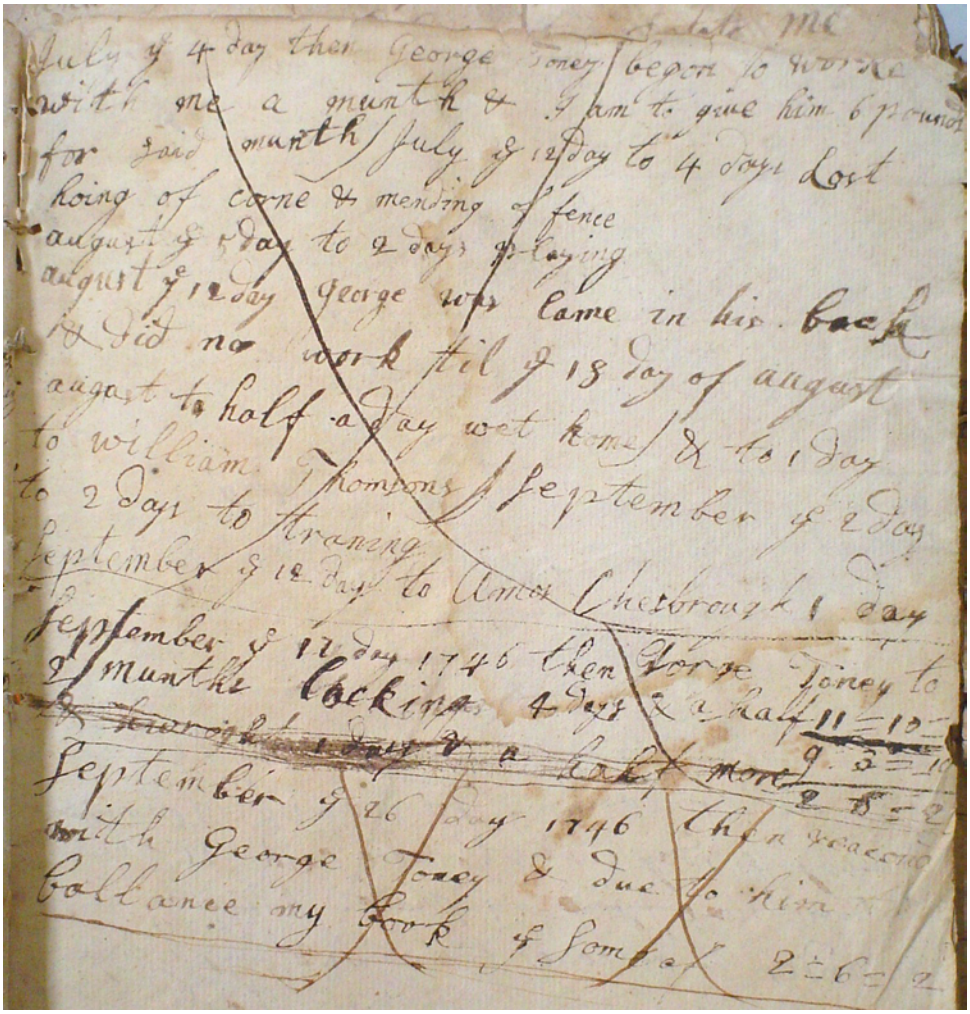


Figure 2

Account record for George Toney's work for Jonathan Wheeler. Includes records of days of work lost for various activities (JW-II:4).

Some of George Toney's "lost days" of work were taken up by uncredited agricultural activity. Since these were not considered working days for Wheeler, it is likely that Toney performed these activities on land maintained by himself or his family. Although Wheeler's records only list a few days a year to "the hoing of corn" (JW-II: 8), many missed days and weeks are unaccounted for which may have been spent in agricultural activities. The purchase of a hoe by George Toney (JW-II: 33) further supports that he may have been raising crops of his own. If George and Mary Toney are involved in agricultural activities, however, they sell none of those goods to Jonathan Wheeler. This does not mean that they are not selling it elsewhere, but it may represent farming for subsistence rather than for trade.

If George and Mary Toney worked land on the Eastern Pequot reservation in North Stonington, it is possible that this is where George spent his time away from the Wheeler Farm. It is also possible that whatever land he had was falling victim to vandalism from his neighbors. At one point, George loses four days of work repairing a fence (JW-II: 4). Fences often refer to the stone walls that line the boundaries of agricultural fields and the boundaries of the Eastern Pequot lands. These stone walls were often torn down by Euro-American neighbors to allow livestock to graze on Native land (Den Ouden 2005:74-75). Tactics like these were common as Euro-Americans encroached on Native lands. Although the records do not say that George was working on his own land, if he was working his own land, he likely faced these kinds of tactics from land-hungry neighbors.

In 1757 and 1758, George Toney fought as part of the Connecticut Militia in the French and Indian War. Records place him in the 12th Company of the Third Regiment

under the command of Captain Denison, the same man with whom Toney had occasional economic exchanges. His periods of service for those years were very similar to his work schedule with Jonathan Wheeler. He enlisted in the spring and was discharged at the beginning of winter in both 1757 and 1758 (French and Indian War Records volumes 1 and 2). Strangely, though these war records list George Toney as a member of the colonial militia in 1758, George Toney's probate lists him as deceased on January 13, 1758 (NLPD #5335). It is not clear if this represents a misprint on one of these records, or if so which of these records is correct.

Both George Toney's military service and his work for Jonathan Wheeler were seasonal. No labor records for George Toney exist for the winter months, but he still purchased goods using the credit accumulated through his work for Wheeler. Once he entered military service, all records of both George and Mary Toney stop in Wheeler's account books. Debt records for George Toney from 1757 still show debts to Clement Minor (NLPD #5335), but all accounts with Jonathan Wheeler after 1755 appear to have been settled. A probate recorded after his death (Appendix A) shows that, although George Toney had a steady income between 1744 and 1754 and was certainly spending money with area merchants and shopkeepers, he had only a modest number of possessions when he died. His estate was valued at less than 39 pounds, only 7 pounds of which were in durable goods. This, however, may be a result of George Toney's shift to military service in the last years of his life and the limitations this service may have placed on maintaining possessions (NLPD # 5335).

Looking at overall patterns of labor and consumption for George Toney reveals several things. The first is that while George Toney seemed to be somewhat stable

economically from 1744 to 1758, his location seems to have been quite fluid. Even during the seasons that Toney worked for Wheeler, he spent a fair amount of time away from this work. In 1744, for example, Toney worked for Wheeler from March until July, but missed 28 days for a variety of reasons. Some of this time was spent at home, working on other farms, and even a trip to Indian Town in 1750 (JW-II: 23). During the winter months, George Toney did not work for Wheeler at all, but continued to purchase goods from him. Similar patterns can be found in other years of his work for Wheeler. In 1751 there is no record of economic exchanges of any kind between Toney and Wheeler. Since there were frequent interactions during every other year between 1744 and 1754, it is possible that George Toney was not residing in the area during that year.

Second, it seems likely that Mary Toney was his wife and that they had some agricultural land. This may have been on the Eastern Pequot reservation, but it cannot be said conclusively. It would appear, however, that any agricultural activity was for subsistence only and not for sale or trade. It is not clear if George or Mary Toney still occupied this land when George Toney joined the colonial militia in 1757.

A third point of interest is that although George Toney actively engaged in economic exchanges with a wide range of Europeans, he possessed a rather small quantity of European manufactured goods at the time of his death. The amounts of money that George Toney spent with local merchants such as Clement Minor and Captain Denison from 1744 to 1754 certainly gave him the capacity to have consumed a wide variety of goods One possibility for this inconsistency is that George Toney's circumstances did not encourage accumulating large quantities of durable goods. Since this low measure of accumulated wealth comes from a probate record, it should be

mentioned that the last two years of his life spent in a local militia may have discouraged the possession of a wide range of goods. Since Mary Toney also vanishes from the documentary record around 1755, it is possible that she died before George Toney, and that he did not have land when he entered military service in 1757. This may also have limited the amount of durable goods he possessed.

Another possibility is one of taste. Although George Toney's probate record shows little in the way of accumulated goods, a debt record to Clement Minor filed around the same time shows a large number of clothing-related purchases (NLPD #5335). It is possible that George Toney desired clothing-related items more than goods such as ceramics, and certainly clothing items may have been easier for him to accumulate with a frequently changing residence. It is also possible that the clothing purchases may have been a reflection of the preferences of Mary Toney and that his acquisitions were related to her tastes. Further analysis of these account records, and the inclusion of the account records of other merchant-farmers in the area such as Clement Minor, will further elucidate the nature of the exchanges between Eastern Pequot like George Toney and the European communities with whom they interacted.

James Nead

James Nead presents a contrast to George Toney in that he had more limited economic interactions with Jonathan Wheeler. Unlike Toney, Nead is identified only as "Indian Nead" in Wheeler's account books, which may be an indication of less frequent economic and non-economic interactions between the two men. Where Toney worked as a wage laborer, Nead's economic activity was in the direct exchange of goods and

services. James Nead primarily traded wool with Wheeler, and in exchange purchased food, although he also purchased other goods such as plant seed and barrels (JW-II). The nature of Nead's economic interactions with Wheeler differs notably from Toney's and these differences are reflected in the nature of Nead's consumer practices.

The primary exchange commodity for James Nead appears to have been wool. Nead sells wool to Wheeler in 1752, 1753, 1756, and 1758 (JW-II: 29, 32, 42, 58). In return for this wool he purchases a variety of goods directly from Wheeler such as flax seed, turnip seed, onions, corn and potatoes. Both the sale of wool and purchase of plant seeds imply that James Nead had access to land for both livestock and crops, but there is no record of European land exchanges with a James Nead in Connecticut. The infrequency of the exchanges with Wheeler, the evidence for land access, and the absence of land records suggest that Nead may have been living on the Eastern Pequot lands near Lantern Hill. This must be said with some caution for it is also possible that records of land ownership did not survive the years, or that Nead rented land from another area farmer. Unfortunately the lack of documentary evidence makes it difficult to say with any certainty which of these scenarios may be true.

Since Nead did not work directly for Wheeler, he did not build up the large amount of credit with him. He also does not appear to have purchased goods from other merchants through Wheeler or with credit earned from these exchanges with him. The only goods that Nead appears to have gotten from another merchant through Wheeler was a pair of barrels in 1753 from Clement Minor (JW-II:32), and cash payments to William Thomson and Indian Jacob in 1753. Other than these exchanges, Nead seems to be trading goods for credit with Wheeler, which he spends entirely on goods from Wheeler.

What is also surprising is that although the credit accumulated by Nead for the sale of wool comes to more than 8 pounds in both 1753 and 1756, none of that credit was converted into cash (JW-II: 32, 42). In fact, in the 4 years during which Nead sells wool to Wheeler, he only receives 5 shillings and 9 pence in cash from Wheeler, almost all of the rest of the credit being spent on goods from Wheeler (JW-II:29).

This form of direct exchange may have been repeated with other Europeans in the Stonington area. It is possible that Nead was involved in a number of direct exchanges with area merchants-farmers, and similarly spent the credit he earned with those merchants directly rather than through a system of credit exchanges like George Toney. Without the account records of other merchants-farmers in Stonington such as Clement Minor and Captain Denison or postmortem debt records for James Nead it is difficult to say for sure what exchanges Nead may have had with the rest of the Stonington community. Perhaps Nead's agricultural activities may have been for exchange as well as subsistence and that he sold the surplus to other merchant-farmers for credit, but there is no evidence for this type of exchange with Jonathan Wheeler.

In 1757 and 1759, James Nead enlisted in the Colonial Militia. Although he was in the same regiment as George Toney, they were in different companies. Like Toney, Nead was discharged during the winter months, and there is no record of where he went during these times. Nead does not join the militia in 1758 and again returns to selling wool to Wheeler in exchange for food (JW-II: 58). He enlists again in 1759, and when he next appears in the Wheeler account books in 1760, circumstances appear to have changed. Instead of wool, Nead now sells 37 pounds of bass to Jonathan Wheeler, again in exchange for food (JW-II:51). In addition to the shift from trade in wool to fish, he

makes no purchase of plant seeds in either 1758 or 1761. It is possible that by 1761, Nead had either given up the raising of sheep and crops, or lost the capacity to engage in these activities. Since Wheeler continues to purchase wool from other farmers, it is likely that what changed was Nead's ability to produce this commodity, and not a change on Wheeler's desire to purchase wool.

James Nead died in late 1760 or early 1761. There is no record of how he died, nor is there a probate inventory associated with his estate. The only record of his death comes from a note of debt from the probate court associated with his death, and the deaths of 5 other "Indians". Administration of his death and the other 5 "Indians" is paid for by Clement Minor and his son, William, who are listed as being "the Largest Creditors" (NLPD #1002). It may be that at the time of his death Nead had no property to inventory, although it is also possible that some of the documents associated with Nead's death may have been lost. It is interesting to note that his largest creditor at the time of his death was Minor. This supports the idea that Nead had economic interactions with others in the Stonington area, and may have had similar relationships with them that he did with Wheeler.

The absence of a probate inventory, debt records, or the account books of these other merchants makes it difficult to examine the consumer practices of James Nead over the years. What these records do tell us is that in the 9 years from 1752 to 1761 Nead went from having access to domesticated animals and some land, to military service with the colonial militia, to selling fish in 1760. These changes over a relatively short period of time were likely common for many Eastern Pequot in the 18th century. These changes may indicate the spiral of indebtedness that many Native people fell into as they tried to

provide for themselves and their families in difficult times. It is possible that after his military service, Nead went to work as a laborer with another farmer or merchant, such as Minor, and that this labor was did not provide him the enough credit to cover his purchases leaving him in a cycle of indebtedness. The rapid changes in James Nead's economic activities reveals the adaptability that many Native Americans showed in their engagements with the colonial economy, but this adaptability does not appear to have prevented him from falling into debt to his colonial neighbors.

Interpretations of the Documentary Data

The similarities and differences between the economic activities of George Toney and James Nead can inform us about the consumer contexts in which these men lived. There is a clear difference between the labor activities of George Toney, who worked as a wage laborer for Jonathan Wheeler, and James Nead, who was involved in direct exchanges for goods and services with Wheeler and likely others in the Stonington community. Unfortunately, the lack of detailed consumer information for Nead makes a comparison between the consumer practices of these two Eastern Pequot difficult. Some interpretations can be suggested, however, based on the labor practices of these two individuals, and how these practices may have affected their consumption of European manufactured goods.

Although it appears that both Toney and Nead had access to land for agriculture at least until their military service, Nead's investment in his land was higher due to his reliance on domesticated animals for trade. This would have required a higher time investment in that land, something that was clearly missing from Toney, who lived away

from his home for long stretches of time while working for Jonathan Wheeler. It is possible that wives, siblings and children may have played a significant role in home labor practices. Mary Toney is clearly involved in agricultural activity while George Toney is away from home. If Nead had a wife, which is unclear from the documentary evidence, it is still likely that he was directly involved in the production of wool since he is the one who appears in Wheeler's account books. Mary Toney appears along with her husband in Wheeler's records, so it would be assumed that if Nead had a wife who was responsible for the production of wool that she would appear somewhere in those records.

The differences in the types of exchanges may also have affected their consumer patterns. Since Nead was involved in direct exchanges with local merchants, he would have been choosing the goods directly from the people importing them, or at least more directly than Toney. Wheeler's records show that Toney purchased goods through him, and since Wheeler controlled Toney's credit, he often paid off debts that Toney acquired from other merchants. He also traded for goods with other area merchant-farmers which he then sold to Toney.

The addition of Wheeler as a middleman for Toney may have removed some of the agency in his consumer choices. Although it is unlikely that Toney would have asked for a plate and received a bowl, it is possible that the inclusion of a middleman may have had limited choices in what style of goods he was purchasing. It is even possible that area merchants such as Clement Minor would have sold Wheeler out of date, or overstocked, goods knowing that they were going to wage laborers. While the account records and probates cannot provide that level of detail in consumer practices, the

differences in labor and exchange practices between James Nead and George Toney certainly could have impacted their consumer choices.

Although no probate inventory appears to exist for James Nead, the probate records of Samuel Shelley (JW-I; JW-II), a local colonial farmer who also exchanged wool for goods and services with Jonathan Wheeler, may be able to shed light on some facts about what we might have expected from Nead. The Shelleys (Samuel and his wife Tamsey) also appear to have been involved in a direct exchange with Wheeler and with others in the Stonington area. Like Nead, the majority of the credit the Shelleys got from Wheeler was spent on goods from him, implying that other goods may have been acquired through other direct exchanges. Although it would be unwise to assume that Nead and Shelley would have similar consumer practices, there is some benefit into looking at the similarities and differences based on these different labor activities.

One item of note from Shelley's probate is that although the listed value of his estate is more than five times that of Toney's, they had a similar quantity of tableware (Appendix B). In addition, the value of the tableware listed does not appear to be of a higher value. The major difference in value between the two homes seems to be in tools and in items associated with domesticated animals. Understandably, the estates of both Shelley and Toney were modest in value, and one would not have expected particularly high value goods to appear there. However, one might have predicted a somewhat higher quantity or variety of goods in the Shelley home, but this was not the case. The similarity of tableware shows that moderate differences in income levels may have had little impact on the consumption of ceramic goods, a discovery that has significant implications for archaeological interpretations.

Although both George Toney and James Nead were involved in different labor practices and forms of exchange with Jonathan Wheeler, both enlisted in the colonial militia during the French and Indian War. The results of the war seem to have been detrimental for both Toney, who died either during the war or not long after, and Nead, who seems to have lost both his land and his livestock after the war, and survived only a few years after his service. The middle of the 18th century certainly presented a turbulent and difficult time for Native Americans in New England, and both Toney and Nead seem to have been impacted by these difficulties.

The 18th century showed a continuous loss of Native lands from sale and European encroachment (Den Ouden 2005). Although Toney appears to have had both land with some agricultural capacity and a wife who appears to have been working on that land, he spent the majority of his time from 1744 to 1754 working for, and likely living with, Jonathan Wheeler. This labor was highly varied and sporadic as Toney spent days and weeks away from Wheeler's farm engaged in other activities. Although his work was sporadic, Toney's consumption rarely exceeded his credit with Wheeler. On several occasions, Wheeler actually pays Toney for the excess credit he has. It is clear that Toney's labor activities were more than sufficient to fill his needs even with inconsistent labor with Wheeler.

James Nead appears to have not only to have engaged in both agricultural activity and the production of wool, but to have used this as a means of subsistence and exchange through the early 1750s. After his military service, however, he seems to have lost either the land or the capacity to produce exchangeable goods. It is possible that Nead felt economically driven to leave or risk falling into debt, but in doing so lost his land. This

sort of catch-22 situation seems to have been a dominant force in the lives of both Toney and Nead. It is also possible that Nead's sale of wool was not able to fill his yearly credit demands. Unlike Toney, Nead frequently ran a deficit with Wheeler, paying in wool the next season work the goods consumed the previous year (JW-II: 42). Without the records of other area merchants, it cannot be said for sure if this was happening in Nead's other exchanges, but this chronic indebtedness may have been the reason that he was unable to continue trading in wool.

Summary

The Jonathan Wheeler Account Books have been an excellent resource for looking at the economic activities for the Eastern Pequot in the 18th century. In addition to George Toney and James Nead, Wheeler had economic exchanges with a large number of "Indians", some of whom worked as wage laborers, and others who simply exchanged goods and services for credit and cash. Toney and Nead are two examples of the kinds of exchanges Wheeler had with Eastern Pequot and likely other Native people in southern New England. The differences between the exchanges they had with Jonathan Wheeler, and the shared instabilities of economic activity in general, certainly would have affected their consumer behavior.

Although clearly the consumer contexts for both George Toney and James Nead impacted their consumer activities, it does not appear to have deterministically forced consumer decisions upon them. While James Nead fared poorly in his economic dealings with Euro-Americans, George Toney appears to have been self sufficient enough to spend only portions of his year working for Wheeler. He also managed to avoid the

cumulative debt that Nead fell into. Toney's economic decisions, both related to labor and consumption shows that he used combinations of wage labor, and home production (likely for subsistence rather than trade), to navigate difficult colonial contexts.

CHAPTER 5: CERAMIC ANALYSIS

Like written documents, the material remains used in archaeological analysis have unique advantages and disadvantages for understanding consumer practices. Archaeological data, like account records, can inform the researcher about the kinds of goods people were consuming over an extended period of time, while probate records only list the goods owned when the person died. Also, while documents like the Wheeler account books can be vague about the details of what was purchased, archaeological remains can provide a far more detailed view of what households consumed. Goods listed merely as "plates" or "kettles" can be analyzed in greater detail when their physical remains can be identified. There can be a great deal of interpretive difference in these details, which can tell us about the tastes of the consumers, as well as the constraints that may have influenced the consumption of these goods. In addition to their interpretive value as consumer goods, material culture can be used as a dating tool, providing the archaeologist with the ability to place the site within a historical context. Since goods such as ceramics had a high degree of variability in the 18th century, the particular types of ceramic goods can give date ranges for the occupation of households.

Archaeological material has its limits, however, and the gaps presented by these data can obscure as much as they can reveal. What archaeologists uncover does not contain the total of what was produced and consumed on a site. The long-term durability of ceramic and glass fragments tend to make them appear more abundant than organic

materials such as those made of bone, wood or cloth, especially in New England soils. Though samples of metal and bone are often recovered, what was recovered likely represents only a small portion of what was originally present for these less durable materials. Also, the goods found during excavations, in most cases, are ones that were discarded. Archeological data tends to favor less expensive disposable goods, or goods such as food remains that had little value in long term curation. Valuable goods would have been more often preserved and kept when sites were abandoned, and will be less prevalent in archaeological excavations.

For this reason it is common for archaeologists to focus on goods such as ceramics, since they are durable enough to survive exposure to natural forces and yet fragile enough to have broken easily from use. Ceramics, however, were not necessarily the dominant consumer good for the Eastern Pequot in the 18th century, but simply more durable than other consumer goods. George Toney (Chapter 4) appears to have spent far more money on food and clothing than on ceramic goods, something which may be difficult to see archaeologically due to the preservation of these less durable types of consumer goods. Therefore, when looking at archaeological material, it is important to recognize the biases inherent in a body of archaeological material. Like documentary evidence, archaeological material must be interpreted with an understanding of the physical contexts surrounding the deposition, preservation and excavation biases, as well as the historical and cultural contexts that affect how we interpret the material remains that are uncovered. For example, unless entire sites are excavated,(a process that is both costly and time consuming) it is impossible to determine exactly what features and artifacts may not have been sampled. It is certainly possible that further excavation may

yield conflicting results, but archaeologists must assume, barring faulty methodologies, that the excavation represents an accurate sampling of the overall material and therefore can be interpreted as representative of the whole site.

My interpretations of the material from the 2005 excavation on the Eastern Pequot reservation at a site known as EP-300/1050 operate under these parameters and will have three main goals. (1) To establish a reasonable date range(s) for the occupation of EP-300/1050 to place the site within a historical context. This will be done using a combination of mean ceramic dates (Deetz 1977: 17-18) and specific types of ceramics and artifacts to establish a *terminus post quem* (Hume 1969:11). (2) To analyze the ceramic remains in terms of their consumer context and as indicators of the economic interactions between Eastern Pequot households and European merchant-farmers in the region. (3) To examine what these artifacts can tell us about the consumer choices of the Eastern Pequot, what this may say about their interactions with American colonists, and the ways in which they negotiated the constraints placed on their activities. This chapter will focus on the first two questions through the interpretation of the material culture. The third question will be addressed in the next chapter where I will move interpretations between the archaeological data, the documentary data and their historical contexts.

The Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation 2005 Excavation

Excavations at the Eastern Pequot Reservation have been carried out since 2003 under the direction of Dr. Stephen Silliman with the approval and collaboration of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation. The five-week excavation season in 2005 went from early July to early August and was carried out by students from various universities around the

country and by several Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation members who assisted not only with the excavation process, but also with regards to our spiritual and physical presence on the reservation (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008).

The 2005 season focused on a series of stone features on the Eastern Pequot reservation at site EP-300/1050. This area was chosen primarily for the large number of stone-rich features indicating intensive use of this area. Figure 3 shows the area of the 2005 excavation and the visible stone features, labeled by alphabetic designations below. Shovel test pits were excavated by natural soil horizons in a 10m-x-10m grid across the site. In addition, a number of test units were excavated in areas associated with the features. Both 1m-x-1m and 1m-x-0.5m test units were excavated by arbitrary 5cm levels. The majority of these test units centered on a large pile of stone which appears to be the remains of a collapsed chimney and other foundation debris (I).

This foundation debris (I) sits on a spit of flat land which slopes down to the northeast and southwest. Two additional piles of rock debris (IV) sit to the north and east of the foundation. Whether these piles represent collapsed structures or some sort of discarded debris was not apparent for this analysis, although preliminary field interpretations from the 2006 excavation indicate that one of these piles is another collapsed chimney and the other is a rock pile and shell midden. A third, and smaller, pile of rock (V) sits just south of the foundation at the east edge of a small depression. Northwest of the foundation is a small enclosure (III) made up of several layers of smaller stones and to the west and southwest are two larger enclosures (II) built from larger stones similar to the stone walls in the area. There are no visible openings in any

of these enclosures. Though the presence of these stone features show significant activity in this area, the actual function of most of these stone features is not yet known.

The artifact data used in this thesis come from the unit excavations and not from the shovel test pits since the former can be tied more strongly to the structural feature itself and have better stratigraphic control. My analysis focuses on the ceramic artifacts from the collapsed foundation (I), the area immediately around the area, and the small rock pile (V) immediately south of the foundation. Though the ceramics associated with the other features reflect the same time period, it is yet unclear if these features represent the activities of several households, or only one.

For matters of comparison, I have divided the site into two areas. Area A is the area inside and surrounding the large foundation rock pile (I), and Area B is the area in and around the small rock pile to the south (V). These areas are further subdivided into six sections based on excavation method and their relationship to the associated features. Area A consists of the *cellar hole*, *the chimney*, *the foundation*, and *the foundation perimeter*. Area B consists of *the depression* and *the south rock pile*. These divisions were based on both the excavation method and the composition of these units varied and these differences are relevant to their interpretation.

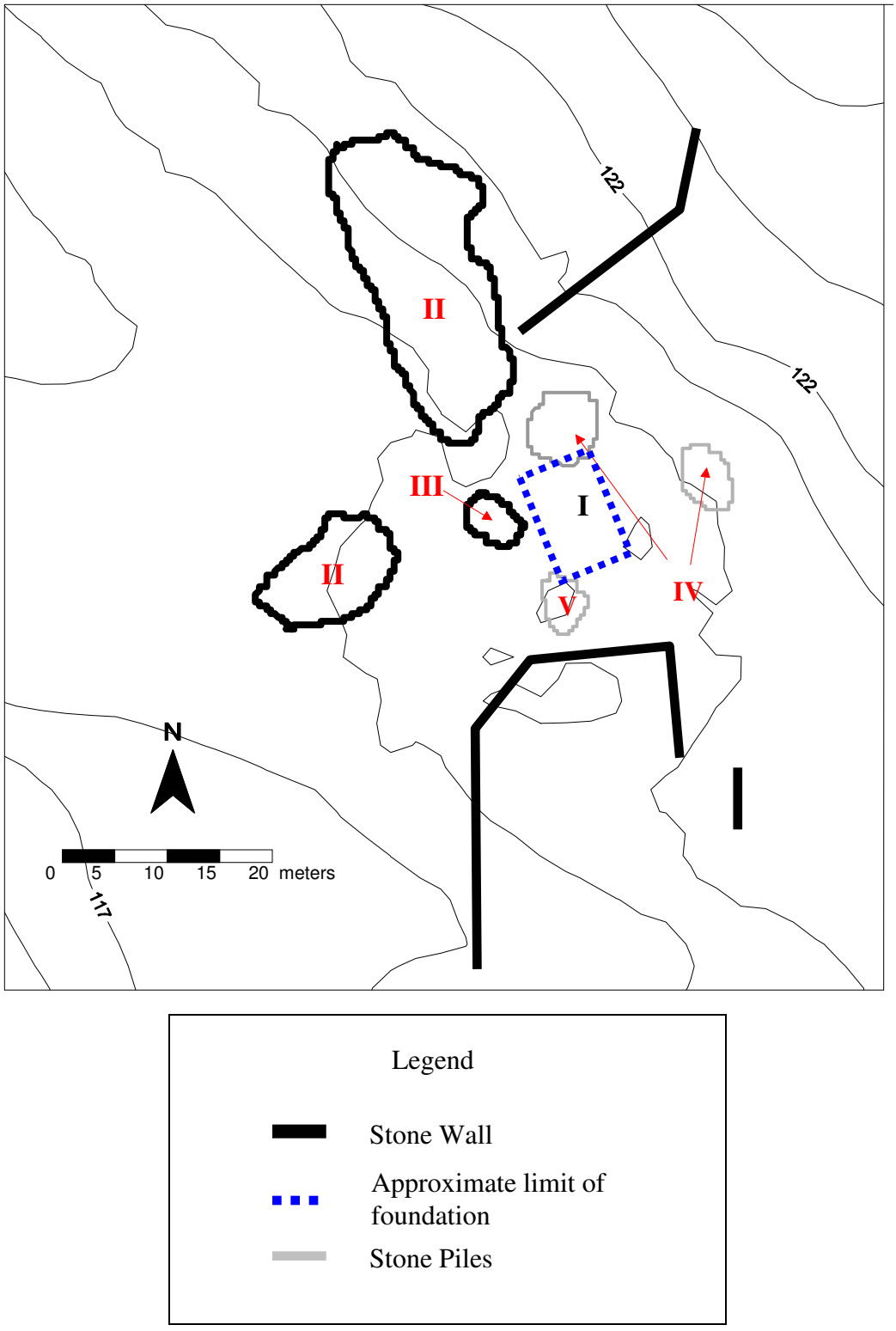


Figure 3

EP 300/1050 Excavation area with some of the surrounding features

Area A

The cellar hole

At the center of the foundation sits a cellar hole approximately 70 cm deep. Three contiguous 1m-x-1m units were excavated as a small east-west trench across the short end of the cellar hole in order to get a good cross-section profile. The cellar hole slopes gradually on the western side and rises steeply on the eastern edge. The cellar was filled with rock, most likely from a collapsed chimney, foundation stones, and possibly rock from the surrounding area, and with some artifact debris. These courses of rock filled the cellar hole to ground level. Because the cellar hole primarily consisted of filled-in stones, the rocks were removed one course at a time to try to preserve some semblance of possible cultural stratification, and measurements were taken at the bottom of each level from the top of the rocks. Detailed sketches were drawn from each level, and artifacts were removed. At approximately 70cm below surface the rocks disappeared, and excavators encountered a heavily mottled soil which continued to yield artifacts and charcoal. Once the layers of rock stopped, the units were excavated in 5cm arbitrary levels. The artifacts and charcoal stopped at about 100cm below surface, and the units were continued another 10 cm to insure the end of cultural deposition. Artifacts were recovered from almost every course of rock removed, most likely associated with the filling of the cellar hole. Artifacts from beneath the rock may have been from either the filling episode or from the period of household occupation.

The Chimney

Perpendicular to the trench in the cellar hole, three 1m-x-1m units were excavated to the south through the largest rock pile to attempt to locate the fire box in the chimney. The first two levels were similar to the cellar hole excavations in that levels of rock were mapped then removed and the artifacts collected by rock level rather than in fixed vertical levels. After two levels of rock were removed, the rock gave way to soil, dark and mottled in the north, and becoming a lighter B horizon soil in the south. A significant amount of charred material, both charcoal and burned starch matter, was recovered from these units. The southernmost units were excavated to approximately 30 cm below surface. The southernmost unit (Unit P) abutting the cellar trench was excavated to approximately 10 cm below surface due to a large stone on the border with the cellar hole excavation described above.

The Foundation

In the area north of the cellar trench, eight 1m-x-1m units were excavated covering most of the flat area immediately north of the cellar hole (Figure 4). These units were shallow (most reached culturally sterile soil around 25 cm below surface) and had a small scatter of artifacts. Several large stones running east-west appear to have been the northern-most limits of the foundation, although the 2006 excavation may well call this structural interpretation into question. Though the actual foundation footprint was not clearly defined, these large rocks likely represent the boundary of the household. The soil in these units was similar to that of the surrounding area with a 10-20 cm layer of

dark loamy soil over lighter yellowish soil which continued to yield cultural material for approximately 10 cm. This area probably represents the ground directly underneath the house structure.

The foundation perimeter

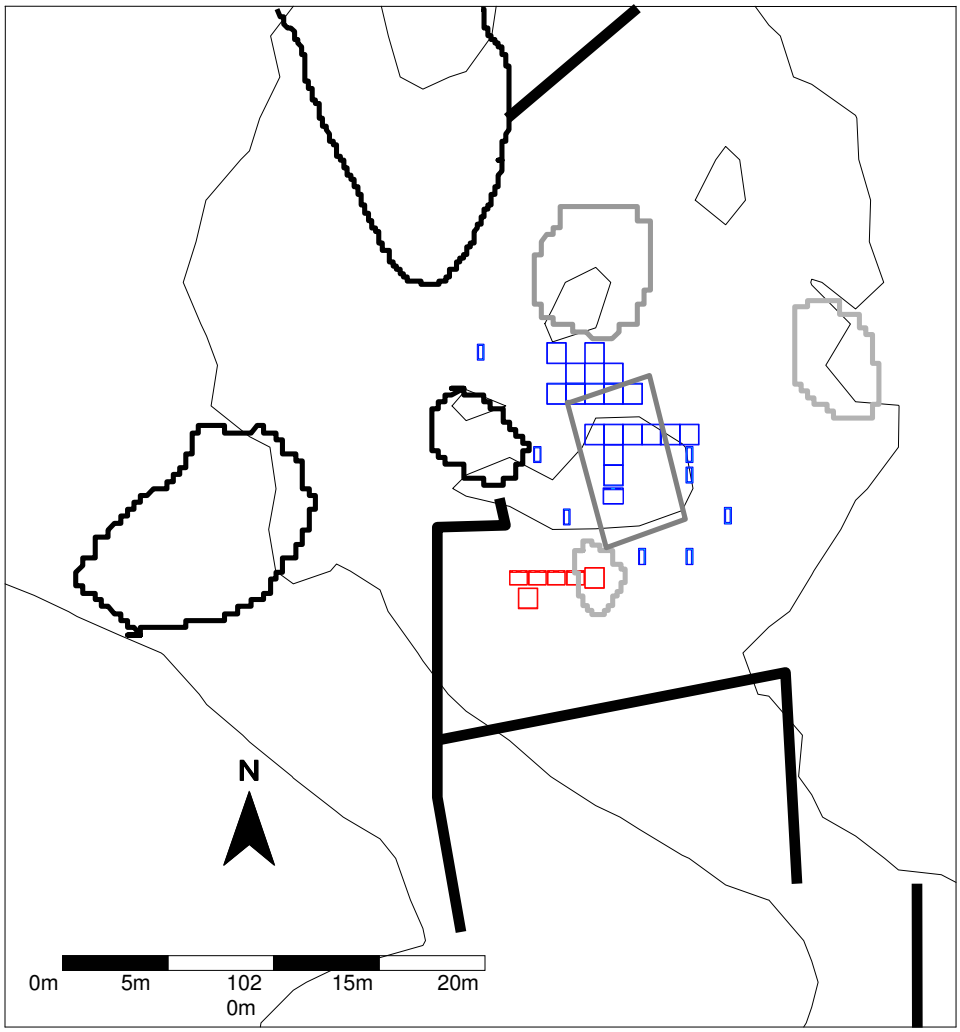
The foundation perimeter was excavated by a series of 1m-x-0.5m units running along the outside of the stone foundation (Figure 4). Placement of these units was based on artifact density in order to locate possible plumes of artifacts that could represent structural features such as doorways or windows. Similar to the foundation units north of the cellar hole, these units had a thin layer of topsoil, followed by an artifact-rich subsoil which continued to an average depth of around 30 cm below surface. Our excavations did not yield significant evidence of any structural features associated with the house, but the general scatter does show that household waste was deposited along the perimeter of the house. Another important feature to note is the absence of any soil disturbance from intensive agricultural activity. No distinct plow zone was seen in the soil. and although some mixing of soils from bioturbation has occurred, it appears that deposits found here are stratigraphically intact.

Area B

South Depression

To the south of the foundation, the land slopes away and reveals a small depression just to the west of a rock pile. A short trench consisting of three 1m-x-0.5m unit was excavated east-west across the depression in an attempt to understand

the formation of this feature. Because of high artifact counts and deep soil profiles, it was decided to excavate an additional 1m-x-1m unit adjacent to the trench to the south in the area of highest artifact concentration. Two of the half-units (N302 E1047 and N302 E1048) as well as the 1m-x-1m (N301 E1047.5) were dug in arbitrary 5-cm intervals. There were very few artifacts in the top four or five levels but after that artifact concentrations steadily increased until quite deep, and still yielded cultural material at 85-95 cm below surface. The easternmost unit in the depression appears to have had few artifacts, but it was only dug to around 20 cm below surface so it is likely that the richer deposits are further down. The absence of artifacts from the upper levels was not seen in any other area of the site, and it may relate to the presence of fairly sterile fill being placed here during house construction nearby.



Excavation Unit Area A
Excavation Unit Area B
Rock Wall

Figure 4

Map of Test Units

South Rock Pile

A small pile of rocks sits to the south of the foundation and on relatively flat land to the east of the depression. A 1m-x-1m unit was excavated in the middle of this rock pile and a 1m-x-0.5m half-unit connecting the rock pile to the depression trench. Both of these units were excavated in a manner similar to the cellar hole, with layers of rock being removed as a level before reaching underneath and the continuing in 5cm arbitrary levels.

Ceramics as Indicators of Occupation

Initial interpretation of the archaeological remains placed the occupation of the site in the latter half of the 18th century. This interpretation, however, was based on only a cursory look at the overall assemblage. More detailed analysis of the artifacts as well as a consideration of artifact concentrations point to a somewhat more complex occupation range. Several factors can influence the association between artifact manufacture date and the period of deposition for these goods. The most obvious is, of course, that a good consumed will be used for some time before it is discarded. This fact, sometimes referred to as "time lag," can have a significant impact on the date established through the use of artifacts (Adams 2003; Groover 2001). In addition to time lag, multiple occupation periods, in particular where gaps in occupation may have occurred, can produce an overall site occupation that is wholly inaccurate. In order to have any confidence in a date range established through the interpretation of artifacts, issues such as these need to be addressed.

Preliminary ceramic counts showed a mix of ceramic types including creamwares, pearlwares, redwares, salt-glazed stonewares, and even some porcelain (Table 2). The Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) for the overall site was calculated using date ranges for ceramics taken from a historic ceramic typology established by Ann Brown for the Delaware Department of Transportation (Brown 1982). Most of the dates in this typology were derived from Ivor Noël Hume's *Artifacts of Colonial America* (1968) and Stanley South's *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (1977), although other sources were also used to fine-tune some of the ceramic dates. These dates are based on the manufacture dates for these artifacts and the median range based on their popular use. Ceramics with particularly long ranges of use, such as redware and porcelain, were omitted from the calculation of the MCD.

Unfortunately the small fragment size of most of the recovered ceramics along with the predominance of undecorated ceramics meant that many of the date ranges used to calculate the MCD were quite long. This can be somewhat alleviated by using more diagnostic ceramic styles to refine the Mean Ceramic Date, but it must be recognized that the date provided is only a guideline and not a concrete occupation date. The MCD for the overall site was calculated at 1780, but from the start that date looked to be somewhat problematic. While the presence of pearlware, a refined earthenware which first began to appear on American sites in the 1780s (Hume 1967: 130-131), supports this late of an occupation, the higher quantity of older ceramics such as slipware and white salt-glazed stoneware implied either a long occupation for this site or the curation of older ceramics.

	Area A				**Area A Totals**		**Area B**		**Area B Totals**	
	Cellar	*Perimeter*	*Foundation*	*Chimney*	*Total Fragments*	*% of Total Ceramic Count*	*% of Total Ceramic Count*	*Depression*	*Total Fragments*	*% of Total Ceramic Count*
Redware	603	139	42	10	794	45	64	84	148	53%
Tin-Glaze	6	17	11	0	34	2%	3	12	15	5%
Slipware	1	5	0	0	6	<1%	5	12	17	6%
White Salt-glaze	8	26	19	4	57	3%	8	34	42	15%
Creamware	92	492	109	2	695	39%	16	12	28	10%
Pearlware	31	47	15	0	93	5%	0	0	0	0%
Porcelain	2	6	0	0	8	<1%	4	9	13	5%
Other Ceramic Types	4	9	7	2	22	1%	12	2	14	5%
Total	**759**	**787**	**218**	**22**	**1786**		**112**	**165**	**277**	

Table 2

Ceramic sherd counts for Area A and Area B

It is certainly likely that an occupation that spanned the early 18th century through the 1780s would contain this variety of ceramic types, but the specific contexts of pearlware on the site made this unlikely. Although there was very little pearlware found on the site overall (less than 5% of the overall assemblage), the majority of it was concentrated around the house foundation. Not only was the majority of the pearlware found around the house, but also many of the fragments came from the bottom levels of the excavation units. Since the soil around the foundation appeared undisturbed, it must be assumed that the deposition of this pearlware must correspond to a time early in the house's occupation. Since pearlware first began to arrive in the American colonies in the 1780s, it is unlikely that the household associated with the foundation was occupied before that time.

If the house was not occupied until the 1780s, the high percentage of artifacts from, and prior to, the 1760s such as white salt-glazed stoneware, slipware, and tin-glazed earthenware, seems unusual. One explanation for this may lie in the misconception that the 2005 excavation area represents a single occupation. The high number of unidentified rock features from around the 2005 excavation area made it unclear whether or not there may have been multiple occupations for this area. An earlier occupation may have left fewer structural remains and may be indistinguishable from later structures.

If the ceramics from each of the six areas described earlier are examined independently rather than as a whole, a somewhat different pattern appears. The ceramics from the foundation, the perimeter, and the cellar hole all contain pearlware. The chimney units, which are clearly associated with the foundation, lack pearlware, but

were artifact poor in general. Neither the depression trench or the south rock pile contains pearlware, and their overall assemblage seemed to consist of older ceramics. It is possible, even though the south rock pile and the foundation are only a few meters apart, that they may represent independent and perhaps earlier deposits. With this difference in mind, separate mean ceramic dates were calculated for areas A and B. The results show that while the MCD for the foundation only jumped 4 years to 1784, the MCD for the other two areas dropped to 1761. This seems to indicate that the area around the south rock pile and the depression were deposited before the house foundation, at least as represented by the cellar, was constructed. The complete absence of pearlware from the southern two areas, as well as a higher percentage of slipware and white salt-glazed stoneware, appears to support this conclusion.

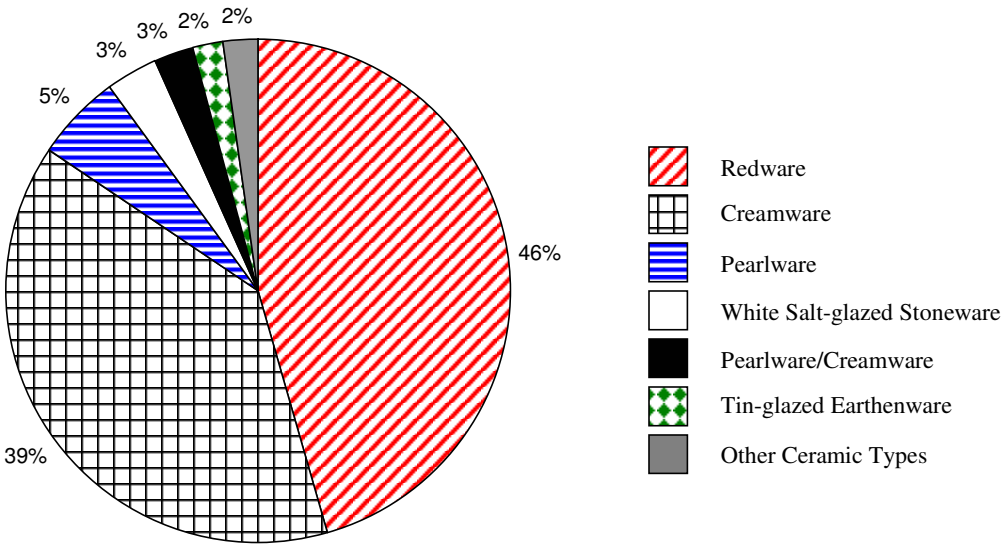
In an attempt to refine these dates, other potentially diagnostic artifacts were examined. Clay tobacco pipes can be used to provide date ranges for sites using measurements of stem bore diameters, but this method becomes inaccurate during the latter half of the 18th century (Hume 1969: 297-301). The small number of pipes recovered from the two areas of EP-300/1050 further limit the precision of this data. A total of 35 pipe stems were recovered from EP-300/1050, 23 from Area A and 12 from Area B. The clay tobacco pipes from Areas A and B both yielded mean bore diameter dates in the early 1750s. Since creamware is present in both deposits, these dates seem highly unlikely.

Decorated pipe stems, or those bearing maker's marks can be of greater help than measuring pipe bores. Two of the pipes from Area A had identifiable maker's marks. The first bears the maker's mark for Robert Tippet and was common from 1700-1780

(Walker 1977a). The second bore the marking "T.D" which may indicate a Thomas Dormer who manufactured pipes from 1748-1770 (Walker 1977b). The remaining pipes from this site were either undecorated or had no visible diagnostic features. The fragility and frequent replacement of pipes means that they can be a more accurate indicator of time than ceramics which were often curated over longer periods. Unfortunately the majority of pipe fragments recovered from EP-300/1050 were non-diagnostic. Though the two diagnostic pipes from this site fall within the range of occupation supported by the mean ceramic date, the broad production periods for these dates makes it impossible to further narrow possible occupation periods.

In addition to the distinct mean ceramic dates for the two areas, the variety of ceramics in the two areas seems to indicate some difference in these deposits. Since there were significantly more units excavated in Area A, comparison by ceramic counts was inaccurate. If the percentages of ceramic types are examined, however, a distinct difference can be seen between the types of ceramic in each area (Figure 5). Overall, redware dominates both deposits, making up nearly 50% of the ceramics in both Area A and Area B. This is not surprising considering the functional role that redwares played in 18th-century households, making them more abundant and more likely to be broken. They also fragment into much smaller pieces than most other ceramics, which can artificially inflate redware counts.

Area A Ceramics



Area B Ceramics

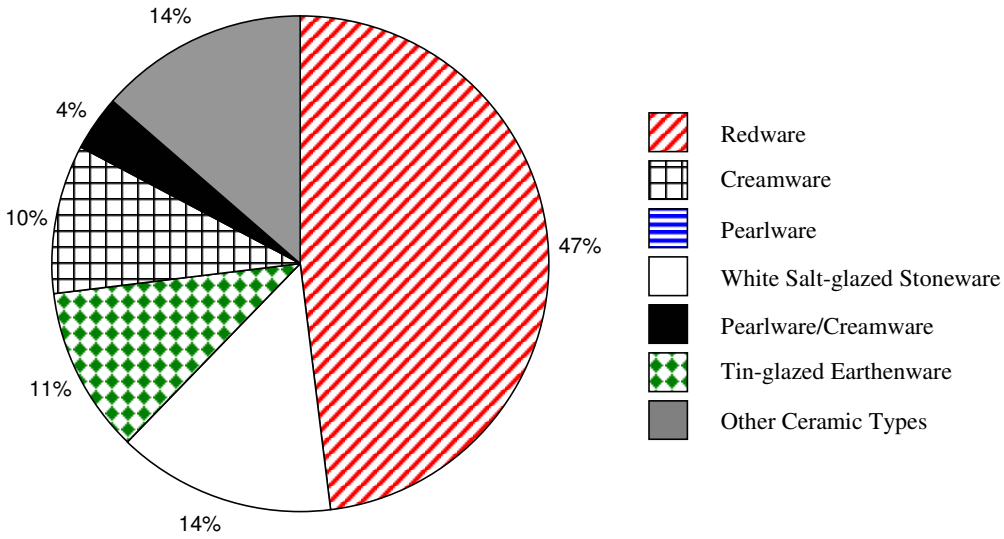


Figure 5

Percentages of Ceramic Types in Areas A and B

The remainder of the ceramics from the two areas shows a distinct difference in the variety of ceramic types present. Area B contains a much higher variety of ceramics including higher percentages of white salt-glazed stoneware and tin-glazed earthenware than Area A. A full 35% of the ceramics from Area B are of types that typically predate creamware. Creamware makes up only 10% of the ceramics in Area B. In Area A, creamware makes up almost 40% of the overall ceramics with the percentage of pre-creamware ceramic types dropping to about 5%. Like the differences in mean ceramic date, the difference in ceramic variety between Area A and Area B seems to separate these two deposits. The high variety of ceramics types was common of Euro-American sites in the 1760s before creamware began to dominate the market (Miller 1984:2). By the time pearlware was introduced in the 1780s many older forms of ceramic had begun to fade from use except in specific vessel forms (Miller 1984, 1991).

Although the ceramic data indicate that these two areas represent distinct deposits, one before 1780 and one after 1780, it is possible that they still represent the same household. These deposits may represent concurrent occupations of this area or a change in the activities in this area. The presence of pearlware in the lower levels of the foundation perimeter indicates that the house was built after the material in the south rock pile and depression was deposited. It is possible that the capping of the deposits in Area B corresponds to the construction of the house, but it is also possible that there was a time gap between the occupations or activities associated with each deposit. The presence or absence of this time gap is impossible to determine with the available data. Further excavation may reveal additional material that can narrow the occupation ranges of these

areas or help to determine if this site had two concurrent occupations or two occupations separated by a gap of time.

However, it is also possible that the difference in the deposits in Areas A and B represents a change in economic activity. As we saw in the last chapter, changes in the lives of the Eastern Pequot sometimes occurred in short period of times, with rather drastic changes in the types of economic activities that they were engaged in. The difference in both the age of the ceramics and the variety of ceramic types present may be an indication of a shift from less intensive economic exchanges with Euro-Americans to more intensive exchanges. If the Eastern Pequot living at EP-300/1050 were less actively involved in Euro-American economic exchanges, they may have purchased manufactured goods less frequently and acquired used goods through other types of exchange. They may also have simply been curating older ceramics for longer periods of time.

The possibility of two separate occupations of the same site complicates the interpretation of this material. It may be impossible to determine archaeologically if these deposits represent two occupations separated by a short period of time or a continuous occupation. Determining short gaps in occupation periods is difficult to determine using material culture alone. Several ceramics shared between both areas were less common ceramics such as a clouded, decorated agateware, which was produced between 1740 and 1775 (Miller 2000). This seems to support the idea of a concurrent occupation for this site, but the possibility that the materials from the later occupation intruded on the deposits from an earlier occupation further complicates this interpretation. Further excavation will be required to understand the sequence of these deposits and the relationship between them.

Whether the site was occupied concurrently or over two separate periods of time, the site is altogether abandoned before 1800. The absence of transfer-printed ceramics, which became common in the last decade of the 18th century, along with the small number of crudely-glazed pearlware fragments, indicate that none of the ceramics at this site were manufactured in the 19th century. The abandonment of this household may represent the movement of the occupants to Brotherton, a Christian Indian settlement in New York, which was settled around that time (McBride 1990: 111-112), but currently we have no way to test this speculation.

Individual Ceramic Types

Quantitative analysis often overlooks individual goods as outliers, and qualitative analysis will often explain away individual artifacts as contextually misrepresentative. For people who exist at the margins of an economy, however, it is sometimes the unique, individual goods that can tell us the most about the people who acquired them and the contexts in which they lived. Some of these less common ceramics have shorter production ranges, helping to place deposits in tighter temporal contexts. Less common ceramic types can also help make assumptions about spatial connections on a site, especially with the limited number of cross-mends present. Though it is inherently risky to place too much weight on individual artifacts, these data can help to flush out a picture created by more quantitative measures. Several uncommon ceramic types were recovered at EP-300/1050, and these ceramics can add to the perspective that the more standard ceramic data has provided.

The presence of porcelain, usually considered to be a high-value ceramic, in both Area A and Area B (Table 2) tells us something of the types of goods that the Eastern Pequot consumed. Thirteen pieces of porcelain, representing at least four vessels, were found in Area B, and eight pieces of porcelain, representing at least four vessels were found in Area A. Porcelain represents a statistically negligible percentage of the overall assemblage, but the high value of these ceramics make them unusual in 18th century contexts for people living on a reservation at the margins of an economy. Although porcelain is less common in lower income households, Adams and Boling's (1991) study of slave households in Georgia shows that high value and high status ceramics was available in even the most constrained environments. Not only was porcelain available, but the consumption of these expensive ceramics when less expensive materials were available indicates that some value was being placed on the ceramic goods being purchased.

In addition to porcelain, several less common ceramic types were also found around the foundation. One was a refined agateware, which has a creamware type paste mixed with red clay that was then decorated similar to a clouded ware (Figure 6). This type of agateware was developed by Thomas Whieldon in the 1740s and was sold until the 1750s (Hume 1968:132). Although only three fragments of this ceramic were recovered, the agateware was found all across the site, appearing in both Area A and Area B, as well as in shovel test pits 40 meters south of the foundation and 10 meters north of it. Although none of the agateware cross-mends it would appear that areas A and B represent a single occupation with the capping of area B around the time the house was constructed. Unfortunately it is difficult to say for certain if these deposits represent

a single occupation since it is possible that the deposits in Area A intrude into deposits from an earlier occupation.

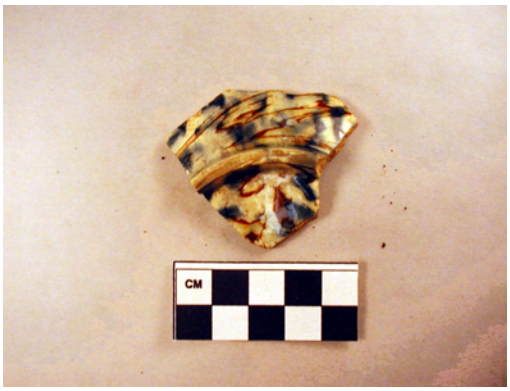


Figure 6
Refined Agateware recovered from area A

Figure 7
Enameled White Salt-Glazed Stoneware recovered from Area B

Another unusual ceramic type from this site is a polychrome enameled white salt-glazed stoneware (Figure 7). This ceramic was similar in color to the Whieldon-ware pots of the 1760s, but was made of white salt-glazed stoneware that was reglazed on the outside to give it a smooth finish. The glaze of this ceramic is similar to Littler's Blue in

manufacture but was a combination of green, brown and yellow. This type of decoration was not common though it was manufactured for around 30 years from the 1740s through the 1770s (Miller 2000). Though curation or second-hand purchase is a possibility with any durable good, the narrower availability for these types of products, in comparison to more widely produced types such as creamware, can help to narrow the possible occupation periods for this site.

It is impossible to say with any certainty, the reasons behind the purchase of these less common ceramic types. It may be that these goods were less popular and therefore more affordable, or it may be that ceramics that were less common in Euro-American homes were more desirable to the Eastern Pequot living on the reservation. It is also possible that goods were being purchased through middlemen such as overseers or employers which may have put significant limitations were being placed on the stylistic choices of Eastern Pequot consumers.

Ceramic Vessel Forms

Unfortunately, the ceramics from EP-300/1050 provide little information about the types of vessels the Eastern Pequot had purchased. The small sherd size makes it difficult to determine vessel forms for most of the ceramics, and it also makes a minimum vessel count difficult to determine with any degree of certainty. To further complicate matters, many of the ceramic forms during the 18th century had counterparts of wood, which would not preserve, or pewter, whose durability would have decreased the frequency of discard. The absence of these goods in the archaeological record can bias the data and lead archaeologists to assume that different vessel forms were not being

acquired or were being consumed in smaller quantities. It is therefore unwise to overanalyze the absence of certain vessel types, and base interpretations instead on the vessel types known to be present. The small sherd size of the 2005 ceramic assemblage – over 87% of assemblage is less than 2cm in size – makes specific vessel identification difficult, but some broad interpretations can be made based on the probable vessel forms present based on the types of ceramics found on the site.

Both Area A and Area B contain ceramic types associated with both utility goods and tableware (Hume 1968: 117). Even though the exact vessel forms are not known, certain ceramics such as "scratch blue" stoneware, which was often used for tableware, shows that the ceramics being used at this site served more than utilitarian purposes. A general list of some of the vessel forms present would include tea pots, tea cups, saucers, bowls, chamber pots, and large serving dishes. No plates could be directly identified from this sample. Only one ceramic from Area B and 15 fragments from Area A could be identified as flatware, but the small fragment size makes it unwise to assume they are entirely absent. Unfortunately, without larger fragments or more time spent attempting to cross-mend these small fragments, the actual types of vessels present is difficult to determine with any certainty.

What can be said about the vessel types present on this site must be done from the small number of identified vessels and those vessel types that can be inferred from decorative styles. Fragments from several teapots, including a hand-painted creamware rim (Figure 8), and the body of the enameled white salt-glazed stoneware teapot (Figure 7), as well as numerous fragments of teacups and saucers seems to show that some of the ceramics being purchased were tea services. Fragments of what is likely a tin-glazed

earthenware chamber pot was also recovered. Fragments of undecorated tin-glazed earthenware with a blue tint to the glaze were recovered in both Area A and Area B. The tinted glaze of the enamel is particular to tin-glazed chamber pots manufactured in the last half of the 18th century (Hume 1968: 147). Although this does not make up all of the tin-glazed earthenware at the site, 12 fragments in Area A and another 12 in Area B seem

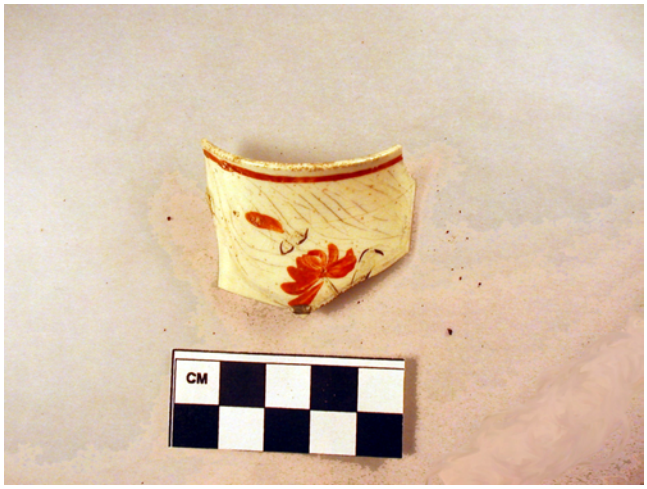


Figure 8
Lid fragment from a creamware teapot with a floral hand-painted overglaze decoration recovered from Area A

to show that at least one tin-glazed chamber pot was owned by the occupants of this house.

Tea sets, tableware, chamber pots, storage vessels, and large utilitarian redwares are all present in this assemblage, and with the amount of ceramic recovered from around the site, it is likely that a variety of other vessel forms were also being used. Although I cannot say for sure that the Eastern Pequot used these goods for similar purposes as their Euro-American neighbors, the results do show that the people living at the site were

actively engaged in consumer exchanges with Euro-Americans living in the area until the end of the 18th century.

Ceramics as Consumer Goods

Ceramics are more than just indicators of time; they are the results of decisions people made to purchase or acquire goods. As discussed in Chapter 2, consumption is about choice – the choice of what, when, and how much of certain goods people choose to acquire. Since they were relatively inexpensive, durable enough to survive in New England soil, fragile enough to break frequently, and came in a variety of styles and forms, ceramics sometimes show changes in the tastes or socio-economic levels of consumers. Although ceramics certainly had a functional role, the types of ceramics that people chose were often related to the tastes of the consumer. These choices, however, are constrained by the environment in which the consumer lives; therefore, the ceramics that we find reflect both that environment and the tastes and preferences of the consumer (McGuire and Wurst 2002).

Although ceramics represent only one aspect of the overall artifact assemblage, the interpretation of the ceramics from EP-300/1050 have provided a wealth of data about the Eastern Pequot who lived there. The ceramics have shown that site likely has two distinct depositional periods: One from before 1780, and one between 1780 and the 1790s. It is not clear at this time if these represent a continual occupation or a break in the site's occupation. If these deposits represent different occupations, then it shows two relatively short but intensive occupations of the same site. If these deposits represent the same occupation, then it shows a much longer occupation for this site and seems to

indicate changes in the residence structure, land use, and the degree of economic interactions with Euro-Americans.

The presence of porcelain shows that higher quality ceramics were available to the Eastern Pequot living on the reservation. The limited quantity is not at all surprising due to the high value, but the presence of porcelain when cheaper alternatives were available does seem to indicate that some value was being placed on the consumption of ceramic goods. The low frequency may reflect the fact that, although a higher quality of ceramic was preferred, it was not available in larger quantities. Other artifacts found at this site, such as a glass tumbler base, brass shoe buckles, and several metal utensils support the idea that some higher value goods were being consumed along with more pedestrian goods such as creamware and that consumer purchases were taking place in all areas of consumer goods.

The few identifiable forms, along with interpretations made of vessel specific ceramic types, indicate that tableware, tea sets, chamber pots, and utilitarian vessels were all present. It is likely that household residents purchased and used a wide variety of ceramic vessel forms, as well as vessels made of other materials such as wood and pewter. However, without a greater percentage of identifiable vessel forms, it will be difficult to say for certain what specific vessel forms were present.

It is not clear what kinds of economic activities the Eastern Pequot living at this site were engaged in. The large number of rock features on the site seems to indicate an intensive use of the landscape, and the diverse variety of European-manufactured goods shows that regular exchange was taking place with Euro-Americans in the area. Despite the many constraints placed on Native Americans in southern Connecticut at this time,

the occupants of this site appear to have achieved an economic level that supported the construction of a house and the consumption of a wide variety of European-manufactured goods. The variety of ceramic types and vessel forms, along with the presence of high-value manufactured goods (such as porcelain or clear glass tumblers) when less expensive alternatives were available shows that the although many Native Americans in southern New England were at the margins of the economy, others were actively engaged in consumer exchanges with their neighbors. Though the many constraints placed upon Eastern Pequot impacted both their economic activities and consumer patterns, the ceramics recovered at EP-300/1050 on the Eastern Pequot reservation seems to show that some Eastern Pequot negotiated these constraints in ways that allow for expressions of consumer preference as a means of personal, community, and cultural expression, and that while they may have lived at the margins of the economy, they were not marginalized by it.

CHAPTER 6: INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding chapters, we have seen how colonial constraints impacted the lives of the Eastern Pequot in the 18th century. So far, I have addressed the individual actions of George Toney, James Nead and the residents of EP-300/1050. In this chapeter I will look at all three of these cases and attempt to synthesize the various impacts that colonialism had on Eastern Pequot lives, and the ways in which these contexts were navigated through consumption and economic activity.

Consumer Contexts

Clearly the constraints placed on consumption and economic activity by colonial contexts represented a real and sometimes overwhelming factor in the lives of the Eastern Pequot. For both George Toney and James Nead, participation in the French and Indian War seems to have had drastic impacts on their lives. George Toney died as a result of the war, and James Nead appears to have lost his land during the war, or at least his ability to produce goods for sale. Although the French and Indian War did not drastically affect the New England economy (McCusker and Menard 1985:366), it had an impact on those at the margins of the economy, especially for those who participated directly in the war.

It is not overly surprising therefore to find a change at the EP-300/1050 site around the time of the American Revolution. The shift and possible abandonment of an

earlier site before 1780 and the construction of a house after 1780, falls right around the time of political and economic upheaval in the colonies. Although there are fewer records for Eastern Pequot participation in the American Revolution than there are for the French and Indian War, some are known to have been involved (Mandell 2005). Considering the effect of earlier wars on the Eastern Pequot, it would be surprising that the American Revolution had less of an impact.

War was not the only source of constraints on Native economic activities. The loss of land, as well as the poor quality of the land they retained, made farming difficult, and the restriction of movements made migration to seasonal resources dangerous. It is difficult to see the direct effects of these constraints in documentary sources, although complaints about land encroachment are frequent in the colonial records (Den Ouden 2004). James Nead appears to have come out for the worse living in this constrained environment. His exchanges with Wheeler show a cycle of indebtedness in which he is forced to sell goods to pay for debts from the previous year. This, rather than involvement in the militia, may have led to the loss of his land or livestock and the debts he owed at the time of his death.

George Toney and the occupants of EP-300/1050 appear to have fared better in their exchanges with their Euro-American neighbors. George Toney regularly had a surplus of credit with Wheeler and took frequent leaves from his work on the Wheeler farm for a variety of reasons. Although he had debts at the time of his death, it is likely that these were the result of an untimely death during war rather than a repetitive cycle of indebtedness. The moderate value of George Toney's estate may be an indication of his preference to spend his time and credit in activities other than the accumulation of goods.

It is also possible that while George Toney may have lived near the Wheeler farm, Mary may have lived on the reservation in North Stonington. The references to George Toney (JW-I: 46; JW-II: 4, 14) going to "Indian town" (JW-II: 23) may be a sign that Mary Toney, or other friends and relatives were living on Eastern Pequot land. If this is the case, then it is possible that the time George Toney spent away from his labor on the Wheeler farm was spent working on reservation land or protecting it from European encroachment.

The length of occupation for site EP-300/1050 differs from what we see in the lives of George Toney and James Nead, who both show a great deal of mobility over the ten-year periods during which they interact with Wheeler. The ceramics found at EP-300/1050 seem to indicate an occupation of around 20 to 30 years, from sometime in the 1760s until sometime in the 1780s or 1790s. The long occupation at the reservation household site is not without change, however. The two depositional periods, before and after the construction of a European style house, indicate some change in the lifestyle of the residents. It is unclear if these deposits represent two occupational periods or a change in the activities at this site. It may be that the residents of the site maintained a similar mobility to Toney and Nead, with seasonal, or even annual, movements on and off of the reservation or that before the construction of the house, the Eastern Pequot living at that site were only there for part of the year.

The differences seen in these deposits may indicate a change in the economic activities that the occupants were engaged in. The consumption or conservation of older ceramics before the construction of the house may indicate a limited involvement with Euro-Americans while the abundance of ceramics after the 1780s in a variety of types

and forms, and consistent with Euro-American households of the time, may show a greater involvement after 1780. The capping of the deposits in Area B, which may be the remains of a root cellar, around the time that the cellar was being excavated, may indicate a change in the resources that were being used or stored at the site. Further analysis of, in particular from the 2006 excavations of several of the other stone features, may provide a better understanding of the changes that took place at EP-300/1050, and how they may relate to the changes in the lives of the Eastern Pequot who resided there.

Negotiating Consumer Contexts

These three cases show that the constraints placed on Native American economic activity during the 18th century are visible in the consumer practices of the Eastern Pequot. Although it is difficult, and perhaps impossible to uncover a pattern of cause and effect for specific constraints on Native lives, it is clear that the contexts surrounding Eastern Pequot economic activity in the 18th century had an impact on the economic activities they were engaged in and the goods they were consuming. These constraints did not, however, dictate their actions. External pressures or social contexts are rarely so constraining as to remove entirely the decision making ability of social agents (McGuire and Wurst 2002:86). Economic and consumer activities were also a way that the Eastern Pequot negotiated these contexts that placed them at the margins of the economy.

George Toney shows a great deal of mobility during the time he worked for Wheeler. James Nead likely had a similar tendency towards mobility, given that he would likely have been trading with a variety of merchant-farmers in the area. This mobility can also be seen in their access to marine resources which they occasionally sold

to Wheeler. This mobility shows that despite the laws meant to restrict the movements of Native Americans in Connecticut, both Toney and Nead managed some freedom of movement. The familiarity these two men had with the residents of the Stonington area through their labor and consumer exchanges likely made them known figures in the area. Although James was referred to as "Indian Nead" by Wheeler, it is possible that other people he traded with were more familiar with him. The frequency of their exchanges may have allowed them more freedom to move throughout the region as they would not have been considered "dangerous" by the Euro-Americans in the area.

Both Toney and Nead were involved in a variety of economic exchanges with their Euro-American neighbors. It seems that economic activities of Native workers were just as complex and varied as their Euro-American counterparts during the 18th century. George Toney was a farmer, a fisherman, a laborer, and a soldier. James Nead seems to be engaged in an equally diverse set of activities. To describe Toney or Nead as a farmer ignores all of the other activities these men were engaged in during the year. The diversity of economic activities that was successful for Euro-American merchant-farmers in the 18th century appears to also have been favorable for the Eastern Pequot who interacted with them. It may also be that some pre-colonial patterns of diverse resource use and migration to various areas around New England can be seen reflected in this post-colonial economic diversity.

This complex variety of economic activities may also apply to the residents of EP-300/1050. The large number of stone enclosures seems to indicate an intensive use of the landscape. It is not clear at this time if these enclosures represent agricultural fields, animal pens, or both. It is likely, given the diversity of the enclosures, that the residents

were raising some domesticates as well as growing some crops. Preliminary analyses of the data from the 2006 excavations at the same site identified a large shell midden just to the east of the foundation. This shows that, as with George Toney and James Nead, marine resources played a role in the lives of the residents there. Further analyses will be required to further understand the role these marine resources played at the site, but it would appear that the residents either traveled to coastal areas to acquire these resources or acquired these resources through trade.

No direct evidence exists that agricultural goods, wool or other products of domesticates, or products of hunting or fishing, were being exchanged with Euro-Americans in the area. The abundance of European manufactured goods found at the archaeological site, however, shows that the Eastern Pequot living here were intensively engaged in trade with Euro-Americans. It is possible that the agricultural, animal, and marine resources found at the site related purely to subsistence activities, similar to George and Mary Toney, and that one or more members of the household were also engaged in wage labor. It seems unlikely that the small size of these enclosures would have produced enough marketable goods (in either crops or livestock) for significant trade, but it is impossible to say at this time if larger, undiscovered, agricultural fields may be in the area.

It is possible that the shift in ceramic consumption around 1780, when the house was constructed, represents a shift in the economic activities of its residents. For both George Toney and James Nead, such changes were not uncommon. For both of these men, the most drastic changes are associated with their participation in local militias. Although no evidence for this activity has been recovered at the EP-300/1050 site, the

shift at the site around such a watershed event like the American Revolution is somewhat curious. Even if the residents were not actively engaged in wartime activities, the disruption of the revolution may have impacted them. It is interesting to note that following (or perhaps beginning with) the construction of the house around 1780, the consumption of ceramic goods seems to have become more consistent. More excavation and analyses will be required to understand the two occupation periods at this site. It is my hope that the 2006 excavations will reveal more details about the occupational sequences at this site, especially with regards to the consumption of goods and the productions and acquisition of resources.

Both the archaeological and documentary evidence the diversity in the subsistence activities and economic exchanges with their Euro-American neighbors. Some of this diversity – such as the reliance on diverse resources and geographic mobility – may be the conservation of traditional patterns of labor and subsistence. Some of this diversity was likely influenced to the constraints imposed by harsh colonial contexts. Although these contexts clearly impacted their economic and consumer activities, Eastern Pequot negotiated these contexts by adapting to changing economic times and making use of a variety of resources. This evidence shows that although the contexts that the Eastern Pequot were living in shaped their consumer choices, that they did not determine them outright. The consumer choices that these Eastern Pequot were making were driven by preference, even if they were limited by the constraints of colonial contexts. The diversity of economic exchanges may have allowed the Eastern Pequot a degree of economic and cultural independence, which might have held a higher value than material goods in a colonial world that was closing in around them.

Consumer Choices and Consumer Preferences

Even in the harshest consumer contexts, preference plays a role in the consumer choices that people make. These preferences may be influenced by a variety of factors, both conscious and unconscious, and may be unique to an individual or familiar among communities. Understanding how these contexts shape consumer choices is an important step to understanding how these choices also reflect the preferences of these Eastern Pequot individuals. The purpose of this thesis is not to delve deeply into the preferences of the Eastern Pequot as it relates to their personal and community identities, but the data do allow for some general interpretation of the consumer preferences of the Eastern Pequot.

For George Toney, it seems that time may have been more important than money. He certainly had the opportunity to acquire more credit with Wheeler during the year, but he instead spent a fair amount of his working season engaged in other activities. Some of this time was spent at "home" and appears to have been spent working agricultural lands of his own, but other time was also spent helping a variety of other people in the area. The time he spent away helping others may have helped maintain community support which he relied on more than colonial credit relations. It may also have been the continuation of more traditional practices, with seasonal movements, and the maintaining of community ties.

Unfortunately the Wheeler accounts do not provide enough detailed consumer data for the purchases George Toney made from others. From his estate records, it can be seen that a large portion of Toney's debt at the time of his death was for clothing-related items. This apparent preference for clothing could mean several things. It is possible

that the frequent movements and his regular interaction with Euro-Americans away from his home made clothing a preferred form of outward expression. Clothing was a common expression of status among Europeans, and was adopted by many Native groups both as a means of expression internally but also in their relation with Euro-Americans (Little 2001). It may be that these purchases were for resale rather than use. George or Mary Toney may have purchased raw cloth materials (which were his most common purchases) for the manufacture and sale of finished clothing. This might explain why so little clothing appears in George Toney's probate, while he was in debt to Clement Minor for so much. There are no records of George or Mary Toney selling clothing to Wheeler, but since the Toney's dealings with Wheeler stop three years before his death, it is possible that the sale of clothing is recorded in the account books of other merchant-farmers in the area.

It is incredibly difficult to make any assessments of James Nead's consumer preferences. The consumer data in the Wheeler accounts does not provide a large amount of detail about his purchases. Most of the goods he buys from Wheeler are comestibles, with a single purchase of two barrels and another for some buttons. The lack of estate records for Nead likewise makes interpretations difficult. Since Nead appears to have traded directly with area merchant farmers, the account records for each person Nead traded with would be required to understand even the scope of his exchanges with Euro-Americans. It may be that the records for these direct exchanges downplays the success of Nead's trade in wool, but the available evidence suggests that a cycle of indebtedness may have severely constrained Nead's consumer activity in the later years of his life.

The diversity of archaeologically-recovered ceramic forms including tableware, tea services and chamber pots differs noticeably from those found in the probate record for George Toney. Some of the ceramics found at this site, such as tea sets, are usually associated with social activities. The difference in the ceramic assemblage between Toney and EP-300/1050 may be a sign that more time was being spent at the home at the household, than at the home of George Toney. While Toney seemed to prefer clothing, which was an outward form of expression that traveled with him, the residents of EP-300/1050 chose one that would be used around the home. Unfortunately the poor preservation of clothing items makes a true understanding of the clothing being consumed at the site. It may be that the abundance of ceramic goods would have been matched by greater consumption of goods such as clothing or furniture. It does seem, however, that there was a greater preference in home related products at the EP-300/1050 site than at the home of George Toney – barring, of course, the differences introduced when comparing documents and material objects from an archaeological site.

The residents of the excavated reservation site intensively used the land on the reservation and had frequent exchanges with their Euro-American neighbors. Further excavation will be required to get a better understanding of the economic and subsistence activities taking place at EP-300/1050. Perhaps they were raising animals or crops for sale with merchant-farmers in the area. Perhaps some members of the household worked seasonally in Euro-American towns like George Toney, while others stayed and worked fields or raised animals. Whatever the activity, the data from archaeological research shows that it was possible for the Eastern Pequot to live on reservation land, rely on home resources, and still have active involvement in local markets.

Conclusions

The work reported here has only scratched the surface of what I believe is possible through the examination of economic interactions. This work already shows the wealth of information available through the interpretation of account records and the comparison to material remains through the study of consumption, but more remains to be done. The goal of this thesis was to examine the impacts that colonial contexts had on the economic activities of the Eastern Pequot in the 18th century, and to examine the ways that the Eastern Pequot negotiated these contexts. The documentary and archaeological evidence presented here shows that Eastern Pequot consumer choices were shaped by consumer contexts, but their choices were also shaped by the preferences of individual social agents who navigated difficult circumstances.

The effect of colonial contexts on James Nead's economic activities seems to have been quite powerful, costing him his land and his livestock either through encroachment or indebtedness. George Toney, on the other hand, managed to negotiate the harsh colonial contexts well through a mixture of wage labor and subsistence activities. The EP-300/1050 site shows how, even in harsh economic contexts, it was possible for some Eastern Pequot to achieve a some economic stability . The construction of a house on reservation land, along with the continued consumption of European manufactured goods throughout its occupation, shows that economic success was possible without moving into Euro-American towns, and that the harsh constraints placed on Natives and reservation communities did not remove the possibility of economic survival.

The diversity of economic and subsistence activities displayed by James Nead, George Toney, and the residents of EP-300/1050 show some of the ways in which the Eastern Pequot navigated harsh colonial contexts. Economic exchange became one of a diverse set of activities that the Eastern Pequot used to navigate these contexts. Subsistence activities such as fishing, farming, hunting, and raising livestock also would have played a part in their negotiations of these contexts. Although it is difficult to prove archaeologically, exchanges within and between Native communities may also have played a part in the acquisition of resources. To assume the dominance of European economics and culture on Native lives overlooks a growing body of data that points to Native navigation of these contexts. What Europeans saw as "poverty" among Native Americans may simply have been an active choice to be less involved in Euro-American economies. Though it seems that James Nead truly struggled economically, it should be recognized that limited trade with Euro-Americans may have been a favorable thing for some Eastern Pequot. It is clear that some of the traditional subsistence activities were still taking place (such as the reliance on marine resources), so it should not be assumed that a lack of economic engagement with Euro-Americans represents impoverishment.

The Eastern Pequot, from the original Pequot tribes before Europeans arrived to the communities in the present, make decisions to shape their lives that are constrained by context, but shaped also by both resistance and negotiations of these contexts. Further research into the economic interactions between Native Americans and Euro-Americans will be of great benefit in understanding Native adaptations and negotiations of colonial contexts. The complexity of these interactions makes a comprehensive analysis difficult but examinations of resource acquisition, diet, landscape use, seasonal mobility and a

number of other areas of study will provide a wealth of information about the way that Native Americans negotiated colonialism in their daily lives.

APPENDIX A

Probate Record for George Toney
(Transcribed from New London Probate District, record #5335. Spelling and grammar reflect original text)

An invantory of the personal Estate of George toney of Stonington
in the County of Newlond Late deceased, taken by us the subscribers
under oath January ye 13th 1758
£ =S=d
To his wearing apparel 3=12=0
to 2 yards of woostead plush and triming 0=8=8
to 16 all blades 0=0=11
to 3 puter plattors & 6 porengors 3 plates 1 bason 1 quartpot
2=2=3
to 1 Iron pot 0=3=0
to 1 small pot & frying pan 0=3=0
to 1 silk grass bed 0=16=0
to 1 small meal tub 0=1=2
to 1 ax 0=1=6
to 1 ho 0=2=6
to 1 oak tub 0=1=6
all the articals of the above written £7=12=6
Inventory was vallued in Lawfull money
of this colony and their preps stated Apprisors
according by the day & date Rufus Palmor
above written by us James Palmor

February ye 2nd: AD 1758 to cash valued £ S d
by us the subscribers under oath ---------- £26=10=11

Feby ye 15th AD 1758 to Cash ---------- 00=18=0 ¾
to one hundred of white Sugar 3=5=8 ½
valued by us the subscribers under oath £30=14=8 ¼
Sworn in by the court £38= 7=2 ¼
Apee 1758
the whole was vallued in Lawful money Rufus Palmor
of this colony James Palmor
Stonington [illegible] 1758 X
Accepted [illegible]

APPENDIX B

Probate record for Samuel Shelley
(Transcribed from New London Probate District, record # 4797. Spelling and grammar reflect original text)

An Inventory of the Estate of Samuel Shelly
Late of Stonington Deceased, Pised by us [ye] subscribers
under oath Dec^{r} 6th AD 1745

Three Shoates @ 10/ ----------£ 4=10=
one cow £ 10 ---------- 10= =
12 # Sheeps wool @ 5/ one kettle & rings 7/6 ----------£ =12=6
1 Spade 25/ 2 axes 30/ 1 pitch fork 7/ ---------- 3=2=
1 hammer 6/ 1 old sword 20/ 1 chisel 2/6 ---------- 1=8=6
1 gouge 2/6 Drawing knife 3/ Spike gimblit 3/ ---------- =8=6
1 Iron dogg 3/ 2 # bullits 4/ 2 old syths & Tackling 12/---------- =19=
2 small pewter platters 28/ 3 plates 12/ 6 spoons 6/ ---------- 1=16=
1 q[t] pot 7/ 1 small bason 4/ 1 porringer 1/6 ---------- =12=6
1 iron pot 10/ 1 iron kettle 6/ [illegible] brass skillit 8/ ---------- 1=4=
1 chain 5/ 1 saddle 60/ 6 old barrils 24/ ---------- 4=9=
Sundry wooden vessls 10/ 1 grinstone 10/ ---------- 1= =
2 coats 70/ 7 # feathers 42/ 1 pr sheepshears 5/ ---------- 5=17=
1 old bed 60/ 1 woolen wheel 6/ ---------- 3=6=
6 old chairs 6/ 2 old chests 20/ 1 Table 25/ ---------- 2=11=
1 old pannel 10/ 1 old meal trough 7/ ---------- =17=
39=13=
Money old Tenor Bills ---------- 27=8=
Daniel Danison £67=1=
Jan^{y} 20 th Sworn to by the [illegible] John Whitingin Due form

APPENDIX C
Ceramic Catalog for Area A

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
303	1053.5	2	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1053.5	2	Stoneware	Jackfield	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1053.5	2	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1053.5	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Teacup	2-3	1
303	1053.5	3	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Green	Body	Hollowware	1-2	1
303	1053.5	3	Stoneware	Brown Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Undecorated	Brown	Body	Hollowware	3-5	1
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Combed	Brown	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1053.5	3	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Rhenish	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	6
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	10
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1053.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
303	1053.5	4	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1053.5	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Hollowware	1-2	1
303	1053.5	4	Earthenware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
303	1053.5	4	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1053.5	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	5
303	1053.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
303	1053.5	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	3
303	1053.5	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
303	1053.5	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1053.5	6	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
303	1056	1	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Flatware	1-2	1
303	1056	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	3
303	1056	11N	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
303	1056	2	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	2	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	2	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
303	1056	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	4
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Flatware	3-5	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Flatware	2-3	3
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Flatware	1-2	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Flatware	2-3	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Flatware	1-2	4
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Hollowware	1-2	1
303	1056	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	<1	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	2
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Green	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	63
303	1056	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Slip Decorated	Brown	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	6

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	35
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Hand-painted	Blue	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Hand-painted	Blue	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	6
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	2
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	3-5	1
303	1056	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Flatware	1-2	2
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Flatware	1-2	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	3-5	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	<1	2
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	3-5	3
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	12
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	13
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	5

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
303	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	3
303	1056	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	4
303	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	7
303	1056	5	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
303	1056	5	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	5	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	6	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	6	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
303	1056	6	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
305	1049.5	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	3	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1049.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	3	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1049.5	3	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1049.5	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
305	1049.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
305	1049.5	3	Porcelain	Indeterminate	Standard	Hand-painted	Red	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Molded	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Coarse Earthenware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Hollowware	2-3	1
305	1049.5	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Machine-turned	N/A	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
305	1049.5	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Handle	Hollowware	2-3	1
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	4	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Molded	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
305	1049.5	4	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1049.5	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1058	2	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Shell-edged	Blue	Rim	Flatware	<1	1
305	1058	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Flatware	1-2	1
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Feather-edged	N/A	Rim	Flatware	1-2	1
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	6
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1058	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1058	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Molded	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1058	4	Stoneware	Jackfield	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Shell-edged	Blue	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Shell-edged	Blue	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	2-3	1
305	1058	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	2-3	1
305	1058	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
305	1058	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
306	1052	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
306	1052	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1052	2	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Rhenish	Blue	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
307	1052	2	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Rhenish	Blue	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
307	1052	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Base	Indeterminate	3-5	1
307	1052	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Base	Indeterminate	3-5	1
307	1052	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
307	1052	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
307	1052	7	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Hollowware	<1	1
307	1052	7	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Hollowware	<1	1
307	1052	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1052	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1052	7	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1052	7	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1052	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	3
307	1052	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	3
307	1056	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	4
307	1056	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	5
307	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
307	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
307	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
307	1056	3	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	9
307	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	6
307	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	2-3	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Slip Decorated	Green	Body	Flatware	2-3	4
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	2-3	2
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	2
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	3
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	3
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	5
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	14
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	9
307	1056	3A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
307	1056	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Hollowware	1-2	2
307	1056	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Hollowware	1-2	1
307	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
307	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	4A	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
307	1056	4A	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	4A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	3
307	1056	4A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	4A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
307	1056	4A	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Slip Decorated	Green	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	4A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	4A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	4A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
307	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
307	1056	7	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1044	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1044	2	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1044	2	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1044	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1044	2	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Indeterminate	2-3	2
308	1044	2	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1044	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1044	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
308	1044	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	3
308	1044	3	Porcelain	Indeterminate	Standard	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1044	3	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1044	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	3
308	1044	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	5
308	1044	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
308	1044	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Body	Hollowware	1-2	1
308	1044	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1044	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1044	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
308	1048	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1048	2	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1048	3	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1048	4	Earthenware	Slipware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1048	4	Earthenware	Slipware	lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1048	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1048	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
308	1048	4	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1048	4	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1048	5	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1056	1	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1056	1	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1056	2	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	2	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	2	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1056	2	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	3
308	1056	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	9
308	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
308	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	3
308	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	10
308	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
308	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Unglazed	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	2
308	1056	4	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Flatware	1-2	1
308	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
308	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	4
308	1056	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
308	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Unglazed	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
308	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
308	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	2
308	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1052	10	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Indeterminate	Hollowware	<1	1
309	1052	10	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
309	1052	10	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1052	10	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	6
309	1052	11	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1052	11	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1052	11	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1052	14	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1052	14	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1052	16	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1052	17	Porcelain	Indeterminate	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1052	20	Stoneware	Jackfield	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Flatware	3-5	1
309	1052	3	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Hollowware	2-3	1
309	1052	4	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Rhenish	Blue	Body	Hollowware	1-2	1
309	1052	5	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1052	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1052	9A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1052	9A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1052	9	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1052	9	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1052	9	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1052	9	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1052	9	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
309	1053	1	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	4
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	11	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Coarse Earthenware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	5+	1
309	1053	11	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Rhenish	Blue	Handle	Hollowware	3-5	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	2
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Base	Saucer	5+	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Saucer	3-5	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Saucer	1-2	1
309	1053	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Teacuppot	<1	1
309	1053	12	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	12	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	12	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	12	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	12	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1053	12	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Saucer	1-2	1
309	1053	12	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Teacuppot	2-3	1
309	1053	12	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Teacuppot	1-2	2
309	1053	12	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Rim	Teacuppot	3-5	1
309	1053	13	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Bowl	5+	1
309	1053	13	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Bowl	3-5	1
309	1053	14	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	14	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	14	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	14	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1053	14	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	14	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	15	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	15	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	15	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1053	16	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Slip Decorated	Polychrome	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	2	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	2	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1053	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1053	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1053	2	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	2	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	2	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1053	2	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	<1	1
309	1053	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	3	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	5
309	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	6
309	1053	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1053	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
309	1053	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	2
309	1053	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	5
309	1053	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	9
309	1053	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	5
309	1053	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	5
309	1053	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Teacup	3-5	1
309	1053	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Teacup	1-2	1
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	5+	1
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	7
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	22
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	2
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	6
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	22
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	37
309	1053	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	3
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	2
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	12
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	2
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	3
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	6
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	26
309	1053	6	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1053	6	Porcelain	Indeterminate	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	<1	1
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	5+	1
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	8
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	19
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	67
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	2
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	6
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	26
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	31
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	5
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	113
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	7	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	7
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	6
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	2
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	2
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	5
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1053	8	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1053	9	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1053	9	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1053	9	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	9	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1053	9	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	6
309	1053	9B	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Slip Decorated	Green	Base	Flatware	5+	1
309	1053	9B	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1053	9B	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1053	9B	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	7
309	1053	9B	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	1	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	1	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1054	10W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Hand-painted	Green	Body	Indeterminate	5+	2
309	1054	10W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	10W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	10W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	10W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	10W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	10W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	10W	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	11W	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	11W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	12W	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	12W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	2	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	2	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	3	Earthenware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1054	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	3W	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	3W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	3W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	3W	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	3W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	3W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	3W	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	4	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	4W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	4W	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	4W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	4W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Slip Decorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	4W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	5	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1054	5	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	5W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	5W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	5+	1
309	1054	5W	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	5W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	5W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	6A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Clouded	Brown	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	6A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	6A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1054	6B	Earthenware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	6B	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Bowl	1-2	7
309	1054	6B	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Bowl	<1	3
309	1054	6B	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Bowl	3-5	1
309	1054	6B	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1054	6B	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	3-5	3
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	5+	2
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	8
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	6W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	22
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	5+	1
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	3-5	2
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	6
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	7A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	7W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
309	1054	7W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	7W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1054	7W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	7W	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1054	8A	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1054	8A	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	8A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	8W	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
309	1054	8W	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	3-5	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	5+	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Saucer	1-2	1
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Saucer	5+	2
309	1054	9W	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Saucer	3-5	1
309	1055	1	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1055	2	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1055	2	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1055	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1055	3	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1055	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1055	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1055	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1055	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	4
309	1055	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1056	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1056	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	<1	3
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	10
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	29
309	1056	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	6
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1056	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	4
309	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	4
309	1056	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1056	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1056	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1056	5	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Base	Indeterminate	2-3	1
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	14
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	13
309	1056	5	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	4

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	2
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
309	1056	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	5
309	1056	5	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1049	2	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
311	1049	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1049	2	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1049	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	1-2	1
311	1049	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
311	1049	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1049	4S	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
311	1050	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1051	2	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1051	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	5+	1
311	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1051	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
311	1051	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	4
311	1051	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
311	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
311	1052	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Hand-painted	Green	Rim	Hollowware	<1	1
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Brown	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
311	1052	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1052	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
311	1052	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Annular	Brown	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	1
311	1052	4	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Annular	Brown	Rim	Hollowware	<1	6
311	1052	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1052	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1053	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	3-5	1
311	1053	2	Stoneware	Brown Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Hollowware	2-3	1
311	1053	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
311	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
311	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	5
311	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	6
311	1053	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	2-3	1
311	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
311	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1053	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	2-3	1
311	1053	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1053	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
311	1053	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1053	4U	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1053	4U	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
311	1053	4U	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
311	1053	4U	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
311	1053	4U	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Molded	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
311	1053	5A	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
311	1053	5A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
311	1053	5A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	5
311	1053	5A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	3
311	1053	6	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
311	1053	6	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
312	1050	1	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
312	1050	3NW	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
312	1050	3NW	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
312	1050	4	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
312	1050	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
312	1050	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	1-2	2
312	1050	5	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
312	1052	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
312	1052	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
312	1052	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
312	1052	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	9
312	1052	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	15
312	1052	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
312	1052	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	2
312	1052	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	7
312	1052	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
312	1052	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1049	1	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
313	1049	1	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Slip Decorated	White	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
313	1049	1	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1049	2	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	3
313	1049	2	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1049	2	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1049	2	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1049	2	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1049	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1049	3	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1049	4A	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1049	4C	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1049	4C	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
313	1049	4C	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1049	5A	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Molded	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1049	5B	Stoneware	Brown Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1049	6B	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Brown	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1049	6B	Earthenware	Agateware	Standard	Clouded	Blue	Base	Saucer	3-5	1
313	1051	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
313	1051	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
313	1051	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	4
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Hand-painted	Brown	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1051	4N	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
313	1051	4N	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	4
313	1051	4N	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
313	1051	4N	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1051	4N	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	3
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	2-3	1
313	1051	4S	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Hollowware	<1	1
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	<1	2
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Pearlware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
313	1051	4S	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Tin-glazed Earthenware	Tin	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	9
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
313	1051	4S	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
313	1051	4S	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
313	1051	5	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1

APPENDIX D
Ceramic Catalog for Area B

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	10	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Slipware	Indeterminate	Slipware	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	5
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	5
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	2-3	1
301	1047.5	10	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	11	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Holloware	<1	1
301	1047.5	11	Porcelain	Indeterminate	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	11	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	11	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	11	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	11	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
301	1047.5	11	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	11	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	11	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Rhenish	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Green	Base	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
301	1047.5	12/13	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
301	1047.5	12/13	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Base	Tea Cup	3-5	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Tea Cup	2-3	1
301	1047.5	12/13	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Tea Cup	<1	1
301	1047.5	14	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Rhenish	Blue	Body	Holloware	2-3	1
301	1047.5	14	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	14	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	14	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	14	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	14	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	14	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	14	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	14	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	15	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	15	Stoneware	Brown Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	15	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	15	Porcelain	Indeterminate	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Combed	Brown	Body	Flatware	3-5	1
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Combed	Brown	Body	Flatware	<1	1
301	1047.5	16	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Holloware	1-2	2
301	1047.5	16	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Handle	Holloware	3-5	1
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	4
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Slipware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	3
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	16	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
301	1047.5	16	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
301	1047.5	16	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	17	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	17	Porcelain	Indeterminate	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
301	1047.5	17	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	17	Earthenware	Coarse Earthenware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	2	Porcelain	Indeterminate	Standard	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	2	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	3	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
301	1047.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
301	1047.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
301	1047.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	5+	1
301	1047.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	5+	1
301	1047.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
301	1047.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	5+	1
301	1047.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	6
301	1047.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	4
301	1047.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	2
301	1047.5	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	5
301	1047.5	5	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	3
301	1047.5	6	Earthenware	Slipware	Indeterminate	Slipware	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
301	1047.5	6	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	8	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	9	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	9	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
301	1047.5	9A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
301	1047.5	9A	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	10	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Molded	Green	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	11	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	11	Earthenware	Indeterminate	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	11	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	12	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	12	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	12	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	12	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	12	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	12	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	13	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Holloware	2-3	1
302	1047	13	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	13	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	13	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	13	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	15	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
302	1047	15	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	16	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
302	1047	16	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	17	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Holloware	1-2	1
302	1047	17	Earthenware	Agateware	Standard	Clouded	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	17	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	17	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Slipware	Brown	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
302	1047	17	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	17	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	17	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	17	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	17	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	17	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	18	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	6	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	6	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	7	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1047	7	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	8	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	9	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1047	9	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1048	10	Stoneware	Brown Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Holloware	<1	1
302	1048	10	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1048	10	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1048	10	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1048	11	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Handle	Holloware	3-5	1
302	1048	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Green	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1048	11	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1048	11	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1048	11	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1048	11	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Molded	Green	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1048	11	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1048	12	Stoneware	Brown Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1048	13	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1048	13	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	2-3	1
302	1048	15	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1048	16	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1048	16	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
302	1048	17	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Hand-painted	Green	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1048	17	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1048	18	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
302	1048	18	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1048	18	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1048	9	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	3
302	1049	1	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1050	7	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1050	8	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Incised	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1050	9	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	1B	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	2	Stoneware	Gray Stoneware	Salt-glaze	Rhenish	Blue	Body	Holloware	1-2	1
302	1051	2	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Undecorated	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	2-3	1
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	4
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	9
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	3
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	3
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	4
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	2
302	1051	2	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	2	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
302	1051	2	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	11

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
302	1051	2	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Red	Base	Tea Cup	2-3	2
302	1051	2A	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	2A	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	2A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	2
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	3	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	3
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Undecorated	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	3	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Polychrome	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	3	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	2
302	1051	3	Porcelain	Chinese Porcelain	Standard	Hand-painted	Red	Rim	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	3A	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Tin-Glazed Earthenware	Tin-glaze	Hand-painted	Blue	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Combed	Brown	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Combed	Brown	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Combed	Brown	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	2
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

Northing	Easting	level	Ware	Type	Glaze	Decor Type	Color	Vess Portion	Vessel Type	Size (cm)	Count
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Redware	Manganese	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Slipware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	2-3	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	4	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	4	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Rim	Holloware	1-2	1
302	1051	5	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Base	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	5	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Clouded	Brown	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	2
302	1051	5	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	3-5	1
302	1051	5	Earthenware	Redware	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	5	Earthenware	Redware	Lead	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	5	Earthenware	Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	<1	1
302	1051	5	Earthenware	Pearlware/Creamware	Standard	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1
302	1051	5	Stoneware	White Salt-glazed Stoneware	White Salt-glaze	Indeterminate	N/A	Body	Indeterminate	1-2	1

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