Carolyn L. White

Editor

The Materiality of Individuality

Archaeological Studies of Individual Lives

Springer

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Printed on acid-free paper

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Introduction

Introduction: Objects, Scale, and Identity Entangled

Carolyn L. White

Three elements – objects, scale, and identity – are entangled in the chapters in this collection. The authors have been tasked to center both material culture and the scale of the individual in their interpretations of the archaeological record. Archaeologists have always prioritized material things in the study of the past; the artifact is central to the archaeological endeavor. Nonetheless, as a number of scholars have recently pointed out (Meskell, 2005; Cochran and Beaudry, 2006; Loren and Beaudry, 2006), interpretive approaches to materiality – those that take an interdisciplinary perspective on material culture and also employ an approach developed in anthropological material studies – have been slow to percolate into the collective archaeological perspective. There are now a number of encouraging developments in this regard that indicate a new intensity of interest in material culture studies with a distinctly archaeological approach (Beaudry, 2006; White, 2005; Meskell, 2005), including a new series of guides published by Left Coast Press (White and Scarlett, 2009). One of the major aims of this volume is to demonstrate the potential of an approach to the archaeological record that takes materiality as its focus and uses substantive case studies to explore a common theme: individuality.

Archaeologists move between the general and specific in an almost constant tacking back and forth, though there has been some reluctance to acknowledge in a formal sense the degree to which we deal with individual lives. In fact, archaeologists struggle with their position between the general and specific, wanting to make broad contributions to an understanding of the past and bridling at accusations that what we do is trivial and particularistic. This worry has turned research toward attempts to understand large issues, at varying levels of success. Nassaney and Brandão (this volume) explore the relationship between the general and specific in their contribution, connecting contemporary examination and interest in individuality with its roots in New Archaeology.

What all archaeologists know is that we excavate individual houses, barns, outbuildings, and privies, and we extrapolate from these to make generalized

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statements. The beautiful flipside of this specificity is not necessarily that we have the ability to morph these particular places and belongings into broad statements, but rather that the individual character of our endeavors has so much potential for understanding life in the past. It is individuals who create the social matrix, and while people are never free from the society in which they live, or the networks of other individuals that connect them to their social structures, it is at the level of the individual that human diversity, variability, and I argue, a vibrant and dynamic past lives. At the same time we should be aware of Meskell's (1999:22) warning that "if we fail to recognize the complete self and society we end up with two potential extremes: complete glossing or complete idiosyncrasies."

The examination of individual lives throws the differences between individual people into relief. Social anthropologists have become increasingly untrusting of ideas of peoples, institutions, communities, and classes as coherent entities (Frank, 1995:145), and a return to life histories as an ethnographic endeavor has grown and is paralleled by archaeological interest in narrative, self-reflexivity, multivocality, and individualism. Joyce and Claassen (1997:7) stated, "Difference between individuals is not simply noise to be factored out of general propositions that can hold true for all members of past societies that created sites we attempt to understand. Difference is, instead, at the heart of the creation of distinctive settings for action, and distinctive kinds of action, that we can perceive archaeologically."

By and large archaeologists have, albeit slowly and sometimes begrudgingly, acknowledged the importance of multivocality. Historical archaeology has been characterized as a field well placed to explore multivocality, as the American tradition of historical archaeology is focused on "writing history from the small scale creating stories from individual artifacts, detailed studies describing single houses or settlements, and reconstructing the intentions and experience of named historical agents" (Gilchrist, 2005:334). As archaeologists cast their subjects as active agents, they draw out the roles of the multiple inhabitants at a site and explore the ways that the physical remains represent distinctive actions and meanings for different people. A focus on the individual, turning up the volume of the voice of one site inhabitant, also activates the voices of the site's other inhabitants. Magnifying the role of one character not only sharpens the boundaries and limitations of that lone life, but also renders more clearly the connections and linkages of that individual to others at a household, community, regional, societal, national, and even global level. Highlighting individuality catalyzes multivocality.

In their interpretations of individuality in the archaeological record, the contributors delve deeply into permutations of identity. Intense interest in identity has blossomed relatively recently, and archaeologists have approached identity in myriad ways. In historical archaeology, scholars have developed sophisticated approaches to and understandings of the ways that cultural identity is formed. One need only scan a conference program or peruse the book lists of major publishers of archaeology to note the present intense concern with identity in the archaeological record. Present-day interest in identity takes on topics of gender, race/ethnicity, and status/class, with age, sexuality and sexual preference, religion, and nationalism receiving more and more notice. Thematically, individuality and materiality govern

the directions of these papers, and along the way they make important contributions to the examination and framing of identity. In connecting the individual to the broader context of their communities, the social life and the material worlds in which these individuals lived come into focus.

Identity and Historical Archaeology

As historical archaeologists have pursued identity as a research focus, they have developed a heightened awareness of the complicated ways that aspects of cultural identity are shaped. Defining identity is a thorny task, as identity is not only culturally situated in time and place, but is defined by both the individual and the broader society. That identity is assumed, affirmed, and rejected in mutable and immutable ways also complicates matters. Perhaps one of the more complicated aspects of identity, and one that is particularly relevant to this volume, is that identity lies simultaneously and contradictorily at multiple scales; it defines a person both as part of a group and as a single person. The papers in this volume unabashedly address the individual scale and the ways that identity operates at an individual level, and in doing so contribute to an understanding of the embodiment of identity at a broader scale.

The development of the study of identity within the field of historical archaeology was led by forays into recognizing a single aspect of identity, usually ethnicity or gender (see White and Beaudry, 2009, for further discussion of the trajectory of this development). Initially, this groundbreaking work was not conceptualized as an examination of identity; it focused on investigating the lives of women and enslaved African Americans. In the 1980s and early 1990s, scholars successfully engaged with race and gender as they delved into the lives of African Americans in southern plantation contexts (Samford, 1996) and of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women (e.g., Seifert, 1991a). The importance of this work in establishing these arenas of analysis was critical to the formation of the study of identity as it is known today.

The success and innovative character of early work on gender and race catalyzed more scholars to approach these topics, and engagement with gender and race became more complex and emphasized agency, following broader trends in historical archaeology (see Hall and Silliman, 2006, for further discussion). As post-processualist ideas and a more "interpretive" approach to the past began to seep into American archaeology, some scholars found encouragement to engage with individual agency more directly, attending to the ways that race/ethnicity, gender, class, and other aspects of identity could be used as a lens through which to examine individuality and group affiliations in the past (White and Beaudry, 2009).

In the 1990s, archaeologists intensified their interest in the exploration of identity, continuing to focus on race and gender, but including class to a smaller extent. Work done by Ferguson (1992) to examine the plantation-based lives of African Americans, by Seifert (1991b, 1994) to explore brothels in nineteenth-century

Washington DC, and by Wall (1994) to study Victorian New York households are emblematic of the sorts of studies that characterize this era of inquiry into identity (see also Voss, 2006, and Paynter, 2000, for additional characterization and trajectories of race, gender, and class in historical archaeology). The scholarship was typically put forward as an exploration of gender and race specifically. This narrow focus allowed archaeologists to make important inroads into gender construction and ethnic identity. In focusing closely on one thread of identity, the presence of multiple and intertwined elements became clear and began to encourage a more complex reading of these elemental aspects of identity.

In the late 1990s and 2000s archaeologists (alongside scholars in history, sociology, cultural studies, and art history) took on the exploration of identity explicitly with gathering strength and momentum. In their pursuit of lines of research concerned with identity, scholars' engagement grew more nuanced as it looked both outward to draw in more diverse subjects and inward to examine the ways in which the subjects were examined. Consequently, archaeologists began to explore multiple elements of identity at once, highlighting the intricate knit of components of identity and the relationship between the self and society.

The creativity and imagination reflected in a series of edited volumes produced over the last decade and a half have offered inspiration and broken important ground for the sorts of analyses that are contained in the following pages. Several edited volumes have taken up identity and ushered engagement with identity through the direct lines of gender, ethnicity, race, and age, and began to explore the ways in which individual people interface with the broader society. For example, the publication of *The Archaeology of Inequality* edited by McGuire and Paynter (1991) focused primarily on historical archaeology. This volume did not focus on identity directly, but contained a number of articles that pointed toward the importance of viewing people in the past as active agents and highlighted the importance of using material culture to understand that past (Beaudry et al., 1991).

In Scott's (1994) groundbreaking volume *Those of Little Note*, contributors explored the lives of people on the margins, and although the volume did not explore identity specifically, it foreshadowed a variety of themes that grew into what are considered today to be identity studies. The resolution of these analyses varied from very closely examining a single site (Muller, 1994) to the role of gender across a region and site type vis-à-vis mining in the west (Hardesty, 1994). Scott's volume sowed many of the seeds that have continued to grow in the years since its publication.

Volumes such as Orser's (2001) *Race and the Archaeology of Identity* and Delle et al.'s lines that divide (2000) began to specifically examine identity as *identity* – as a theme that has found its way into the research channels of archaeologists explicitly now for almost a decade. Casella and Fowler's (2005) *Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities* reflects the expansion of vision of identity by the mid-2000s, challenging essentialist notions of identity through careful tracing of the ways and means of its construction. Other volumes have expressly taken up sexuality (Schmidt and Voss, 2000) and gender (Galle and Young, 2005) as an organizing theme in the pursuit of identity.

Work within the field of archaeology on identity is now diverse, and textured and nuanced approaches are becoming widespread. Archaeological work continues to

use one aspect of identity as a starting point, but has moved to encompass topics such as sexuality (Casella, 2000; Voss, 2005), labor (Silliman, 2006; Saitta, 2007; Casella, 2000), nationalism (White, 2009), and age (Baxter, 2005). Rather than prioritizing a single strand of identity to the exclusion of others, authors have more recently used these strands to understand the complex connections between individuals and the many groups of which they comprise a part.

The blossoming of identity studies in historical archaeology has permitted a freedom of inquiry into the lives of people both in terms of modes of inquiry and in the ways that the enterprise of archaeology itself has been constructed. So, while the papers in this volume place the individual at the center of analysis, they share themes that zigzag through current work found in the pursuit of identity in archaeology across regions and time periods.

Individual Lives

The pursuit of the individual in archaeology is not a new idea. In fact, individual lives have captured the imagination of archaeologists throughout the history of the discipline. Heinrich Schliemann and Priam, Howard Carter and Tutankhamen, and Donald Johanson and Lucy exemplify the tight, and sometimes legendary, bond between archaeological work and individual lives. In some respects, historical archaeology was catalyzed by the individual as it was used to locate famous places associated with famous people (e.g., Williamsburg, Jamestown, Monticello). Early work by Noël Hume and Deetz capitalized on the accessibility of the individual to communicate ideas about the past. Noël Hume's pursuit of "Granny's" murderer (Noël Hume, 1982) and Deetz's (1977) use of vignettes to open *In Small Things Forgotten* illustrate the intrigue and tangibility that individual lives convey to the study of the past. Leone's examination of William Paca's garden used what he later called "possessive individualism" to connect individual, landscape, and ideology (Leone, 1984, 2005; DeCunzo and Ernstein, 2006:258–259).

More recently, two modes of archaeological practice have placed individual lives at the center of analysis: narrative and object biography. A pair of influential sessions at the Society for Historical Archaeology annual meetings and their subsequent publication by Praetzellis and Praetzellis (1998) used creative narrative to engage with individual lives in a lively and approachable manner. Archaeological narrative describes individual lives through fictional dialogues, journals, letters, oral histories, or accounts. Subsequently, many archaeologists have incorporated narrative into broader examinations of archaeological sites, employing individual perspectives to tease out broader issues that arise in an interpretation of a place and time (see Joyce, 2006, for further discussion of the use of narrative in archaeology). This work often uses a single individual voice to draw out questions that may not be immediately accessible through traditional archaeological interpretation. The narratives also often serve to situate and activate particular objects or assemblages and to make the archaeological enterprise more

approachable and permeable (e.g., Wilkie, 2003; Dawdy, 2008; Schrire, 1996; Pluciennik, 1999).

A second mode, the use of object biography, has found favor with many archaeologists. As Gosden and Marshall summarize (1999:173–174), a number of theoretical approaches have coalesced under the idiom of object biography. The biographical approach to material culture comes out of a framework of analysis interested in tracing the paths of objects, as the paths are critical to understanding the meanings invested or inherent in the objects. Strathern (1988) puts forth the notion of the mutual infiltration of meaning in people and objects that reflects and constructs the network of relationships created by the movement of both elements. Gell (1998:21) views objects as social agents, stating that "objectification in artifact-form is how social agency manifests and realizes itself." Appadurai (1986) stresses context and the importance of the social and political mileau in which an object is made, exchanged, and used. The use of "object biography" as put forth by Hoskins (1998) traces the life trajectory of objects in association with particular people. This approach to material culture has percolated through the literature, first in Great Britain, and increasingly so in the United States (see King, 2006; Jeffries, this volume; MacLean, this volume; Beaudry, this volume).

The contributors here draw on the theoretical and practical work of a biographical approach to material culture from a mix of angles, whether it is seeing the artifact as the primary subject and constructing the lives of individuals through a single artifact type, or by seeing the life of an individual as primary and interpreting an array of materials more thoroughly as possessions of that person.

Entangled/Untangled Lives

This volume is driven by an interpretive challenge: study the individual through material culture, without restriction on form. The book is not (and could not be) comprehensive in scope, but offers a sample of materials and approaches that mirror the state of the field today. I have selected the work of scholars who offer a variety of insights across time periods and regions. The diverse selection is designed to allow readers to make connections to their own research and to derive motivation from work that is potentially distant from their own.

Geographical and temporal spans are broad. The chapters draw on materials mainly from North America, but also from Europe and the Pacific. The work pulls from the eastern seaboard, specifically Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, and Maryland; the Midwest, namely Michigan and Indiana; as well as the southeastern United States, from Louisiana and Georgia. The islands of Hawai`i offer material from the Pacific. To the east, objects from London, England, and European World War II fronts provide a third regional perspective. The volume's contributors examine sites dating from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries, again, reflecting the expansive temporal continuum to which historical archaeologists devote themselves.

The authors use an array of artifactual materials to understand individuality. Many of the pieces focus on what are often considered "small finds": beads and cloth (Loren, this volume), bodkins (Beaudry, this volume), personal adornment (Nassaney and Brandão, this volume; Mullins, this volume), toothpicks (MacLean, this volume), and shoes (White, this volume). Some use very specialized, situationally created materials, such as Saunders' (this volume) use of trench art, while others use a seemingly impersonal material: lime plaster (Mills, this volume). Others use artifacts found in larger numbers on archaeological sites: ceramic bottles (Jeffries, this volume), teawares (Hodge, this volume), and ceramic assemblages (Beranek, this volume).

There are a number of themes and threads that crisscross this volume. The book is organized into three sections. The first comprises articles that engage with the individual by looking at collective sites, places where the individual scale is not immediately apparent. The second section consists of articles that use clothing or personal adornment to examine the individual. As I have stated elsewhere, personal adornment as a class of artifacts is a powerful tool to understand the ways that people signified their individual identities and group affiliations (White, 2005, 2008). The papers in this section underscore this potential. The third section consists of articles that view the site through the lens of the individual. These papers place particular people at the center of their analysis and explore the site through that perspective. These sections frame the essential organization and direction of the contributions, but there are a variety of overlapping themes and ideas that cross boundaries.

Corporeality

One concern that curls through these pieces is the physical presence of people through bodily signatures. As I have noted elsewhere, the body and embodiment have received a great deal of attention in a wave of publications focused on the body as a topic of analysis (White and Beaudry, 2009; Fisher and Loren, 2003; Montserrat, 1998; Rautman, 2000; Lindman and Tarter, 2001; Hamilakis et al., 1998). Many of the materials selected here to explore individuality are those that are worn on the body and have been found to be resonant in the pursuit of the explanation of individuality.

Loren (this volume) uses beads and cloth from museum collections as a means to investigate embodiment and its relationship to identity. She explores the ways that objects and subjects intersect and "become entangled in daily life" and mingles these ideas of materiality with theoretical approaches to embodiment. Loren views the construction of identity through "movement, action, and interaction of one's body in a social and physical landscape." She expressly links embodiment and materiality to understanding identity formation through the ways that beads and cloth worked as a medium for the construction of and commentary on relationships and identities in eighteenth-century Louisiana and the ways that outward appearance mediated these forces. She emphasizes the role of the *utilization* of these objects; meaning was

created by wearing (in contrast to trading) beads. Loren calls attention to the role that wearing objects on the body impacted bodily experiences in a profound way.

The connections between worn objects and embodiment are highlighted in several other contributions. I (White, this volume) use shoes as a class of material culture to directly interpret the physicality of the individual people who wore those shoes. I use the form of the shoes to envision the bodies of the wearers in terms of health and stature, but also as the form relates to fashion and identity construction. Capitalizing on the imprint of individuals on their shoes in a literal sense, I explicitly tie three shoes to three people, using them as a lens to access individual bodies.

Beaudry's work (this volume) also emphasizes embodiment and corporeality in an examination of bodkins, a needlelike tool with multiple uses, carried or worn on the body. She describes the ways in which bodkins were "used by women to present and clothe their bodies" and the associated power of these objects in social display. The impact of the presence of the bodkin in relation to the corporeality of the wearer is underscored by their personal nature – often inscribed with the initials of the owner – as well as the monetary and sentimental value bound up in them. The physical nature of the role of the bodkin, which she uses as an access point to understand the lives of a number of specific women in the past, and its placement on the body to signify gendered status are key components of the power of the artifacts.

Likewise, MacLean's study (this volume) of a Spanish toothpick worn on the body uses the ideas of the physical use of an object to construct individual identity. She emphasizes the dialectical relationship between the object and its wearer. Notably, this sort of object was worn as personal adornment and had an associated hygienic function. It worked to define a person through the physicality of the body as it functioned to maintain the comfort and cleanliness of the body itself.

In a very different manner, Saunders (this volume) highlights embodiment and corporeality. His chapter examines trench art, a definition that includes any objects made from material associated with armed conflict or its consequences. The role of the body takes a different direction in this piece, as he examines the potency and value of objects retrieved from the dead bodies of fallen enemy soldiers, or of the remanufacture of materials recovered from the body of the soldier (e.g., surgically removed bullets remade into medals). In addition, the status of the soldier associated with a given object (living, wounded, or killed) places different meanings on the objects; in effect, the corporeality of the associated body imbues a different sort of significance to each object. The place of embodiment as a means of charging the objects with meaning is part of the wartime effort of individual soldiers to remain human in a dehumanizing environment.

Daily Practices, Episodic Events, and Social Networks

The individual scale of analysis casts light on daily dimensions of life and singular events. By accenting high-resolution studies here, the contributors have also by association focused on a short time span – the life of an individual and in some

cases the daily life of an individual. Contributors trace these high-resolution activities in a number of ways, often against a backdrop of broader social networks.

Nassaney and Brandão (this volume) intertwine daily practices, episodic events, and social networks to understand identity at Fort St. Joseph. They access the individual on three different scales as part of the broader effort to construct a cultural and historical context to comprehend the ways that material culture works in daily practice to communicate messages about social identity and to fulfill desires. Through unique forms, "intimate moments" with respect to activity areas and features linked to a single person, and the material culture of personal adornment, they shed light on the role of individualism and identity in a French colonial context. Pointing out the role that systems theory had in deflecting attention from the individual (see Brumfiel, 1992), Nassaney and Brandão explore the merit and value of investigating individuality through materiality. Their resourceful analysis of a single object, a cilice, sheds light on the scale of the individual, while emphasizing the connection of daily practice to the broader structure of the community at large and to the colonial enterprise more generally.

MacLean (this volume) uses the toothpick in a Spanish colonial context as a mechanism to access daily practices and individual identities as she focuses on the connection between habitual activity and a singular object. Like Nassaney and Brandão, MacLean connects the toothpick to individual identity construction and to the broader milieu of colonial Spain. Through rituals of hygiene and the role of toothpicks as markers of status, she accesses the particularity of the individual associated with *this* object. The single individual is then used to reflect back on the role of Spanish colonial culture as a whole.

Saunders (this volume) makes use of trench art to connect episodic events and identity construction. He highlights the ways that individual soldiers pursued, collected, and modified materials on the battlefield in order to construct and retain individual identities. War-related incidents in soldiers' lives were marked through the collected and manipulated materials. At the same time, the objects reflect daily practices of wartime, of the quiet and waiting that corresponded with the intense action of war.

Mills (this volume) uses architecture, and more specifically lime plaster, to understand daily practices and the relationship of mundane acts to social networks. Agency and individuality go hand in hand, as he looks to the material expressions of individual power, status, and identity and relationships between colonizers and colonized. Characterizing lime as an "entangled object" (Thomas, 1991), Mills traces the construction of houses as emblematic of individual actions and views of the self in relation to society as a whole. The construction of houses one by one reflects individual action, and it is through this individual action, these daily practices, that vernacular architecture grew and served to reinforce individual power.

Particular People

One of the tantalizing but inevitably frustrating elements of archaeology is the knowledge of the names and details of the lives of many of the inhabitants at a given archaeological site. The documentary record available to archaeologists who study

the historical period permits insight into the lives of specific people, named and associated with the sites that archaeologists excavate. Of course, it is rare that the artifacts excavated at a particular site can be associated with a single individual unambiguously. A number of authors in this volume address this issue head on.

Beaudry (this volume) uses bodkins inscribed with the initials of particular women to enter those women's lives and to explore ideas about personal identity, social rank, and community notions about appropriate behavior. She uses court cases and probate records to look at the ethnographic contexts in which bodkins were used, using the specific cases of individual women to shed light on the use of these objects. Flipping the equation around, she uses inscribed bodkins to imagine and recreate "lost biographies" of women from Albany, New York, Boston, Massachusetts, and St. Mary's City, Maryland, by associating the inscriptions with their likely owners.

In my analysis of shoes (White, this volume), I take a physical approach to the lives of the wearers of these objects making the physical health of particular people visible. The archaeological context of the shoes and the associated documentary record does not provide much in the way of associated individuals to contrast with many of the other contributions. Rather, I discuss the specific lives of three individuals as revealed by their shoes; while unnamed, they can be envisioned with a great deal of specificity.

Jeffries (this volume) uses a single artifact, a stoneware ginger beer bottle, to explore the specific lives of an Italian immigrant family in London. Stamped with the brand name, "Buicchi Brothers," an industrial object becomes an entry point into the lives of several distinct people through his research. As Jeffries traces the path of the object through time as manufactured by the brothers, other individuals – the excavator, the student researcher, the descendents of the Buicchi brothers as collectors, and Jeffries himself – are revealed through a biographical approach to this nineteenth-century object.

Several contributions use particular people as a lens to see a broader assemblage of materials. In these chapters, the strength of the individual as revealed through the documentary record guides the authors in their interpretation of an archaeological site. In weaving the personality and historical specifics of an individual, the authors examine the range of recovered archaeological materials to explore the role of personhood and personality on an interpretive level. In this way these authors allow the individual character to impose ideas and strengthen the interpretive exercise of analyzing a site assemblage.

For example, Beranek (this volume) takes what could be a very traditional sort of archaeological analysis of the site of the Tyng mansion, the home of a wealthy Anglo man, and reinterprets the recovered materials through the lens of the life of a specific person, Eleazer Tyng. Beranek confronts the issue of association by boldly connecting the assemblage to this individual life, throwing the contradictions and ambiguities of his life into sharp relief. At the same time, this interpretive approach allows Tyng's role as culture broker to be seen with clarity.

Hodge (this volume) takes an assemblage-based approach to her subject, Widow Pratt of Newport, Rhode Island, as she examines the excavated materials associated

with this individual as reflecting the "creative, active choices made among reorganized possibilities and sublimated parameters." Interpreting materials such as teawares and sewing artifacts, Hodge focuses on the interpretive strength of the individual scale of analysis to shed light on the objects she recovered at the site, and, in turn, to understand the values and priorities on a domestic practical level of the site as occupied by Widow Pratt. Her approach uses a somewhat standard material assemblage to see the ways that individual preferences shape normative behaviors.

Mullins (this volume) takes a different course in his use of materiality to understand the life of Martha Miller, a store owner in Indianapolis, Indiana. Launching from the identification of a brooch with Afrocentric iconography, Mullins offers a bit of a cautionary tale. He highlights the inherent contradictions in the pursuit of an understanding of individuality and in doing so reflects on the power of archaeology to expose collectivity. Quite appropriately, Mullins scrutinizes the relationship between individuality and collectivity, pointing out that an archaeology that focuses solely on agency of individual people risks ignoring the power of structural impacts on individuals and the broader collectivity of which they are a part.

Articulation with Broader Patterns

Each of the authors reflects the individual lives they take as subjects against the broader context of the individual. For example, Beaudry's (this volume) use of court records to highlight the cultural significance and context of seventeenth-century bodkins exposes the conditions under which rank was *imparted to* people rather than simply *claimed* through material objects. Mills (this volume) sees the construction of houses using European plastering techniques. His emphasis on the consequences and power of individual action in culture change highlights the relationship between the individual and the much broader patterns of colonization. Jeffries' (this volume) use of the stoneware bottle made by the Buicchi family business likewise is contextualized in the broader roles that ethnicity and neighborhood played in the expansive industrial production of food and beverages in nineteenth-century London. By bringing forth individual lives the broader cultural milieu in which the individuals live is activated.

Other contributions address the idea of the individual to define collectivity. Hodge (this volume) uses her assemblages associated with a Newport widow to reflect on Georgian gentility and the limitations and boundaries of social practices. Beranek (this volume) uses Eleazer Tyng to see the broad ideas of consumption in eighteenth-century New England and to explore his connections to other people to "enact and maintain behavioral ideals." Beranek, like the rest of the authors in this volume, is highly aware of the importance of the relationship between the individual and society, as well as the importance of seeing the individual within the historical context in which they viewed themselves and everything else in the world. Nassaney and Brandão's (this volume) use of material culture of personal adornment likewise

is very much focused on the broader structures in play in a frontier context. That individuals could experiment with expressions of individuality in an isolated place is key, but that a new collectivity was born on the frontier is also striking.

The focus of this volume is on individuality, and in that regard single people are front and center in every contribution whether they are named or not. The individual lives that can be pulled from material assemblages and individual artifacts are the primary subject of each contribution. At the same time, these articles point out the relationship between each individual and the broader social context from which they hail. By examining individual lives, the background against which those people are laid comes into sharper focus as well. After all, groups are collections of individuals.

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Part I
Individuality in Collective Spaces

The Materiality of Individuality at Fort St. Joseph: An Eighteenth-Century Mission-Garrison-Trading Post Complex on the Edge of Empire

Michael Shakir Nassaney and José António Brandão

Introduction

Anthropological archaeologists have long recognized that material remains can inform on various scales of human activity as well as the identities of the people who lived in the past (Brumfiel, 1992; Diaz-Andreu et al., 2005; Hodder, 1986; Marquardt, 1992; Wobst, 1977). Many conceive of the archaeological record as a multivalent text — both a product of and precedent for human action – that individuals as members of groups use to create, reproduce, and transform their social relations. This perspective marks a shift in focus from culture to society and its constituent parts (Hodder, 2004:23–29). Early acknowledgement of the multidimensionality of artifacts based on their technomic, sociotechnic, and ideotechnic functions by processual archaeologists came in tandem with the recognition that social groups are not homogeneous cultural entities but consist of individuals with specific interests based on their age, status, gender, ethnicity, and a multitude of intersections among these axes (Binford, 1962, 1965). Yet the dominance of systems theory thinking deflected attention away from the individual as the locus of analysis and thwarted methodological attempts to illuminate social identity (but see Hill and Gunn, 1977). More recent concern with the implications of social diversity has led investigators of the past to probe the archaeological record with full awareness that it embodies the dreams, aspirations, motivations, perceptions, and realities of individual agents whose actions were admittedly constrained by structures they often took for granted (Brumfiel, 1992; Dobres and Robb, 2000).

Contemporary archaeologists continue to examine the constitution of society and find utility in the lens of identity. Meskell and Preucel (2004:121) opine, "in framing identity today, archaeologists and other scholars who concern themselves with the social world investigate how individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities." Hence, social identities – a composite of the socially sanctioned roles that individuals enact as members of a group (see Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005:1) – are never created in isolation.

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They are the outcomes of relationships (Sassaman, 2000). In addition, identity is no longer seen as static but is rather conceived as fluid and malleable, under negotiation and open to manipulation (Meskell, 2001). For archaeologists identity is operative because individuals constructed and expressed their identities through the material world. Moreover, by examining the scale of individuality through materiality we can gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of the people who populated that past.

Nevertheless, individuals are not equally visible at all historical moments. The context of North American colonialism provided an opportunity for individual expression as men and women, young and old, Native and newcomer attempted to assert and redefine themselves under new social, economic, and political circumstances (Nassaney et al., 2007a). This is particularly apparent in eighteenth-century French settlements in the western Great Lakes where immigrants were often dependent for their survival on alliances with Native groups. The French employed various strategies of accommodation to ensure peaceful co-existence with their neighbors, including marriage and gift exchange. The process of interaction between the French and the Natives was mutually transformative as seen in the creative manipulation of material culture that embodied new social identities on the edge of empire (Havard, 2003; Loren, this volume; White 1991).

Recent archaeological investigations of Fort St. Joseph in southwest Michigan (Fig. 1) have resulted in the identification of numerous artifacts and activity areas that provide an entry point into the materiality of individuality. The purpose of this paper is to explore some of the identities of individuals who occupied the fort and examine several objects and features that point to contradictions in the expression of individuality at this outpost. We suggest that investigations at the scale of the individual can contribute to a better understanding of the lived experience of colonialism, whereas the context of colonialism can illuminate the material forms that individuality took at a particular historical moment.

Individuality, Identity, and Archaeological Agents

Any self-critical study in the social sciences must take ontology into account. We must be prepared to entertain the notion that contemporary understandings of the individual in the postmodern, late capitalist, Western world does not characterize individual subjectivity in other historical periods. Handsman (1983:70; see also Hodder, 2004:33) argues that the ideology of individualism, which denies individuals as socially constituted beings, is a product of capitalism and its system of valuations and separations that further the cause of capital. Yet a concept of the individual dates back to the ancient Greeks and most non-Western societies can conceive of individual as opposed to group interests. Of course, in small-scale societies group interests often subsume those of the individual and serve to dampen incipient inequalities. For example, the right to distribute meat among San hunters belonged to the maker of the arrow that delivered the fatal blow; arrows were widely traded with knowledge
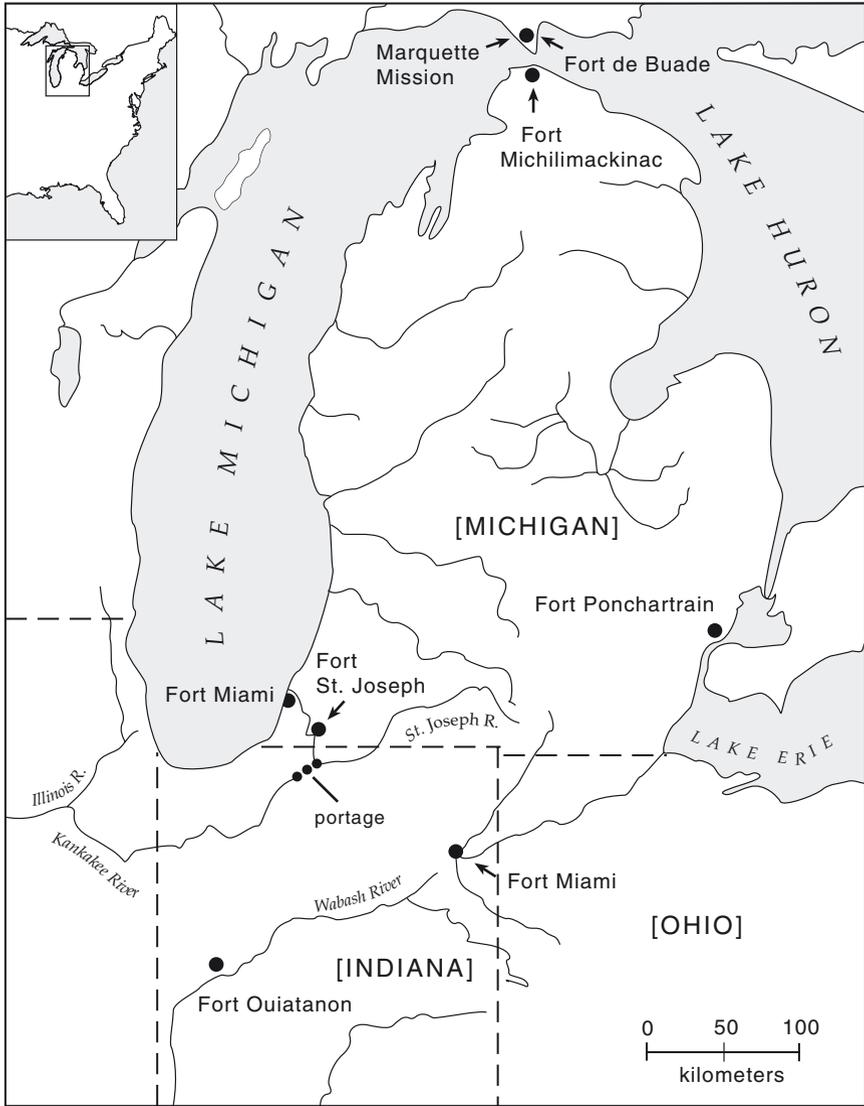
Fig. 1 Map of southwest Michigan showing the location of Fort St. Joseph and contemporaneous sites in the western Great Lakes

of their makers. This practice served as a leveling mechanism to distribute surplus and inhibit boasting rights by particularly skillful hunters, thereby subsuming the individual to the collectivity (Lee, 1979; Weissner, 1982). Gosden (2004a:170) has recently suggested that all societies create forms of personhood. They range in a spectrum from individuals to dividuals, or "flexible parts of a social network taking

on the characteristics of the network … the point of analysis is to discover under what sorts of circumstances people appear as individuals and when they are created as dividuals" (Gosden, 2004a:170).

This distinction or, better yet, continuum has parallels with the network-corporate strategies of Blanton et al. (1996) and Renfrew's (1974) group-oriented and individualized chiefdoms. These generalized models aim to identify social formations in which individual aggrandizement (as opposed to the community) is the basis for political power. While they may serve as heuristic devices for broad comparative analyses, we must look more closely at specific historical contexts to understand how societies reproduced themselves and the ways in which individuals materially expressed their personhood in the process. This latter approach does not exclude the possibility of developing some broad generalizing statements about the conditions and forms under which individual identity is enacted and materially marked. For example, it can be hypothesized that periods of economic crisis or social transformation are most likely to be associated with conspicuous evidence for the materiality of individuality as agents attempt to renegotiate or challenge existing conditions and vie to galvanize their new roles and relations which lay at the core of identity.

For the purposes of this study, individuality can be thought of as synonymous with personal identity. An individual's social persona is the composite of the social identities maintained in life (Goodenough, 1965:7). Groups are composed of individuals affiliated with cross-cutting divisions by age, gender, race, ethnicity, class, status, religion, and sexual orientation, to name some of the more salient social dimensions (Hodder, 2004:32). The individual is the locus of the intersection of these dimensions, thereby providing practical and theoretical justification for examining the archaeological record at that analytical scale.

Because individuals are affiliated with various groups, the identities that they choose to express are situational and relational (Wobst, 1977). For example, for a Native Potawatomi woman living at Fort St. Joseph, gender may trump ethnicity in some interactions with non-Native women. Of course, the ambiguity of the material world also provides ample room for alternative interpretations depending on the identity of the observer, which has an influence on one's ability to decode the emitted message and dictates to a large degree the information that is received (Wobst, 1977). Thus, the fort commandant probably viewed the copper-alloy tinkling cones on a Native woman's garment differently than did her father, her métis son, or her French husband.

Material culture can also reflect group identity and is not solely a marker of the individual. A distinction can be made between emblemic and assertive style (Weissner, 1983); emblemic style is associated with one's personal identification with a group, while assertive style serves to create a distinction from others (see also Johnson, 2000). These two messages can be easily conflated in the archaeological record.

Finally, we must consider the role of structure in the materiality of individuality. Admittedly, a dialectical relationship exists between structure and agency (Giddens, 1979). Thus, the actions of individuals are constrained by prior conditions and historical circumstances. Under conditions of relative social and political stasis,

individuals may be more likely to reproduce preexisting structures and only reluctantly aim to challenge the status quo, whereas conditions of social change may represent an arena for tensions between structure and agency as well as between the individual and the collectivity. Thus, the conditions that give rise to the expression of individuality and the form it takes are highly variable. The extent to which the individual is even conscious of this process is also subject to examination.

The symbolic meanings that makers, users, and viewers attribute to the material world and the subtle codes that they impart regarding personal identity are central to an understanding of individuality in the archaeological record. Archaeologists have noted that meanings cannot be divorced from practice (Pauketat, 2001). In all political economies consumers are engaged in defining the meanings of commodities through practice in ways that were perceived to positively contribute or reproduce personal and social identity (Mullins, 2004:207). This perspective need not exclude elements of an instrumentalist approach to style. For example, even the most utilitarian objects made and used by many Native American groups include an important artistic or decorated component that have ethnic, spiritual, and other social associations (Nassaney and Johnson, 2000:4).

At Fort St. Joseph, as in all social contexts that bring together people of different cultural backgrounds (Loren, this volume), there must have been a dizzying array of symbols that marked personal identity on a daily basis. These probably shifted in their usage and meanings for different makers, users, and viewers (Garman, 1994). Official representatives of the Crown, locally born French subjects, offspring of French and Native unions, enlisted men, and Native slaves represent just some of the occupants of Fort St. Joseph. The fort community conforms to Preucel and Meskell's (2004:13) description of a colonial setting as an "ethnoscape inhabited by people with hybrid identities and allegiances to multiple places." Marriage and baptismal records underscore the social diversity of the population. We argue that in this setting individuals were relatively free to experiment with material culture to express old and new ways of fitting into society.

Archaeological data in the aggregate are often indicative of patterning at the scale of culture or some other social group. The methodological challenge is to read the signature of individuality in the archaeological record. Historical archaeologists have had little trouble isolating elite and even illiterate individuals who are enumerated in documents such as censuses. But archaeologists often concede that the archaeological record is more democratic; everyone is a consumer who left material traces and consumption is a means by which "people define themselves and their identities from the clothes they wear to the furnishings in their homes" (Preucel and Meskell, 2004:14). Personal artifacts or objects related to occupational tasks provided a means of conforming to social norms and beliefs and consequently reproducing structure as well as a means of challenging power and authority in the course of transforming structure. Both processes operated at Fort St. Joseph as the documentary and material records reveal.

Archaeologists have identified the individual in at least three domains of the material world. In the 1970s there were efforts to identify the "individual in prehistory" to move beyond the faceless constructs of normative nomenclature (see Hill and

Gunn, 1977). Here the effort was to discern unique technological forms, such as distinct lithic reduction styles, that could be tied to individual flint knappers. Even earlier Deetz (1967:105–110) had recognized that unique constellations of design elements comprising a single artifact such as a decorated pot or painted basket revealed the work of an individual.

Similarly, an activity area or feature may be linked to a single individual in some instances. Episodic events or what Hodder (2004:33) calls "intimate moments" constitute elements of the archaeological record. These small events, while sometimes determined by larger structures, can also reveal individual agency through material practice. Fort St. Joseph is composed of multiple depositional events, some episodic or linked directly to the activities of an individual, which may disclose the personal identities of its occupants.

Finally, perhaps the most common referents to individuality are the many personal objects of adornment that were lost, abandoned, or discarded at an archaeological site. White (2005:7, 2008) has suggested that objects of personal adornment can be used "to perceive the construction of physical appearance on an individual scale." Furthermore, we would add that they are unlike any other form of material culture for expressing identity because they are subject to dual selection – consumers first acquired these objects through an active selection process and then selected them to reflect their personhood by literally becoming a part of their bodies as attachments and visual enhancements. Beads, bracelets, buckles, and buttons, to name just a few objects of personal adornment, were powerful visual metaphors in the marking of personal identity. Moreover, they reveal the choices that were made in daily life and the perception that such goods contribute positively to or reproduce identity formation (Mullins, 2004:207).

In sum, a close examination of the materiality of individuality can contribute to the study of colonial contexts in which material culture was manipulated to signal a range of messages about personhood, relations to the homeland, and new social opportunities. Fort St. Joseph provides a useful case study because the documentary and material records contain information on diverse occupants who varied by age, status, ethnicity, gender, and religious affiliation, all of whom had the potential to use material objects to negotiate personal identities under socially and politically dynamic conditions. It is in such a context that we should be able to recognize tensions and contradictions in the material expression of individuality.

The Materiality of Individuality at Fort St. Joseph

As mentioned previously, both documentary and archaeological sources of information can be used to elucidate the materiality of identity formation at Fort St. Joseph (see Nassaney, 2008). Although we cannot know the precise meanings of the objects in question, partly because their meanings varied from one observer to another, we can construct a broad cultural and historical context to posit how individuals used the material world in daily practice to communicate messages about their social identities and fulfill desires in colonial life.

French Jesuits established a mission in the area of what became Fort St. Joseph in the 1680s before it grew to become an important mission-garrison-trading post complex that the French found essential in defending the western Great Lakes against English and Iroquois incursions (Peyser, 1992). By the early eighteenth century, the post supported a commandant, 8–10 enlisted men, a blacksmith, a priest, an interpreter, and up to 15 additional households. French survival on the edge of empire was dependent upon close cooperation with Native Potawatomi and Miami allies (Brandão and Nassaney, 2006:63–64).

Exchanges of services, goods, and personnel were commonly employed to cement the alliances that were so crucial to both groups. For example, the Indians often requested the service of blacksmiths and gunsmiths to repair their metal tools and weapons. Payment records reveal that a gunsmith or blacksmith lived at the fort from 1739 to 1752 (Peyser [1978], trans., FSJ Manuscripts, Documents 121, 123(2), 130), and baptismal records show that one resided there as early as 1730 (Faribault-Beauregard, 1982:181). Written accounts also indicate that resident gunsmiths repaired Native weapons at the King's expense in July 1739 in connection with the Chickasaw war (Peyser, 1992:166–167). One of the documented smiths had so much interaction with the local Indians that he became familiar enough with their language to act as interpreter for the French in the absence of the official translator (1746, FSJ Manuscripts, Document 121 [5]). In 1747, the French agreed to build a European-style house for one of the Indian chiefs (FSJ Manuscripts, Document 123 [2]). These examples suggest that the French were more than willing to use their expertise in metallurgy and carpentry to accommodate Native desires.

Documentary sources also refer to other activities that demonstrate genuine concerns and close familial relationships. For instance, the French offered feasts to Potawatomi warriors going off to fight (1750, FSJ Manuscripts, Document 151) and provided supplies and gifts to the wives left behind (1750, FSJ Manuscripts, Document 141). At other times, the French gifted blankets for an Indian funeral (1739, FSJ Manuscripts, Document 88) and provided a coffin for the son of a Potawatomi chief (1747, FSJ Manuscripts, Document 123 [2]). All of these expenses were charged to the King's account.

The most intimate relations, by far, were the marriages between the French and the Indians as documented in the baptismal records (Faribault-Beauregard, 1982:179; Paré, 1926). Such unions had obvious benefits for both sides; Native women and their families gained ready access to imported goods, and French fur traders could avail themselves of the furs that could be marketed in Montréal. Both sides, of course, also gained access to the social and status networks of the society into which they had married. Some esteemed Indian women were chosen to be godmothers for the children of socially prominent fort residents, such as the blacksmith and merchants. Godparents were selected to create strong social, economic, and political ties within the community, thus suggesting the role that these women played in society (Nassaney et al., 2007b). The selection of godparents served to create fictive kin, and may have reflected as much about exchange relations as it did about the nature of religious faith (Sleeper-Smith, 2001:43). Baptism affirmed the

value of social relationships and extended the bonds of social solidarity. It would appear that the French women of Fort St. Joseph welcomed Native women into their social spheres.

Documentary sources and archaeological evidence throughout eastern North America attest to the willingness of Native peoples to adopt imported goods, particularly textiles, glass beads, and metal artifacts such as knives, hoes, and kettles (Anderson, 1994; Axtell, 1981; Nassaney and Volmar, 2001; Quimby, 1966). What has not been studied systematically is the extent to which the French embraced Native material culture (see Nassaney, 2008). Besides the obvious forms such as canoes, moccasins, and snowshoes that were useful for transportation, other practices were adopted in the region with direct implications for identity formation.

In addition to imported artifacts at the fort, we also see evidence of locally produced goods, some of which suggest a Native presence *or* the adoption of Native practices. These represent artifacts of technology, recreation, and adornment. For example, excavations have yielded two triangular stone projectile points. These were a component of bow-and-arrow technology, which would have been effective in damp weather when flintlocks might fail. A smudge pit filled with carbonized corncobs was used to tan hides in the Native fashion. Drug delivery devices (i.e., smoking pipes for tobacco) appear in several varieties, including a carefully etched stone Micmac smoking pipe, several catlinite pipe fragments, and several other indigenous pipe bowl forms. Stone pipes carved in Native forms were found in deposits containing white clay European specimens implying interchangeable use. Two antler gaming pieces, remarkably similar to those used by Potawatomi women up to the present, signal new forms of recreation, as does a modified deer phalanx that comprised an element of the well-known cup and pin game (Clifton, 1978; Culin, 1975).

Somewhat surprisingly, practices of bodily adornment adopted from the Indians were also practiced at the fort. For example, face painting – a stereotypical Indian trait – was more widespread than thought if the observations of a French priest are to be believed. In describing the commandant of the French post of Natchitoches, the priest noted "many Frenchmen … can scarcely be distinguished from the Indians… they imitate them not only in their nakedness, but even in painting their faces" (Hackett, 1934, as cited in Loren, 2005:310). This may explain the recovery from our excavations of a piece of ground hematite that would have produced a fine red pigment. New forms of personal adornment were also being crafted at Fort St. Joseph (Giordano, 2005). Numerous fragments of copper-alloy sheet scrap have been recovered from the site. Some of this scrap derives from the production of patches and rivets to mend worn out kettles, while other fragments probably represent raw material for tinkling cones, which have been recovered from the site (Fig. 2). Tinkling cones are small trapezoidal pieces of copper alloy that were fabricated into conical shapes and affixed at the apex to clothing, bags, and other personal objects (Giordano, 2005). Although we do not know the extent to which the French may have employed this decorative embellishment, the presence of tinkling cones and copper alloy scrap at the site suggests that these ornaments were produced for use by local populations. Tinkling cones are intercultural artifacts – products of cross-cultural

Fig. 2 A sample of tinkling cones from the vicinity of Fort St. Joseph curated in the Fort St. Joseph Museum, Niles, MI (photo taken by Brock A. Giordano)

interaction – in which imported raw materials were used to create a form and satisfy a need inspired by indigenous desires.

A final example of hybridization is reflected in the subsistence practices documented at the fort. Excavations have led to the recovery of thousands of animal bones that derive from eighteenth-century meals (Nassaney et al., 2007a). Wild animal species, most notably deer, beaver, raccoon, and turkey, make up the majority of the species represented, despite the presence of minor amounts of pig, cow, horse, and chicken (Becker, 2004). Moreover, the bones of larger animals are fractured as if to facilitate the extraction of marrow to produce tallow or grease. Both of these were commodities produced by Natives for exchange, as seen in a painting by Alexander de Batz (Loren, 2005:308). The production of tallow or grease may be another example of an opportunistic practice by the French. Together with the interesting array of artifacts and features that implicate new activities, they raise some intriguing possibilities regarding the identities of the people who resided at Fort St. Joseph. Was the ground hematite used by a French voyageur to produce face paint in imitation of his neighbors? Does the smudge pit represent the work of a fur trader's Native spouse or their métis daughter? Were the French soldiers adopting Native games, Native smoking paraphernalia, and Native styles of dress from their neighbors and allies that now included their wives and daughters?

The data discussed thus far – drawn from both documentary and material sources – suggest that Fort St. Joseph was a multi-ethnic community of French and Indians in which kin relations and political alliances transcended racial and ethnic categories (Nassaney, 2008). The residents of the fort recognized their mutual needs and concerns. Although social differences certainly existed at the fort, it is increasingly difficult to apply essentialist categories such as "French" and "Indian" to the people

who lived at Fort St. Joseph. Interactions at the fort led to new cultural forms in the process of ethnogenesis. The French effectively made friends in a land of strangers.

Further Implications of the Fort St. Joseph Archaeological Collections

Until recently, understanding the individual lived experiences in the western Great Lakes, particularly at Fort St. Joseph, has been dependent upon documentary records. Richard White's (1991) compelling account of the fluidity of colonial relations between Europeans and Native Americans has become de rigueur for explaining events and mediations in the region and provides an illustrative post-colonial case study that highlights accommodation at the expense of domination (Gosden, 2004a,b). More recently, Gilles Havard (2003) has taken up a similar theme in his more chronologically constrained, and more tightly focused, work on the French in the *pays d'en haut*. Although we have found White's framework of the middle ground, and Havard's *empire du milieu* to be useful for examining French and Native interactions, archaeological materials can and should be employed to evaluate and refine the local expressions of the scenario that White paints with broad brush strokes and which Havard has begun to delineate more clearly in his portrayal of the upper Great Lakes.

As the previous section has shown, however, the archaeological record of Fort St. Joseph can help us realize the potential of the contact period to illuminate cross-cultural exchange, colonial relations, identity formation, and the role of individuals (Nassaney and Cremin, 2002). Still, recent discoveries from the fort excavations, in conjunction with artifacts from the extant collections, suggest that the tinkling cones, deer bones, Micmac pipes, and smudge pits do not tell the whole story of identity formation at the fort. We began reconsidering the materiality of personal identity this past season when we recovered a cuff link or sleeve button (Fig. 3) from the site and discerned the function of a previously unidentified artifact, which was found in 2004. Although the sleeve button was not unique, it led us to reconsider a whole range of other European imports from the site, both in the collections and from our excavations. Among the artifacts in daily use at the fort site were significant numbers of objects associated with personal adornment, including beads (glass and shell), bracelets, buckles, buttons, sleeve buttons, hair pins, religious medallions, finger rings, and various forms of trade silver such as arm bands, brooches, ear bobs, ear wheels, and gorgets (see Table 1). Although some of these may have been so-called trade goods destined for Native hands (e.g., arm bands, beads, ear bobs, gorgets), many of these objects were likely personal possessions of the fort occupants.

At this stage in the analysis, we cannot be certain who the specific owners of these objects were because they cannot be linked definitively to habitations of known individuals. Likewise, their meanings remain ambiguous, as they would

Fig. 3 A glass inset cuff link recovered from Fort St. Joseph during the 2006 field season (photo taken by Stephanie Barrante)

have depended in large part on their placement on the body and combinations in use, for example. Furthermore, we cannot know precisely how the users and viewers of these objects reinterpreted their meanings from the original intentions' of their makers and the ways that they were understood to signal identity and individuality. Nevertheless, as objects of personal adornment, these objects were confined to a single individual's use (although they could have been circulated and used sequentially) and would have been closely connected with constructing an image of the self. Perhaps even more noteworthy is that some of these objects stand in marked contrast, indeed contradict, the "backwoods image" that emerges from the sample of artifacts that were implicated in the process of ethnogenesis. In other words, some individuals chose at some historical moments to adopt, maintain, or reintroduce symbols from distant markets, perhaps to reproduce structures of gentility and refinement on the frontier. The presence of glass-inlaid sleeve buttons at Fort St. Joseph was symbolic of stylistic connections to Montréal, Québec, and perhaps French towns and cities. They would have been used with shirts that required cuff links, just as buckles were attached to leather shoes, however impractical they would have been compared to the moccasins that were widely adopted. It is difficult to say who made these choices of personal adornment. We will need to recover an adequate sample of the contents of habitation structures and determine their occupants in order to ascertain whether such goods were confined to the commandant and other representatives of the Crown or if they were worn by other segments of society.

In her study of colonial fashion in the Lower Mississippi Valley, Loren (2000) has documented the ways in which traditional European accoutrements were combined with glass beads, tinkling cones, ear bobs, and other non-European styles of dress. While these unusual fashion combinations and reconfigurations in New France may have signaled the ambiguous identities that the frontier harbored and one's ability to affiliate with different social groups given the changing circumstances of interaction, dressing up was probably also practiced at Fort St. Joseph to convey messages of authority, fashion, and refinement. Despite the accommodations

Table 1 Objects of personal adornment and grooming by count from collections and systematic excavations at Fort St. Joseph

Artifact category	ca. 1900[a]	1998[b]	2002[c]	2004	2006
Beads, glass	70,000	0	890	481	850
Beads, rosary	55	0	0	0	0
Beads, shell (wampum)	396	0	4	5	13
Bells	48	0	0	1	0
Bracelets	48	0	0	0	0
Buckles	29	2	3	4	2
Buttons	65	0	3	2	5
Cilice	0	0	0	1	0
Combs	0	1	0	0	1
Cuff links	6	1	0	0	1
Hair pin	1	0	0	0	0
Hair pipe	11	0	0	0	0
Medallions, religious	15	0	0	1	0
Rings, finger	67	1	1	6	1
Tinkling cones	373	1	3	2	8
Silver armbands	3	0	0	0	0
Silver brooches	74	0	0	0	0
Silver ear bobs	5	0	1	0	0
Silver gorgets	2	0	0	0	0

[a]Local collectors obtained these materials in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "from the vicinity of Fort St. Joseph" and donated them to the Fort St. Joseph and other museums soon after. The counts presented here are based on Hulse (1977).

[b]A collector obtained these materials in 1998 with the help of a metal detector. Shovel test pits were employed to recover French and English artifacts likely associated with Fort St. Joseph (Nassaney 1999). Subsequent excavations established that this was the site of the fort. These objects and those excavated by WMU archaeologists are curated in the Fort St. Joseph Museum in Niles.

[c]Excavations were conducted in 2002, 2004, and 2006 under the auspices of the Fort St. Joseph Archaeological Project. The materials reported here were collected under controlled conditions. However, the field procedures were modified from one season to the next thus compromising the comparability of the collections. For example, all of the 2006 materials were collected using wet screening and 1/8″ mesh.

that the French made living on the edge of empire, Old World notions of status, patriarchy, loyalty, civility, and other deeply seated political and religious ideologies were not entirely lost nor forgotten.

The area around what came to be known as Fort St. Joseph was initially established as a mission and a priest frequented the site, and later fort, for most of its history. Baptismal and marriage records testify to the importance of Christian rituals in daily life (Paré, 1926; Faribault-Beauregard, 1982). The site has yielded material symbols of Christianity in the form of crucifixes and medallions from surface and excavated contexts (Hulse, 1981). We do not know how Christianity was reinterpreted on the frontier, but some of its core beliefs and values such as

those relating to monogamy and religious conversion seem to have survived. Thus, religious paraphernalia was likely in use by a majority of the population, as a spatial analysis has shown at Fort Michilmackinac (Reinhart, 1994).

Among the most devout believers at the fort and elsewhere in New France were the Jesuit priests who were called on to save souls. We are fortunate to have extensive and detailed accounts of their work in the Jesuit relations, which were produced during the seventeenth century and later made available in a 73-volume work of prodigious scholarship (Thwaites, 1896–1901). These records indicate that priests maintained their individuality through religious practices that only they could perform. Although Jesuits conducted some secular activities such as acting as emissaries of the French government in negotiations with the Indians, they donned dress and paraphernalia that distinguished them from the rest of the population. The extent to which Native belief systems influenced the practice of Christianity is a fascinating but underexplored topic, as is that of the tensions which emerged between Native and Christian cosmologies. The writings of the Jesuits themselves may provide some clues to the disparities between ideology and its practical application.

Be that as it may, Jesuits often performed their mission assiduously. A recently identified artifact recovered during the 2004 field season points to the seriousness of the Jesuits' cause. Found beneath an undisturbed wooden plank adjacent to a stone fireplace is an object comprised of a series of nine connected copper-alloy wires (Fig. 4). While this artifact is likely missing several more "links" and is thus incomplete, it was initially thought to have served an unknown decorative function. Closer examination shows that all of the wire's ends are pointed and the object bears a remarkable similarity to a cilice. At present we know of no other cilice found in an archaeological context in North America, or in the world for that matter.

The term *cilice* derives from the place named Cilicia, a region in Asia Minor that was known for its abundance of mountain goats (Diderot, 1751). These goats were apparently the source of the goat hair garments that were made and worn as early

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Fig. 4 The cilice found at Fort St. Joseph during the 2004 field season (photo taken by John Lacko)

as the second-century ACE to inflict self-mortification among Christian religious clerics and possibly the laity. Although we do not have any concrete evidence, it appears that sometime in the early modern era, and certainly by 1653, the cilice was also a garment, with "iron points" (Thwaites, 1898[39]:261). Needless to say, the addition of metal barbs would have heightened the sensation associated with this penitential act.

The presence of this cilice at Fort St. Joseph in tandem with the references to this practice in the Jesuit relations clearly suggests both continuities in religious belief as well as potential adoption of European practices by Natives. Although the cilice was not a visible symbol like the sleeve buttons or other forms of bodily adornment, its use was not secretive since it appears in Jesuit writings and the Jesuits were known to have used cilices in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One writer noted that one should never say mass without a cilice (Thwaites 1898[39]:171). Indeed, the cilice may have belonged to Father Jean-Baptiste de Lamorinie who, while based at Michilimackinac, also visited and served the people of Fort St. Joseph (Brown, 1974:347). Father Lamorinie was a particularly devout priest and during a 1754 encounter with the visiting Father Jacques-François Forget Duverger offered the latter, as a relic, a piece of Father Jacques Marquette's jaw (Anonymous, 1754). Still, the Jesuits were adept as missionaries and had managed to get many Indians to convert to Catholicism and adopt many of its practices. One priest, in reflecting on the devoutness of his flock, commented that he saw "so many prayers, so many cilices" (Thwaites, 1898[23]:25).

The evidence would suggest, then, that either the laity or the priests at Fort St. Joseph could have used the cilice. In any event, the recovery of this object at the fort is a material symbol of individuality that expresses a person's devotion to Christian ideals and an effort to reproduce that ideology in the New World. Personal identity is clearly communicated through the cilice (see Brandão and Nassaney, 2008, for a fuller discussion of the cilice).

Summary and Conclusions

Historical archaeology is well positioned to contribute understandings to the materiality of individuality. Equipped with both tangible traces of lived experiences and a written record that provides context for meaning, the study of colonialism can also shed light on the strategies individuals used to express themselves as they participated in reproducing and transforming social structures. Episodic events, daily practice, and personal artifacts are useful entry points for examining the ways in which individuals negotiated their webs of social networks.

In New France, the relationships forged between Natives and newcomers led to mixed material culture assemblages that sometimes obscure the identities of individual agents. Yet amid the exchange of beads, moccasins, canoes, and kettles, individuals found opportunities to assert their personal identities. There is no doubt that the material world was actively manipulated by people who wanted to fit into

and have a hand in creating the new social order that emerged in the process of ethnogenesis at Fort St. Joseph. However, this creativity led to contradictions in the construction of personal identity – a common condition of colonialism and modernity. The colonial state was a fragile, tenuous, and potentially fragmentary affair, especially at its margins. The materiality of individuality shows how fluid the boundary between the West and the rest could sometimes be. The stability and indivisibility of social forms is a nineteenth-century construct that served to justify evolutionary models. In recognizing the entanglement of colonial relations, "it is ironic that nineteenth-century thinkers used the relationships of colonialism to emphasize differences between Westerners and others" (Gosden, 2004a:174). But Westerners did see themselves as different from others on occasion, and they expressed this in the way they constructed their subjectivities – a process that was never divorced from materiality.

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People in Objects: Individuality and the Quotidian in the Material Culture of War

Nicholas J. Saunders

Battle-zone landscapes of modern industrialized war are unique locations for the creation and expression of individual identity. The massed ranks of modern armies, and the innumerable lethal technologies that accompany them, often appear to submerge and elide the life of the individual. In fact, the conditions of modern war sharpen the experiences of conflict, and emphasize the struggle to remain human, and to demonstrate one's fragile humanity in the face of overwhelming impersonal force. During the First World War of 1914–1918, along the Western Front of northern France and Belgium, soldiers (and sometimes also civilians) found themselves in visceral life-and-death situations. They suffered physical and psychological trauma, and were often unable to verbally express what they had seen and endured, especially to those who waited at home. R.H. Tawney, on leave after being wounded on the Somme in 1916, expressed the ontological distance between himself and his family and friends.

> There are occasions when I feel like a visitor among strangers … whose modes of thought I neither altogether understand nor altogether approve. … between you and us [soldiers] there hangs a veil. … because you are afraid of what may happen to your souls if you expose them to the inconsistencies and contradictions, the doubts and bewilderment, which lie beneath the surface of things. (Hynes, 1990:116–7).

Where speech failed, materiality could intervene. Men caught up in the world's first industrialized global conflict expressed themselves through the dextrous manipulation of war matériel – military equipment and war-related materials – by making objects that simultaneously embodied their experiences and reconfigured their pre-war selves. These objects were the reification of war lives, that could be figuratively unpacked at a later time, and which, partly as a consequence, possessed multilayered "social lives" of their own, affecting those through whose hands they passed for the best part of a century.

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These artifacts belong to a wider phenomenon known as "trench art" (Saunders, 2003a, 2005) – three-dimensional objects associated with conflict, defined as "any item made by soldiers, prisoners of war and civilians, from war matériel directly, or any other material, as long as it and they are associated temporally and/or spatially with armed conflict or its consequences" (Saunders, 2003a:11). There are several categories of trench art based on whether soldiers were on active duty, wounded and recuperating, or in POW camps. Trench art made by civilians is categorized based on their status as wartime refugees, internees, or post-war returnees to their homeland (Saunders, 2003a:35–51).

Each category is primarily significant because it defines the circumstances of production of the objects that fall within its boundaries, rather than attempting simply to catalogue an item's exact finished shape or purpose (e.g., a cigarette lighter made from a bullet, or a shrapnel-handled letter opener). Although various categories may contain objects of similar appearance and function, it is the category to which they belong that defines their nature. This is because an individual's response to being a front line soldier, a maimed and recuperating soldier, or a civilian internee is a creative mix of personality and the situation in which they find themselves. Individuality is defined, constrained, and expressed in objects according to context (recognized as a particular category). Here, I focus on the category of trench art made by soldiers on active duty between 1914 and 1918, and whose objects are distinctive by virtue of their semantic density and their battle-zone origins – i.e., as items made at the edge of human endurance, in life and death situations (Fig. 1).

An individual's social being is determined in part by his or her relationship to objects that represent them. Objects are a way of knowing oneself through things (Hoskins, 1998:195), and consequently objects make people just as much as people

Fig. 1 French soldiers making trench-art flower vases from artillery shells (photo by author)

make objects (Pels, 1998). Modern war's intensity provokes and embodies the extremes of human behavior, and the sheer quantity of artifacts rendered through war represents a material medium within which individuals are immersed (Schiffer, 1999:2, 4), and which, psychologically and emotionally, often overwhelms them. The objects made by combatants in war are ambiguous and slippery, and their post-conflict afterlife finds them, variously, displayed as "memory objects" and heirlooms in the home, stored/exhibited in museums, excavated (legally and illegally) on archaeological sites, and for sale via the international trade in military collectables.

Any attempt to understand these soldier-made objects must acknowledge that the relationship between individual, material, and the place-and-time circumstances of their production are more important than the usual indices of shape and function. This is especially true when we consider the ubiquity and similarity of modern war's industrially produced material culture. These objects are found in a range of locations: from munitions factories to homes, museums to battlefields, antiques showrooms to car-boot sales, and Internet auction sites. In this sense, these objects exist on the boundaries of the conjoined worlds of Historical Archaeology, Contemporary Archaeology, and Material Culture Anthropology. Items found during battlefield excavation are often identical to well-documented examples held in museums, emotion-laden objects displayed in the home, and commercially valuable items exhibited in private collections. This fact, and the richness of the oral and documentary sources available for interpretation, locates these objects at the forefront of an increasingly multidisciplinary archaeological approach to the material culture of the recent past.

Artifacts of modern conflict (whether of interstate wars, independence struggles, or acts of terrorism) have little or no intrinsic worth, and are not valued for their age, rarity, beauty, technical virtuosity, or their serendipitous survival. Significance comes from their visceral associations and metonymical nature – their power to recall via memory and imagination the circumstances of their production. Such objects are "material correlates for … intimate personal experiences … [and] individual stories" (Shanks et al., 2004:61–2). Examples such as a bullet chiseled into a crucifix after being dug out of a wound, a piece of wood whittled away while sheltering in a bomb crater in No Man's Land, or a fragment of chalk pocketed while digging trenches and later carved into shape capture something extraordinary despite the ordinariness of their raw materials.

Given the complex range of overlapping origins and locations of trench art, it is important to maintain a focus on the material nature of the objects – on their physical presence in the world. Examining this presence in the range of often richly documented contexts in which such objects occur has the potential for altering our perceptions and emotions (agreeably or not), and for initiating a new debate on the social and cultural dimensions of modern war. Given that many (if not most) of these objects are in some way "artistic," they represent an eloquent example of Gell's point that "decorative patterns attached to artifacts attach people to things, and so to the social projects those things entail" (Gell, 1998:74). It is certainly true that in their generality, these objects represent "…the visible knot which ties together an invisible skein of relations, fanning out into social space and social time" (Gell, 1998:62).

The power of trench art to embody and represent individuals originates from the human experience of the landscapes of war, where new values, identities, and relationships were created. In First World War battle zones, there existed a distinctively nested hierarchy of artifacts: small-scale (portable) objects embedded within larger artifactual features such as trenches, dugouts, or shell craters. These features were framed by the larger artifacts of battlefield landscapes, wider zones of destruction, and ultimately the 500-km-long Western Front itself. It was through, rather than over, this thick multilayered palimpsest of landscapes that soldiers moved and were wounded, maimed, and killed. Each of these potential outcomes created a distinctive relationship between the individual and the various scales of object that he encountered.

The experiences of those who survived could be embodied in a piece of shrapnel, a talismanic piece of trench art, an item taken from a dead comrade or enemy, a fragment of earth, or even a smell or a sound. Three-dimensional objects could serve as souvenirs or mementos – "solid memories" – of events, whose subsequent handling or display could trigger individual recollections, or be sold or exchanged for other items or services. On occasion, a sound or a smell, while not a material object, could also bring back a flood of memories, or add sensorial texture to the souvenir. No particular type of object is privileged as it is the experiential processes of acquisition and manufacture that defined significance – processes whose unpredictability and randomness is a unique consequence of modern warfare, where the enemy was hardly ever seen, and long distance killing by artillery, machine gun, mortars, and gas were the norm. Each soldier reacted differently to these examples of sensory deprivation or sensory assault, and to what was often seen as their own serendipitous survival. The homogeneous pressures of industrialized war produced a variety of highly individual reactions on behalf of the men who endured it – reactions that found physical expression in the objects that soldiers gathered or made.

People in Landscapes/Landscapes in People

The landscapes of the First World War affected the quotidian existence of soldiers who constantly created, recreated, and modified them by their everyday actions, and in turn were molded by them in their sensory perceptions and newly defined and life-saving habituated movements. In other words, these landscapes were a new haptic universe as well as a new physical world. Living within them forged new identities for soldiers, reoriented and heightened their sensibilities, and reconfigured their relationships with matter – especially that which they created themselves.

In this world of mud, trenches, dugouts, deafening artillery bombardments, night raids, choking gas, mutilated human bodies, and blind advances across smoke-filled No Man's Land, it was often impossible to see anything at all; sight was replaced by other kinds of sensory experience, such as smell, sound, and touch (Howes, 1991:3–5; Eksteins, 1990:146, 150–1; Classen, 2005). Industrialized war created a

new landscape of the senses, and these ambiguities and ironies were captured in the objects soldiers made, as well as in their diaries, memoirs, novels, and poetry.

In his 1917 war novel, *Under Fire*, French soldier–author Henri Barbusse drew on his own experiences of this new sensorial terrain in describing an infantry attack: "There is no whistling through the air. Amid the huge pounding of the guns, one can clearly perceive the extraordinary absence of the noise of bullets around us." (Barbusse, 2003:225). Wilfred Owen, the English war poet, had a darker experience. Writing to his mother after three weeks in the trenches, he observed "I have not seen any dead. I have done worse. In the dank air, I have perceived it, and in the darkness, felt." (Wilfred Owen, quoted in Das, 2005:7).

On the battlefields of the First World War, the literal fragmentation of human bodies and the earth by high explosives was on such a scale that reality itself was pulverized. The result was a surreal world – a landscape of darkness, sound, touch, and smell, where seeing was impossible or lethal, and the strain of listening for (and trying to identify) incoming shells "did something to the brain. A man could never be rid of them" (Winter, 1979:116).

Soldiers were often reduced to crawling, slithering, feeling, and smelling their way around trenches and dugouts. "As you sink into the depths [of] a pestilential atmosphere …Your hands feel the clay wall, cold, sticky, sepulchral. This earth weighs on you from all sides, wrapping you in dismal solitude, touching your face with its blind, mouldy breath" (Barbusse, 2003:256). Thus, knowledge of the world came through tactile sensations that recast soldiers' knowledge of the world through a new hierarchy of sensual perception. It was hardly surprising that the fear of mud (with its metal splinters, diseases, effluents, and fragments of other men) sucking the body down to a suffocating death was one of the most common nightmares suffered by soldiers (Das, 2005:37). One soldier described the ground as being "so full of bodies that landslides uncover places bristling with feet, half-clothed skeletons and ossuaries of skulls…" (Barbusse, 2003:248). It was in these landscapes that soldiers lived, were wounded, and died, and it is their experiences of such places and sights that were embodied in much soldier-made trench art.

Ambiguous Components

For the First World War, there were two components involved in the production of trench art – the objects and the men who made them. Both possess ambiguous natures inasmuch as their apparently straightforward physical appearance – as reworked artillery shells and young men in uniform – is often at odds with their substance, and how they have been perceived subsequently.

The majority of British soldiers – over one million men – were part of the so-called Kitchener's Army, volunteers who joined up from 1914 to reinforce Britain' small professional standing army. Their experiences of and reactions to the war were those of young men hurried into khaki, equipped with a basic training, and rushed to the front line, where they experienced the sights, sounds, and smells of

death and destruction on a scale hitherto unknown to any previous army. Unequipped by years of battle-hardening to the death and injury of even small-scale nineteenth-century colonial wars, it is hardly surprising that these young men, recently employed as office clerks, barrow boys, and farm hands, suffered to a hitherto unimaginable extent when exposed to the effects of industrialized "total war." The same was true for large parts of the French and German armies, who were also recently uniformed civilians, farm laborers, factory workers, shop attendants, and artisans. The ambiguity of men, therefore, was that despite appearances, the majority of soldiers were not seasoned professionals, but often little more than minimally trained civilians in uniform.

While many men were neither sophisticated nor well-educated – and thus, war memoirs and poetry were produced by middle-class officers – they were often well practiced in manual labor and physical skills, capable of making and mending objects. In a general sense, such men readily expressed themselves by hammering, chiseling, welding, cutting, and carving and a consequence was the production of vast quantities of trench art.

The raw material from which these objects were made was also ambiguous (and sometimes lethally so), at least in its component parts. These parts, most frequently shells, shrapnel, and bullets, were originally designed to kill and maim. They were made into weapons by working class women in munitions factories – a curious reversal of the normal female role which focused on peaceful duties as society's nurturers and mothers. The weapons were sent to the front for men to use against other men – mothers' sons against mothers' sons, husbands and lovers against husbands and lovers – a morally troubling point not lost on the women workers: "Here I was working twelve hours a day towards the destruction of other people's loved ones … indirectly I was responsible for death and misery" (Peggy Hamilton, quoted in Ouditt, 1994:77).

Once the munitions achieved their primary purpose, they became the detritus of war, empty and expended. It was at this juncture that they were transformed from war debris into souvenir objects – either in their own right as "found objects", or as the raw material for further elaboration into trench-art objects. Already, before its acquisition by soldiers, this scrap matter embodied the lives and hopes of women at home, and the pain and suffering of men on the battlefield. While this fact alone might suggest that any object made from such material would be deeply ambiguous, other layers of equally significant meaning were added subsequently. The nature of battlefield detritus as the material trace of destruction is a challenging analytical issue as these kinds of materials can be transformed and revalued instantaneously in the mind of the beholder who expressed his individuality by perceiving war debris as the raw material of a particular trench-art creation.

Acquiring these raw material components added another layer of meaning, as it could be a hazardous undertaking. Human, object, experience, and landscape were inextricably fused in this process, and were inseparable. There were many ways in which such material was acquired between 1914 and 1918, the most common of which was "souveneering," a common euphemism for stealing (Dunn, 1997 [1938]:87–8). The circumstances surrounding this kind of acquisition illustrate how

new meanings saturated matter in the initial stages of the production, and how the finished object became attached to the individual through a range of memory-making events. Souveneering was so frequent that one person quipped, "this war will undoubtedly go down to posterity as a 'War of Souvenirs'" (Gwinell, 1919:45).

> The moment we landed in France we started collecting and giving away souvenirs. For your cap-badge you obtained, perhaps, a little tricolour rose, and for your button a kiss, smile, or a wave of the hand. Then we … started collecting sterner stuff; one carried a six-inch shell on one's pack for a week [before discarding] it for something a trifle more portable (Gwinell, 1919:45).

Such was the soldiers' passion for collecting the miscellaneous objects of war that, "there were times when No Man's Land on a misty morning resembled nothing so much as Margate sands in August, only instead of happy children building castles there were men digging for [artillery-shell] nose-caps" (Gwinell, 1919:46).

Souveneering took a variety of forms, from picking up a piece of stained glass from a ruined church or cathedral (Dunn, 1997 [1938]:411), to risking one's life to acquire a fragment of battlefield debris. Photographs show the dead with pockets turned inside out, stripped of socks and boots, helmets, weapons, wallets, and finger rings. Many wartime accounts relate how soldiers took life-threatening risks to acquire an especially prized souvenir or trophy (see Winter, 1979:Fig. 25; LC: J.F.R. Modrel, Memoirs: 24–5). So commonplace was it for a soldier to be killed or wounded while searching for souvenirs that such deaths were reported almost nonchalantly. One officer who was sniped and killed while looking for souvenirs was described simply as "a lovely young fellow" (Winter, 1979:62), and, "Napper was found dead, bayoneted in several places; he was a great souvenir hunter" (Dunn, 1997 [1938]:527). In such instances, soldiers who had survived artillery barrages were killed by the enemy when they attempted to retrieve fragments of these same shells from No Man's Land. The objects designed to kill them had failed at the first attempt, but succeeded at the second – a tragic cost of acquisition.

Perhaps the most intimate way of acquiring such raw material was when it was literally dug out of a living soldier's own body – an act which created a powerful symbolic link between metal and flesh. Such was the case with Rifleman Vincent Sabini of 18th Battalion, "London Irish" Regiment, 47th Division – a devout Catholic who had been wounded during an attack at Messines, Belgium, on 7 June 1917 (Saunders, 2003a:14–16). Sabini recovered, and when the doctor gave him the bullet that wounded him, he fashioned it into a crucifix, had it gold-plated, and wore it around his neck until he died in 1981, aged 90 (Fig. 2). In this instance, the bullet, the permanent limp that it bequeathed, and the decorative crucifix, remade his body (in public and in private). It represented his very individual sacrifice, and his Catholic faith, and its biography could be recalled in an instant through the memories of the original battlefield moment that had set in motion a chain of events.

Bullets and shrapnel extracted from the body and made into trench art objects were unusual, though perhaps not as rare as might be expected. In Germany, soon after the war began, the dowager Grand Duchess of Baden visited military hospitals and presented the wounded with the bullets that had been removed from their own bodies and set in silver mountings. It did not take long for the German jewellery

Fig. 2 Vincent Sabini's trench-art crucifix carved from the bullet that wounded him at Messines, Belgium, 1917 (photo by author)

industry to begin producing commercial versions of this most personal kind of trench art (IGW, 1914–1915:153), a development that began blurring the boundaries between those who earned the object through individual suffering, and those who bought it (or had it bought for them).

Counterpointing these two examples, and illustrating the individuality of response towards such life-threatening events, is the case of Harry Patch who fought as an 18-year-old in a machine gun platoon of the Duke of Cornwall's seventh Battalion at the Battle of Third Ypres (Passchendaele) in 1917. Still alive in 2007 aged 108, Patch recalled how he had been wounded by a piece of shrapnel, hospitalized, and the metal shard removed from his groin. The doctor asked "if I wanted the shrapnel as a souvenir and – officer or not – I swore at him: 'I've had that bloody stuff long enough. Throw it away'" (Patch, 2004:13).

Psychological risks and nauseating sensorial experiences accompanied the physical dangers on the battlefield, thereby adding to the semantic density of the raw material before the trench-art object was created. Soldiers scavenged putrid decaying bodies that were, variously, eaten by rats, covered with flies, crawling

with maggots, and contorted in their death throes. Yet such was the power of war to transform and revalue relationships between men and matter that there was "a fascination in going from dead to dead, seeking and looking with great intensity" (Winter, 1979:206–7). Such shocking images of acquisition must in some circumstances have stayed with the souveneering soldier for as long as he kept the object or the trench art item made from it. Shorn of these awful details, soldiers would boast of the items they had retrieved: on 8 March 1916, Captain P.H. Rawson wrote a letter home in which he asked, "Has that Bosche button arrived? Mind you don't lose it as I cut it off with my own hands, the only real hun I have been close to and an awful brute he looked to" (LC: Letter 68, Capt. P.H. Rawson, 8 March 1916).

The driving obsession to acquire souvenirs and trophies was such that even wounded soldiers could not escape its consequences. On one occasion, splinters from antiaircraft shellfire rained down on their own soldiers in the trenches and broke the wrist of one man. "He had barely exclaimed when half a dozen men scrimmaged for the [artillery-shell] nose-cap that hit him, and two grovelled between his feet to get it" (Dunn, 1997 [1938]:178–9). Similar events occurred in the quasi-militarized landscape behind the lines. At the Locre Hospice, a wartime orphanage run by nuns near Ypres in Belgian Flanders, shell shrapnel crashed through the roof of a building onto a recently vacated bed. In gratitude to God, Mother Claudia allowed soldiers to collect the shell fragments, not as personal souvenirs, but rather to work them into a flower vase for the chapel (Bostyn, personal communication, 2002).

Acquiring souvenirs of war could be financially lucrative and socially constructive as well as dangerous. Apart from allowing soldiers to benefit from selling or exchanging their items for cash, goods, or services, it permitted those who were not exposed to front-line dangers to acquire items that suggested they had been, and thus spin tall stories and create an individual "warrior persona" to which they were not legitimately entitled (see Winter, 1979:155). In this sense, possession of the souvenir validated and authenticated a fictional narrative, a biography of deceit not experience, though one which was perhaps more apparent to other soldiers than family and civilians back home. The "souveneered" object, in this instance, reified imaginary actions that nevertheless could have real-world benefits, especially in terms of post-war respect, kudos, and employment. In this sense, battle-zone souvenirs were emblematic and could serve as the "authentic" (and "authenticating") building blocks for innumerable and highly individualized status-enhancing accounts in the same way as did a soldier's wearing of campaign medals to which he was not entitled (Richardson, 2009).

The dangers of acquiring battlefield debris as raw material for trench art were reinforced by the equally risky processes of transformation, whereby matter was prepared into forms amenable for making a finished item. The German storm-trooper Ernst Jünger (2003:61) observed that "even when the men were only chipping off the copper rings from the shells to work them into paperknives or bracelets, there were

incidents." These incidents were sometimes fatal, as the wartime diary of Achiel Van Walleghem in Belgian Flanders recalled:

> On the farm of Cyriel Lammerant, a terrible accident has happened. Three Belgian soldiers … were working on a fusée (shell fuse), which they wanted to open to sculpture the aluminium. Unfortunately, there was still powder in [it], and while they were busy, there was at once a terrible explosion. The adjutant lost his fingers and was much injured in his face, the arm of the Chief lay open in three places and the soldier was horribly injured in the chest and belly. All three were transported to Poperinge hospital, where the soldier died the other day (Van Walleghem, 1965:70–1. Translated by F. Bostyn, adapted by N.J. Saunders).

These examples demonstrate that men were changed by war, as were their perceptions and valuations of the various kinds of matter that surrounded them. Matter too was transformed, symbolically and physically, and the resulting trench art item was a hybrid that represented a soldier's individuality – a meshing of personality, physical skill, wartime experience, and available raw material. The event recorded by Van Walleghem also highlights the ambiguous natures of civilians in uniform and war matériel mentioned above, where appearance and substance were at odds with each other. It was often the peacetime skills of men "disguised" as soldiers that transformed the killing objects of the military into ostensibly "civilized" items of peacetime civilian life through actions that threatened their lives. This density of confusing and slippery issues affected the men who made these objects, and seeped into the objects themselves in a mix of physical attributes (e.g., style and detail) and symbolic attachment.

Natural Worlds

Such experiences and events (and the objects that flowed from them) were not restricted to the inherently ironic and ambiguous materials of industrialized war. At a different, less risky, but equally significant level, soldiers expressed their individuality by embodying their relationships and experiences in objects made from the more fragile materials of the natural world, albeit one that had been dramatically reconfigured by the effects of high explosives. Trench art items produced from natural materials stood in stark contrast to those made from the detritus of industrialized war, yet were equally revealing of the new engagements that conflict had forced on men in the trenches.

Close observation of, and familiarity with, the physical environment was a feature of First World War trench warfare, and the juxtaposed beauty and horror of the landscape filtered into a soldier's being almost by osmosis. As Barbusse tellingly recalled, "We can see the life of objects, we take part in nature, mixed in with the weather, mixed in with the sky, coloured by the seasons" (Barbusse, 2003:82).

One powerful illustration of how these experiences were materialized in natural matter is a miniature model of a trench – 12.5 cm long and 5 cm wide – that was carved out of chalk by a German soldier, Hans Schloß. The inscription reads, "My dear Trudel. Hans Schloß H. Nordfrankreich am 15. Sept. 1916," and it locates man and object in geographical, geological, and temporal space. This object may have

been a fragment of chalk debris left over from digging a real trench in the rolling chalklands of the Somme or Champagne (Saunders, 2003b:139).

Schloß was signing a piece of French soil, inscribing it with his German name, claiming ownership (of the battlefield, and, metonymically, of France), and sending it back to his wife or sweetheart in Germany. The war had brought him into intimate contact with the land, and the backbreaking work of digging a trench that would protect his life had revalued a lump of chalk. The fragment had new qualities and meanings that were emphasized and made durable by its artistic (and in a sense ironic) transformation into a trench art object.

A similar, if somewhat darker, symbolism was attached to another German-made miniature chalk carving, this time of a tombstone inscribed "1915. Thiepval. Memory of your Wilhelm" (PTA, 2002:184, Fig. I/9). One can only imagine what was going through this man's mind as he sat in a trench in the middle of the Somme battlefield carving this object in the precious time not given over to killing other men.

Such transformations of matter, embodying the quotidian life of soldiers, extended also to the animate features of Nature. Trees were especially "good to think" and work with in their potential for symbolic and physical reconfiguration. Recalling a nocturnal march, Barbusse noted, "accompanying us on either side through the darkness we can see dwarf phantom trees, split into palms or completely wrecked into chopped wood or string, bent over themselves, as if kneeling" (Barbusse, 2003:189). Not only were trees powerful images in the folk beliefs of the mainly rural peasant armies of the French, but they also had a new and terrible significance in the religious imagination of these Catholic soldiers.

This new arboreal symbolism incorporated the "insistent visual realities" (Fussell, 1977:118) and semantic proximity of battle-zone calvaries (large, imposing wooden images of the crucified Christ) that dotted the landscape since medieval times, and, as a result of artillery barrages, of innumerable shell-torn corpses hanging from trees. Soldiers, like Christ before them, were being crucified for the greater good of humankind. For some soldiers, trees and wood became newly valued as a disquieting material of conflict, all but guaranteeing an ambiguous nature for objects carved from this hitherto iconically pastoral kind of matter.

For French and German soldiers, a common trench art practice was making ovoid wooden plaques cut from thin cross-sections of tree trunks fringed with their original bark and painted with vistas of French towns. One French example shows Albert on the Somme with its shell-damaged basilica and statues of the Madonna and Child. Another German piece shows the village of Montfaucon, held by the Germans for virtually the entire war, with the strident statement of occupation, "Frankreich 1917 Montfaucon," as an accompanying inscription. The maker of the French piece was concerned with showing his religiosity by illustrating the damage and destruction to a religious icon, while the maker of the German item appeared more interested in depicting what seemed (at the time) to be an idyllic addition to the German empire in Europe.

The British, French, and German soldierly practice of carving walking sticks from branches and splintered wood was widespread. On 17 August 1915, Lt. R.O. Skeggs of the third Battalion, Rifle Brigade, wrote home from the trenches of Belgian Flanders that his "C.O. and doctor and adjutant are at the moment all busy

making up souvenir walking sticks which they cut from the wood here" (Skeggs, 1914–1915). German soldiers searched the French countryside for suitable material to make walking sticks and truncheons that they "carved with great skill and taste" (IGW, 1914–1915:258–60).

While deceptively simple, such objects are complex and ironic cultural artifacts that served a variety of purposes. As fancy walking sticks served no practical purpose on the battlefield or in the trenches, their painstaking manufacture seems to represent a mix of sentiment and nostalgia that connected men to a pre-war world, recalling civilized peacetime habits (and fashions) in the turmoil of war. Walking sticks were associated with carefree strolls in the countryside – a landscape now transformed into a hellish world of craters, barbed wire, lingering gas, and the remains of human beings. Ironically, the only practical purpose of such an object was when a soldier was wounded or maimed, and needed a stick in order to walk. This practice could, on occasion, redefine their individuality by remaking their public image for the rest of their lives (as was the case with Vincent Sabini related above).

The fragility of nature and of human beings exposed to the steel and iron of industrialized war struck a chord also in the ephemeral liaisons of battlefield friendships between soldiers. These friendships were perfectly captured in the most rare, delicate, and difficult-to-create kind of soldier-made trench art. The French soldier François Gournay carefully and elaborately embroidered several oak leaves into miniature photograph frames: one for himself (containing his own picture) and one for his Belgian comrade Georges Debruyn (containing Debruyn's portrait; Saunders and Dendooven, 2004:26; Fig. 3).
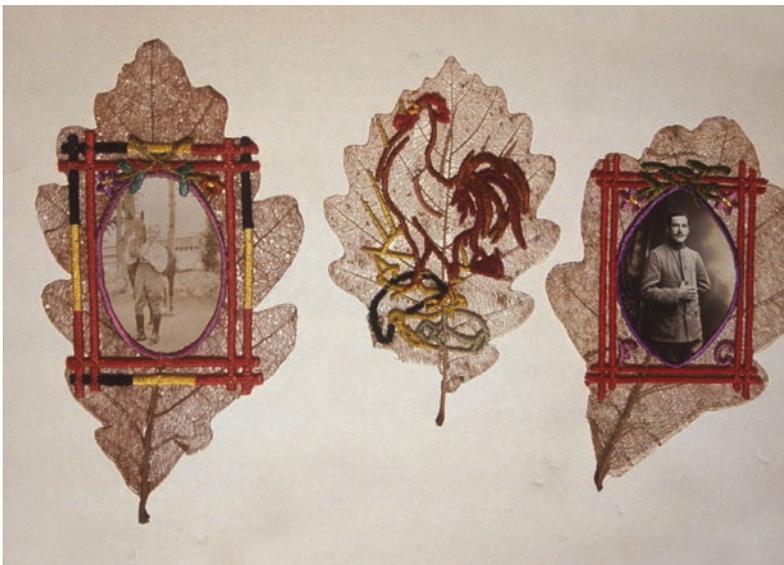
Fig. 3 Photograph frames made from oak leaves by the French soldier François Gournay (photo by author)

Gournay created a highly individual fragile layering of matter – leaf, thread, and photograph – that connected nature with traditional skills and modern technology, brought together by a war that was equally destructive of all three components. The photographs themselves were a particularly ironic component, as they captured the two men's lifelike images, perpetuating a visual presence (especially through the existence of the negatives) that might easily survive what the men themselves could not. It is tempting to believe, though impossible to know, that in Gournay's mind the emotive symbolism of a fluttering leaf was a simile or metaphor for a fragile human life, and thus a suitable frame for the images of the two men drawn together by the war. Here we see quite plainly how this individual's response to war was to forge a friendship and reify it by producing a distinctive kind of material culture, whose fragile form reflected the serendipitous transience of wartime social relationships. Gournay's leaves are a prime example of individual choice brought into being by equally personal skill.

The Compression and Unwinding of Time

Inherent in the production of any artifact, once the raw materials have been acquired, is the time invested in its imagining, design, and production. For First World War soldiers, the structure of time was altered out of all pre-war recognition. On the battlefields, time had been militarized: coordinated artillery barrages, gas attacks, aerial bombardments, assembling in the trenches for massed "over the top" attacks, phased advances across No Man's Land (behind the shelter of one's own 'creeping barrage'), and sentry duty all recalibrated the soldier's quotidian experience of time. It was partly due to this new critical assessment of hours, minutes, and seconds that led to the popularity of convenient "at a glance" wristwatches over unwieldy pocket watches.

While the war organized and divided official time for military purposes, it also affected how time itself (and an individual's experiences within it) became embedded and compressed in objects. Unlike a souvenir that is a single, found object, composite trench-art items could be representative of several highly individualized "acquisition events" and "manufacturing events" in time and space. Thus, the completed piece is a semantically dense item that embodied periods and places scattered across the battle-zone landscape.

An insight into this process is given by the unusual repertoire of items made by Sapper Stanley K. Pearl of the Australian fifth Field Company Engineers. For reasons that are unclear (though presumably important to him), Pearl kept detailed notes of where, when, and under what circumstances he acquired the raw materials for making his trench-art souvenir objects. In his varied pieces, Pearl's battle-zone experiences are materialized in a variety of items originating in the war technologies of three different armies (British, French, and German). His creation of a toponymy, a miniaturized embodiment of the local military geography (above and below ground) that he knew so well, speaks of his familiarity of the wider military landscape.

Of his experiences on the Somme battlefield in France, Pearl created a trench-art inkwell, an item that was

> Completed in the Somme in February 1917. The base and pen handles are of oak And were cut from a table in a German dugout in Contalmaison and polished with boot polish. The bowl is from a propeller of a Vickers biplane wrecked at Le Sars. The ends are German anti-aircraft shell fuzes, one from Martinpuich, the other from Bazentin-le-Grand. The brass bands, standards and lid were souvenired from an 18-pounder battery near "Needle Dump", and the French buttons on the base were exchanged for cigarettes in Albert (AWM 14150).

A single item of trench art thus could represent not only an individual's peripatetic progress across the topography of battle and the opportunistic acquisition of component parts via "souveneering," but also embody a sometimes long, drawn out production process whereby an item made over a period of time encapsulated further battle-zone experiences. These temporally dispersed periods of in-the-field manufacture could imbue the object with yet more quotidian significance, trapping individual experience in metal, wood, stone, or textile. In one sense, component parts and creative moments might be seen as examples of Gell's idea of distributed personhood (Gell, 1998:20–1).

The temporal dimension of such work, the variety of possible "receivers" of completed items, and the tragedy of an unfinished piece are shown by the activities of French soldiers at Verdun, who,

> Huddled in their oversize greatcoats … continued months'-old work on delicately engraved bangles; bracelets for a wife made from the copper driving band of a shell; a ring for a fiancée made from the aluminium of its fuse-cap, perhaps inset with the button off a German tunic; or a pen-cap for a child, made out of a spent rifle cartridge. [These] trinkets were capable of indefinite elaboration, often terminated only by a sniper's bullet (Horne, 1981:67).

There was thus always unfinished business in the trenches. Many trench art objects can be seen as works-in-progress, stretching as well as compressing time, and joining together diverse experiences in a 3-D narrative. Such objects provided memory the opportunity to embrace days, weeks, or months of warfare, where events could be recalled in intimate detail. Each constituent part, every detail of manufacture (from technical imperfection to artistic flourish) could trigger a memory or provide the starting point for a flight of imagination as the individual began to unpack and unwind the meanings and time that had become infused in the object.

Even the slightest trace of a soldier's alteration of an object could be significant, not just in marking his individual experience of a situation, but in identifying his presence in the world. This is especially true for arguably the most cursory kind of trench art – ordinary objects that had been personalized by having a name or a military service number scratched onto them in a process that took a few minutes at most.

While wartime borrowing and souveneering indicate that named or numbered objects found in association with human remains today cannot be assumed to belong to that individual, it is also likely, that this was indeed the case.

When a soldier's remains have not been identified – and hence his name appears on lists and monuments of "the missing" – personalized objects associated with the body are sometimes the only clue to possible identity. In such instances, a humble object, simply inscribed, may be sufficient to reclaim the soldier's identity, and to reunite him with his descendants, and, through reburial in a military cemetery, with his former comrades. As a modern scientific archaeology of the First World War gathers pace, more instances of this kind occur (Saunders, 2007).

Private George Herbert Parker served with the fifth Battalion, York and Lancaster Regiment, and was killed in action at age 23 on Sunday 11 July 1915 near Ypres in Belgian Flanders. Along with 30 other men from his battalion who died in No Man's Land during the attack, Parker's remains have never been identified, and consequently his name is engraved on panel 55 at the Menin Gate memorial to the missing at Ypres.

In August 2000, during excavations of the battlefield where Parker was lost, an old-fashioned "cut throat" razor was found inscribed with Parker's service number, "716" (Fig. 4). Parker's relatives sent the excavators a photograph and the service medal of the young soldier, believing that they belonged with the razor and in Belgium, not back in England (Saunders, 2007:173–5). While Parker's remains have never been identified, the inscribed razor – in a sense standing in for the body – has reclaimed the identity, appearance, and family memory of a soldier missing for some 90 years, and reestablished his individual humanity.

Fig. 4 Cut-throat razor inscribed "716," the army service number of the Private Herbert Parker, killed in action aged 23 on Sunday 11 July 1915 near Ypres in Belgium (photo by Aurel Sercu)

Individual and Society

While the range of objects discussed here represent three-dimensional narratives of the war in ways as significant as written sources (letters, diaries, and memoirs), their inescapably "artistic" nature (sometimes sophisticated, more often not) gives them another kind of existence. Items made as personal memory-objects, as well as those created purely for sale and exchange, could be symbolically acquired by others, and integrated within wider cultural narratives whose purpose was propaganda, not memory. In other words, the concept of individuals-in-objects was elided, and a wider set of issues were abstracted and presented for public consumption.

This grander narrative required that the enemy be demonized, and one's own soldiers heroized not only in their individual bravery and military actions, but also in their refusal to become like the enemy (i.e., "savage killers" beyond the pale of civilized life). German brutality and bestiality during the early part of the war, especially towards the civilian populations of occupied Belgium, allowed for the French in particular to differentiate themselves from the enemy in a number of ways, one of which was the cooption of soldiers' trench-art objects.

Trench art made by French infantrymen (*poilu*) was symbolically acquired by Parisian society at several public exhibitions in the city's Salles du Jeu de Paumes des Tuileries in 1915. Luminaries of the art establishment such as Renoir, Rodin, and Lalique sat in judgment on the work of front-line soldiers, raising money for them and their families, and boosting public morale (Fig. 5). Apart from the financial and propaganda value of such events, trench-art exhibitions in the "world metropolis of culture" served partly to "civilize" the war, but more forcefully showed the ingenuity and creativity of French soldiers under terrible conditions. Most important of all was to demonstrate how they had not been barbarized by a bestial conflict.

The innate culture and sophistication of the French soldier's ideologically constructed identity as a warrior representative of French culture could not be subverted. Markers of civilized life as pens, writing sets, and flower vases adorned with art nouveau decoration demonstrated how the quintessential forms of civilized life dominated those of war through artistic transformation of the debris of conflict.

Trench art musical instruments, especially, furthered the metropolitan cultural agenda on a number of levels. Made from scrap wood, crashed airship parts, and miscellaneous metals, they accompanied patriotic songs in a form of aural aggression, banished the dissonance of war, and provided an emotionally uplifting event that ramified social solidarity. Photographs of trench art orchestras playing trench concerts to soldiers were, for all their surreality, as near to civilized normality as it was possible to get. The Parisian exhibitions of these objects were, in effect, "a public display and reification of these civilized virtues and sensibilities" (Saunders, 2003b:175), and created a fictional identity for the men in the front lines.

By its static nature as a four-year conflict of opposing trenches, the First World War exposed human beings to hitherto unimaginable conditions, where vast numbers of men suffered terrible injuries, or were vaporized into nothingness by high explosive.
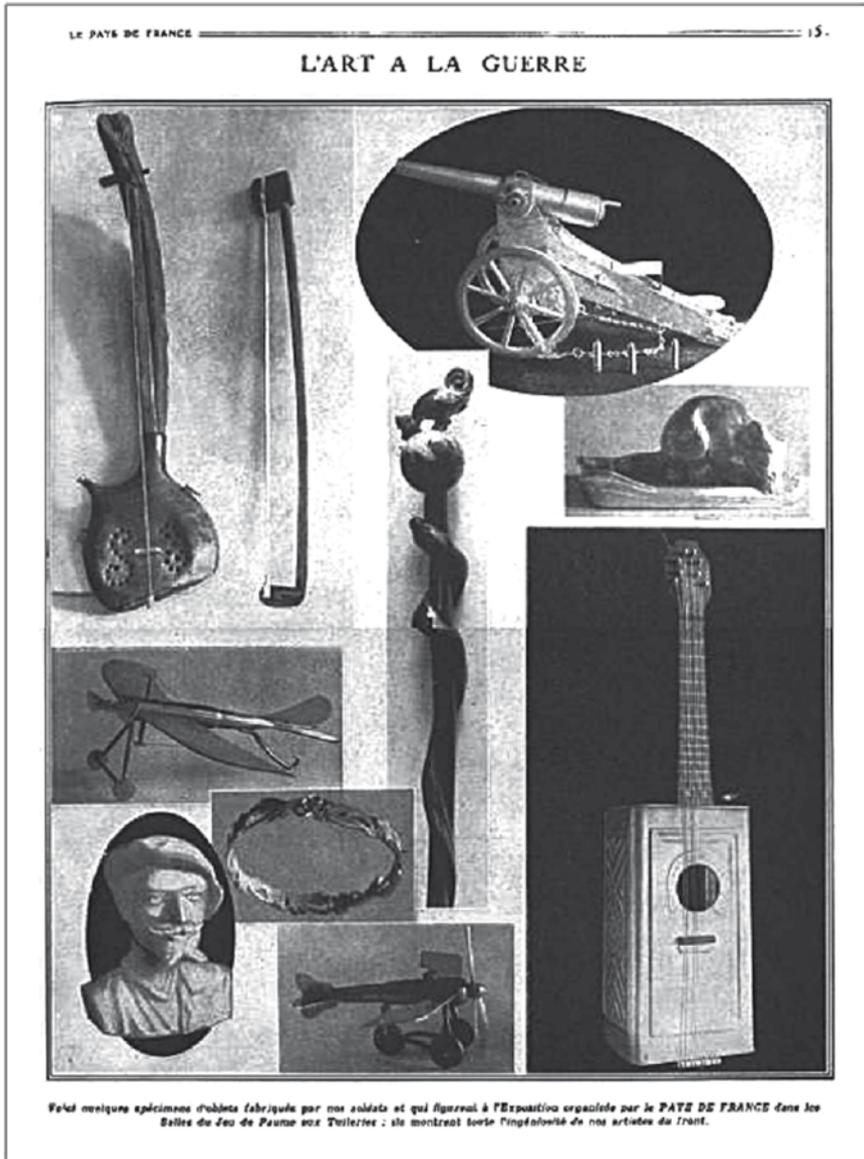
Fig. 5 Trench-art items on display in Paris in 1915 (photo by author)

The effects on the bodies and minds of soldiers, and on the landscapes within which they fought, showed that this conflict was, above all, a struggle of industrialized materialities, or *materialschlacht*. It is not surprising that some of these materialities were acquired and recycled into other forms, and that they embodied and represented

the distinctive experiences of men as individuals rather than as anonymous soldiers. In this most ironic and "poetic" of conflicts, such items reveal how men at war inscribe their souls onto objects, and how, for these objects, through a process of archaeological metamorphosis, the quotidian becomes a materialization of a historical moment (Shanks et al., 2004:63).

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A Biography of a Stoneware Ginger Beer Bottle: The Biucchi Brothers and the Ticinese Community in Nineteenth-Century London

Nigel Jeffries

Introduction

The biography of a stoneware ginger beer bottle stamped with the retailer mark "Buicchi Bros" is approached from four different perspectives, each of which can be read as separate texts and illuminate context and use. The first discusses the events following the object's discovery, noting how different archaeologists played a part in its accumulating histories. Second, Basilio and Ernesto Biucchi – two second-generation Ticinese (Swiss Italian) brothers – are introduced by considering their fundamental role in this bottle's life. Third, the bottle is positioned within the arena of soft drinks consumption in late nineteenth-century London. The article concludes by bringing the past into the present by introducing the descendants of the Buicchi brothers while discussing tangibility in historical archaeology. When these different inquiries are woven together, the role that both individuality and ethnicity played in the bottle's history is negotiated via different media: marking of the stoneware bottle with the Biucchi name, the brothers' participation in making and selling soft drinks, and the restaurant business (and those they employed).

A Stoneware Bottle: Archaeological Histories, 1990–2004

On February 21, 1990, an archaeological evaluation began at 159–173 St. John Street and 8–15 Aylesbury Street, in Clerkenwell in the London Borough of Islington, supervised by Mark Atkinson of the Department of Greater London Archaeology (which later became Museum of London Archaeology). The first part of the four perspectives provided for this bottle surrounds its retrieval on an archaeological site and its subsequent rediscovery 14 years later in an archaeological archive. Here individuality is

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expressed at a different and contemporary level, through the choices and decisions made by archaeologists in adding to the bottle's history.

The bottle was unearthed from Trench 1 located in the north-east corner of the site near the junction of St. John and Aylesbury Street. Site diary entries indicate that this was the first trench opened (Atkinson, 1990a), and it was here that archaeologist Simon Tomson collected the pieces of a smashed and incomplete stoneware ginger beer bottle on February 22, 1990. The bottle is of the brown salt-glazed, cork-stoppered variety that changed little in shape until the

Fig. 1 English-made stoneware ginger beer bottle stamped Biucchi Bros on the shoulder. Height = 16 cm

early twentieth century (Fig. 1; Askey, 1998:68–69). It is a mass-produced object that could have been made in any one of the stoneware factories that operated in London (such as the Doulton pothouse in Lambeth, south London and the Fulham pothouse, west London) or elsewhere in England (particularly Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire). Indicative of a class of material that is commonly found on archaeological sites for the period, this vessel is additionally stamped with the retailer name "Biucchi Bros" around the shoulder. Although the bottle was recorded in an unstratified layer – a term applied in British archaeology to describe modern deposits and signaling archaeological unimportance – the stoneware bottle and other pottery were retained.

Upon completion of the project, a standard archaeological report was produced (Atkinson, 1990a) and following standard practice, Atkinson wrote a summary for the annual round-up of excavations in London provided for the *London Archaeologist* magazine (Filer, 1991:304). This resumé was subsequently published in the *Journal of Post-Medieval Archaeology* and was reproduced in the Museum of London's Archaeological Gazetteer for greater London (Thompson et al., 1998), a guide intended to provide a character and flavor of what was found on a yearly cycle in London on a site-by-site basis. The entry for this evaluation (site code ASS90) reads:

> An evaluation excavation in 1990 of a site to the N of the site of the church of St John's Priory, Clerkenwell, showed that there had been little truncation by modern buildings, and that survival of medieval masonry fragments and layers of soft stratigraphy was good. At the W edge of the site a series of Tudor brick vaults was uncovered, thought to have been cellars along Jerusalem Passage. Finds include a significant group of 13th-c Kingston ware and 18 fragments of carved sandstone (Thompson et al., 1998:101).

Although the archaeology from this site proved important for further understanding the sequential development of the medieval priory of St. John (Sloane and Malcolm, 2004), the nineteenth-century finds from this site were forgotten, shifting between temporary archives before reaching their current location in the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC), a facility that has provided a permanent and curated resting place for the thousands of boxes of finds generated by excavations in London over the last 50 years.

At the LAARC in the summer of 2005, Lisa Elliott, an M.A. student from the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, worked with the author to assess the archaeological and documentary archives of significant nineteenth-century sites excavated from the London Borough of Islington. This work led to the rediscovery of the stoneware bottle 15 years after its excavation. This event marked the last of a final series of choices made by different archaeologists that play an intrinsic part in objects accumulating history, a process that does not stop after the material has been excavated, analyzed, and boxed. Lisa launched a project to find out more about this stoneware bottle and the identity of the Biucchi Brothers. Her archival research found that Basilio and Ernesto Biucchi operated a business in mineral water manufacturing in Aylesbury Street, Clerkenwell, during the 1890s, in a part of London settled primarily by Italian immigrants (Elliott, 2005).

Clerkenwell's Little Italy: A Neighborhood History, 1850–1902

First used in 1902, the term "Little Italy" was applied to a part of Clerkenwell to the north of Holborn, a rectangular area bounded by Grays Inn Road to the west, Farringdon Road to the east, and Rosebery Avenue to the north, in which most of London's 11,000 strong Italian community had settled during the past 50 years or so. The second perspective provided for this bottle's history is focused on the important context of place. Ernesto and Basilio Buicchi's decision to position their first business in Clerkenwell appeared ethnically motivated.

Up to the 1880s many immigrants originated from the north or central regions of Italy, from Lombardy, Emilia, and Tuscany, but after this date, migrants from southern Italy, and Campania in particular, provided most of the newly arrived. Clerkenwell's central location between the City of London to the east and the West End offered affordable lodging houses and low rents for the initial wave of largely male, itinerant workers (Sponza, 1988:19). Some took up laboring jobs, and many found employment as ice-cream sellers or in the catering trade as waiters in West End restaurants.

Like many other London neighborhoods, parts of Clerkenwell were characterized as slums, with its off street courts and winding streets providing a fertile setting for the characters Fagin and the Artful Dodger in Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*. Its ethnic flavor acted as a prism for journalists who reported upon the role of Italians in the Saffron Hill murder (*Times Online*: Saturday, Dec. 31, 1864; p. 10; Issue 25070; col. D), commented on their overcrowded lodging houses (*Times Online*: Friday, Aug. 18, 1886; p. 10; Issue 30589; col. G), or bemoaned the problems of Italian children operating as beggars (Camp, 2003:5) and as plaster figure makers. Street musicians, predominantly organ-grinders, supplied the most negative images of the Italian community during the nineteenth century, although this controversial occupation was in decline by the second decade of the twentieth century (Sponza, 1988:58). While many of these accounts were critical, it is important to recognize the political nature of such representations that homogenize and stereotype people and places within the cities, usually from an elite, white, male, middle-class viewpoint (Mayne, 1993), which arguably confused the "imagined reality of slums with the actualities of working class neighbourhoods" (Mayne and Murray, 2001).

London's Little Italy was largely clustered around two streets, Saffron Hill and Hatton Garden and did not dominate the overall population of Clerkenwell. Despite the relatively small size of London's Italian population compared with other urban centers settled by Italian migrants at the turn of the twentieth century (for example, New York), it was still dense enough in parts for James Greenwood in 1875 to colorfully describe that the traveler wandering through these streets "has lost site of his native land and is stranded on a foreign shore" (Green, 1988:4). The 1901 census for England and Wales, however, showed that nearby Westminster was quickly catching Clerkenwell as the most populous Italian-settled district, with restaurants and food shops mushrooming around Soho in the West End (Sponza, 1988:19).

Little Italy became the more stable and permanent immigrant community, with spiritual and educational cohesion supplied by St. Peter's Italian church on Clerkenwell Road (from 1863) and the free school for Italian children located in Hatton Garden. This transition was aided by the arrival and development of nucleated families, with Italian women favoring employment in domestic service or as laundresses (Camp, 2003:6). Ernesto and Basilio's location for their first business was therefore important.

The Biucchi Brothers: Second-Generation Immigrant Histories, 1890–1938

Between 1889 and 1890, Ernesto and Basilio Biucchi (who were both in their twenties) established their first business venture at 7 Aylesbury Street, Clerkenwell, just a short distance from the main Italian community in London.

The brothers were the sons of Alessandro and Apollonia Biucchi, both Ticinese (i.e., Swiss Italian) immigrants. Alessandro left for London around 1850 migrating from the small village of Castro in the Val di Blenio, in the Swiss canton of Ticino, after poor harvests caused by floods, landslides, and poor weather forced him and many others to seek work elsewhere. His 1867 British naturalization papers show he had resided in London for 17 years beginning in his late teens (National Archives HO 1/143/1566). He probably initially worked as a confectioner or as a waiter in one of the recently established Ticinese restaurants and lived in a lodging house (Barber and Jacomelli, 1997:9–11; Sponza, 1988:99). Apollonia joined him later in the 1850s and they produced seven children. Their five boys and two girls were born in Battersea, south London, where they are recorded in the 1881 census of England and Wales (RG11/647/Folio 105:27) with the exception of Ernesto who was born in Switzerland. This anomaly might be explained through the many trips the family was known to have taken back to Castro. Apollonia and Alessandro's lives, and those of their other children are, however, another story.

Post Office commercial directories listed Ernesto and Basilio as the "Biucchi Bros" under the "mineral water warehouses" heading at Aylesbury Street until 1892 and were therefore working when the enumerators visited the premises for the 1891 census (Fig. 2: RG12/222/Folio 542, 2: 7). Basilio is listed as the head of household and Basilio and Ernesto are together recorded as mineral water manufacturers. Their brother Louis was also present (his job is noted as coffee/restaurant keeper), together with their elderly uncle and aunt, John and Rosa Lazarri, and a younger workforce of two Italian born "mineral water makers" and two Ticinese born "mineral water travelers."

The Biucchi's business was not, however, the first mineral water manufacturing endeavor at these premises; the Post Office commercial directories note the Panzeri Brothers here until 1885 (Barber and Jacomelli, 1997:35). The Panzeris had ventured into mineral water manufacturing after they dissolved their looking glass and

Fig. 2 Census return for Aylesbury Street for 1891

barometer manufacturing business at 19 Aylesbury Street in 1877 (*The London Gazette*, Issue 24479, July 6, 1877) before they relocated to 7 Aylesbury Street shortly afterward. After 1885, the commercial directories note Domenico Bordessa here (also as a mineral water manufacturer) until *c*1890. The Biucchis therefore represented the third set of occupants of either Italian or Ticinese descent to participate in the mineral water business at this address. It appears that 7 Aylesbury Street was an adaptive space that required little conversion; Clerkenwell's many cheaply rented warehouses and commercial properties afforded the perfect opportunity to house such businesses.

Atkinson suggests that some buildings on the Aylesbury Street frontage were demolished by 1910 in order to make way for larger warehouses and factories (Atkinson, 1990b), which may explain the brothers' quick relocation to 13–15 Cromer Street, off Grays Inn Road in St Pancras, after 1892 (although by 1900 the Post Office directories again note 7 Aylesbury Street as home to another business). As part of Charles Booth's *Maps Descriptive of London Poverty* collated between

1892 and 1897, in which the levels of poverty and wealth found in the capital by the survey investigators was mapped out street by street, Cromer Street was classified as "mixed: some comfortable others poor" – although no accompanying description of this street appears available (www.booth.Ise.ac.uk).

The 1901 census for 13–15 Cromer Street (RG13/140/Folio 45: 81–82) illuminates a space that the Biucchi brothers shared with two other Ticino immigrants, Vescovi Battista, a waiter, and his wife, along with a widowed London-born confectioner, Eliza Salisbury, and her two daughters and two goddaughters. However, the partnership between the two brothers in mineral water manufacturing was to be short lived. A notice placed in the newspaper *The London Gazette* by Ernesto and Basil in October 1901 (October 4, 1901, Issue 27362) stated they had dissolved their partnership by mutual consent.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Ernesto and Basilio, influenced by the seasonal nature of "summer drinks" and its reliance on good weather, had become restaurateurs and confectioners, the most important business enterprise for the Ticinese. Basilio joined his brother Louis and they opened two restaurants at 415 (later renumbered 411A) and 510 Brixton Road, in south London, with Ernesto starting a restaurant at 114 Richmond Road, Kensington, in west London (Fig. 3; RG13/37/Folio 138, 7: 114).

There were additional events in the lives of the brothers by the turn of the century. They had both married; Ernesto wed Elisabeth, a naturalized British citizen but also born in Switzerland and therefore of Ticinese descent, and Basilio married

Fig. 3 Ernesto Biucchi (middle) flanked by two waiters outside his restaurant (courtesy of Tony Biucchi)

in the summer of 1892 in Holborn (GRO ref 1B 1286, June quarter). Ernesto's position within London's Ticinese community rose; he acted as Treasurer for the benevolent Unione Ticinese Society between 1896 and 1932 (Gambazzi et al., 1999:10). Basilio became something of an entrepreneur, and applied for a patent in 1902 for an "improved sun or weather bonnet of shield for horses and the like" which was accepted by the patent office in 1903 (UK patent office GB190215608–1903-07-11).

Family and Ticinese and Italian Connections: Kin and Origin

It is, however, the other persons listed by the enumerators in the 1891 and 1901 census that demonstrate the importance of kin and origin in the day-to-day functioning of these particular mineral water manufacturers. As noted above, also listed in the 1891 census of England and Wales for 7 Aylesbury Street (RG12/222/Folio 542, 2: 7) are the brothers' elderly uncle and aunt, John and Rosa Lazarri (see Barber and Jacomelli, 1997:33), and four other Italian workers.

The 1901 census for Cromer Street, taken shortly after the brothers relocated their business from Clerkenwell, supplies yet more detail (RG13/140/Folio 45: 81–82). Basilio is listed as the head of household while Ernesto appears at his restaurant in Kensington despite being noted on the electoral register for Cromer Street until 1904–1905. The business occupied three rooms in these premises and employed six workers, five of whom were Swiss and Italian males aged between 19 and 28, with an older unmarried Irish woman providing the only variation. All of the workers' occupations were recorded as "washing and filling bottles."

The brothers, despite Basilio being born in Battersea, London, and Ernesto, a naturalized British citizen by the 1901 census, therefore recruited and preferred workers from both Italy and Switzerland. They followed the established Italian and Ticinese system of employing young men to work in their business in return for lodgings and food. These workers saved their money to send back to their families in Switzerland before usually returning themselves. The decennial nature of the national census therefore provides only a snapshot of the composition of these workers and their movements, and as both were taken in the spring months, it can also be assumed that this workforce fluctuated as the seasons demanded. The successive censuses list completely different staff.

After 1912, the Post Office directories show that Ernesto continued his mineral business at 99a Bingfield Street in Hampstead, north London, but it slowly declined as concerns raised by public health authorities surrounding the cleaning and reuse of both stone and glass Codd-marble-stoppered bottles intensified. When the business was sold to the Idris and Company Ltd in 1933 (this large concern operated between 1873 and the 1960s before its acquisition by the Beecham Group), it ended Ernesto's participation in this industry after some 35 years. Upon selling the business he retired to Switzerland where he died and was buried in 1938.

Observing London's Mineral Water Trade

On October 10, 1895, the author and playwright Harold Hardy, acting as one of the investigators for the "food and drinks trade" section of Charles Booth's survey into *Life and Labour in London* (1886–1903), drafted his 15-page handwritten essay summarizing his observations on London mineral water manufacturers (Hardy, 1895:256–271). Hardy commented that "there is an immense trade nowadays in ginger beer in cashes" and his contemporary observations provide a third perspective on the stoneware bottle: contextualizing the Buicchi's bottle in its role as a functional object within London's mineral water trade.

Hardy's essay thematically described the tasks conducted in these premises by profession, broken down by labor and gender, together with wages and conditions of work. Hardy's essay used wage and workers questionnaires given by various mineral water manufacturers (Hardy, 1895:214–222), and the statistical tables on occupations, wages, and hours by gender provided by the Board of Trade (Hardy, 1895:223–228)

With London's breweries providing stouts, ales, and porters, it was up to the plethora of mineral water manufacturers to supply the capital's nonalcoholic drinks. These manufacturers ranged in size from large established companies such as Schweppes and Whites to the smaller manufacturers represented by the Buicchis. The number of employees ranged from hundreds of workers at, for example, Idris and Company Ltd (Hardy, 1895:212), to very small-scale employment levels. Roberts Capsule Mineral Company located in Horse Shoe Alley, Park Street, Bankside in Southwark, is more comparable to the Buicchis, and employed "three men, three women and girls" and one from the "lads, boys and apprentices" category (Hardy, 1895:209). The questionnaires revealed that men were paid between 27 and 30 shillings per week (a value of £83 [$123] today), whereas women received between 8 and 12 shillings per week (between £23–35 [$34–51]), an amount mirrored throughout all questionnaire returns with the "lad, boy or apprentice" paid just 5 shillings per week (£14 [$21]).

As mineral water manufacturers, Ernesto and Basilio slotted into the already well-established trade in nonalcoholic drink. A letter they sent to one of their customers in 1901 provides insight into the products and measure sizes they sold, which ranged from "home brewed ginger beer and ginger ale" sold in screw-stoppered bottles, to "aerated waters" and "summer drinks" in Codd's patents- and screw-stoppered bottles (Fig. 4). The ginger beer and ginger ale listed as "sold in casks" were no doubt supplied to public houses, which Hardy noted "sell ginger beer on draught, as it is in great demand" (Hardy, 1895:264).

Although the Buicchis were undoubtedly busy with their business during the summer, their products were likely to have been popular all year round. Harold Hardy commented that although the industry remained largely seasonal with its slack and busy periods, "in the winter, owing possibly to the spread of teetotalism, the business is much more brisk then it used to be" (Hardy, 1895:257). Hardy also supplied important information on how the mineral water business distributed its
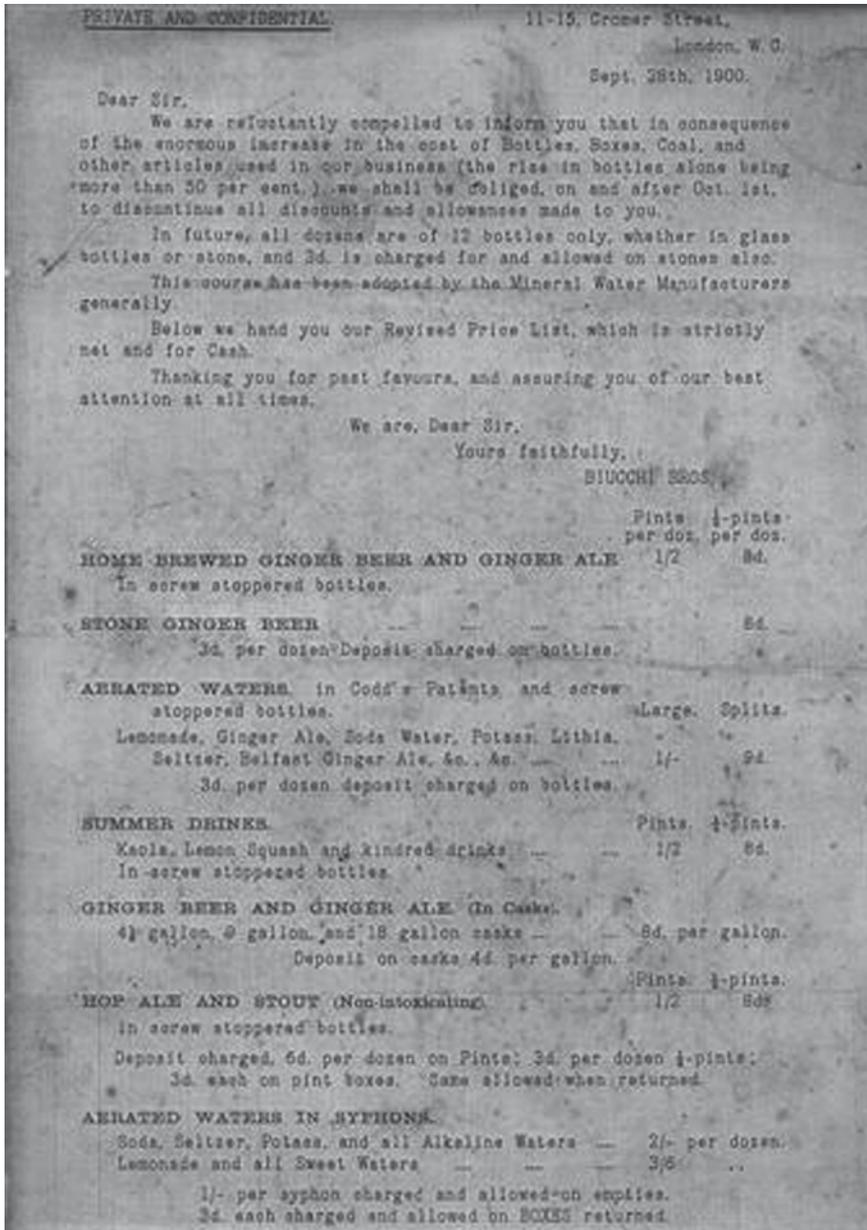
Fig. 4 Letter sent by the Biucchi brothers to an unknown customer in 1901 (courtesy of Tony Biucchi)

products with "hotels, restaurants and clubs on the other hand will often order direct from the firm and carmen are employed on fixed wages to deliver to customers with special orders" (Hardy, 1895:258). However, it was likely that the Italian "mineral

water travelers" recorded in the 1891 census for Aylesbury Street undertook most of the distributive work for the Biucchis, with Hardy noting that "travelers" employed by other firms were sent in vans to perform the daily tasks of stocking different shops while collecting empty bottles (Hardy, 1895:257–258).

Another important method of distribution may have been via the lemonade and ginger beer street sellers so vividly described by the social journalist Henry Mayhew in his 1861 work *London Labour and the London Poor* (Mayhew, 1968:186–189, 209). Mayhew estimated between 3,000 and 5,000 ginger beer sellers in London, and that larger manufacturers often sold directly to customers via their premises. He also commented that street fountains of ginger beer, hired from mineral water manufacturers, had just become popular describing them as having a "handsome frame or stand, which is usually fixed on a wheeled and moveable truck, so as one man's strength may be sufficient to propel it" (Mayhew, 1968:186).

The fountains served customers straight from the tap, either into glasses for quick consumption, or into stoneware bottles to take away. Mayhew estimated that there were just over 4,750,000 bottles of ginger beer sold yearly on London's streets (Mayhew, 1968:211). A similar network existed for lemonade, which was distributed in much the same fashion, and often bottled by the street-sellers (Mayhew, 1968:188).

Within the Biucchi's premises at Aylesbury and Cromer Street, daily tasks would have included carrying, bottling, washing, filling, wiring, and tying bottles (fastening the cork to bottle). When the empty stone bottles were returned, they were tested for faults, a process achieved by knocking the bottles lightly together to test for cracks, and discarded if faulty. If they passed the inspection, they were handed to another worker who removed pieces of cork with a metal hook (Hardy, 1895:264–265). The stone bottles were then washed and sterilized, as described by Hardy:

> Before the bottles are filled with soda water and lemonade, they have to be washed. They are first placed in a water tank and allowed to soak. Then they are run onto a small brush revolving by machinery, and after then each bottle is rinsed by being attached upon a nipple machine, from which a fine spray of water shoots up into the bottle and thoroughly cleans it from all impurities. Washing requires not so much skill as that it should be conscientiously done (Hardy, 1895:258).

The washed stone bottles were then filled with ginger beer through a process of "boiling water in vats passes though pipes into other vats containing ginger, sugar, and acids, and is ultimately strained off to be bottled and barrelled" (Hardy, 1895:264). Mayhew also offered a description of the ingredients and costs needed to make the ginger beer brewed by businessmen like the Biucchis.

> For a "good quality" or the "penny bottle" trade, the following are the ingredients and the mode of preparation: 3 gallons of water; 1 Ib. of ginger, 6*d*.; lemon-acid, 2*d*.; essence of gloves, 2*d*.; yeast, 2*d*.; and 1 Ib of raw sugar, 7*d*. This admixture, the yeast being the last ingredient introduced, stands 24 hours and is then ready for bottling (Mayhew, 1968:186).

After the stone bottles were filled, the "wirer" then fastened the cork, and the bottles were packed into boxes ready for distribution. While Mayhew suggested that the first occurrence of the street-selling of ginger beer occurred in the hot summer of 1822 (Mayhew, 1968:186), stoneware collector Askey correctly identified that the standard

stoneware bottle form used for the storage and consumption of ginger beer is dated to the early nineteenth century, an observation evidenced by the *terminus post-quem* dates in which these bottles are first noted from archaeological contexts in London.

Upon starting their business, the brothers appeared quick to place orders with stoneware pothouses for bottles stamped with their name and address. The decision to commission pieces bearing their name followed custom and practice in the mineral water industry, as reflected by the other mineral water and soda manufacturers commonly found on stone bottles from archaeological excavations in London, such as George Banks of Deptford (from 1874), Robert Whites of Camberwell (from 1845), and Bateys of Hackney (from 1853). Chris Green, in his publication on the products and history of the Fulham stoneware pothouse, suggests that retailers' names and addresses appear more frequently on stoneware bottles and jugs after 1835, with stamps added to newly thrown vessels either for a small surcharge or for free if placed with larger orders (Green, 1999:162–163).

The use of stamped names and addresses was motivated in two ways. First, it provided cheap advertising. The popularity of soft drinks meant that the Biucchis could promote their business to literate Londoners of any sex, age, or class. Second, the brothers charged a deposit on their bottles and casks – a practice not always followed by other, usually larger, mineral water manufacturers – which indicates that they sold to a local market dependant on easy delivery and retrieval of their bottles. Therefore the adding of retailers' names to stone and glass bottles served another purpose beyond advertising vital to these smaller businesses: it provided proof of ownership. Lucas (2002:11) has similarly noted that glass manufacturers adding embossed text warning of prosecution, or claiming glass bottles as sole property, prevented others from reusing and refilling these bottles and passing them as containing the original contents.

Despite the availability of Charles Booth's survey and the wealth of information presented in the industries trade magazines such as *The National Mineral Water Trade Recorder and Bottler's Advocate* (continued under various names), the *Mineral Water Trade Review and Guardian* (1873–1925) and finally *The British and Colonial Mineral Water Trade* Journal (from 1888, now *Soft Drinks International* magazine), scholarly examination of the histories and everyday functioning of London's mineral water industry is negligible. Equally, though Ticinese/Italian surnames form only a small group under either the "mineral water warehouses" or "soda water and ginger beer makers" headings in the Post Office commercial directories for London, the role this group played in this industry remains understudied. The Biucchis therefore confirmed their Ticinese identities not only through their occupation as restaurateurs, but in their participation in the mineral water trade.

Archaeological Perspectives

It is the materiality of this industry, as defined here by the stoneware and glass bottles sold by the Biucchis, that remains the least understood in historical archaeology. This is the stuff of bottle collectors (e.g., Hedges, 1975). Their use of

municipal gravel pit landfills and rural midden dumps – often containing hundreds of largely complete mid to late Victorian and Edwardian stoneware and glass bottles – usually remains outside the planning regulations that currently govern British archaeology, and therefore outside the prism of the professions' interest. The role that these mass-produced objects played in the industrialization and preservation of drink at one level, or within the context of temperance at the other, currently remains poorly researched.

Nevertheless, stoneware collector Derek Askey's informative overview of the products of the stoneware bottles and their manufacturers, which includes the important acknowledgment that this material does not evoke "Victorian drawing rooms and gracious living, but of the kitchens and cellars, the ale-house and brash gin palaces" (1998:5), has been added to by the excavations on two of London's more famous stoneware manufacturers, the Doulton works (Tyler, 2005) in Lambeth, south London, and the Fulham pothouse in west London (Green, 1999). These have supplied important information on the range of products made by these pothouses into the twentieth century, as well as considering contemporary terms and cost. However, the next challenge for archaeologists engaged with the material culture of the period is to move their inquiries beyond reading marked stoneware vessels as largely functional and ambiguous items.

The Past Meets the Present: Tony Buicchi

During the 1990s Tony Biucchi, the grandson of Ernesto, began collecting what is now an extensive collection of complete stamped and printed ale and ginger beer stoneware and embossed glass bottles bearing the name Biucchi Bros. Tony had long known about the mineral water manufacturing link with his grandfather, passed through his father's stories and by the small collection of printed ephemera handed down. Together with his wife Alice, they trawled local car boot sales and antique fairs for stoneware and glass mineral water bottles bearing the Biucchi Bros name (Fig. 5). Unlike Simon Tomson in February 1990, plucking the broken stoneware bottle from the ground, Tony's collection has no archaeological "context" in terms of understanding location of use and discard but has a different, more immediately tangible, significance as family heirlooms.

One of his stoneware bottles bears the Aylesbury Street address, but the majority of the brown-salt glazed examples are stamped "15 Cromer Street, London, W.C" at the base and "Buicchi Bros" on the shoulder (Fig. 5). More frequent are either corked Bristol-glazed and screw-stoppered bottles with underglaze black printed labels (Fig. 5) bearing the address "Cromer Street, W.C" and "Biucchi Bros". Manufacturing marks are few, but the brothers seemed to have preferred their bottles from Nottinghamshire makers, such as the Eastwood potteries (Askey, 1998:186) and Lovatt & Lovatt (Askey, 1998:184–185). Just one bears the name of a London stone potter: Thomas Smith of the Canal Potteries located on the Old Kent Road, Southwark, in south London (Askey, 1998:179).

Fig. 5 Selection of stoneware ginger beer bottles from Tony Biucchi's collection

The remaining bottles in Tony Biucchi's collection consist of four blue and green colored glass Codd minerals with marble screw-stoppered tops, all of which, along with the one egg-shaped Codd-Hamilton example, display the Biucchi's bullfighter and the bull trademark on one side, and the embossed text "Biucchi Bros" on the other (Fig. 5). In addition are two green-colored glass dumpy ale bottles with embossed lettering of "Biucchi" on their side. Context is again provided by Harold Hardy in 1895 whose observations on the production and selling of lemonade, soda, and aerated waters by mineral water manufacturers are as equally detailed as for ginger beer (Hardy, 1895:259–263).

In 2006, the author wrote to each of the three Biucchis he found listed on a recent electoral roll for England. Explaining the discovery of the stoneware bottle bearing their surname, he inquired if they were related to the brothers, and whether they could help in further research. Within the week both Tony and Edwina made contact (a distant cousin, she is the granddaughter of Casare, the fifth and final Biucchi brother); the third letter went to Steven Biucchi, Tony and Alice's son. After meeting, the excavated stone bottle was shown to the family at an occasion that marked the end of an accumulation of events that began in the early 1890s with its discard at Aylesbury Street.

Conclusion: Tangibility in Historical Archaeology

In recreating the "material histories" (Hicks and Jeffries, 2004) such as the Biucchis and in gaining insight into some of the relationships between these individuals and their things, it was necessary to negotiate documentary and archaeological archives to gain some insight into the different Londoners who would have used and handled this object. The bottle itself therefore informed the course research should take, rather than "being seen as functional items vital to the social process but seldom informing it" (Gosden and Marshall, 1999:170).

However, Alan Mayne, in his critique of urban historical archaeology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Mayne, 2003:65–87), considers the "apparently unproblematic supposition of a tangible thread that connects past and present underpins the archaeology of modern cities" (Mayne, 2003:77–78). He argues that the mass of artifacts found are mute and ambiguous because they lack a clear context to give them meaning, and cites the development of the "ethnography of place" (Mayne, 2003:79) methodology sustained by historical narrative as the means of providing this link. For a period that is too distant to utilize direct oral histories, is tangibility evidenced through this study?

The rediscovery of a forgotten stoneware bottle deposited in an archaeological archive in London stimulated this research. Yet I may have just as easily have written about any one of the dozens of retailers (Dubowski and Sons or George Banks to name but two) who stamped their stoneware bottles and jugs, found in archaeological excavations in London. Arguably every archaeological artifact has an advantage over a collected museum piece because of the presence of context. Here the bottle was found near or at the exact location to the brother's first premises at Aylesbury Street, where a thirsty Londoner bought it on a hot summer day in the 1890s, consumed its contents and returned the bottle, upon where Antonio Michelini or Giuseppe Carminati discovered it was faulty and threw it away before it was refilled. Comfort could not be found among the apparent certainties offered by historical sources. The history of London's Italian and Ticinese community has been largely written by interested descendants (for example, Sponza, 1988; Barber and Jocemelli, 1999) and they have not attracted the same weight of scholarly engagement as London's Jewish East End (for example, Newman, 1980).

The path taken by this object was very different from those similarly used stone and glass bottles collected by Tony Biucchi. These bottles had been kept by individuals for c100 years, passing through many different hands, before their final owners decided to sell them to antique dealers specializing in the burgeoning stone bottle and glass market, or privately through car boot sales. As the twentieth century progressed, these objects had been used as decorative pieces in people's houses, cherished for their aesthetic qualities. Yet most ginger beer bottles were likely to have been thrown away soon after their use, making their way instead into Victorian landfill sites and recently excavated by bottle collectors. The inexpensive price of the bottles brought by Tony Biucchi suggests that

they were considered by those who sold them as having little significance, value, or intrinsic beauty. These bottles, in contrast to the archaeologically recovered bottle, lost their original meaning, ceased to perform their original function, and became mementos.

The bottle is inexorably intertwined in processes of recycling, teetotalism, nonalcoholic drinks, advertising and packaging, stoneware manufacturing, and immigrant histories. It adds other perspective to Ticinese histories beyond their restaurant and confectioner businesses. Elucidated by contemporary accounts, family records, census returns, newspapers, and other printed ephemera, each source added another piece to the disarticulated biography of one stone bottle's life. Interweaved among this biography is the role of individuality. Individuality is present in Ernesto and Basilio's decision to stamp or label their products with their surname, to their expression of ethnicity as second generation Ticinese via their choice of occupations (and employees) and in the location of their first business, finishing with Tony Biucchi collecting their products as family heirlooms. Tangibility is thus provided by these descendents of Ernesto and Basilio and it is through them the past is reconnected to the present.

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Folk Housing in the Middle of the Pacific: Architectural Lime, Creolized Ideologies, and Expressions of Power in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii

Peter R. Mills

Introduction

Captain Cook's third expedition to the Pacific reached Hawaii in 1778. Western diseases soon thereafter reduced an indigenous population of at least several hundred thousand (if not 1,000,000) to fewer than 50,000 by 1878 (Stannard, 1989), while foreign plantation workers and other immigrants arrived by the tens of thousands. Successive capitalist ventures in the nineteenth century, including the fur trade, sandalwood trade, whaling, the California gold rush, ranching, and cash-crop plantations altered a self-sufficient Hawaiian economy. Beginning in 1820, Protestant missionaries, followed by other missionary groups, heavily influenced Hawaiian ideologies. By the twentieth century, Hawaii had been transformed from an indigenous sovereign nation (recognized by several Western powers) to a colonized US territory, taken in a *coup d'état* by resident US businessmen and US marines in 1893.

As Nassaney (this volume) argues, normative expressions of culture and change, such as the string of capitalist ventures discussed above, although justified on the level of systems theory, can obscure the significance of individuality by focusing on broad cultural processes instead of its constituent parts. Differences between Fernand Braudel's (1972) focus on the *longue durée* and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's concern with events (1979) mirror the significance of these different scales of analysis in understanding complex social processes. In colonial contexts, systems theory has often led to homogenized dichotomies of colonizers and the colonized (Wolf, 1982). These dichotomies mask the roles of individuals and the relationships that they form that cut across cultural boundaries (Lightfoot and Martinez, 1995). The materiality of individuality offers a dimension of analysis that is capable of exploring the significant consequences of individual agency in culture change. If anthropologists hope to untangle the power dynamics behind the spread

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of capitalism and global networks, individual material expressions of power, status, and identity offer important subjects of study.

For example, power distribution in Hawaii was quite different from that in many other colonial settings. Initially, Hawaiian chiefs wielded a great deal of power, and sometimes used the power they had in syncretistic ways by intentionally creolizing Western commodities and values with their own ideologies. Hawaiian chiefs controlled huge labor forces, and the chiefs' decisions regarding the allocation of that labor greatly affected the spread of capitalism in the Pacific (Kirch and Sahlins, 1992; Mills, 2002). By examining the materiality of individuality, the narratives of individual negotiations of power in households and in local communities can expose heterarchies as well as hierarchies, and emphasize dialectics over dichotomies. This approach can generate more robust theories of culture change, agency, and associated power dynamics in different colonial situations (Upton, 1996; Wolf, 1999). By recognizing the multidimensionality of individual experiences and expression in colonial worlds, one can reformulate dichotomized rubrics of omnipotent colonizers and their colonized victims, and explore individual encounters in which colonizers and the colonized redefined their own worlds.

Architectural Lime as a Material of Individuality

Inspired by Glassie (1975), Deetz (1996:126) encouraged historical archaeologists to consider how "the form of a house can be a strong reflection of the needs and minds of those who built it," and is thus a powerful signifier of individual expression. The thatched house was the mainstay of virtually all Oceanic folk architecture, and was quintessentially natural and impermanent. These characteristics offended the sensibilities of most nineteenth-century Pacific immigrants. Individuals in the colonial Pacific faced this ideological tension as they negotiated the construction of their own houses. It is within this conflict that architectural lime in Oceania is imbued with individual narratives of cultural identity, power, and self-expression. When one also considers how lime was produced and exchanged, lime becomes the essence of what Thomas (1991) considered an "entangled object" in Pacific colonialism.

Material conservationists have studied architectural lime intensively (Barrow and Fong, 1999; Gulec and Ersen, 1998), but research on lime's role in Pacific cultural transformations is woefully neglected. In Oceania, lime's popularity spread from the Americas and Europe, where its history reaches back to the early roots of European civilization (Swallow and Carrington, 1995). By the 1820s, missionaries had successfully supported its large-scale adoption in some Society Island communities (Tyerman and Bennet, 1831:164, 203–203), and by the 1830s, Spanish and Anglo-American colonies around the Pacific were using lime liberally (Dana, 1840:37–97). In Hawaii, lime architecture was adopted on a massive scale during the late 1830s and 1840s. With lime, people could create more durable buildings – often with symmetrical Georgian designs – and their whitewashed exteriors stood out from the surrounding landscape. This contrast was more extreme in the Pacific than in the West because these brilliant abodes were juxtaposed with a multitude of thatched Oceanic houses.

The Inception of Architectural Lime in Hawaii (1798–1819)

Missionaries heavily promoted lime as an architectural fabric in Hawaii beginning with their arrival in 1820, but there are several known cases of the use of lime as an architectural element before that era. These few cases speak volumes regarding the communication of individuality in Hawaiian society in the early contact era. Although lime was traditionally used in Oceania as decorative elements on ceramics and for personal adornment by applying it in hair (Green, 1979:40; Kirch, 1997:122; Ferdon, 1987:9), there is no evidence that Polynesians traditionally used lime as a building material. The earliest known case of Hawaiian lime architecture is a homestead built in 1798 on Hawai`i Island by British boatswain John Young (Cahill, 1999; Durst, 2002; Rosendahl and Carter, 1988). Young, a native of Lancashire, England, had arrived in 1790 on the fur-trading vessel *Eleanora*. The paramount chief, Kamehameha I, detained Young on shore, and the *Eleanora* eventually departed, leaving Young behind. John Young was thus forced to adapt to a native culture (although he eventually stayed by choice), and represents a power dynamic in reverse of most culture contact models. He quickly acquired a prominent niche within the Hawaiian chiefdom by assisting Kamehameha in battles and foreign diplomacy. He married two chiefly Hawaiian women in succession, Na`moku`ela, and Ka`o`ana`eha, and learned to speak Hawaiian. Kamehameha granted Young the political authority of an *ali`i `ai ahupua`a*, or a kind of chief who controlled land within Kamehameha's territory. Nevertheless, John Young's authority came from his knowledge of foreign things, giving him reasons not to forsake his own cultural identity.

Young began to build his primary residence in Kawaihae, Hawai`i Island, in 1798, and maintained this homestead as his primary residence until his death in 1835. The houses in Young's native land were typically timber framed, thatched with grass, and covered with plaster made from lime, sand, cow hair, and cow dung (Colby and Barrow, 1997:22). Young plastered several of the structures with a mix of lime from burned blocks of coral reef, sand, *poi* (pounded taro, or *Colocasia esculenta*), and hair. In March of 1799 he wrote in his diary, "I have finished plastering all houses and have whitewashed the fences around the animal pens. It is as in Wales" (Apple, 1978:47–48). Young's homestead contained his own dwelling, a separate thatched house for his second wife, Ka`o`ana`eha, another house for his children and servants, a cook house, storage house, and animal pens. Archaeological excavations and other historical documents demonstrate that despite Young's claim that all houses were plastered, the buildings were quite different from each other. His wife's sleeping quarters apparently was thatched, not plastered (Rosendahl and Carter, 1988:21). Young's main dwelling house was two stories tall with stone and earthen-mortared walls, and more heavily plastered than any other building on the property. The combination of building forms could be a reflection of negotiated power between Young and his elite Hawaiian wives.

John Young's lime plastered homestead served as a public display of his individuality in Hawaiian society by communicating his peculiar social position. John Young does not appear to have encouraged or convinced others to adopt his building style. Nevertheless, his eventual willingness to stay in Hawaii and take on the role

of a Hawaiian chief transformed the structure of Hawaii's colonial history. That decision also transformed his life, and elevated his position in the Western world and in Hawaiian society. On O`ahu, a few other foreign residents, including a Spaniard named Don Francisco de Paula Marin, followed paths similar to John Young, and also plastered their homes with lime by the early nineteenth century (Smith, 1956:48), but large-scale adoption of lime architecture was dependent upon future ideological transformations in the Hawaiian community.

The Early Missionary Era (1820–1830s)

The first missionaries reached Hawaii in 1820, sent by the Boston-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. They arrived less than a year after Hawaiian chiefs had orchestrated the demise of the `ai kapu*, or eating taboo, that essentially defined Hawaiian gender roles, ritual, and status (Kame`eleihiwa, 1992:74–78; Valeri, 1965). Chiefs provided the missionaries with thatched houses, but the missionaries soon developed a strong contempt for these abodes. Most Hawaiian houses lacked internal partitions, and consequently, sexual contact and other activities deemed "private" by Westerners were not protected in the corporate space of Hawaiian houses. This prompted one missionary to write, "those without partitions in their houses were living like dumb beasts" (Martin et al., 1970:81). The missionaries' immediate solution was to hang mats from the rafters to make rooms. Missionaries also complained that the thatched houses were impermanent, infested with vermin, lacked planked floors, had low entryways, and were poorly lit because of a lack of windows (Ellis, 1827:225–226; Dibble, 1843:145).

The missionaries perceived both Hawaiian houses and Hawaiian people as savage, barely modified from a "natural state," and in direct conflict with basic tenets that had revolutionized Western cultures in the Georgian era. The impermanent and corporate structure of the homes fueled missionary convictions that Polynesian houses – and the minds that created them – were dens of darkness lacking in both light and enlightenment. The very act of stooping required to enter these houses (Ellis, 1827:226; Tyerman and Bennet, 1831:375) reduced the missionaries to submissive positions, and symbolized the deprivations and humiliation that missionaries felt in the advancement of their ideological causes. Over the next several decades, missionaries promoted the building of new houses to better fit their concepts of civilization, both for their own comfort, and to achieve what they perceived as a necessary step in enlightening the rest of the community.

The subsequent transformations in Polynesian house styles offer material indications of individual expression and changing identity, with several *caveats* related to coercive power and wealth. Hawaiian missionaries' successes depended upon persuasive (hegemonic) power rather than coercive power. In fact, missionaries in Hawaii had few friends in the foreign mercantile community, let alone inherent power to force their will on the Hawaiian Monarchy. Coercive power supporting missionary doctrines in Polynesia, simply put, came from the chiefs. In the Society Islands,

King Pomare II had become an ardent supporter of Christian doctrines by the early 1820s. Shortly before coming to Hawaii, Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet had written of Tahiti in 1821 that,

> we were glad to see many dwellings in progress of erection upon the improved plan of wattling and plaster; having the interior divided into convenient family apartments…. Formerly the desultory, roving, and indolent habits of the whole population of these islands prevented them from taking any unnecessary pains to build their houses for permanent occupation… Good order and comfort have expelled the grossness, confusion, and filthiness of what might be called promiscuous intercourse – when men, women, and children, inmates and strangers, ate, drank, and lodged, in one long, narrow apartment, of which the whole structure consisted. So happy innovations lately adopted, that a public meeting, expressly convened for that purpose, a resolution was passed, that any house thereafter built in the old slovenly style might be pulled down by any body, and the dilapidator should be exempt from punishment (Tyerman and Bennet, 1831:164).

Pomare II's laws were thus used to coerce others into adopting Georgian architectural elements (segmentation of corporate living spaces, order, and permanence). Unlike Tahiti, Hawaii had no coercive laws pertaining to the adoption of Western architecture, and until the mid-1830s, the majority of Hawaiian missionaries lived in thatched houses, albeit modified by the addition of partitions, floors, larger doors, and windows in many cases (Dibble, 1843:145). The missionary Charles Stewart in 1823 stated that lime was not being used in Hawaii because "the lime and lumber necessary to finish them [the desired houses] must be procured from the same distant country [United States]; for the expense of burning lime here, would be greater than the cost of it in America, and its freight to the islands" (Stewart, 1828:241).

To circumvent the intensive labor to produce lime, the first missionary attempts to replace grass houses relied upon stone and earth (Whitney, 1824; Damon, 1925:228; Le Netrel, 1951:54; Lyons 1892). Adobe brick buildings and walls were commonly constructed in the port towns through much of the nineteenth century. Adobe walls around yards further segmented the domestic landscape into individual lots.

These unplastered structures fell quickly into disrepair (Whitney, 1825; Bates, 1854:83; Loomis, 1937:25–28), so missionaries soon began to use lime when they could afford it. By the mid-1820s, the missionaries stationed in Honolulu and Lahaina began concerted efforts to plaster many of their homes and outbuildings (Judd, 1880:10; Loomis, 1937:25–28), and a few other foreigners had begun hiring Native Hawaiians to procure coral to make lime (Ellis, 1827:307). Through the 1830s, the missionaries in outlying districts slowly managed to apply lime mortar and plaster to most of their homes by burning local corals (Emerson, 1928:96; Judd, 1936:56).

The missionaries came from rural New England and New York where lime production was a cottage industry based upon the burning of limestone in specially constructed kilns (Rolando, 1992). In Hawaii, however, coral was often burned in pits dug in the ground (Lydgate, 1991:93–94; Lebo and Bayman, 2001:160). Although this method was less efficient than the use of air-fed kilns, the porous coral in Hawaii may have made pit kilns more feasible. Nonetheless, the production of lime in Hawaii was highly labor-intensive, both in terms of quarrying coral from the reefs and obtaining fuel to burn it. Missionaries with low numbers of converts

through the late 1820s controlled very little labor with which to produce the changes that they desired. In June of 1831 the missionary Lucy Thurston from Hawaii Island – who was still living in a thatched house – visited a plastered house in Lahaina belonging to the missionary William Richards, and wrote,

> at length, I was let down, and beheld myself lying [on a mattress] on a board floor, in the middle of a room, with plastered walls and glass windows. To me who had spent eight years in cottages thatched with leaves, with mats for floors, and doors for windows, it seemed a novel scene, and powerfully reminded me of the days of other years (Thurston, 1882:109).

Hawaiian chiefs had also begun to use lime by the late 1820s, thus anteceding the use of lime on many missionary homes. Elite Hawaiians adopted lime architecture not because it was forced upon them, but because they chose to. In Lahaina in 1829, in addition to the Richards' missionary home, several chiefs' homes were plastered, and the newly constructed palace in Honolulu had a solid floor of lime plaster as "a novelty and experiment" (Stewart, 1831:123). By the 1830s, quarrying coral for lime was one of the tasks that chiefs accepted from commoners as corvée labor and assigned to prisoners (Olmstead, 1841:195).

Lime-plastered buildings became conspicuous statements of affluence, whether by intention or as a by-product of the labor costs. Through both popular support and coercive power, chiefs used lime in creolized forms of monumentalism, separating their dwelling complexes from those of commoners. In traditional Hawaiian society, monumentalism had been expressed largely in the architecture of *heiau*, or ritual temples (Kolb, 1994), but when the chiefs rejected their own ritual system in 1819 and abandoned their *heiau*, that architectural form no longer effectively legitimized chiefly power (*mana*). Before 1819, chiefs' thatched houses had been somewhat larger than those occupied by commoners, but were not particularly "monumental." The transformation of individual chiefs' residences to Western forms after 1819 created the first structures that could be considered palaces in Western eyes (Judd, 1975). Many chiefs, however, still preferred thatched houses to live in and sleep in, even after building foreign houses, and used the foreign buildings to entertain (and impress) dignitaries (Boelen, 1988:56; Kotzebue, 1821:84). In addition, chiefs used lime in other public architecture, such as schools, government buildings, and forts (Olmstead, 1841:193, 199–200; Perkins, 1854:93; Reynolds 1835:402). These choices facilitated the expression of individual and secular chiefly power, and supported the chiefs' domination of foreigners by creating an architectural landscape that foreigners themselves respected and desired, but could not necessarily reproduce.

One archaeological case study involving the use of lime in a chiefly controlled public structure is a fort near the town of Waimea, Kaua`i, that was constructed in 1816 as part of paramount chief Kaumuali`i's residential compound. The initial construction followed an alliance between local chiefs and fur-traders from the Russian–American Company (RAC). Hawaiian place names for the fort include "Pa`ula`ula" (red enclosure) and "Hipo" (no known translation), and the RAC employees called it "Fort Elizabeth." The RAC had departed the island by 1817, and the fort remained in the service of the Hawaiian Monarchy into the 1850s (Mills, 2002).

The earliest features in the fort were built of stone and earthen mortar, but excavations demonstrated that two later buildings, most likely built in the 1830s or

1840s, were plastered with lime. One heavily plastered structure appears to have been a magazine and armory, as identified on an 1885 map (Fig. 1). Remains of the superstructure indicate that it was composed of stone and coral blocks cemented with lime mortar, and then plastered. Grass imprints in some plaster indicate that the roof had been thatched and then covered with a heavy coat of lime plaster, probably, in part, to fireproof the building. The lime plaster on this structure was a conspicuous statement of affluence, based upon the large volume and high quality of lime applied, and the intensive labor that would have been involved in making such a structure. Like the munitions accumulated by the chiefs and probably stored within the building, the structure itself reflected transformed semiotics of nineteenth century chiefly *mana*.
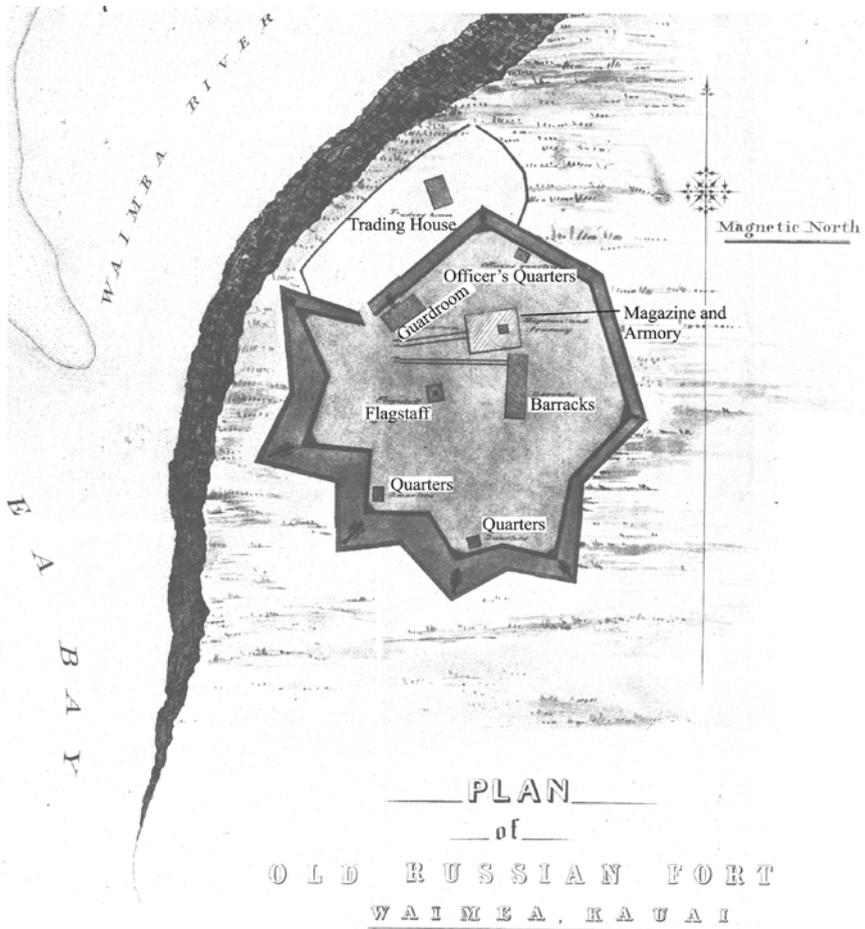
Fig. 1 Detail of "Plan of Old Russian Fort, Waimea, Kauai," by George Jackson, 1885 (Hawaii State Survey Office Registered Map No. 1,360)

   The second plastered building was identified as a guardroom on the 1885 map (Fig. 1). Unlike the plaster from the magazine and armory, the guardroom plaster was diluted with large quantities of terrestrial sediment before application, and was further decomposed because of its poorer quality. The guardroom plaster fragments are consistently smooth on one face, but have stick-thatch imprints on the opposite faces, exhibiting a style of construction similar to that of colonial Tahitian architecture described by Tyerman and Bennet in 1822 (1831:164). Most plaster was applied in several layers, with a thin coating of pure lime whitewash on the exterior.

   The light framing and parsimonious use of lime on the guardroom when compared with the magazine/armory suggests that differential access to resources had affected how the buildings were made. Nevertheless, the guardroom's whitewash would have created an outward appearance similar to the magazine and armory. Although excavations at the magazine and armory revealed no domestic refuse, excavations within the guardroom unearthed a relatively high density of domestic remains, including traditional Hawaiian foods and various artifacts typically found in nineteenth-century Hawaiian households. It seems likely that the commandants of the fort, Kamoopohaku (1839–1846) and Paele (1846–1850s), utilized this space. It may be that the commandants personally funded the plastering of the guardroom as a personal status symbol, whereas the Monarchy directly funded the construction of the more substantial magazine and armory. In this case, the commandants appear to have used lime as a signifier of their own elevated social status by incorporating a façade of Westernism over a traditional Hawaiian frame.

Lime in the "Great Awakening" (1830s–1850)

The spread of lime architecture beyond chiefly sponsored public buildings and the homes of a few chiefs, missionaries, and foreign residents is markedly apparent in the Hawaiian architectural landscape by the late 1830s. This era coincides with the "Great Awakening" of 1838 (Daws, 1968:97–102), when Native Hawaiians by the thousands and of all classes adopted Christianity in the midst of an evangelical fervor. Figure 2, for example, depicts the town of Honolulu in 1826, with King Kamehameha III's grass-thatch house compound in the foreground. Although there were several lime-plastered buildings along the waterfront by that time, it is clear that most of the residents of Honolulu still lived in grass-thatch houses. Figure 3 depicts Honolulu from a similar vantage point only 14 years later, in 1840. By then, grass houses had become a distinct minority in downtown Honolulu, and none are visible in this image.

   Lime plaster was the predominant fabric applied over new kinds of dwellings composed of adobe, coral block, stone, and wooden frames. In May 1840, Francis
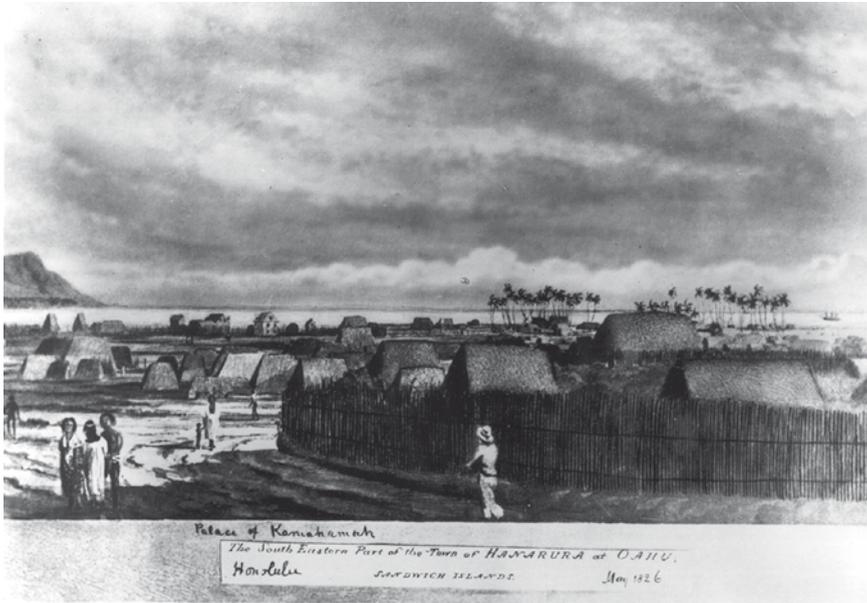
Fig. 2 Watercolor by anonymous artist. "The South Eastern Part of the Town of Hanarura at Oahu, Sandwich Islands, May 1826." Kamehameha III's grass-thatch palace complex is in the foreground on the right (from an early 1900s photograph taken by Ray Jerome Baker of the original watercolor, courtesy of the Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, HI)
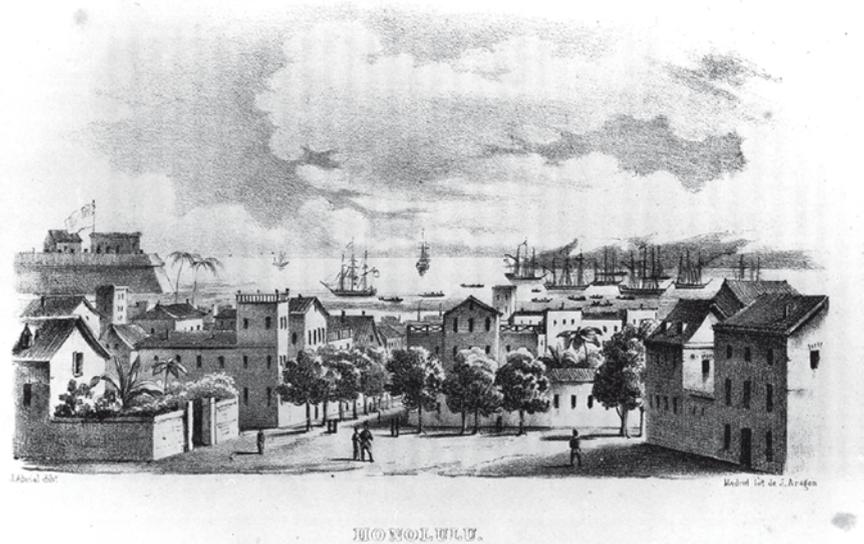
Fig. 3 Lithograph "Honolulu," by J. Aragon after J. Abrial, ca. 1840 (courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI)

A. Olmstead described the Honolulu landscape, suggesting that lime was applied differentially based upon socioeconomic status and ethnicity:

> The town is laid out regularly in wide streets with *adobie* walls running parallel to them. All the enclosures here are made of this material, which when plastered with lime and white-washed, as is often the case, have a glaring effect contrasting the sombre walls and dwellings of the natives. The houses of the foreign residents are built in cottage style, with green verandahs or piazzas around them, while the adjacent grounds are tastefully laid out and planted with trees and shrubbery. Belonging to each, are several small outhouses in which the various operations of domestic economy are conducted …. I was much surprised when I was told that the beautiful cottages belonging to the foreign residents, were most of them built of *adobies*, and plastered with lime. These answer, however, very well as building material, as they grow hard by age; and as they are protected from the rain, which rarely falls, by the projecting roof, they are sufficiently durable (Olmstead, 1841:199–200).

Although Olmstead misrepresented the fact that both chiefs' houses and foreigners' houses were often plastered by 1840, his observations generally support the large-scale application of lime in the domestic landscape of Honolulu. Although grass houses continued to persist on the fringes of Honolulu and in rural settings (Jenkins, 1850:388), lime architecture also spread to smaller ports. For example, in Ka`awaloa, a small village on the Kona coast of Hawai`i Island, the reigning chiefess Kapi`olani lived in a two-story stone house built with lime mortar by the mid-1830s (Thurston, 1882:137), and in 1838, a missionary named Cochran Forbes oversaw construction of a lime-mortared church. For the church, Hawaiian men collected 36 cubic fathoms of coral by diving down 3–6 m and breaking off fragments of the reef. The mass was burned on the beach, using over 40 cords of wood collected from between 4 and 8 miles away, and produced about 700 barrels of lime. Women church-members then carried the lime in calabashes to the site of the church (Bingham, 1847:574; Cheever, 1856:217–218; Forbes, 1984:66, 72). This account and others that are similar to it demonstrate clearly that the labor costs for lime production remained extremely high (Anderson, 1870:222; Lydgate, 1991:93–94). As an aside, it can be inferred that reef environments were heavily affected by the lime industry as hundreds (if not thousands) of structures in the islands were built following similar processes.

As Hawaiians converted to Christianity, control of the labor force shifted somewhat between the chiefs and the missionaries. Converts began providing corvée labor directly to missionaries to construct churches, while simultaneously continuing to support the monarchy. Native Hawaiian commoners actively and willfully participated in this reallocation of power, embodying a praxis of ideological transformation. Despite the fact that missionaries now shared the means of lime production, the duality of the power structure still allowed chiefs' houses to grow in size and grandeur, and chiefs used lime liberally on Hawaiian palaces, like those in Honolulu, Lahaina, and Kailua-Kona, in the late 1830s and 1840s (Judd, 1975:61–95).

The first `Iolani Palace in Honolulu was completed in 1845. It was built with coral block and plastered in lime, and followed a classic three-part symmetry that had originated in the Georgian era, represented by a central hall with two sets of rooms to either side. By the mid-1840s, King Kamehameha III had also built his new summer

retreat at Kaniakapu`pu`, high in Nu`uanu Valley on O`ahu, using extensive amounts of lime mortar and plaster on the stone walls (Lebo and Bayman, 2001:160).

Hawaiians did not always use the plaster in the manner that the missionaries would have chosen, however. Consider this description of the Royal Palace in Lahaina in April 1849:

> The most interesting feature was its plastered walls, whose white-washed surface offered a tempting field for the designs of native artists. Whether original or otherwise, they certainly produced an astonishing effect; for without adhering to any particular school of the art, the dash of coloring [charcoal] was laid on in bold out-line, and *tableaux* of animated figures, with explanatory hieroglyphics, were grouped about the door-way. At the first glance, the delineation of a centaur would indicate an acquaintance with mythology, but a broad Mexican saddle, with its uncouth stirrups, giving it a modern appearance, made one unable to reconcile the discrepancy. At times, there was an approximation to sentiments of a tenderer nature, and amorous designs gave a clue to the propensities of the authors. Appropriate mottoes were frequently subjoined, such as "*aloha maikai oe a pua loke*," (love to you, my rose) but again there were characters so unique that it would have required a Champollion to decipher them (Perkins, 1854:96–97).

In addition to the chiefs and missionaries, resident merchants also used lime and other Western building materials to reflect their affluence. By 1841, a sugarcane plantation in Ko`loa, Kaua`i built by Ladd & Company contained a manager's house built from stone and lime mortar, while the storehouses and workers' barracks remained combinations of stone and grass thatch (Alexander, 1937:32,192).

Although architectural lime provided an aesthetic desired in the foreign community and among the Hawaiian elite, it was not always a practical building material. This was particularly evident in Hilo, where earthquakes occurred frequently. Missionary families in Hilo had plastered their houses in the 1830s, but earthquakes caused extensive damage. After an 1838 earthquake, missionary Fidelia Coan wrote to her husband, Titus, who had been traveling through the district that "on your return if you find your wife and child alive and well you will not be surprised to hear some strong propositions in relation to a sleeping room which shall not be under tons of plastering, timber, and zinc" (Coan, 1838; Ehlke, 1986:172).

Lime in the Second Half of the 19th Century

Despite the structural shortcoming of the material and the expense of producing it, certain individuals continued to use lime as a building material in the second half of the nineteenth century. The second `Iolani Palace (still standing today) was completed in 1879 for $350,000, and was plastered in lime (Judd, 1975:119). Nevertheless, painted plank-wood homes increased in number, particularly in plantation communities, as milled lumber was frequently imported from the Pacific Northwest and California. By the 1850s, the missions controlled much of the local lime production as part of their agenda to establish a culture of capitalism. In 1859, for example, chiefs used prison labor in Lahaina to build a new courthouse

incorporating lime mortar, but the prisoners did not produce the lime themselves. Rather, the Hawaiian Government found it cheaper to buy the lime at the price of $1.80 per barrel from the missionary Samuel G. Dwight (Wood, 1859). Dwight ran an occupational school at Kalua`aha, Moloka`i (Bates, 1854:260–263), and used student labor to produce lime from nearby reefs. His mission was specifically to develop commercial industries for Hawaiians. He would typically divide a two-dollar profit so that 75 cents would go to the laborers, and the rest would go to the maintenance of his mission station.

Nevertheless, one of the long-term costs of producing lime was the consumption of available wood fuel supplies, and this most likely contributed to a decrease in lime's popularity. It actually took more wood to produce a lime-plastered adobe house than to build a wood plank house. Also, maintenance costs may have encouraged a transition to wood frame houses. The missionary Sarah Lyman, in Hilo, had to repair her plastered home several times after earthquakes in the 1830s and 1840s, like her cohort Fidelia Coan. She eventually denounced plaster architecture after a major earthquake in 1868 destroyed homes and churches throughout the eastern part of Hawai`i Island. Sarah wrote, "all who had plastering in their houses know what [difficult work] it is. I have come to the conclusion that ceiled houses [wooden planked interiors] are *the* houses for earthquake countries, so I shall rejoice to see the last of our plastering" (Martin et al., 1970:150–151).

As local production of lime diminished, at least some lime appears to have been imported. Recent archaeological investigations of late, nineteenth-century ranching homesteads in the Keanakolu district of Hawaii Island have revealed the presence of lime plastered cisterns and stone house foundations. Geochemical analyses of the lime conducted with energy-dispersive X-Ray fluorescence at UH Hilo in 2005 suggest that unlike earlier lime plaster, the lime in the ranching complexes was imported from a non-local terrestrial source. This is inferred from the markedly lower concentrations of strontium (Sr) in the lime, and suggests that by the late nineteenth century, it was cheaper to import lime than to produce it locally. The use of plaster on cisterns and house interiors also reflects the demise of lime's significance as a statement of affluence. In the decades surrounding the turn of the century, board and batten plank wood houses almost completely dominated the plantation and ranching communities, marking the end of the era of architectural lime.

Conclusions

Lime architecture in Hawaii directly reflects the material of individuality by expressing issues of identity, agency, power, and the development of capitalist ideologies in a colonial setting. Houses in nineteenth-century Hawaii were not mass-produced, and instead were built one-by-one by a multitude of individuals, each one consciously and unconsciously expressing their own identity through their individual actions. While many papers in this volume deal with the small things forgotten in and around houses, vernacular architecture remains a powerful material

expression of individuality as Deetz and Glassie have so clearly emphasized in their work. One insight that can be gained from this analysis is that just as people in Western cultures sought a sense of permanence and order in their surroundings following the erosion of the "Great Chain of Being" philosophies of the seventeenth century (Deetz, 1996:183–184), so did Hawaiian chiefs seek a sense of permanence and order in their individual residences after their rejection of their own religious (*kapu*) system in 1819. Hawaiian *kapu* (and ritual in Polynesia in general) had legitimized chiefs' power through hereditary associations with deities. The chiefs, however, had no intention of losing their secular authority after 1819, and instead chose to use creolized Western materials and capitalist ideologies to reinforce their individual power. Their authority was no longer primarily legitimized by divine sources within a corporate caste, but from their display of wealth supported by a new system of monumental architecture. Chiefly affluence became more material-istic through the accumulation of foreign commodities, such as foreign sailing vessels (Mills, 2003), Western clothing, furniture, and weaponry, in what Sahlins called the "political economy of grandeur" (Sahlins, 1990).

The industries associated with new architectural forms also required a redirection of labor. Chiefs still expected and received corvée labor from Hawaiian commoners, and through their hegemonic control of the working class, they managed to develop lime architecture as a semiotic extravagance, displayed in various palaces and public buildings. Missionaries, through their own persuasive powers, also managed to build churches and homes using large amounts of lime. The missionaries' successes are particularly evident in the late 1830s, when Hawaiians converted to Christianity by the thousands in the "Great Awakening," and the extent of lime architecture spread well beyond the homes of a few chiefs, missionaries, and foreigners.

In a classic work, Wallace (1956:265) defined a revitalization movement as a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." He thus explicitly recognized that through revitalization movements, individuals help direct culture-change. Although Western agency, epidemics, and other foreign factors were beyond the control of Hawaiians, there nonetheless existed a multicultural heterarchy of power in Hawaii in which indi-viduals negotiated their own forms of material self-expression. The power of small groups of foreigners (such as the missionaries) was not determined by their Western origins, but by their ability to both solicit the support of the existing Hawaiian power structure, and to simultaneously provide Hawaiian commoners with an attractive alternative to it. This effected deliberate, organized, and conscious choices toward creolized identities by the Hawaiians themselves.

The success of the missionaries as leaders of revitalization movements came in part from the excesses of the political economy of grandeur, where missionar-ies could readily make the argument to Hawaiian commoners that corvée labor extracted by chiefs was excessive and exploitative. In its place, missionaries supported a culture of capitalism (Leone and Potter, 1999), in which individuals were supposed to keep more of the profits of their labor, and were promised benefits in direct proportion to how hard they worked. The success of capitalist ventures required a number of changes to the structure of Hawaiian society, such as private

ownership of land, the development of monetary systems, and the replacement of a caste hierarchy with a more flexible class system. All of these factors effectively had been achieved by the late nineteenth century, but often in ways that simply redirected the exploitation of the common class, and sustained greater accumulation of wealth among the chiefs and the foreign community (Kame`eleihiwa, 1992).

A substantial body of data can be drawn from historical documents to demonstrate how lime architecture reflected individuals' ideological affinities and social positions in port communities, but very little has been established about architectural transformations in contemporary rural folk communities where resistance to the popular movements was more likely to persist (Ladefoged, 1991; Linnekin, 1985). The decisions that individuals made in the building of their houses offer us a strong indication of how each person chose to represent themselves within the colonial setting. By developing a better understanding of architectural transformations in rural Pacific Island communities, it may be possible to identify the extent to which popular cultural ideologies penetrated folk communities on the fringes of the documentary record, and provide us with a more robust body of information to understand processes of colonialism in diverse contexts.

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Part II
The Lens of Personal Objects

Bodkin Biographies

Mary C. Beaudry

Here I explore the ways in which close study of a particular artifact type, bodkins, can be used to understand aspects of personhood and the presentation of self in seventeenth-century English and Dutch colonial contexts. I have been influenced in this work by the growing interest among archaeologists in the cultural biographies of objects (Gosden and Marshall, 1999; Loren and Beaudry, 2006), archaeological biographies and individual life courses (Gilchrist, 2000), embodiment and corporeality (e.g., Fisher and Loren, 2003; Hamilakis et al., 1998), and materiality (Meskell, 2005; Miller, 2005). *Materiality* refers to a variant of material culture analysis that explores "the situated experiences of material life, the constitution of the object world, and concomitantly, its shaping of human experience" (Meskell, 2004:2). I want to complicate matters as far as bodkins are concerned; I wish to focus "on broader interpretive connotations around and beyond" the objects (Meskell, 2004:2) rather than to resolve anything about them. I hope to show how cultural contexts and individual intentions factor into how the objects were assigned and took on meaning in the past and on how the very nature of such objects influenced the everyday experiences of seventeenth-century women. I do not offer a bounded interpretive scheme whereby the artifacts can be comfortably fitted into a single category that "collapse[s] cultural difference and may even instantiate unhelpful distinctions" (Meskell, 2004:1), distinctions that have more to do with our contemporary ideas and concerns than with past experiences.

Both men and women used bodkins for dunning in drawstrings and threading and rethreading ribbons, cords, and laces; their chief purpose has always been to thread bands or cords through corsets and bodices. The term *bodkin* had multiple meanings, however, and referred to hairpins as well as to sharp, stiletto-like daggers. Here I am not overly concerned with the word itself and its potential meanings; my study originates with excavated needlelike objects of a very particular sort (Fig. 1).

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Fig. 1 The parts of a bodkin
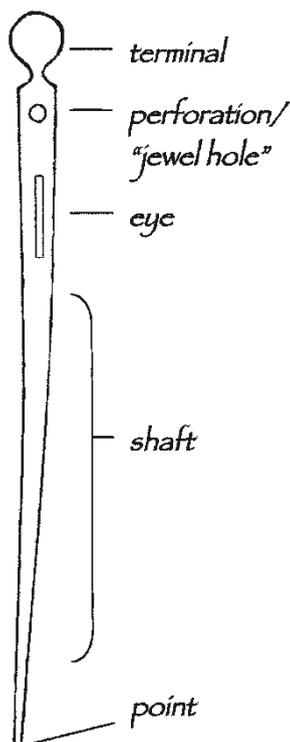
This type of bodkin lacks the sharp, tapered point of a stiletto although it may have enough of a point to do double duty as an awl and, unlike a solely decorative hairpin or head-dress pin, has an elongated eye through which lacing or cord can be threaded (Sullivan, 2004:74–75). Such bodkins typically have a rectangular, oval, or tear-drop-shaped eye, a shaft, which may be decorated or inscribed, and a point (sometimes the point is replaced by a knob). Above the eye there is often a perforation or hole from which a jewel might be hung or through which a keeping ribbon or string might be inserted. The terminus of a bodkin, when present, took varied forms: earscoop; hook; finial in the form of a hand, pineapple, or knob.

An antiquarian study of bodkin use in Ireland notes their use by the beginning of the Christian era and observes that in Irish Gaelic there were different terms to distinguish bodkins intended for different uses. A *coitit* was a pin used to fasten a veil or adorn a bodice; head-dress pins (*dealg-fuilt*) were speared through twisted hair to hold it in place, while "needle" bodkins (*meannadh-fuaghala*), which had eyes, were for lacing purposes (Walker, 1893). But in English there are no such distinctions. Proctor (1966:23), in *Needlework tools and accessories: A collector's guide*, cautions that "any early reference to these implements must … be read with care and interpreted according to the immediate context." The same is true for

interpreting archaeologically recovered bodkins, although of course archaeological contexts seldom equate with use contexts.

Seventeenth-century bodkins were up to 7 in. in length and sometimes had an ear-spoon or *earscoop* at one end. The earscoop was designed to gather ear wax for use on sewing thread, to keep the cut ends from unraveling. Women of means could afford bee's wax for this purpose, but ear wax was thrifty and readily available – and cleaning out the ears contributed to personal hygiene (Dulley, 1967:228; Fig. 65, no. 11, a medieval bone bodkin with earscoop from Pevensey, Sussex, England).

Even though bodkins were in widespread use in medieval and post-medieval times – they have, for example, been excavated in Amsterdam from deposits dating from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries (Sullivan, 2004:73) – they are nevertheless not common archaeological finds. It is perhaps their relative rarity that excites the interest of finds specialists. My survey of collections and the literature, while extensive, has not been exhaustive, but I have found more evidence of bodkins from sites dating to the seventeenth century than from any other time period. Paul Huey's survey of literary and documentary references to bodkins and depictions of bodkins in works of art, in particular Dutch genre paintings, brackets their appearance within the date range of ca. 1611–1677 (P. Huey, personal communication, 2007), though bodkins were in use before and after this time period. Huey's research reinforces my own impression that bodkins took on special significance in the seventeenth century, significance that was perhaps intensified in colonial contexts.

I focus here on Dutch and English bodkins because I have not located any reports of excavated bodkins from French or Spanish colonial sites, although French bodkins appear regularly in the collectors' literature (e.g., Meacham, 2006) and there is both documentary and archaeological evidence for bodkins on eighteenth-century French sites associated with the fur trade in the upper Midwest of North America (Kent, 2001).

Seventeenth-century court cases in New England sometimes revolved around bodkins, strengthening my impression that these items figured prominently in identity construction during a time when colonies such as Virginia, Maryland, and Massachusetts were settler colonies.

The majority of bodkins recovered from colonial sites in North America have been found at sites in the Chesapeake; all of those of which I am aware are made either of copper alloy, silver alloy, or silver, and some copper alloy bodkins were coated with a tin wash to make them appear to be made of silver. A silver bodkin, only 2½ in. long, was recovered in 2005 from a plow zone context at the St. John's site at St. Mary's City, Maryland (Silas Hurry, personal communication, 2005); on Maryland's Eastern Shore, a small copper alloy bodkin with earscoop was found in a trash pit filled ca. 1660–1700 at the Buck Site (Alexander, 1984:25 and Fig. 22); a silver alloy example was found at the Charles' Gift site on the Patuxent River Naval Air Station (Hornum et al., 2001), while an assortment of four bodkins was found at the Angelica Knolls site in Calvert County, Maryland, in contexts ranging from 1650–1770 (Elder, 1991:10 and Fig. 7). Three silver and four copper alloy bodkins have been found at the site of Jamestown, Virginia (Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 2007). Some of the Jamestown bodkins are

inscribed with initials, including one of copper alloy inscribed "ES" – the initials of female colonist Elizabeth Southey, so it is possible that this was once her bodkin (Straube and Luccketti, 1996:45). With further research the inscribed bodkins from Jamestown could perhaps be definitively linked to women who began to arrive at this Virginia Company outpost in 1608 (Kelso and Straube, 2004:28–29) and to the social distinctions among these women. An elaborately decorated handle for a tailor's bodkin (also known as an awl or stiletto) from Jamestown is an implement that would have been used by a man and is not the kind of bodkin I am interested in here, which as noted above are distinguished at the most basic level by an eye for threading tape or ribbon. The Jamestown bodkins, along with a silver bodkin from the Sandys site (Mallios, 2000:45, Fig. 51) and a copper alloy bodkin from Jordan's Journey in Virginia (Mouer and McLearen, 1991, 1992), have been identified as head-dress pins and noted as artifacts reflecting social status.

The notion that the bodkins found on seventeenth-century Chesapeake sites are head-dress pins arises chiefly from North American archaeologists' reliance upon a publication that contains a somewhat misleading treatment of bodkins in a study of items of personal adornment from medieval and post-medieval sites in Norwich, England. The treatment is misleading because the actual finds are not illustrated; rather, a Dutch painting showing a woman wearing a bejeweled silver hair pin (which could quite easily be a fully useful bodkin tucked up under her cap) and a monogrammed silver bodkin found in Norfolk are used as illustrations to support the interpretation of the Norwich finds. The *excavated* Norwich bodkins were all made of base metal – copper alloy – and, according to the published descriptions, all had rectangular eyes, and one had an ear scoop (Margeson, 1993:8–9, items 21–23 and Plates II and III). Thus it is likely they were ordinary bodkins for lacing and dunning-in purposes (and for personal hygiene) and would not have had much caché as hair ornaments.

Sullivan (2004:72) reproduces a painting by a follower of Ludoph de Jonge of a woman sewing by candlelight (1650–1655) with a bodkin tucked under her cap serving *temporarily* as a hair needle. A painting in the W.W. Pasold collection of a lacemaker by Steven van Duyven, an artist active in Amersbost and Kompen during the last third of seventeenth century, shows a woman wearing a bodkin with a round, bulbous end in her hair; this most definitely seems to be of the hair pin variety and not for other purposes. Other Dutch bodkins were multipurpose tools; in the village of Hindelopen in Friesland bodkins were worn threaded through the cords of the bodice; married women wore their bodkins on the right-hand side of the bodice, unmarried women on the left. Some were also used as hair needles, tucked under the cap (in some parts of the Netherlands a woman's marital status was indicated by whether she wore her bodkin on the left or the right side of her cap), and finely made decorative bodkins, usually of silver, might have a second hole near the end through which a jewel could be depended (Sullivan, 2004:74). Figure 2 shows a mother dreamily lacing up her bodice after nursing her infant; the point of her bodkin can be seen in her right hand. One can easily imagine her tucking the bodkin securely under her cap once her bodice was firmly secured.

Fig. 2 A mother uses her bodkin to lace up her bodice after nursing her child. The Mother, ca. 1670, by Pieter de Hooch (1629–1681). Gemaeldegalerie, Staaliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany (photo courtesy Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY)

Holme (1688:291), in his *Academy of Armory*, illustrates a rather chunky bodkin and calls it a hair pin, but he also notes that the term *bodkin* was applied to several rather different sorts of objects, including tailors' bodkins; he also remarks on the different qualities of bodkins, noting that those of base metal were less desirable than those of precious metals. It is unfortunate that some North American archaeologists have tended to use the Norwich households study uncritically and to embrace a somewhat rigid line of interpretation about bodkins; bodkins are far too interesting and complicated cultural artifacts to merely slot into a fixed, rational taxonomy (Meskell, 2005:4, referring to the work of Bruno Latour). Bodkins were important and highly charged personal possessions; they were not all hair pins, and not all bodkins were, as a class of object, equally suited to social display.

As noted earlier, excavated seventeenth-century silver bodkins at times bear the initials or name of their former owners, in most cases not engraved by a silversmith but inscribed or scratched into them by in expert hands. Linking the names or initials to specific individuals can seem a daunting task, but archaeologists who succeed in making connections between the small objects and their former users are sometimes able to reconstruct "lost biographies" of women whose lives are not chronicled in traditional histories. For example, among several silver bodkins found in a trash deposit at the site of a well-to-do household at the seventeenth-century Colony of

Avalon, one has an ear scoop at one end and is inscribed with the initials "SK." It is likely that this bodkin belonged to Lady Sara Kirke, who as a widow maintained control of the profitable fishing plantation at Ferryland (Pope, 2004:273–274, Plate 12; 300–303).

A distinctive silver bodkin inscribed ZARRA*RVLOFSEN was recovered in 1964 during excavations at the Quarry Site, a historic-period Oneida Indian village in Munsville, New York (Bennett, 1984:13–15; Bradley, 2007:167). This bodkin is unmistakably Dutch; its tip bears decoration resembling overlapping fish scales, and it has a tear-drop-shaped eye. While some Dutch bodkins were, like English ones, made with rectangular or oblong eyes, the tear-drop eye seems to be an exclusively Dutch stylistic element (cf. Sullivan, 2004:74–75).

Meta Janowitz has studied the artifacts recovered from many large excavation projects at sites in New Amsterdam, among them the Broad Financial Center Site, former location of the headquarters of the Dutch West India Company on Manhattan Island. She knew that a Sara Roelofs (also known as Roeloff or Roeloffsen), who was the daughter of the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, married Hans Kierstede, a surgeon, in 1642. They moved into a house on The Strand, very close to the West India Company headquarters and warehouses; a privy in the rear of the Kierstede homelot, excavated during the Broad Financial Center project, produced many artifacts dating between 1670 and 1710, when Sara lived at the site with her second and third husbands and her children. It seems that before her marriage to Kierstede, Sara had spent time among native Americans and learned their language; she later served as interpreter for Peter Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherlands, during negotiations with native leaders. This perhaps accounts for the isolated find of a silver bodkin bearing her name in an Oneida site far from the city of New Amsterdam – the bodkin may have been presented as a gift or special token of friendship. For Sara it was surely a treasured personal possession. Curiosity about the bodkin's former owner has led Janowitz to conduct intensive research on Sara, bringing to light many details of the life of a complex and fascinating woman (Janowitz, 2001, 2004, 2005; see also Cantwell and Wall, 2001:173–175, 278–279, 281).

Other excavated seventeenth-century Dutch bodkins lack inscriptions but tend to be more elaborate than English bodkins found on seventeenth-century sites in North America. Seventeenth-century bodkins recovered from sites in the UK are often highly decorated; one from Mattishall, Norfolk, has a tear-drop-shaped eye and may be of Dutch manufacture. English silver bodkins often have both maker's and owner's marks (see, e.g., Edwards, 2005; DCMS, 2002, 2004:122); maker's marks have been found on a few bodkins from North American sites (e.g., Charles' Gift and Angelica Knolls in Maryland) but most are so heavily worn as to be indecipherable. Even visible marks are difficult to link with specific makers. A double-eyed silver bodkin from the Angelica Knolls site, which was the location of a Quaker Meeting House, bears the maker's mark "IR" in an oval cartouche. Sara Rivers Cofield has traced this mark to several Amsterdam silversmiths, to another in Germany, and to the Richardson family of silversmiths operating in Philadelphia (Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum, 2008).

Paul Huey in 1971 found a silver bodkin at Dutch Fort Orange (Albany, New York); it is plain but has a hooked end (Fig. 3). This bodkin resembles very closely five copper alloy bodkins with hooked ends and "jewel hole" perforations that were part of the cargo of the Dutch East India ship *Kennemerland*, bound for Batavia but wrecked off the Shetland coast in 1664 (Price and Muckleroy, 1977; VOC Shipwrecks, 2007). Much of the *Kennemerland* cargo was salvaged in the years after she wrecked, so it is possible that the five bodkins represent only part of a shipment of bodkins intended for purchase in the Dutch colony at Batavia; they all lack inscriptions so do not seem to have been made for particular customers.

The silver bodkin from Fort Orange was found in an area directly in front of the location of the brewery of Jan Labatie, a carpenter born in France who came to New Netherland as early as 1634. His wife was Jillesje Claes Schouw, from Zierickzee, the widow of surgeon Harmen Mynderse Vanderbogart; the bodkin could have been hers (P. Huey, personal communication, 2007; see also Huey, 1988, 2005).

A highly decorated copper alloy bodkin recovered by Joe Diamond from a pre-1663 stratum at the Matthew Persen House Site in Kingston, New York (Diamond, 2004:78, 106, Photo 55), is especially intriguing. It has a very small eye and an open hand for a terminus; it is possible that a pearl or jewel may have at one time been affixed to or depended from the hand. There is an interesting connection among these three Dutch bodkins: all belonged to women who were married to surgeons, who were, of course, highly regarded and very well off members of the colony of New Netherland.

Two other seventeenth-century bodkins offer possibilities for investigating lost biographies of early colonial women. At the Mill Pond Site in Boston, Massachusetts, archaeologists explored features built on original land along the Mill Pond's shoreline as well as structures built in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as shoreline revetments and to receive fill to create new land. Soil within the landmaking structures contained artifacts representing the rubbish of Bostonians' daily lives, commerce, and industry (Balicki, 1998; Seasholes, 1998, 2003:75). Among the most personal of finds was a silver bodkin of late seventeenth-century date bearing the initials "EJ" (Fig. 4; Lewis, 2001:33). Here again the initials seem to have been scratched or chiseled in after the item was produced, as a means of linking it to its owner. The eye of this bodkin is broken and twisted, and this may be why an otherwise valuable and useful object was discarded. Because it was found in fill rather than on a documented house lot, it has not yet been possible to determine who owned

Fig. 4 Seventeenth-century English silver bodkin etched with initials EJ, found in a fill layer of Boston's Mill Pond (CA/T id no. 24,941) (courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Commission, Mill Pond site, Boston)

this bodkin, but it is evident that women in early Boston, like their counterparts elsewhere, treasured their bodkins enough to personalize them and probably used them in social display.

A site investigated prior to the expansion of the Officers' Club at the Patuxent River Naval Air Station in St. Mary's County, Maryland, produced extensive evidence of the late seventeenth-century occupation of land patented to William Eltonhead in 1648; in 1668 the property "known by the name of the Mannor of Little Eltonhead" was awarded to Jane Sewall, who renamed the parcel Charles' Gift in honor of her second husband, Charles Calvert. The property devolved to Jane's son, Major Nicolas Sewall, who became embroiled in the political struggles between Catholics and Protestants and between colonists and local native Americans that overtook the Maryland proprietary at the end of the century. What is important for our purposes is that among the thousands of artifacts recovered from a late seventeenth-century trash deposit at the site was a bodkin bearing the initials "SS" inscribed in a fairly elaborate and exuberant fashion (Fig. 5). It seems likely that the bodkin once belonged to Nicholas Sewall's wife Susanna Burgess Sewall. The Sewalls were wealthy and of high social standing, but Susanna's bodkin was made of silver alloy and therefore not of the highest quality; this contrasts with other finds from the site, which include elegant items of personal adornment, fine ceramics, book clasps, and a rare pipe clay statuette representing the British monarch (Grulich, 2008).

The recognition that the bodkin from Charles' Gift might be linked to Susannah Burgess Sewall led to further research into her life. In 1683 she experienced "a strange flashing of sparks" from the clothes she wore; she allowed several of her garments to be inspected – all of them sent out sparks – and once wore her sister's petticoat, which was free of static electricity, to see what transpired. When she removed the petticoat, "it would sparkle as the rest of her own Garments did" (Royal

Fig. 5 Late seventeenth-century copper alloy English bodkin with traces of tin wash, from Charles Gift, St. Mary's County, Maryland. The initials etched into the bodkin link it to Susanna Sewall, mistress of Charles' Gift (courtesy Naval Air Station Patuxent River, MD)

Society of London, 1746:444). Susanna was willing to subject herself to "scientific" investigation by the educated elite, but at the same time she expressed concern that the static electricity that emanated from her person might result in the death of one of her children. The latter concern arose from her knowledge that her own mother-in-law had similarly given off sparks for some time before her son Cecilius Calvert died; his death was attributed to supernatural forces. Her involvement in the "first electrical observation in the New World" (Benjamin, 1898:425–426), therefore, juxtaposed fear of the supernatural with an emerging confidence in experimentation and a rational approach to the natural world (Cofield and Chaney, 2007).

Susanna's fear that her electrical emanations would cause the death of one her children did not come to pass; indeed, she and her husband had 11 children. Susanna was left on her own to care for her children when Nicolas was preoccupied with political troubles, especially when they were left to fend for themselves at Charles' Gift when Nicolas was forced to flee to Virginia (Hornum et al., 2001:49–51, 556, 567, Fig. 197). Nicolas Sewall was eventually cleared of all charges against him and returned to live out his days with his family at Charles' Gift (Chaney and King, 1999). Despite her foray into scientific history and her elite status, little else is known about Susanna Sewall, not even the dates of her birth and of her death; no portrait of her exists, and she left no papers or diary (Cofield and Chaney, 2007).

Because bodkins were often worn on the person and inscribed with the owner's name or initials, they were highly important and charged with special significance in terms of personal identity and status. In trying to reconstruct the cultural fields or ethnographic contexts for interpreting seventeenth-century bodkins (cf. Isaac, 1980), I have analyzed court cases and probate documents from seventeenth-century Ipswich, Massachusetts. Silver bodkins figure prominently in three Ipswich court cases, are sometimes listed in probate inventories, and twice were bequeathed by women in their wills. In 1663, for example, the wife of John How was presented

by the grand jury "for wearing a silk scarf and silver bodkin when she was a widow" – but the case was discharged. In this instance, How's alleged transgression hinged on her transition from married woman to widow; Massachusetts sumptuary laws forbade ostentation in dress by anyone whose income was less than £200.00 a year. Mrs. How's accusers probably maliciously assumed she had lost status when she lost her husband, but apparently the court quickly determined the case to be otherwise (Essex County, Massachusetts, Quarterly Courts, 1913:70).

A 1670 case of alleged bodkin theft is more complicated. Samuel Hunt and his wife Elizabeth charged a young woman, Sarah Roper, a maid servant, with stealing Goodwife Hunt's bodkin after it had been dropped during Sabbath services by her young son, who had been playing with it.

Sarah Roper was no stranger to the Ipswich court. In *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650–1750*, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich examines Roper's testy relationships with her neighbors in detail. In 1665 Sarah Roper was accused of theft but acquitted (Ulrich, 1982:62–63). This incident lingered in the memories of Ipswich housewives, especially among the community's would-be gentry. One such woman was Elizabeth Hunt, a busybody who felt that Sarah Roper needed to be taught deference to her betters.

Testimony in the *Hunt v. Roper* case indicates that during services in the meeting house Elizabeth Hunt's bodkin fell or bounced into the cuff of Sarah Roper's dress sleeve, and that she had returned the bodkin as soon as she found it. Even so, the Hunts had Sarah brought up on a charge of theft and, when the judge ruled that there was a *suspicion* of theft, appealed for a stronger sentence.

Hunt's bodkin was, it seems likely, made of silver and monogrammed with her initials or name (this is how its rightful owner was determined). Hence it was a valuable and highly personalized possession; it was not the sort of thing typically owned by women of Elizabeth Hunt's social rank, which at the time of the case was not much different from that of Sarah Roper (otherwise, as Ulrich points out, the two women would not have been seated so close to one another in the meetinghouse). Ulrich makes the point that Hunt's motive in pursuing the charge likely stemmed from her resentment at being seated so close to someone whom she deemed an inferior; Hunt insisted Roper was a thief even though it was clear Sarah had returned the bodkin as soon as someone was able to read the name on it to her. This drew attention to the fact that Roper could not read, certainly nothing truly unusual for the time, but still the public airing of Sarah Roper's illiteracy gave Hunt further ammunition in her battle to force the community to recognize a social divide more wished-for than real (Ulrich, 1982:64). I do not assume from the fact that the bodkin was inscribed with Hunt's name or initials that Hunt was fully literate; she may merely have been able to sign or recognize her own name. Nevertheless, monograms, "small affirmations of literacy" asserting ownership at a time when literacy was rare, as Peter Pope notes, proclaimed "'I am literate,' and, therefore, in the context of the time and place, 'I have power'" (Pope, 2004:272–273).

In seventeenth-century Ipswich, Massachusetts, silver bodkins were highly charged with meanings about personal identity and social rank while at the same time linked to community notions about behavior appropriate to assigned social roles and gender

categories. Ipswich, still part of a settler colony and still a community in the making, was not unique. Artifacts such as bodkins from seventeenth-century and earlier contexts were only one type of object through which discourses about self-identity and personhood were enacted (Ulrich, 2001:418). Because they were so personal – indeed, often personalized – and because they were used by women to present and clothe their bodies by assisting them to lace themselves into their clothing, and because they were normally carried about on the person or even worn by women as part of outward social display as they peeked provocatively out of a head-hugging coif, they were invested with meanings and with power. (Presumably they were used by men as well, though there seems to have been no particular significance or emotional importance attached to men's bodkins: men do not end up in court over bodkin ownership or theft, and artists did not produce works depicting men wearing or using bodkins.) The manner in which bodkins were worn – on the right vs. on the left – at times reportedly indicated marital status. I am even led to speculate that perhaps in some instances possession of an inscribed silver bodkin signaled motherhood, at least among pious and well-to-do "good wives." My research thus far, albeit on a very small sample, leads me to suspect that the majority of *inscribed* bodkins found at English or Anglo-American sites belonged to married women, because the initials on the artifacts link to their married surnames, not their maiden names. The Roeloffs bodkin cannot be interpreted in the same way because Dutch women did not take their husband's surname (Meta Janowitz, personal communication, 2004); here again the cultural context is all-important.

Bodkins were only one of many "small things" that were deeply implicated in the process characterized by Robert Blair St. George (1998) as "conversing by signs." What intrigues me about seventeenth-century bodkins is how powerfully they communicate to us in the present about how women constructed their identities and developed conversations in material form about gender, identity, status, and role. Excavated bodkins may have been lost, or they may have been discarded because they were bent or broken, but they retain their power to initiate conversations and to extend discourses about their former owners' lives and personal biographies.

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Material Manipulations: Beads and Cloth in the French Colonies

Diana DiPaolo Loren

Introduction

Few can deny the impact that European-manufactured material had in the history of colonization of the Southeastern United States. Objects produced in Europe for trade with the New World, such as iron knives, copper kettles, wool cloth, yarn and blankets, glass beads, and silver jewelry, made their way into Native hands and transformed the lives and economies for many people living in the New World (Bradley, 2007; Calloway, 1997:42–45; Waselkov, 2004). Archaeological focus in recent decades on the production of commodities for the growth of mercantile economies in North American colonies has given rise to more textured interpretations of the social lives of objects in colonial contexts, not only in the Southeastern United States, but throughout colonial North America (Appadurai, 1986; Wolf, 1982; see also Given, 2005; Gosden, 2004; Lightfoot, 2004; Nassaney and Brandão, this volume; MacLean, this volume; Silliman, 2005; Thomas, 1991). In the French colony of Louisiana, which is the context for this discussion, Native and French individuals integrated newly acquired items into daily practices, putting them into use in households and communities, animating them and infusing them with meaning.

While interpretive strides have occurred in archaeological interpretations of the colonial past, classification systems and methodologies for assessing and curating early colonial artifacts in archaeological labs and museums traditionally assign them into functional categories of trade goods or ornamentation. In this process of affixing value to objects, we often lose sense of the personal, how individuals were once connected to these items in the past. While there is value in understanding the nature of the political or economic nature once held by objects, when we place emphasis on this aspect of an object's life over others, we often strip away the connections between these objects and their impact and import in the lives of colonial peoples.

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Colonial identities were constituted by producing, exchanging, and using things; in the entanglement of subject and object (Gosden and Knowles, 2001:5; Merleau-Ponty, 1989; see also Nassaney and Brandão, this volume). European-manufactured objects were more than just commodities for Native and French individuals, as unfamiliar material culture was commonly folded into the everyday practices of early colonial peoples and took on meaning through those uses (see Galke, 2004). It is this emphasis on subject–object relationships in daily practice that can lead us to greater understandings of the lives of colonial individuals and the ways in which they used material culture to constitute themselves and their worlds.

Here I am interested in those objects that were worn on the body as clothing and adornment. As this universe of items can be quite broad, in this paper I focus on two general categories of items commonly referred to as "trade goods": beads and cloth. Glass beads have garnered much attention as an artifact of Native and European diplomatic and economic interactions during the early colonial period, and until recently, relatively few authors have examined how beads were animated in practices of dressing to be incorporated into and/or worn in combination with clothing (Bradley, 2007; Deagan, 2002; Karklins, 1992; Loren, 2001, 2007; Turgeon, 2001, 2004). Speaking quite broadly, colonial individuals used material culture in essentially personal ways, to constitute identity in a larger social context. European- and Native-manufactured beads and cloth often worn in combination and in several cases, beads and cloth were transformed into new objects that were at once familiar and unfamiliar. The labor involved in creating these objects records individual expressions of identity creation as the life of objects intertwined with the life of an individual. Here, I look at several examples of the intersection and mixtures of beads and cloth from eighteenth-century Tunica Indian sites to discuss how these categories of material culture shaped bodily experiences of self and the creation of colonial identities in French colonial Louisiana.

Materiality of Colonialism

While material-oriented publications were the cornerstone of early historical archaeology (e.g., Quimby, 1966; Nöel Hume, 1970), current trends within the discipline have resulted in theory-focused research rather than works grounded in the study of material culture. Recent research on materiality has brought renewed interest to the study of objects, not as object-based narratives, but rather the goals of theoretical approaches to materiality is in explicating the convergence of "situated experiences of material life, the constitution of the object world, and concomitantly its shaping of human experience" (Meskell, 2004b:249; see also Keane, 2005; Miller, 2005). Though broadly theorized, materiality constitutes our physical engagement with the world – how an individual both shapes objects and uses objects to shape identity – as well as the role that objects play in constituting identities (Gosden and Knowles, 2001; Joyce, 2005; Meskell, 2004a; Miller, 2005; see also Saunders, this volume). In most materialist approaches, objects are given

as much interpretive weight as those of subjects, and in some cases, to the point that objects are understood as having agency separate than those of the subjects with which they are connected (see Pinney, 2005). This is not to say that objects are sentient, rather this approach seeks to recover the lives objects lead away from people and how objects constrain and influence the lives of the people with whom they come in contact (Hill, 2007; Miller, 2005). Think of the ways in which glass beads were manufactured in Italian and Dutch glass factories, packaged into barrels, shipped to the New World, exchanged through a variety of hands to then be embroidered on a shirt or strung into a necklace that was later buried with an individual at the time of their death.

So while objects do lead lives away from subjects, when objects and subjects meaningfully intersect and become entangled in daily life, one's identity or sense of self is constructed at this intersection in the mixture of object and self (Latour, 1999). As this general definition of materiality is complimentary to those espoused in embodiment literature, here I lean on those constructs to argue that identity is created through the movement, action, and interaction of one's body in a social and physical landscape (Merleau-Ponty, 1989; see also Butler, 1990; Entwistle, 2000; Meskell, 1999, 2000). This dual understanding of embodiment and materiality is key to understanding the lived experience of social actors and, thus, to appreciating the use of material culture in the formation of different identities.

While several studies have integrated personal narratives into their understandings of individual objects or classes of artifacts (e.g., Beaudry, 2005; Shannon, 2005; Ulrich, 2001), a broader focus on materiality helps us query the nature of subject–object relationships in the colonial period. How did colonial individuals use material culture to create their sense of self in the colonial world? Kirk (2006:333) indicates that it is through people's engagement with the world that material is imbued with meanings. Moreover, these acts of engagement are also "the moments in which identities and social relations are confirmed, renegotiated, challenged or dissolved" (Kirk, 2006:333).

In most colonial contexts, imperial ideologies of gender, race, and sexuality impacted bodily experience and the ways in which individuals used material culture in daily activities (see Lyons and Papadopoulos, 2002; Gosden and Knowles, 2001:6; Nassaney and Brandão, this volume; Voss, 2008). Accordingly, clothing did not live on the surface of one's body as an inscription or covering, rather clothing and adornment existed as an extension of the physical body in the social world. The expressions of identity through dress and adornment were nuanced and complex, occurring against a colonial backdrop of racial and gendered hierarchies, economic imbalances, religious conversion, disease, power negotiations, and sumptuary laws. The "embodied practice(s) of clothing" (Bastian, 1996:100) acknowledges dress as a medium for the construction of and commentary upon relationships and identities, reflecting the negotiations and complexities of social manifestations of identity.

How these ideologies were realized in eighteenth-century Louisiana is subject to some discussion. One's outward appearance conveyed manners, nature, culture, intention, religious preference, and economic and social status (Greenblatt, 1984:9).

Because dress and adornment were so critically tied to issues of control of colonial subjects, particularly Native peoples, presentation of the body through dress and adornment needed to be monitored and challenged (see Greenblatt, 1984:2). Sumptuary laws enacted in France were meant to extend to individuals living in their New World colonies, but by no means were Native Americans or Africans living in Louisiana to dress like the well-heeled elites of France. Rather, sumptuary rules prohibited some groups from using certain features of dress while requiring them to wear others. Dominguez (1986:25) notes, for example, that during the eighteenth century free women of color were required to wear kerchiefs (*tignons*) to distinguish them, at first glance, from White women.

This meant that the French Crown envisioned not only what kinds of clothing their subjects were to don, but also that their dressing practices were consistent. Not surprisingly, many colonial subjects pushed against these imperial boundaries. While some of the clothes obtained by these individuals were facilitated through trade, we must also take into account how the fabrication and wearing of clothing was an intensely personal affair that involved innovation, creativity, and labor. Some of the items used to construct clothing were obtained through trade, but others were made locally, in Native households and communities. When we view the remnants of items of clothing and adornment found in the archaeological record in terms of trade or economies we often overlook how objects were woven into the lives of colonial peoples, particularly how Tunica Indian people shaped their social identities solely with beads and cloth in the eighteenth century.

Tangible Materials

Beads

There is no overstating the role of glass beads in narratives of Native and non-Native entanglements in the Southeastern United States. Glass beads are ubiquitous in historical descriptions of those interactions and tend to be recovered archaeologically from most colonial period sites in the region. In French colonial period sites, glass beads are most commonly recovered from Native American burials, glass beads are also recovered from Native American, multiethnic, and French communities, forts, and households (Brain, 1979, 1988; Brown, 1992; Waselkov, 1997:19). They are so commonplace on archaeological sites because they were traded into New World communities in bulk lots. For example, a 1701 requisition list for French Louisiana included 150 pounds of large glass beads and 50 pounds of small glass beads, while a 1734 requisition list included 1,500 pounds of white and 1,000 pounds of blue and black beads (Brain, 1979:291, 299).

Most archaeological research on glass beads in New World contexts has focused on economies and trade, usually by examining the numbers, colors, and kinds of glass beads recovered from a site or by researching the site of glass bead manufacture

(e.g., Hamell, 1983, 1996; Miller and Hamell, 1986; Turgeon, 2001, 2004; Waselkov, 1997:19). While this kind of inquiry provides us with information on how global economies were emerging, they locate interest in an object away from how it was used by individuals in daily practice beyond that moment of exchange (Lucas, 2004:189–190). It is in quotidian practice that individuals constitute identity with material culture; not in the moment of the exchange but in the meaningful utilization of the object. So here I want to break from this tendency to instead look at the location of beads in relation to bodies and cloth in burial contexts, to discuss how glass beads were animated in practices of dressing and adornment.

French authors described the numerous ways in which Native peoples used glass beads. They were sewn on clothing, woven into belts, embroidered on bags, worn as necklaces and earrings, woven into hair, and hung from cradle boards (Brain, 1979:96–97; Karklins, 1992:12–13; Neitzel, 1965:88–89; Pietak, 1998). In most cases, glass beads were incorporated into clothing and worn as adornment without modification, but there are a few instances of glass beads being made into something else. In several instances, glass beads were ground into powder and then reannealed in molds into glass pendants (Fig. 1). Native-made glass pendants have been recovered from the Haynes Bluff Site in western Mississippi as well as French period sites in Arkansas, Illinois, Missouri, and Michigan (William Billeck, personal communication; Morse, 1992:65, 67). While Native peoples often refashioned European-manufactured goods into styles and objects that fit

Fig. 1 Triangular glass pendants, Haynes Bluff Site, Warren County, Mississippi, PM# 977-26-10/95884. *Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*

their needs and tastes, it is striking to note that this Native American technique not only is technologically similar to the nineteenth-century French *pâte de verre* glass technique, but it predates that European technique by at least a century or more (Tait, 2004).

Attention on glass beads has pushed shell and bone beads, with the exception of wampum manufacture (e.g., Hamell, 1996; Nassaney, 2004), to the background of most studies of colonial period material culture. Yet shell beads were a mainstay in the adornment practices of many Eastern Woodland Native peoples prior to and following European contact. They appear in ethnohistorical descriptions of Tunica and other Native peoples in colonial Louisiana and are numerous in archaeological sites dating to that period (e.g., Brain, 1979; Swanton, 1911:55–56). Although glass and shell beads have taken up different spaces in terms of archaeological inquiry, one must take into account that in many instances glass and shell beads were worn in combination by Native and mixed-bloods peoples of colonial Louisiana. For example, in 1758, French author Le Page du Pratz noted that both Native men and women in Louisiana wore shell and glass beads together as necklaces, earrings, and woven into their hair (Swanton, 1911:55).

While the incorporation of glass beads in the wardrobe of Native peoples – either alone or in combination with shell and bone beads – may have relieved some individuals of the labor associated with the production of this material, shell beads were continually manufactured and incorporated into the dress of Native peoples long into the eighteenth century. The use of European-supplied iron awls, metal drills, and nails used in the production of shell beads certainly eased the labor needed to produce these objects (Nassaney, 2004:348) and their use by Native peoples suggests that shell beads were meaningful to their lives in ways that glass beads could not be.

Cloth and Deerskin

Bolts of cloth and preconstructed clothing were some of the more popular items requisitioned for Native and non-Native peoples living in French Louisiana, especially since the production and weaving of cloth in the colony was banned (Sayre, 1997). While French settlers needed clothing of a particular style so that they could dress in the manner to which they were accustomed, Native, mixed-blood, and African peoples were also consumers of European-manufactured cloth and clothing. For example, while red and blue wool overcoats and white linen shirts were requested by government officials and settlers as "gifts for the Indians," these same items of clothing were requested by French settlers as was *limbourg* cloth for overcoats and stockings, woolen hose, breeches, skirts, and hats with false silver and gold braid (Brain, 1979:291–293, 299–300). Although there were a variety of different cloth available for exportation to Louisiana, *limbourg* cloth produced in France was desired over Dutch duffel (or cloth *a L'Iroquoise*) and English shrouds (*Ecarlatine d'Angleterre*) (Brain, 1979:292). Not surprisingly, the French colonists had strong opinions about the quality and suitability of cloth for colonial consumers. A 1701

memorandum sent from Rochefort to French officials stipulated that "the article [Dutch cloth] must be replaced with 1,200 ells worth of stuff for overcoats, red and blue, two-thirds of it blue. This French stuff is much better, and cheaper, and can serve to make stockings or leggings for the Indians which are of much better use to them than stockings. The other stockings will be for the French and to make presents to Indian chiefs" (Brain, 1979:292).

The amount of European-produced cloth imported into Louisiana suggests that Native peoples were able to clothe themselves in new ways, but it is important to consider how European-manufactured cloth and clothing was worn in combination with Native-made cloth and leather (Waselkov, 1992:37). French authors indicated that Native peoples often dressed in European-manufactured coats and shirts in addition to Native-made woven mulberry cloth skirts and deerskin loincloths and shirts (Fig. 2) (Brain, 1988:295; Calloway, 1997:64–67; Swanton, 1911:51–56). But at the same time, many colonial authors complained that Native peoples went about naked, suggesting that French authors did not recognize deerskin or combinations of European- and Native-manufactured clothing as proper clothing (Sayre, 1997:144–145; see also Loren, 2001).

While references to cloth and clothing are replete in the ethnohistorical record, only small remnants of cloth, braid, and leather have been recovered from French colonial sites. As cloth is extremely perishable even in the most stable environment, fragments are usually only found in association with metallic salts or in contact with metals (Brain, 1979:217). For example, at the Trudeau Site, a Tunica Native American cemetery and village occupied between 1670–1760, three long strips of
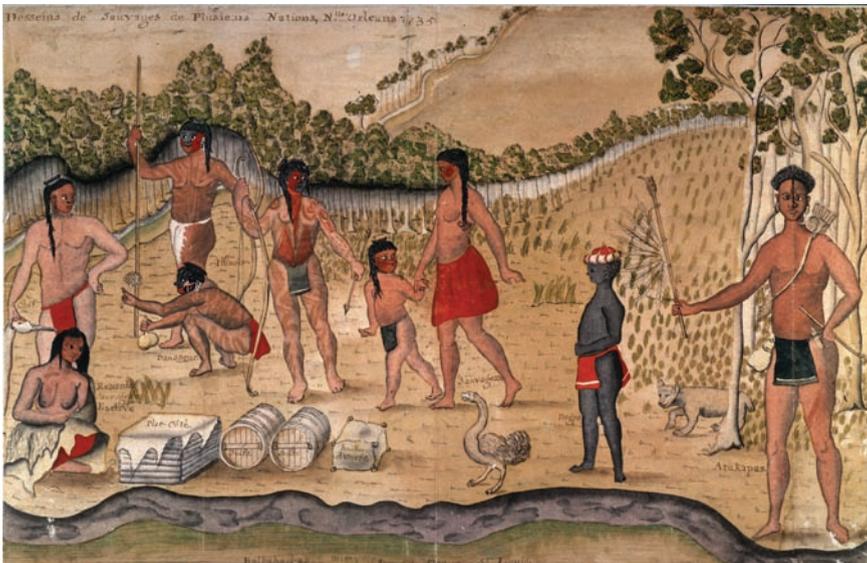
Fig. 2 *Desseins de Sauvages de Plusieurs Nations*, Watercolor by Alexander de Batz, 1735, PM# 41-72-10/20. *Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*

European-manufactured, patterned silk metallic braid were found rolled together as were several pieces of *limbourg* cloth (Brain, 1979:217–219). What is interesting about the metal braid is that most requisitions lists indicate that this material was usually attached to premade articles of clothing, such as hats, rather than sent loose to the colony (Brain, 1979:292–296). As with the glass pendants, archaeological data suggest that finished European-manufactured pieces of clothing were dismantled to be refashioned into new items that were then to be worn on the body. It is these practices of refashioning combinations, and the labor and creativity associated with these practices, that I want to reflect on here.

Combinations and Constructions: Cloth, Hide, Glass, and Shell on the Body

French colonization of the Lower Mississippi Valley began in earnest during the first few decades of the eighteenth century (Usner, 1992). While numerous explorations to the region took place in the last few years of the seventeenth century, it was not until the next century that groups of French soldiers and settlers (*engages*) began to settle along the coast of the Mississippi River, among the numerous groups that had long lived there. By 1717, the importation of African slaves had begun and by 1720, the communities of Biloxi, Mobile, and Natchitoches were established (Hall, 1992; Usner, 1992). During the eighteenth century, the Tunica Indians inhabited numerous villages on both sides of the Mississippi River in present-day eastern Louisiana and western Mississippi north of Baton Rouge (Brain, 1988). Archaeological investigations of Tunica settlements and burials were conducted by the Lower Mississippi Survey (LMS) from the 1950s through the 1980s, with the majority of research occurring in the 1970s (Brain, 1979, 1988). Most burial material excavated by LMS has been repatriated back to the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, while other collections are curated at various museums. In this work, I draw from both published material and museum collections currently housed at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

With regard to items of clothing and adornment, archaeological evidence suggests the practice of mixing European- and Native-manufactured cloth, clothing and objects of adornment was common at many Native and multiethnic communities throughout the Louisiana colony, such as Fort St. Pierre, Old Mobile, and the Grand Village of the Natchez Indians. In these contexts, mixtures of small finds – such as buckles, buttons, cufflinks, bone and glass beads, shoe heels, brass tinkler cones, glass beads, gun parts, and knives – suggest that many Native, and even non-Native, people living in eighteenth-century Louisiana mixed different items of clothing and adornment in daily practice (Brown, 1992; Loren, 2001, 2004; Neitzel, 1983:106–117; Waselkov, 1997; Brain, 1979, 1988). Archaeological evidence recovered from several Tunica Indian sites corresponds with this pattern and provides some insight into the ways in which Tunica peoples were innovating and embodying new dressing practices and clothing constructions.

The Bloodhound Site is an eighteenth-century Tunica Indian community and cemetery located in present-day western Mississippi (Brain, 1988:162–174). At the site, glass and shell beads as well as fragments of European-manufactured and Native-manufactured cloth and clothing were recovered from most of the seven burials that were excavated in the 1970s. One burial was an adult female wearing shell ear pins and a European frock coat with wide leather cuffs with large copper-covered wooden buttons. Several matching brass buttons found near the pelvis suggest she was wearing trousers. Hundreds of small white glass beads found to the right of her head suggest that these beads were woven into her hair, a practice of adorning hair commonly described by French authors at the time (Brain, 1988:170–171). In this case, European-manufactured clothing usually associated with a French man was worn by a Tunica woman "as is," with no modification to the cloth or the glass beads.

Another burial from the site indicates how cloth and beads were combined into the same object. An adolescent child was buried at the site wearing not only copper wire and glass bead bracelets and an ornate conch shell bead necklace that included a copper crucifix, but also a shirt embroidered with hundreds of small turquoise glass beads (Brain, 1988:171–173). Several small brass sheet bells were affixed to his legs with leather straps. No remnants of the shirt were recovered, but the beads could have been embroidered on cloth or leather.

Similar examples were found at the eighteenth-century Haynes Bluff site, a village and cemetery also located in present-day western Mississippi that was most likely occupied by Tunica, Yazoo, Karoa, and Ofo peoples (see Brain, 1988:199; Usner, 1992:48–49). In the mid-1970s, extensive excavations at the site revealed the burials of two adult males. As at the Bloodhound Site, these individuals were buried with numerous kinds and quantities of beads and cloth, in combinations that suggest how these individuals mixed different kinds of material as well as the labor required in the construction of clothing and adornment.

One adult male was buried wearing 211 glass beads strung in three necklaces around his neck as well as numerous glass beads worn as a bracelet on his right hand. A leather pouch adorned with metal braid that contained a fusil, glass beads, an awl, and a catlinite pipe was located by his left side (Brain, 1988:209–11). The metal braid attached to the leather bag was likely removed from another garment to be sewn onto a piece of Native-manufactured bag (Fig. 3). The other adult male was buried wearing an elaborate miter-shaped headdress embroidered with small white and blue glass beads, constructed from European cloth and leather (Fig. 4). Triangular glass bead pendants (reannealed from crushed glass beads) were strung in his hair (Brain, 1988:211–213). A small pouch located to his right contained hundreds of white and blue glass beads, a circular glass mirror, a galena crystal, and several lithic scrapers (Brain, 1988:211).

These discrete examples of beaded textiles were thoughtful constructions of clothing manufactured and worn by Tunica peoples, not the mismatched combinations of European and Native goods that French authors suggested were being worn. While visual representations, such as the 1734 watercolor by French settler Alexandre de Batz, lack the detail and complexity of dress practices, other sources on this past counter these narrow views (Fig. 5). All of the individuals buried at the

Fig. 3 Metal braid trim fragments, Haynes Bluff Site, Warren County, Mississippi, PM# 977-26-10/95875. *Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*

Fig. 4 Cloth headdress fragment, Haynes Bluff Site, Warren County, Mississippi, PM# 977-26-10/95885. *Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*

Fig. 5 *Sauvages Tchaktas Matachez en Guerriers*, Watercolor by Alexander de Batz, 1735, PM# 41-72-10/19, *Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*

Bloodhound and Haynes Bluff Sites wore unique combinations of glass, shell, leather, and cloth on their body. The child buried at the Bloodhound Site and the two adult men buried at Haynes Bluff all wore intricately crafted garments embroidered with hundreds of blue and white glass beads. Several individuals, including the woman buried at the Bloodhound Site, were given elaborate hairstyles at the time of their death as their hair was braided with glass and shell beads.

European-manufactured cloth and clothing brought into Louisiana profoundly impacted bodily experiences of Tunica people. There were more choices of cloth beyond leather and woven mulberry, and more choices of beads for necklaces, earrings, and embroidery beyond shell. These options impacted not only the way Tunica people could clothe their bodies to visually substantiate social identities, but on the very personal level, such choices impacted Tunica women's daily textile work.

The labor associated with embroidering hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of beads on woven European- or Native-manufactured cloth or deerskin probably remained the same throughout the eighteenth century. The importation of European-manufactured cloth relieved women of the tedious work of spinning and weaving cloth from plant fibers. The use of European-manufactured glass beads in embroidery and adornment practices relieved Native peoples the arduous work of manufacturing shell beads. In fact, Le Page du Pratz noted in 1758 that Native peoples often preferred to wear *limbourg* cloth that they attached to their bodies with beaded belts (Le Page du Pratz, 1758:191). He also noted that when there was no *limbourg*, women wore deerskin in the same way as European-produced fabric.

To turn once again to the notion of materiality and intersection of objects and bodies, I want to pause to consider the impact of glass beads and the transformation

of glass into adornment worn on the body. Although eighteenth-century French, mixed-blood, and Native populations in French Louisiana all wore clothing that was to some extent adorned with beads, Native populations such as the Tunica adorned themselves with beads to an extent was considered sartorial excess by the French by simultaneously wearing necklaces of glass and shell beads, glass bead- and shell bead-embroidered shirts, as well as Native-made glass pendants. While such pairings ran counter to French concerns of conversion and civilization, the wearing of beads and beaded clothing for the eighteenth-century Tunica was the physical performance of various aspects of social identity. It was the extension of their body in the colonial world tied to notions of strength, leadership, and more importantly sexual attraction and public performance (Turgeon, 2004:36–37, 39).

These thoughtful constructions were an emerging style in their own right. The ways in which objects were made followed older, recognizable expressions and were also inspired completely new styles. Is the point that the Tunica did this because it was an old way of maintaining identity or a new style in response to their colonial situation? I suggest it was the former. Jesuit Father Charlevoix, who traveled through Louisiana between 1720 and 1722, described his visit to a Tunica chief in 1720 and stated that, "The chief received us very politely; he was dressed in the French fashion, and seemed to be not at all uneasy in that habit…. He has long left off the dress of a savage, and he takes pride appearing always well-dressed, according to our fashion" (Swanton, 1911:312–313). For Father Charlevoix, the frock coat was a colonizing object. It indicated civility on the frontier. For the Tunica chief, it was an endlessly useful object. This account indicates how Tunica individuals carefully manipulated his dress for a particular audience to allow for certain kinds of interactions to take place. Archaeological evidence shows us another facet of these complex negotiations of identity and dress in a changing world. Individuals buried at the Haynes Bluff and Bloodhound sites were dressed in specific combinations of both European- and Native-manufactured clothing. Father Charlevoix would have viewed these ensembles as mismatched, but for the Tunica they signaled power, creativity, and the ability to incorporate both familiar and unfamiliar in their world and on their bodies.

Conclusions

In this discussion of the materiality of individuality, I have chosen to discuss beads and cloth that were worn on the body to investigate how the practices of dressing constituted self in colonial Louisiana. Despite the interpretive potential of beads and cloth, it has long been the practice of historical archaeologists to focus on the economic aspects of these objects – especially glass beads – in the arena of Native and European exchange. Why are glass beads usually relinquished to the category of trade good (and considered separately from shell and bone beads), where we are more concerned about amounts and their relative value in the world economic system rather than the way they were embroidered on clothing and bags? Such

categorization connotes irrelevance and limits our vision about how these objects were meaningfully used in everyday life (Beaudry, 2005; Loren, 2001; Loren and Beaudry, 2006). This tendency is troublesome when one stops to consider the potential range of experiences by people who used beads and cloth in particularly political and consequential ways.

Yet a perspective of materiality, and the ways in which Tunica individuals living in colonial Louisiana embodied self with material culture, is within our reach. Archaeological and ethnohistorical information provide us with the necessary tools to understand the complex entanglements of subject and object, of bodies and beads. These perspectives allow for an understanding of these entanglements that include Tunica women making clothing from all kinds of beads and cloth and Tunica peoples wearing unique combinations of Native-manufactured and European-manufactured clothing and adornment. Examining the numbers and types of glass beads recovered from a site does not provide insight on embodiment or individual expressions of identity, as such inquiry requires the examination of intersections of beads, cloth, and bodies. Nor does such analysis allow us to imagine how the work of Tunica women enabled people within that community to embody cloth and beads in distinctly personal ways to negotiate their identities in the colonial world.

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Mission Santa Catalina's Mondadiente de Plata (Silver Toothpick): Materiality and the Construction of Self in Spanish La Florida

Jessica Striebel MacLean

> *Dave Jensen, who practiced field hygiene, carried a toothbrush, dental floss, and several hotel-sized bars of soap he'd stolen on R&R in Sydney, Australia…Norman Bowker carried a diary. Rat Kiley carried comic books. Kiowa, a devout Baptist, carried an illustrated New Testament that had been presented to him by his father as a hedge against bad times; however, Kiowa also carried his grandmother's distrust of the White man, his grandfather's old hunting hatchet. – Tim O'Brien (1990),*
> The Things They Carried

In the spring of 1984, a silver toothpick, or *mondadiente*, was excavated from the central plaza of Santa Catalina de Guale, a Franciscan mission that marked the northern periphery of the Spanish territory of La Florida until its abandonment in 1680 (Thomas, 1988a, b; Figs. 1 and 2). Toothpicks, at the time of Santa Catalina's settlement (1587–1680), were used as intimate objects of personal hygiene and adornment. Like Dave Jensen's toothbrush and Kiowa's hatchet, toothpicks were carried by their owners on journeys to new, unknown, and potentially violent worlds not only for their personal utility, but because they served as expressions of self and home, as tangible embodiments of their owner's individuality. Objects such as a silver toothpicks can help us to understand individuals in their particularity and cultures writ large. Exploration of the dialectic between people and things allows us as archaeologists to engage with the dynamics of the past and provides a means to tease out the situated meaning of self in daily practice.

People make choices and through acts of consumption give and take meaning from the objects they acquire (Kopytoff, 1986); these objects, when contextually situated in space, place, and time, are important vehicles to understanding the dynamic relationship between meaning, people, and things. Lynn Meskell, quoting Daniel Miller, writes, "an artifact does not exist prior to history and socialization which gives it its cultural form as material culture…equally people do not exist outside of being born into material environments which they absorb as *habitus* and

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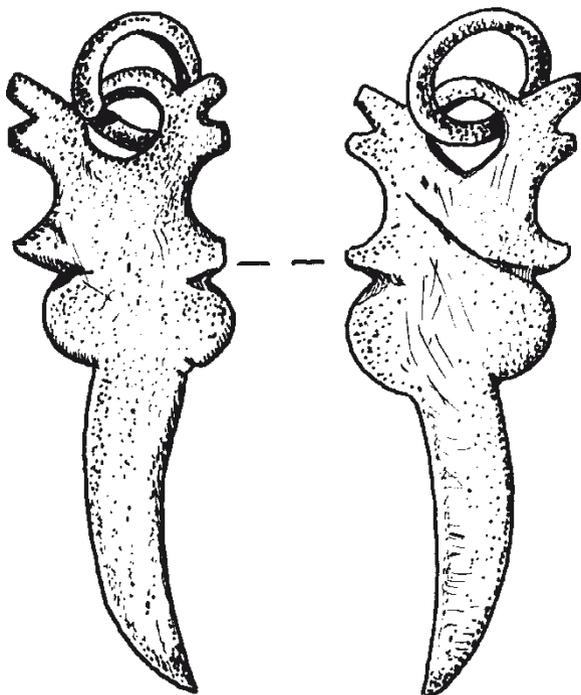
Fig. 1 Silver toothpick, 3 cm long, excavated from Mission Santa Catalina de Guale. (*Drawing by Nicholas Amorosi, and photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History*)

Fig. 2 Location of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale, St. Catherines Island, Georgia. (*Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History*)

which socializes them into particular social beings" (2004:4). Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, as eloquently summarized by Fisher and Loren, is that which generates pattern or ritualized actions reproduced through time, but is influenced by changing concepts of practice which become naturalized perceptions and practices incorporated into self at an early age (2003:228). Materiality in this sense, Meskell contends, can be viewed as a set of cultural relationships (Meskell, 2005:6), and the task of the archaeologist becomes that of ethnographer. As ethnographers it is important to pursue understanding of the "constitution of the material world in past contexts and

the concomitant construction of selves and culture" (Meskell, 2005:1–2). For historical archaeologists, this task is facilitated by the accessibility of a variety of textual, visual, and material analogues that provide an interpretive framework for excavated materials (cf. Deegan, 1987, 2002; White, 2005:14–30).

The Individual

Individual identity is complex and multifaceted, composed of a number of social identities in constant negotiation throughout the course of an individual's life (Fisher and Loren, 2003; Meskell, 2001; White, 2005). The construction of identity is a recursive process in which the choice of objects, situated in the meanings and web of social relations they embody, is an active element in identity creation. Self-creation and self-expression through material culture, and specifically through the material culture of dress and personal adornment, can be understood to be dynamically linked in a self-repeating process of identity construction in which dress, the body, and the self are perceived simultaneously (Entwistle, 2000). The visual appearance of costume and ornament thus conveys meaning about the wearer's individual and group identity on multiple levels. While the presentation of self through dress and adornment is one of the most perceptible ways to construct and communicate identity, Fisher and Loren suggest visual presentation and display through material culture constitutes a form of public iterative discourse around identity, which frames rather than communicates lived experience (2003). The Santa Catalina toothpick (Fig. 1), while utilitarian in function, would have been worn externally as an object of personal ornamentation, and, as such, may be read as an artifact of personal adornment communicating meaning about the self and the social relations in which the individual was enmeshed.

The analytical construct of artifact as biographical object provides another means of theorizing how archaeological methods can be used to link the individual with material culture in a meaningful way within the larger framework of commodities and exchange (Hoskins, 1998). Building upon the familiar concept of "object biography" as theorized by Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986), but unlike "object biography," which follows the trajectory of the object in and of itself as it is reformulated, recontextualized, and displaced through place and time (e.g., Jeffries, this volume) and across cultures (Gosden and Marshall, 1999), Hoskins's categorization emphasizes an object's relationship to a specific individual, in a specific time and place.

Artifacts of personal adornment, such as the silver toothpick, embody individual experience as shaped by the age, gender, and class of their owners among the many facets of identity, and constitute a set of items that create and maintain group and individual ideas of identity (Fisher and Loren, 2003; White, 2005). The presentation of self read in context, or the intersection of biographical object and identity formation, can be used to interpret the social and physical aspects central to constructions of identity in everyday life.

Hoskins places biographical objects on the "continuum between gifts and commodities," noting that biographical objects "are endowed with the personal characteristics of their owner" (Hoskins, 1998:7). Her framework, borrowed from the work of French sociologist Violette Morin, provides a useful means of differentiating between the two forms of relations people have to objects: the *biographique*, centered on the person, and the *protocolaire*, or that which relates to the cosmos as she terms it; for our purposes, what might be called a public commodity (1998:7–8).

At the temporal level, the biographical object grows old, and may become worn and tattered like its owner. At the spatial level, it "limits the concrete space of its owner and sinks its roots deeply into the soil…it anchors the owner to a particular time and place" (Hoskins, 1998:8). This relationship stands in marked contrast to that of a consumer to a public commodity which is simultaneously "everywhere and nowhere, marking not a personal experience but a purchasing opportunity" (1998:8). Moreover, the public commodity is not "used in the narrative process of self-definition" (1998:8). By virtue of its loss, the toothpick is removed from circulation and commoditization, becoming a biographical object in Hoskins's sense – one whose meaning is linked to the individual and rooted in the complexity of the Spanish colonial world.

With Hoskins's category of biographical object in mind and a view of the toothpick as an adornment expressive of identity, I will illustrate in this chapter how a silver toothpick from the Spanish site of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale, or Santa Catalina, can be used to provide a more particular glimpse of the individual within the generalized entity of Colonial Spain and its northern colony of La Florida. This chapter assumes the toothpick was in the possession of an individual of Spanish descent at the time of its loss. It is also possible, however, that the toothpick was in the possession of an indigenous Guale, its significance recontextualized in the social and material world of the Guale culture, or derived from the hybridized form of culture that occurs in a colonial frontier context (cf. Nassaney and Brandão, this volume; Loren, this volume), but I reserve that discussion for a future time. Instead, I examine the possible significance of the toothpick to the individual who chose to carry it to the Americas. In that choice, the individual was actively preserving, expressing, and reformulating aspects of his identity within the recontextualized social milieu of the Spanish Empire in La Florida.

The Toothpick: Personal Hygiene and Adornment

The dynamic relationship between the toothpick as an implement of personal hygiene and Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* illuminates the linkages between objects, praxis, and self (Bourdieu, 1984, 1994). In this case, acts of personal hygiene, once introduced into social practice, developed a material expression in the toothpick that was further linked with identity and notions of class as expressed through personal adornment. Premodern European church law prohibited physical self-reflection as sinful and consequently self-care and grooming were deemphasized (Shackel, 1993:152). Gradually, as the medieval focus on family and community gave way to

Renaissance notions of the individual, the assertion of self through one's outward appearance gained importance (Penny, 2005) and standards of personal hygiene began to emerge as visible aspects of self-expression and identity.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the introduction of a complex social discipline of behavioral etiquette associated with hygiene rituals that came, through their practice, to serve as constituent elements of the social construct of self and class (Deagan, 2003; Shackel, 1993). With these formalized rules of etiquette, a class of material goods emerged designed to facilitate and reinforce social behavior. Implements of self-care, such as handkerchiefs, forks, and eventually toothbrushes, began to appear in common use and gained prominence among social elites as tools expressive of the etiquette rituals associated with their class. As one of the personal hygiene implements associated with the disciplining constraints of etiquette, the toothpick came to serve as signifier of social and economic status; its personal display conveyed to others one's uncommon knowledge and intimacy with standards of behavioral etiquette and personal cleanliness.

As literacy increased within the elite classes during the Middle Ages, a new class of books instructing readers on proper modes of deportment and etiquette began to emerge. As early as the fourteenth century, etiquette codes regulating the use of toothpicks appeared in written form. *The Tanhausers Court Manners*, published in 1393, cautioned that poking at the teeth with a toothpick during the course of a meal was as grave an offense in manners as "sneezing and snarfeling into your hands while eating at table" (quoted in Wynbrandt, 2000). Desiderius Erasmus, in 1526, weighed in on the importance of manners, oral hygiene, and the use of toothpicks in his book, *On Civility in Children* (*De Civilitate Morum Puerilium*):

> "Cleanliness of the teeth must be cared for…If anything sticks to your teeth, you must get it out, not with a knife, or with your nails in the manner of dogs and cats, or with your napkin, but with a toothpick, or a quill of small bone taken from tibias of cocks or hens."

The codification and publication of these rules of hygiene and social etiquette assured their diffusion among the elite classes and served to further separate elites from the lower classes who lacked education and consequently access to the written guides communicating social norms, including those of etiquette (Shackel, 1993).

Although toothpicks predate the Renaissance shift in values and behaviors, they did come under the "standardizing" influence of Renaissance texts in relation to both table manners – one of the most codified and important of social function in renaissance society – and oral hygiene. *On Civility in Children* was reprinted more than 30 times in the six years subsequent to its initial publication. The success of this text suggests not only the extent to which individual and social behaviors were defined – exacting and disciplined – but the active engagement of a significant segment of society in the appropriation and maintenance of these customs (Shackel, 1993).

Archaeologists have tended to classify toothpicks as items of "comfort and grooming" (Deagan, 2002) or "cosmetic implements" (Egan and Prichard, 1991), obscuring the role these objects played as items of personal adornment and dress. The act of dressing, as discussed above, is a personal, intimate, and individual process of choice that constitutes at the same time a conscious or subconscious presentation of self situated

in the normative conventions of society. The body and the way the body appears dressed — or constructed — is directly related to the social order and is embedded in social relations (White, 2005:4). The ornamental toothpick, publicly displayed, fabricated in silver and gold, enameled and jeweled, and integrated into daily life as material expression of an individual's personal hygiene and etiquette practices, embodied and communicated not only individual identity, but the social relations of class.

Alone or in a set, ornamental toothpicks reached their height of popularity as objects of personal adornment during the Renaissance (1497–1557) and continued in use through the beginning of the eighteenth century as the prevailing implement for dental hygiene in Europe prior to the introduction of modern toothbrushes from China in the mid-seventeenth century (Deagan, 2002; Mattick, 1993). Renaissance art provides examples of individuals sitting for portraits in which they prominently displayed their wealth, including their toothpicks (Fig. 3). The value and ascribed
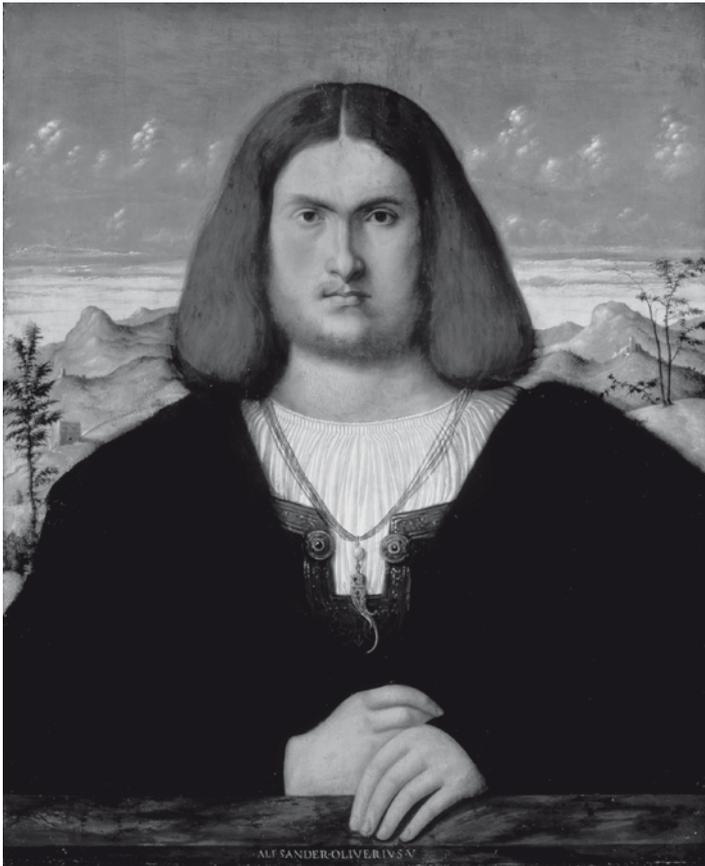
Fig. 3 Portrait of a young man wearing a toothpick pendant by Italian painter Alessandro Olivieri, circa 1510. (*Courtesy and © The National Gallery of Ireland*)

social importance of toothpicks in their Spanish context is documented by their presence in probate inventories, in dowries, and by their status as prizes in local competitions in Spain and in the New World (Deagan, 2002; Muller, 1972).

Toothpicks waned as fashionable accessories over the course of the seventeenth century. Shakespeare notes in *All's Well That Ends Well* (Shakespeare, 1623) that "virginity, like an old courtier, wears her cap out of fashion: richly suited, but unsuitable: just like the brooch and the tooth-pick, which wear not now." This may speak to the growing popularity of the toothpick among all classes and to its diminished exclusivity as an elite class marker. The fashionable obsolesce of the toothpick also speaks to the shifting notions of elite practice in which formal displays of participation in rituals of personal hygiene gave way to a preference for concealment of bodily function (Penny, 2005:584). While the extent to which toothpicks as fashionable ornament and signifiers of class may have been in decline in their European context by the later part of the seventeenth century, the material value and attendant social status associated with toothpicks served nonetheless to ensure that they were curated and passed on.

The Toothpick: In History and Archaeology

Toothpicks have been used for millennia by people in Asia and Europe for teeth cleaning. Archaeological and documentary sources trace the use of toothpicks to ancient Mesopotamia, China, Japan, and Europe. Instruction for their use appears in the Hebrew Talmud and the Koran, and Muhammad himself is purported to have requested the placement of a toothpick in his mouth during burial (Petroski, 2007:14). The ancient Greeks and Romans devoted pages to the role of toothpicks in daily life while the Dravidian Gonds of central India are known to have also buried individuals with their personal toothpicks (Wynbrandt, 2000:210). In the ancient world, toothpicks were made from a variety of materials: wood, silver, copper, bronze, and a variety of quills (from porcupine to vulture) and came in a variety of forms (Deagan, 2002; Wynbrandt, 2000).

Renaissance toothpicks were created in numerous and fantastical forms such as fish, miniature scimitars and sickles, cupids, mermen and women, and other anthropomorphic figures, along with the slender tapered point we are familiar with today. The scimitar shape was particularly popular among Spanish wearers during the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century (Deagan, 2003:231). Toothpicks were also made in combination with ear spoons or in sets with tweezers, knives, tongue scrapers, and other grooming implements. One such manicure set fashioned in gold, consisting of a toothpick, ear spoon, and tweezers was excavated at the Ningal Temple at Ur dating to 3500 BC (Deagan, 2003:230; Wynbrand, 2000). The Santa Catalina toothpick, as most Renaissance toothpicks, was designed to hang from a person's girdle (a belt from which personal belongings were hung) or from a chain around one's neck.

Only three toothpicks have been excavated to date from terrestrial sites in North America. The first is the Santa Catalina example, and the other two are from

English colonial contexts in Virginia. An ornate silver toothpick and ear scoop cast in the form of a "sea rhinoceros" or narwhale, believed to date to the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century was excavated during the 1998 field season at the pre-1650 Jamestown fort (Fig. 4). A seventeenth-century silver ear- and toothpick was found at Jordan's Journey in Prince George's County, 30 miles upriver from Jamestown. Documentation of the presence of toothpicks is also sparse. A single ear- and toothpick was listed in a 1630 probate inventory from Virginia's eastern shore (Luccketti and Straube, 1999:17–18).

Shipwreck sites have yielded numerous examples. Among the earliest known Spanish examples is a gold toothpick recovered off the coast of Ireland from a 1518 Spanish Armada shipwreck (Deagan, 2003; Sénuit, 1973). A combined toothpick and ear spoon was recovered by archaeologist Richard Sénuit in 1963 from the Armada flagship, *Girona* (1973:156). Another later find was a scimitar-shaped toothpick cut from a gold coin found during excavations of a ship from the 1715 Spanish treasure fleet sunk off the eastern coast of Florida by a hurricane. At least six other toothpicks, including one from the 1622 wreck of the *Nuestra Senora de Atocha*, have been found by treasure salvagers and have since reappeared in the contemporary marketplace.

Excavations at St. Augustine, a large continuously occupied Spanish settlement established in 1565 by Pedro de Menéndez, have not yielded any toothpicks
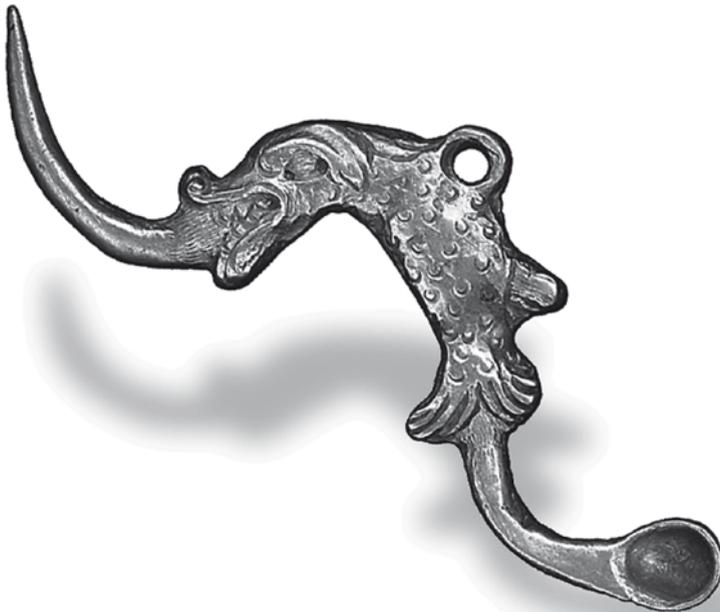
Fig. 4 Silver ear scoop and toothpick, 5.5 cm long, in the shape of a sea rhinoceros dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century excavated at Jamestown, Virginia. (*Courtesy of APVA Preservation Virginia*)

(Deagan, 1987:9), nor have any been reported from the Spanish colonial sites of Santa Elena (South et al., 1988) or La Isabela (Deagan and Cruxent, 2002), although the latter was only extant from 1494 to 1498 during the first years of Spain's colonial activity. An accounting of the merchandise brought to authorized Spanish ports in the New World between 1534 and 1586 based on 33 ship manifests that survive (out of 2,805 vessels) in the House of Trade records now preserved in the General Archive of the Indies at Seville, shows no evidence of toothpicks being brought to the Americas (Revello, 1943). The thin archaeological and documentary evidence suggests toothpicks were carried to the New World in small numbers by individuals and were never colonial commodities, reinforcing the interpretation of the toothpick as expressive of individual identity.

The St. Catherines Island toothpick excavated from the central plaza of Mission Santa Catalina is 3 cm long and resembles a scimitar with one end curving to a thin point (Fig. 1). The opposite end is in the shape of a sword's hilt and contains a small suspension loop threaded though a hole cast in the toothpick that would have supported a chain. During its active life, the toothpick was well used as the tapered end shows wear patterns consistent with habitual use. It is rendered in silver, an expensive metal, which, though less valuable than gold, was the preferred metal for valued Spanish items.

As noted, the toothpick at Santa Catalina is unusual; no comparable examples have been excavated on Spanish colonial sites. It is also an unusual find at Santa Catalina, a frontier Franciscan Mission, where the preponderance of artifacts of personal adornment reflect spiritual concerns and a focus on the noncorporeal world – a context where the individual was conventionally elided in favor of concrete expressions of faith (Thomas, 1988a:118).

The individualized, secular nature of the silver toothpick stands in striking contrast to the religious and institutionalized composition of the material assemblage found at Santa Catalina. Along with the central plaza, the convento area of the Mission complex was also excavated, but the majority of items relating to personal adornment were recovered from a collection of 400–500 Christianized Guale burials found beneath the floor of the nave and sanctuary of the Mission church. The distribution of gifts to the Guale, intended to encourage and reinforce their religious conversion and economic allegiance, was an established element of Spain's missionizing strategy in La Florida, and while Catholic law forbade grave goods, Guale graves held an astounding array of religious artifacts that may have reflected a frontier relaxation of Catholic prohibitions to effect conversion (Thomas, 1988a). The objects of a sacred and religious significance included 15 silver finger rings, a coiled rattlesnake gorget, a dozen crosses of metal and wood, ten small gilded-lead cruciform ornaments, ten bronze religious metals, one gold medallion, and one silver medallion. Two of the medals were inscribed "ROMA," suggesting they were manufactured at the Vatican in Rome itself (Thomas, 1988a). The secular objects relating to dress and adornment, conversely, consisted of the remnants of everyday Spanish dress: aglets, buttons, hook and eye fasteners, the preserved remains of a textile collar, a variety of pins, as well as plain wrist bands of copper and silver.

The silver toothpick, with its intimate link to personal care and self-adornment and its secular association, differs greatly from the otherwise utilitarian and institutionalized

nature of the grave goods found at Mission Santa Catalina and points to its possible possession by an individual who represented secular, rather than religious, Spanish interests of the settlement. The rarity and context of toothpicks found archaeologically speak to the social and material value invested in the object, a fact reinforced by their inclusion in English, Spanish, and Italian probate inventories (Luccketti and Straube, 1999; Penny, 2005; Therrien et al., 2003).

Negotiating Identity in the New World: The *Hidalgo* and *Criollo*

Within the Spanish colonial empire, social status was conditioned by personal wealth and ancestry (Van Buren, 1999) and as a consequence, the outward display of social status was of particular importance in the ongoing negotiation of identity and class in the Spanish colonies of the Americas. "The rigid class hierarchy of Spain, emphasizing both wealth and social position," as Thomas suggests, "was transplanted wholesale to La Florida" (1988a:114).

Identity in colonial situations was not a singular process and must be understood in context through the ethnographer's filter, as reformulated identities were malleable and subject to politicization in numerous contexts, often simultaneously (Loren and Beaudry, 2006; Meskell, 2004). Personal adornment is concrete, recoverable evidence of the exterior construction of self (White, 2005:3); as Fisher and Loren suggest, dress, ornamentation, body modification, posture, and gesture allow an individual to "put on a social skin," to "dress up" or "dress down," to reveal and conceal different aspects of self (2003:225).

Of those who came to the Spanish New world, the *hidalgos* – a class of minor Spanish nobility – occupied:

> "the lower rung of the ladder of the nobility…his sole capital was his honor…[with] no Moors left to fight … some hidalgos went beyond the seas to seek new glories under the banners of Hernando Cortés, Almagro and their like…[while those who remained in Spain] jealously maintained every form of outward appearance: in the eyes of the world this proclaimed their caste – whatever their personal fortunes or misfortune may be" (Defourneaux, 1966:40).

The *hidalgos* in the New World found themselves vulnerable to loss of status as a consequence of the dynamic social tensions and the fluid class constructs that informed all facets of New World society. For the Spanish-born *hidalgo* living in the New World, outward appearance and material trappings therefore were crucial for maintaining and communicating their connection to Spain. "*Hidalguía* depended on a visibly Spanish lifestyle, [and] the acquisition of wealth in the form of rewards for service to God and Country, and the avoidance of labor" (Deagan, 2003:6) to express status. Thus for the *hidalgo*, the possession of a gold or silver toothpick with its embodied social and class references to the etiquette practices of Spanish courtly society could serve as an important signifier of social status and cultural identity even if the particular individual possessed limited financial resources.

The *criollos* – those of Spanish descent born in the New World – unlike the *hildalgos* often possessed the financial resources sufficient to acquire and display their wealth. For these first-generation New World Spanish, wearing a toothpick could serve to publicly reinforce the *criollo's* relationship to Spain and Spanish social caste. A survey of the 500-plus probate inventories recorded in colonial Bogotá between 1560 and 1698 for items pertaining to personal hygiene found three references to toothpicks, or *mondadientes* (Therrien et al., 2003). All were gold and belonged to either a *criollo* or a Spaniard of peninsular origin. Luis López, a *criollo* who died in 1596, owned at the time of his death: *un pescado mondadientes que tiene piezas en la barriga* (a toothpick shaped as a fish with pieces in the belly [inlaid jewels perhaps?]). Teresa Pacheco, a *criollo* woman who died in 1612 owned *un limpiadentes de oro* (a gold toothpick) – suggesting as well that toothpicks were nongendered objects (Therrien et al., 2003).

The loss of the silver toothpick in Mission Santa Catalina's central plaza removed the toothpick from circulation, establishing its link to an individual as a biographical object, and anchoring its owner to a particular time and place (Hoskins, 1998). It is possible to imagine the individual Spaniard who may have worn the toothpick in several ways.

While perhaps too small a sample to elucidate patterns of ownership, or an explicit (though suggestive) link of the Santa Catalina toothpick to either an hidalago or New World *criollo*, these finds do seem to suggest that ownership of the toothpick was limited to an individual with either direct or emulated ties to Spanish courtly society. Because toothpicks worn as adornment served as distinct expressions of individual identity publicly orienting the owner within the Spanish caste system as *hidalgo*, *criollo*, or perhaps as an individual taking advantage of a move to the Americas seeking economic betterment (Casey, 1999), fashioned or acquired for himself in silver a toothpick for display among his fellow Spaniards and in the process recast himself as a member of the Spanish social elite.

Spain sought to retain strict control of its colonial enterprises through edict over many aspects of Spanish colonial life in an effort to ensure that New World resources, gold and silver in particular, made their way to the crown treasury. Spanish attempts at regulation included the passage of sumptuary laws which not only legislated colonial dress and ornamentation, but also prohibited the wearing of precious metals and jewels (Davis and Pack, 1963). These laws were, however, widely ignored and Spain's colonial representatives continued to "bedeck themselves with jeweled hair nets and ornaments for the hair; bracelets and chains and pendants and medals; gold buttons and buckles; [and] gold toothpicks hung on jeweled cords" (Davis and Pack, 1963:51).

The colonial Spanish who chose to wear, in spite of prohibitions, precious metals in the form of gold or silver toothpicks sought perhaps to convey through their choice of adornment, a link with peninsular Spain and the rights that linkage conveyed; the *hidalgo* or *criollo* to communicate the associations of class and status; or perhaps the public display was intended as a marker of resistance to Spanish prohibitions and thus was expressive of the reformulation of self in the new and shifting meanings of the colonial social context.

For the Spanish colonist, dislocated and caught up in the exigencies and violence of the colonial enterprise – St. Catherines Island was Spain's most northerly outpost on the Atlantic coast of the Americas after the fall of St. Elena in 1587 – the creation, expression, assertion, and affirmation of self was such that holding on to self and meaning was under constant threat akin to the experience of WWI soldiers in the trenches of Europe (cf. Saunders, this volume). The objects of material culture carried to the Americas by the colonial Spanish served as a means of preserving and linking the self to Spain. Gold and silver toothpicks likely served in the New World as they did in the old, as material expression of the negotiation of identity and class presenting the colonizing individual as a person of social rank with knowledge of social practice. Within the context of Mission Santa Catalina, the choice of a toothpick among objects to carry speaks to the "role played by mobile possessions in securing memory in motion" (Marcoux, 2001:69). Recontextualized within the Spanish Americas, the toothpick served as a referential agent in the re-formation of identity and class hierarchy in a colonial system.

The Santa Catalina toothpick began its object life in the early modern period as an implement for cleaning teeth. With its scratches and well-worn edges, the toothpick is an intimately biographical object endowed with the material traces and personal meaning of the individual who carried it on his person to Mission Santa Catalina de Guale. Although a witness on a small scale, the toothpick and its biographic link to its owner highlight the material negotiation of embedded social hierarchy and personal identity of its owner. The analysis of small, often overlooked objects of personal adornment such as the toothpick, offer opportunities for insight into the recursive nature of the relationship between people and things and the negotiation and renegotiation of identity in colonial contexts.

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Single Shoes and Individual Lives: The Mill Creek Shoe Project

Carolyn L. White

You cannot put the same shoe on every foot.

– Publius Syrus (42 BC) Maxim 596

Shoes and Individuals

Shoes are compelling symbols of individual lives and act metaphorically to suggest an intimacy with the person who wore them. In our modern world, celebrity affiliation with specific shoe designers – e.g., Sarah Jessica Parker and Manolo Blahnik – underscores the intimacy of this kind of artifact. In *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoy wrote, "Now she knew all of them as people know one another in a country town; she knew their habits and weaknesses, and where the shoe pinched each one of them." The fit of a shoe is intimate information, and possessing knowledge of it suggests extraordinary familiarity. Maxims regarding the intimacy of shoes abound in modern parlance: "If the shoe fits, wear it," "Walk a mile in someone else's shoes." As artifacts, shoes carry the marks of the individual who wore them in many different ways, physically as well as symbolically.

A striking example of the use of shoes to induce ideas of individual lives is the display of piles of shoes from the Majdanek concentration camp at the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. The exhibit is a powerful and compelling evocation of the large numbers of individuals lost in this horrific historical event. This exhibit forces the viewer to see these objects as a literal representation of lost lives, of single individuals. This display underscores the resonance that shoes have, and the power that they possess as reminders of the significance of individual people in the past.

People are quite literally imprinted in their shoes. The action of walking on roads, floors, pavements, and earth marks the exterior of the sole of the shoe. A shoe's upper portion shows wear imparted through exterior and interior action – intentional,

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incidental, and accidental. Inside, shoes exhibit the wear of a person's foot as an imprint imposed by the weight of the body and its movement in the world. Shoes bear the marks of walking, running, carrying, and working, of all of the activities undertaken by the individuals who wore them in the actions of their everyday lives. In turn, shoes impart physiological markers on their wearers (Trinkhaus, 2005).

Shoes and Historical Archaeology

In 1968, Anderson forecast that historical archaeologists would recover large amounts of shoe leather, particularly in post-1850 contexts, and noted that shoes could be "a source of chronological, technological, and economic information" (Anderson, 1968:56); nonetheless, they have not received a great deal of attention over the last 40 years. There are several notable exceptions in historic period America.[1] Huddleson and Watanabe's study of footwear from nineteenth-century San Francisco, California, explored the rugged work shoes worn on the frontier in terms of function and fashion (Huddleson and Watanabe, 1990). Butterworth's analysis of shoes from Boston privies elucidated features of everyday footwear in seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century Boston (Butterworth, 1998). Stevens and Ordoñez examined shoes from a nineteenth-century Boston privy, focusing on the construction, sizing, and interpretation of shoes associated with prostitutes in boarding houses (Stevens and Ordoñez, 2005). These studies have begun to integrate the technical and temporal aspects of shoe production with an understanding of the use of shoes as clothing items and elements of personal appearance.

As additional research into this largely unmapped arena of material culture has progressed, the potential power of shoes as information sources has expanded. Close assessment of shoes as material culture uncovers more than chronological and technological information. A shoe's form supplies insight into visual appearance, fashion, and identity construction across an assortment of affiliations; wear patterns and repair episodes reveal aspects of the wearer's health, physicality, stature, and social status (White, 2004a). Shoes hold information not just about the exterior presentation of the body, but also of the physicality of the body itself.

The Mill Creek Shoe Project

In 1999, excavations at the Mill Creek Site in Boston, Massachusetts, revealed a cache of late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century shoes alongside other contemporary domestic and industrial materials. The Mill Creek shoe assemblage consists

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[1] European archaeologists have engaged in the interpretation of footwear more extensively (e.g., Grew and Neergaard, 2001; Goubitz and Groenman-Van Waateringe, 2001).

of 140 shoes and shoe parts; eight are complete shoes. I have discussed elsewhere the panoply of assorted parts – vamps, quarters, insoles, outsoles, heels – and the ways that they can be employed to understand the construction of shoes in this period (White, 2004a,b). My focus here is on the use of these shoes by their wearers, and the ways that it is possible to employ these particular shoes, and shoes as a class of artifacts more generally, to examine issues of individuality, embodiment, and identity construction.

The Mill Creek Site was part of a tidal mill structure constructed in 1640 and demolished around 1830. In 1640, four proprietors dammed a natural waterway, creating Mill Pond, and modified an existing tidal creek so that as the ocean tides rose and fell, the water flowed between the harbor and the mill pond through the creek. Mills were constructed on the creek to capitalize on the fast-moving water flow.

The Mill Creek had a secondary use: as a vehicle for garbage disposal. Mandated by law, residents disposed of their garbage in Mill Creek when the tide was running out toward the harbor, creating a convenient flushing system. Although the system's efficiency lessened dramatically over time, residents continued this practice, and twentieth-century excavations of the creek revealed. An assortment of debris dating to the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century the resulting ceramics, glass, faunal remains, as well as an assemblage of shoes (Leith Smith, personal communication, 2004). The Mill Pond and Creek were filled in the 1820s and 1830s (Seasholes, 2004).

The shoe assemblage consists of several deposits recovered in the channel. The majority of shoes were recovered in one feature just next to a portion of the mill, concentrated in a single depositional episode. It is not possible to associate this assemblage with a particular household or time period (White, 2004b); the lots bordering the creek were inhabited by a wide range of occupants, some with businesses related to the manufacture and retail of shoes (Seasholes, 2004). Alternatively, some of the many unnamed tenants may have participated in shoe manufacture. Cordwainers' shops often contained spaces for unwanted materials held in reserve; these spaces were infrequently cleaned (Hazard, 1969:4). The Mill Creek shoes may have been collected in such a space, which would explain the presence of the individual shoe pieces, the intensive wear exhibited by so many of the shoes, and the depositional context.

The Mill Creek Shoe Assemblage

As a multifaceted source of information, the Mill Creek shoe assemblage is important for several reasons apposite to an understanding of footwear as material culture and to accessing individuality in the archaeological record. First, these artifacts provide a different kind of information about shoes for this period than what is known from curated examples; the shoes are plain and common, made with uncomplicated techniques and little elaboration. They are the shoes of everyday people, made of everyday materials, and stand in sharp contrast to the kinds of shoes typically curated from this period. Second, the large number of shoes from a single

deposit permits insight into the array of styles that were available within a short span of time. Third, the assemblage consists of a range of intact and dissembled shoe parts from similar shoes, permitting an examination of technical detail that is not often possible with the recovery of a single shoe. Finally, the shoes are heavily worn, revealing information about the everyday appearance and the health of the people that wore these shoes.

Worn by ordinary individuals, the shoes exhibit a degree of conservatism in a stylistic sense that is consistent with clothing and other components of dress made for and worn by individuals of little means (Copeland, 1977). They were common shoes, worn by women, men, and children, and they were functional, not stylish, elements of dress. These were shoes that were valued for their utility – shoes made to withstand demanding daily wear. The Mill Creek shoes show the deterioration and subsequent repair resulting from daily activities of working-class Bostonians. The general lack of elaboration reflects the subdued appearance of a community of people on the impoverished end of the socioeconomic spectrum.

Despite their ordinary character, the Mill Creek shoes are highly personal objects. Although they lack differentiation in terms of fashion or design, they convey a wide range of aspects of individual identity. They retain the impressions of individuals not only as reflections of their manner of dress, but also as manifestations of the physical health, well-being, socioeconomic status, age, and gender of their wearers. These expressions of identity are redeemable through the form, material, and size of the shoes.

Three Styles

One of the ways the shoes reveal individual lives is through the variation (or lack) of style in the assemblage. The shoes exhibit typical construction methods of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Vass and Molnár, 2000; Pratt and Woolley, 1999; Rexford, 2000). There are several basic forms in the assemblage. The form of the shoe suggests not only aspects of style, but also suggests individuality in terms of the age, gender, and rank of the wearer.

The first form is the split-vamp shoe, a simple shoe constructed from a single piece of leather attached to a sole. The vamp is cut at the instep to permit the foot to slide into the shoe and then it is laced and tied. This form was common for children's shoes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and all of the examples from the Mill Creek assemblage are children's shoes. The shoe likely fit poorly; it is made of a single piece of leather, and, lacking flexibility, would have been uncomfortable (Fig. 1).

The most common form of shoe in the assemblage is the latchet shoe, which is comprised of a vamp and two quarters and is laced at the instep (Fig. 2). This basic form has many permutations, and was worn by men and women; latchet shoes have been found in European contexts that date as early as the fourteenth century

Fig. 1 Child's split vamp shoe (C-00174). (**a**) Top (*photo by Dennis Piechota*), (**b**) bottom (*photo by author*)

(Goubitz and Waateringe, 2001:282–287). This shoe is characterized by the presence of strap-like extensions on the quarters called latchets that meet on the instep. Several variations of this type are found in the assemblage with the width of the quarter and its position in relation to the vamp offering the opportunity for the most variety. The placement and width of the latchets provided additional differentiation between shoes.

The shoes with the most elaboration in the assemblage are several open-throated latchet shoes (Fig. 3). The shoe is open over the foot's throat, a decorative flourish that is not found on the other shoes. These shoes also are lined with an additional layer of supporting leather. The open-throated latchet shoe is also the most "fashionable" in that it conforms to the simple lines and minimal forms of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Neoclassical style. Similar, but far more refined, examples of these shoes are present in the collections of the Northampton

Fig. 2 Latchet shoe (C-00056). (**a**) Top (*photo by author*), (**b**) bottom (*photo by author*)

Museum and are dated to 1810–1820 (Pratt and Woolley, 1999:66). Some of the shoes show additional modification, perhaps executed to retain or conform to the styles of the period (see additional discussion below).

Formally, the Mill Creek shoes are plain. They are functional and utilitarian, and although there is some variation in the sense that there are three distinct styles of shoes in the assemblage, the recovered shoe parts and complete shoes essentially do not stray from the basic form. Inexpensive footwear such as this offered little opportunity for individual expression in terms of fashion and constructed visual appearance and these objects suggest the restricted choices in the sphere of every-day dress available to working class people at this time. Yet, even within this nar-row set of options, the assemblage is far from uniform.

Fig. 3 Open-throated latchet shoe (C-00053). (**a**) Top (*photo by Dennis Pechota*), (**b**) side (*photo by author*)

Wear, Repair, Form, and Individuality

Despite the democratic and superficially generic quality of the shoes, they are highly personal objects. The wear on each shoe suggests the physical health of the person and is evidence of the ways that they interacted with their physical environment; shoes are one boundary between individual bodies and the landscape (Ingold, 2004). The episodes of repair demonstrate the degree to which the shoes were pressed into service long after they were, in some cases, barely clinging to the foot. The repair episodes, along with the form, size, and materials of the shoes, indicate the socioeconomic status of the wearer.

Wear

One of the most provocative aspects of the Mill Creek shoe assemblage is the wear that the shoes and shoe parts exhibit. The information provided by the shoes permits insight into the physical health of Boston's population. Swallow (1975) and Grew and Neergaard (2001) have discussed wear patterns from shoes from twelfth-to fifteenth-century England to ascertain aspects of medieval health and pathological conditions and this section draws on their research. The Mill Creek shoes show wear typical of minor variations in gait in a given population. They also suggest some malformations of the feet, either congenital or resulting from trauma.

In a normal gait, the back of the heel on the outer side of the foot touches the ground first. As the foot rolls inward, the weight is transferred across the ball of the foot. Finally, the muscles in the calf and foot drive the body forward, flexing the joints at the base of the toes and pressing the toe tips onto the ground. This motion is reflected in footwear, as the heel hits the ground at an angle, which prevents the foot from sitting squarely in the shoe. The foot thrusts forward and at a raking angle within the shoe so that shoes often bulge on the quarters on the inner side of the shoe (Grew and Neergaard, 2001:106–107). Then, the transfer of weight across the ball of the foot results in heavy wear on the sole of the shoe. Most of the shoes in the Mill Creek assemblage exhibit normal wear. For example, a latchet shoe shows normal, albeit heavy, wear on the outside edge of the heel and on the ball of the foot (Fig. 4).

The shoes also show that many of their wearers walked with gaits that reflected torsional deformities. Many shoe fragments are worn on the inner side of the heel, which demonstrates that the wearer's feet pointed inward when walking (often called in-toeing or being pigeon-toed). The heaviest wear in these cases is on the inner side of the heel, and the upper is often forced inward from the pressure applied by the rest of the foot.

Fig. 4 Latchet shoe with normal heavy wear (C-00043; *photo by author*)

Other shoes show a condition whereby there is very little wear at the heel, but excessive wear on the ball of the foot. This reflects a gait wherein the wearer shuffled, or, at its most extreme, walked entirely on his or her toes, resulting from weakness of the Achilles tendon or ankle or calf muscles. These conditions restrict the foot's movement and prevent it from rocking from heel to toe; the foot is almost flat when it hits the ground.

Additional foot conditions can be reflected in the wear of the shoes. Foot conditions, such as the bunion (*hallux valgus*), osteoarthritis (*hallus rigidus*), and "hammer toe" present themselves in the wear patterns of shoes. Bunions result when the metatarsal of the big toe is displaced medially, so that the joint bulges outward and becomes inflamed, and the big toe turns inward, occasionally overlapping the other toes. The swelling of the joint on the side of the foot is the bunion, and this rubs on the shoe.

Osteoarthritis in the joints of the foot prevents the toes from flexing, and one's body weight is then transferred to the tip of the toe. Shoes reflect this condition with excessive wear on the inner side of the sole. Swelling resulting from this condition may also cause the wearer to slit the vamp to relieve pressure.

Hammer toe affects the smaller toes of the foot. The joints become rigid to that the toes stay in a flexed position. This can result from shoes that are too tight or narrow, or can be a concomitant problem with bunions. Corns may result on the raised toe joints, and some sufferers may have cut slits in their shoe uppers to relieve pain.

The maladies summarized above are reflected in the wear shown on the Mill Creek shoes. For some individuals, the likely uncomfortable fit of their shoes catalyzed modification to accommodate the condition. One shoe in the assemblage suggests multiple problems. There is unusual and excessive wear on the interior front edge of the sole, perhaps reflecting the presence of a bunion or a case of osteoarthritis. The wearer of this shoe also cut a large hole in the vamp of the shoe, and trimmed the shoe latchets away, perhaps to create relief from painful rubbing of some parts of the foot and to accommodate the foot more comfortably in the shoe. The shoe was also slit in multiple parts in the vamp. This action could have been from abnormal arching of the foot. In such an instance, the insteps would rub the foot and the slits in the vamp would relieve that pressure.

The most extraordinary case of manipulation of a Mill Creek shoe is shown in Fig. 5. The wearer of this shoe has cut slits in the vamp and cut a deeper opening in the throat of the shoe to make more room for the instep. Any latchets or tie mechanism that was present on this shoe has been removed in the process. In addition, the tip of the shoe has also been trimmed away, likely to provide additional space for the toes in the shoe. It is not possible to determine the medical condition that led to such extraordinary treatment of the shoe's upper, but it may have been the case that the foot had swollen to a size that exceeded the shoe's capacity, and the wearer attempted in several different ways to accommodate it.

The examination of gait and its effects on shoe wear permits additional perspectives on the people who wore the shoes. Most of the people reflected in the Mill Creek assemblage walked "normally," but many suffered from maladies, both mild

Fig. 5 Shoe with various modifications for comfort (C-00024; *photo by author*)

and severe, that not only affected the way their feet hit the ground from stride to stride, but also shaped the movement of the rest of the body. A person's walk – the cadence of his footsteps, the weight of her footfall, the sound of the material of the sole and heel as it hits the walking surface – is highly individualized both within and outside a "normal" gait. In imagining these shoes filled with the feet of their wearers, and the way that the form of a person's foot affects their walk, we can imagine multiple dimensions of individuality.

Presence and Absence of Repair

The scores of repair episodes exhibited in the shoe assemblage suggest different aspects of individuality. Many of the shoes in the Mill Creek assemblage were repaired, and some were repaired multiple times, with the soles receiving the most repairs. Typically, the heel lifts were worn through normal wear, and the heel was repaired by adding new heel lifts, and hammering the lifts into place with nails. Sometimes a portion of the heel was repaired by applying a patch of sorts to a portion of the heel. Some of the shoe heels show signs of successive episodes of repair. One heel is made of five different heel lifts and has been repaired at least twice (C-000117 and 000118; White, 2004b).

Recurring episodes of repair are common in the assemblage. For example, Figure 6 shows an intact shoe that was repaired multiple times and worn after the added shoe parts wore through. The sole of the shoe was repaired multiple times and shows earlier shoe construction methods (i.e., the drawstitch method) replaced by repair methods of a later era (pegging; see Stevens and Ordoñez, 2005, and

Fig. 6 Latchet shoe with extensive repair episodes (C-00018; *photo by author*)

Rexford, 2000 for details on this and other construction methods). The front portion of the outsole is itself a patch. This shoe was worn after the sole on the front portion of the foot wore out. The insole exhibits wear, and a piece of insole was trimmed, probably because it too had worn heavily. In total there are at least four repair episodes present on this single shoe.

While some of the shoes possess manifestations of repair episodes, other shoes are notable in their heavy wear and lack of repair. Many of the outsoles and insoles in the assemblage exhibit heavy wear, but do not show the patching and mending of other artifacts. These soles, especially those that are not attached to other shoe parts, may have been removed from a customer's shoe and replaced by new soles.

Some examples in the assemblage possess heavy wear and may have been discarded because they were replaced by new shoes, but the wear patterns on many of these demonstrate that they were worn long after they were falling apart. The children's shoes offer several poignant examples (e.g., Fig. 1) These shoes do not show any repair episodes at all, but they are all heavily worn – the wear was likely not only uncomfortable for the wearer, but was also certainly immediately noticeable to others. The shoes were worn by children for a considerable amount of time after they were badly deteriorated.

The wear exhibited by the assemblage reveals many aspects of daily life in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Boston. The wear reflects the gaits and health conditions of individuals. It also reflects the individual appearance of men, women, and children, particularly the appearance of working class individuals who could not afford to replace their shoes when they began to wear out. The shoes were repaired, sometimes multiple times, and these repairs provide insight into the techniques of shoe repair and the daily individual appearance of working class people in the urban landscape.

Layers of Individuality

Drawing on the work of Meskell (1999) and her use of the work of Harré (1998), I would like to explore the relationships between materiality, embodiment, and the individual through three integrated layers of interpretation. The first layer, what Meskell calls the interpretive bedrock, is the experience of one's self as an individual, which is connected to the body's materiality. Second is the culturally specific determination of personhood and individuality, connected to thoughts and beliefs about body, mind, soul, etc. The third layer is a veil of individually determined experience, which is where much of archaeological inquiry into identity lies, as it is the individual experience of one's age, sex, class, sexual preference, religious orientation, etc. that is present and commingles at this level (Meskell, 1999). The aspects of the Mill Creek shoe assemblage discussed above resonate with these layers as an assemblage and as individual objects attesting to single lives.

The Mill Creek Shoe Assemblage and Layers of Individuality

Meskell and Harré's characterization of the individual and the layering of individuality and the expression of self are manifested in this archaeological assemblage in a variety of ways. The first layer, the experience of the self as an individual entity connected to the body's materiality is, perhaps, the most basic layer, and something that we take for granted in the archaeological record. I suggest that these shoes are a reminder of the presence of the individual as agent at *all* archaeological sites. Individual people were responsible for the deposits that modern archaeologists, as individual excavators, expose through archaeological pursuits.

The second layer – the culturally determined sense of self based on time and place – touches the assemblage in myriad ways, but can be only briefly addressed here due to space constraints. As an assemblage, the shoes designate the garb of many people worn in a narrow time frame and indicate aspects of consumerism and marketplace diversity and availability, as well as individual choice, which impact individual ideas of self. As single objects, their limitations underscore the importance of viewing them in the broadest context possible so as to approach questions of the culturally determined sense of self.

The third layer, that of one's own individual experience, is most clearly articulated through analysis of the shoes. The shoes demonstrate the daily experience of a number of individuals. The intense wear and successive repair episodes allow us to imagine a multiplicity of individual days and the actions and tasks undertaken day after day. The specific actions of these individuals (beyond shoe repair, and this was likely carried out by someone other than the wearer) are not reachable, but individual bodies and individual lives are. Most striking is simply the very heavy wear and successive repair episodes on some of the shoes, suggesting poverty and hard work for those individuals, as well as the expense of a single pair of shoes. The shoes seem to have been discarded only following the inability to repair them again.

The heels are often the focus of these repairs, exhibiting multiple repair episodes. There are many outsoles and insoles in the assemblage that also exhibit extraordinary wear. Some of the soles were probably discarded and no longer useful on account of the wear, but other shoes show that such perforations did not result in their decommissioning. Individual experience can be illustrated through close examination of three artifacts from the assemblage.

Faces in the Crowd: Three Shoes

So far, I have described the ways that the shoe assemblage in totality reveals aspects of fashion choice, health, gait, rank, and age. I'd like to turn to examine three of the complete shoes in order to take up the stratum of individual experience directly. The shoes correlate with three lives and suggest the diversity of the community from which these examples are drawn.

Employing interpretive approaches raised in the literature of object biography, I want to try to see the person behind each of these objects as individuals (e.g., Kopytoff, 1986; Hoskins, 1998; Gosden and Marshall, 1999). In a sense, this exercise emulates the depiction of a crowd scene in a movie. Mainly the camera stays in the long shot to impart the idea of a large group of people, mingling and interacting with one another. But the director incorporates multiple close-up shots of particular people, giving the viewer several faces in the crowd, revealing the crowd as comprised of individual people, and, thus, making the images somehow more "real."

Life I: Child

One life indicated in the assemblage is that of a child, as suggested by a slit-vamp shoe (Fig. 1). The shoe consists of a one-piece upper, heel stiffener, and intact sole. The upper is slit at the instep, and it has three pairs of eyelets used to hold it fast to the foot. The form of this shoe is a common child's shoe; it was likely not very comfortable when new as it would have lacked flexibility at the points where the foot flexes.

The shoe is plain and made without decorative elaboration. What is most notable about this shoe is the extraordinary wear it poses. The sole is worn at the heel, and the wear extends through multiple layers of the sole revealing the outsole, heel plate, and insole. The seam that holds the upper together at the heel has come undone and was not repaired. The shoe has also worn through at the toe and is torn at the instep. These four areas of extreme wear suggest that the shoe was worn not only long after it was worn out, but also long after it was outgrown.

Of course, the shoe evolved on the foot of the child. When the shoe was new, the child was smaller than when the shoe was finally discarded. While the shoe as

preserved provides a snapshot of the last few weeks of wear, when newly purchased it would have been stiff and inflexible, but also would have offered good protection from the street and the elements. As the shoe wore, and the child grew, the shoe would have become, at first, more comfortable, more flexible, and molded to the child's foot. Finally, however, as the child wore the shoe out, and physically grew out of the shoe, the shoe would have been less and less protective as the child's toes and heel were completely exposed.

In terms of health, the child does not seem to have suffered from any abnormalities of the foot, as the wear pattern is normal. In fact, the wear suggests that perhaps this child was fairly healthy in that he or she outgrew the shoe before it was fully worn out, suggesting rapid growth and adequate nutrition.

The shoe reveals basic information about this person in regard to his or her age, nothing in regard to his or her gender, and a great deal about the child's socioeconomic status. The artifact reflects the life of a working child, a child on the streets on a day-to-day basis working alongside many other children and adults in late eighteenth-century Boston.

Life II: Man or Woman

A second life is indicated by a complete latchet shoe, though the gender of this person is uncertain (Fig. 2). This shoe could have been worn by a man or a woman, though the style suggests a male wearer as more likely. This is a working shoe of a very basic form. The form is closely related to the Brogan and Oxford standard working shoes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Huddleson and Watanabe, 1990:97; Vass and Molnár, 1999).

The construction of the shoe is similar to four others found at the site in the same context. While none of these are similar enough to be considered pairs, they indicate that there is slight variation for this most basic shoe form.

This particular example is well made in that there is lining underneath the vamp, which is not found on all of the latchet shoes in the assemblage. The shoe also has fine finishing stitching around the edges of the opening of the shoe.

Although the outsole is missing, the shoe has a well-constructed sole made with an insole lining, insole, shank stiffener, and welt. The shoe is constructed with welting, which is a construction method that made shoes more protective from moisture. The shoe also has a heel rand, another more complicated form of shoe construction.

The shoe is worn but does not show any repair episodes, suggesting that it was replaced when it was worn out. The shoe shows wear on the vamps on each side of the foot where the foot would have flexed when walking. The outsole is missing, as is one of the quarters. The sole is particularly worn on the front right side, reflecting a normal gait. The shoe does not suggest any additional health concerns of the foot.

This particular shoe offers an interpretive challenge to "see" the individual behind the artifact. The shoe is similar to three other examples in the assemblage.

In fact, the shoe is about as "standard" a shoe as there was in this particular time period. The prosaic nature of this particular object rather underscores the importance of the individual approach. This was a shoe worn by a person who likely spent most of his or her time working. The person likely worked alongside many other people employed in similar or comparable positions. It is the reflection of the hours spent working and moving about the landscape by a person otherwise unnoticed by history. As a working person's object, it reflects daily life in all of its anonymity.

Life III: Woman

A third life suggested by the assemblage is a woman, designated by a latchet shoe with an open throat (Fig. 3). By and large, this is a well-made shoe that exhibits quality construction and fine finishing techniques. In addition, it is the most fashionable of the shoes found in the assemblage. The shoe is virtually intact, with the upper and sole present entirely. The upper is comprised of a vamp, two quarters, two side lining panels, and heel stiffener. The vamp does not have a tongue, and the shoe is open over the instep. The latchets cross over the exposed instep and have a single eyelet to tie the shoe. The attachment of the quarter to the vamp is reinforced by the side lining. The quarters are sewn to the heel stiffener, though this seam has split. The stitching is of a high quality, and the edges of the shoe are finished with fine sewing.

The sole is also well made. The sole consists of an insole, welt and rand, outsole, and heel lift. It is a low-heeled shoe. The heel is pegged to the shoe. The construction of the shoe and sole combines flexibility and protection, though this combination does compromise both characteristics. The welted construction would have protected the foot from moisture and other unwanted elements. The sole's slim construction provided flexibility for the foot, as did the multipart construction of the upper. In return, however, the sole would have afforded limited protection from the rough city streets; the construction suggests that this shoe was intended primarily for indoor use.

Despite the limited protection offered by the shoe, it was a working shoe. Although it adheres to the popular style of the late eighteenth century, the shoe is very plain and is made of thick and durable leather. The ties suggest that the person wearing the shoe was engaged in activity that necessitated further attachment to the foot. Expensive comparative examples are far more delicate, made of thin and flexible leather or textile, and slip onto the foot without additional fastening.

The wear on this shoe also supports its primary use as indoor footwear. The shoe has clearly been worn over a long period of time, yet the most remarkable aspect of visible wear is the shoe's general compression. The outsole is in comparatively good shape. The wear on the sole reflects a normal gait, with most of the wear on the outer edge of the heel and on the ball of the foot. The shoe has torn at the heel, with the stitching there giving out and exposing the interior lining.

   One curious aspect of this shoe is the possibility that the shoe was modified to fit the foot of the wearer. Although it is impossible to know at what point in the shoe's uselife it was modified, and, concomitantly, if it was modification made by the maker or the wearer, or during a subsequent maker to a cobbler or cordwainer, the modification of the shoe does suggest a second life of the object, perhaps following a physical change to the woman's foot. It is also possible that the shoe was modified to match a change to the shoe on the other foot.

   As noted, based on its form, the shoe was likely worn by a female. The age of this person is less clear, but the size and form suggest an adult. The socioeconomic status indicated by the shoe, by its form and its wear pattern, suggests a working person, but someone who spent much of her time indoors. Of course, indoor work could range from very low-paying jobs to more remunerative occupations, and a precise assessment is beyond the range of information contained in the artifact. Whether this shoe was worn by a person in the employ of another as a servant, cook, laundress, or another low-status occupation or by a woman who earned a living through more independent undertakings is not knowable. Nonetheless, what the shoe does suggest about the life of this individual contrasts with the two lives described above, and underscores the diversity of life and livelihood in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century working Boston.

Three Lives = A Community?

The shoes in the Mill Creek assemblage belonged to adults and children, men and women, and represent assorted low-level rungs on the socioeconomic ladder. The three lives suggested by these shoes are but a minuscule fraction of the lives extant in urban Boston in the early nineteenth century in the Mill Creek neighborhood. The three shoes examined in detail here do suggest the ways the individual shoes cut across gender, class, and age lines, and reflect these aspects of personal identity.

   The depositional processes mask any temporal differences in the discard of these items by their wearers and instead suggest that these were contemporaneous inhabitants of the same neighborhood, which may or may not have been the case. Whether or not the wearers of these shoes were in fact contemporaries is insignificant. What is suggested, rather, is that the community of working class people in this neighborhood was diverse, and even at its most basic level, the garb of a generally disenfranchised community was highly variable. These elements of difference insinuate layers of individuality in other arenas.

   As noted above, individuality is operationalized in three strata. The three shoes point to the individual experiences of three human beings. In examining three of the intact artifacts in the assemblage, it is possible to imagine the physical form of the particular person whose foot slid into the shoe in the morning and out of the shoe in the evening. It is possible to "see" these people only through a negative image, and one that is extraordinarily bounded at that. Nonetheless, the layer of individual experience reverberates in this kind of close examination.

While I have placed the individual experience in relation to cultural identity at the center of this close view of three lives (the third layer of individuality), the three shoes also reflect the first and second layers. In terms of the first layer, the three shoes offer a view of a brief period in the timeline of a life. The shoes stand for the materiality of the body and reflect both normal and abnormal physical conditions. As material reflections of culturally determined selves (layer two), they reflect personhood and individuality as constructed within a very narrow time frame, and reflect behavioral and societal expectations of people of particular socioeconomic statuses and locations within the broader society as a whole. In addition, the shoes reflect individuals as representations of the broader community. As a representation of a community, the shoes manifest the physical state of a community of people through a sedimentation of micropractices (after Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992:38). Contextually, the three shoes reflect culturally determined ideals and expectations in terms of work and leisure as well as age, class, and gender-appropriate garb. The wearers' ideas about their lives and their thoughts and beliefs about body, mind, and soul remain unknowable.

The Mill Creek Assemblage

The shoe assemblage provides insight into aspects of physicality and personal appearance of those folks who wore the shoes. Another aspect in the lives of the shoes, and an aspect that in fact bookends the life of the shoes by their wearers, relates to the person or people that made and repaired the shoes. A biographical approach to the shoes sees the bulk of time spent on the foot of their wearers, but, significantly for these shoes, the life begins in the manufacturing stages. The production and purchase of the shoes is not something that is reflected in the wear. But the hand of the maker could be discernable through a close examination of the stitching and techniques of the shoes, though that exercise falls outside the scope of this endeavor. Ironically, it is the role of the shoemaker that likely has resulted in the access to the assemblage today. The use of the shoe by the wearer imparts the imprints discussed above, but the repair episodes are also a result of the hand of the skilled tradesperson who, in all likelihood, gathered these shoes together, culled from multiple customers seeking replacements.

Ingold has traced the ways that shoes influence gait and the experience of the pedestrian (in both modern and historic times). He takes this analysis to underscore the role of pavement in urban life and the ways that one interprets the world through the feet (Ingold, 2004). We see this heavy wear on the shoes and can imagine the feel of the hard packed earthen roads and cobbled streets trodden by the men, women, and children in an urban setting.

Shoes retain a particular sense of poignancy in their discarded state. Individual shoes are reflective of individual people and of single lives, and their wear reflects the physicality of these single individuals. The Mill Creek shoes are common shoes and display the hard wear of daily tasks by people from all sectors of working class

society in one of Boston's oldest neighborhoods at the turn of the nineteenth century. They bear the mark of the individuals who wore them, as the wear, repair episodes, and lack of elaboration reflect the individual appearance of some of Boston's residents. These artifacts are extraordinarily expressive of individual lives though they are anonymous as a result of their context. The examination of shoes as a class of artifacts reveals the way that individual people looked in the past and also reflects the actions, activities, and form of the body in the past. In engaging such personal artifacts one hopes that as archaeologists we can connect with individuals, resulting in a multivocal and dynamic engagement with the building blocks of social structures, individual lives.

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Part III
Personal Impacts: Seeing
Sites through the Individual

Beyond Consumption: Social Relationships, Material Culture, and Identity

Christa M. Beranek

Research on the relationship between the merchant elite, material culture, and identity has focused on consumption and purchase of goods, especially of newly available luxury goods. Some archaeological work attaches the very nature of modern individuality to consumption of the mass-produced items available after the 1760s. This chapter explores the identity of the patriarch of a rural merchant family in eighteenth-century Massachusetts, Eleazer Tyng, employing an approach that deemphasizes consumption and begins to consider historically contingent notions of individuality as part of a holistic study of identity encompassing status, ethnicity, and gender. Material culture was integral to the ways in which Tyng enacted and reshaped his identity and his affiliation with social groups and cultural ideals, but he made very selective use of new consumer goods. By examining incongruities or disjunctures in the material record, Tyng's personal choices that position him in relationship to the debates and ideals of his day become evident. Tyng was aware of the revolution in consumer goods for the social rituals of drinking and dining that took place during his lifetime, but seems to have chosen not to participate in them at his own home, despite his construction of a fashionable Georgian mansion. Rather, both the construction of his grand house and his self-presentation through clothing and portraiture point to continual reshaping of himself in his later years. Concepts of gentility, pre-Revolutionary debates over manliness and politics, culturally specific notions of old age and retirement, and his rural residence all influenced Tyng. The uneven or "scrappy" (Buchli, 1999) archaeological and documentary records do not detract from understanding Tyng as an individual; instead, they force us to acknowledge the multiple influences to which individuals in the past were subject and to grapple with this complexity.

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Family Background

The Tyngs emigrated from London to Boston where they established themselves as merchants in the 1630s. By the 1660s, they had amassed substantial landholdings along the Merrimack River in the area that became Dunstable (now Tyngsborough), Massachusetts, 35 miles northwest of Boston. This land was the basis of the family wealth that maintained the Tyngs in the upper economic stratum of the colony for the next century and a half. In about 1668, Jonathan Tyng, a member of the second generation of the family, settled on the family lands in Dunstable. At the time, the town was at the edge of British settlement in the region, and it remained sparsely populated for decades because of frontier conflicts with Native Americans (Nason, 1877).

In Dunstable, the Tyngs continued their associations with trade in Massachusetts, coupling their mercantile activities with substantial agricultural production, colonial military and political office holding, and numerous positions on town committees. Although not as wealthy as urban merchants, who comprised many of the social and economic elite in the colony, the Tyngs sustained a position as rural elites and the wealthiest family in Dunstable, maintaining their social and business connections with the urban community through marriage alliances and business partnerships.

One of Jonathan's sons Eleazer Tyng (1690–1782) and his children lived on a roughly 1500-acre property between 1720 and the 1790s. The residential core of this property was the subject of archaeological investigations in 1980, 1982, and 2002 (Beranek, 2006). Two residential buildings are known on the property: a cellar from the first third of the eighteenth century, filled in the late 1760s, and the Georgian Tyng Mansion which was constructed in the 1760s and stood until 1978. The deposits in and around these buildings are most informative for the period between the 1750s and 1790 and are associated with Eleazer Tyng and his household.

Eleazer Tyng was born in 1690, attended Harvard in 1712 where he would have met the sons of many Boston and Newburyport elite, and married Sarah Alford in Boston in 1716 (Fig. 1; McGlenen, 1977:67). The Alfords were merchants in Charlestown, and Tyng's sons later benefited from this association. Despite the fact that the Tyngs were physically removed from Boston, they still participated in urban social and economic circles. Through judicious maintenance of their social and economic relationships, they were able to continue to interact with the merchant elite of the colony, although not at the highest levels. Tyng also played vital roles linking the town of Dunstable to the colony, serving in town and colony government, and, principally, as a colonel in the colonial military (Shipton, 1937:651; Anthony of Padua, 1956:25–26; Dunstable Town Records, reel 1, Dunstable). He remained active in the colonial militia through the French and Indian War in 1762 (Taylor, 2006:36).

Eleazer and Sarah had five children between 1717 and 1731. In the early 1750s, Tyng's adult sons established their own households, and his wife Sarah died. Tyng did not remarry, so the archaeological remains at the site from the 1750s until the 1780s relate overwhelmingly to the life of one individual, Eleazer Tyng. He would not have been alone on the property; the size of his agricultural output (Pruitt, 1978) necessitated the presence of agricultural laborers, and he also owned slaves. Tyng,

Fig. 1 Portrait of Eleazer Tyng by John Singleton Copley, 1772. *Image © Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington (Gift of the Avalon Foundation)*

however, most likely directed the construction of the Tyng Mansion in the 1760s and selected the various housewares and items of personal adornment recovered from the site. As a site where the archaeological record and built environment were heavily influenced by a single person, the Tyng site is well suited for a study of holistic identity and, as a part of that study, of the way in which Eleazer Tyng conceived of himself as an individual.

The Changing Meaning of the Individual

The need for a clear conceptual focus on the individual in archaeological contexts was raised by Shanks and Tilley's *Social Theory and Archaeology* (1987:61) in which they argue that despite claims to be investigating people, archaeologists have failed to pay attention to the actual role and nature of individuals in the past. The basis of their criticism is the idea that "actual concepts of personage may vary markedly from one group to the next" (Shanks and Tilley, 1987:63). One way in which this

call to study individuals is being fulfilled is in archaeological studies of identity, a closely related concept (see Meskell and Preucel, 2004), although not all of these studies make explicit reference to culturally specific ideas of personage or the individual (but see works on "personhood," e.g., Fowler, 2004). This chapter not only seeks to understand the identity of one particular individual, Eleazer Tyng, but also to connect that identity to historically specific, changing notions of the individual.

Historians and literary scholars have laid out a framework for the changing notions of the self and the individual in England and Anglo-America between 1500 and the nineteenth century (Stone, 1979), with the focus of research in America on the seventeenth-century Puritans (Kaufmann, 1998), the Revolutionary period (Fliegelman, 1982), and the nineteenth century. Before the mid-seventeenth century, the word "individual" meant indivisible and signified an entity that could not be divided into parts (Kaufmann, 1998:2–3; Williams, 1983:161–165; "Individual" A1–2, B1). As Williams writes, this now seems paradoxical because "'individual' [in the present] stresses a distinction from others; 'indivisible' a necessary connection" (Williams, 1983:161). It was only in the early seventeenth century that the meaning of "individual" changed to a "unique entity that stands apart or distinct from a whole" (Kaufmann, 1998:2–3), and the earliest uses of the word in this sense were pejorative (Williams, 1983:162). Throughout the seventeenth century, "individual was rarely used without explicit relation to the group of which it was…the ultimate indivisible division" (Williams, 1983:163; see also Individual B2a). This role of groups in personal definitions of individuality has led Kaufmann to describe seventeenth-century New Englanders as possessing an "institutional individualism" (1998) in which "individual identity was defined by one's relations to, not independence from, institutions such as church, state, and family" that put people into "mutually defining relationships" (Kaufmann, 1998:16). Only in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did "an individual" shift from meaning "a single example of a group" to "a fundamental order of being" (Williams, 1983:163). Some scholars posit that this shift to greater individual autonomy began in the family with the refiguring of patriarchal authority, and Fliegelman argues that a parallel change in the understanding of authority and autonomy underlay the American Revolution (1982).

The idea that "modern individuality is the irreducible unit of identity" had a long period of development, forming in the late seventeenth century, but this definition was not the only or primary meaning of "individual" until the nineteenth century (Kaufmann, 1998:18). Eleazer Tyng's conception of the nature of his individual identity would have been shaped during a time of transition, formed during his education at Harvard[1] in the second decade of the eighteenth century and possibly modified over the course of his life by the intellectual and political climate preceding the Revolution. The late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century usage of individual

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[1]The religious intellectuals who shaped Harvard's curriculum until the early eighteenth century sought to "establish authority in institutions" in the face of religious challenges that sought to prioritize personal discernment and were therefore "against…movements of individualism" that were felt elsewhere in Massachusetts religious culture (Hoeveler, 2002:28, 52). Changes in the Harvard presidency in 1707, immediately before Tyng was a student there, began a slow introduction of new, more liberal religious ideas.

as a single example of a group is one that Tyng would have encountered during his formative years, and this chapter will investigate the ways in which he might have enacted his identity within the framework of institutional individualism.

In America, the causes for and effects of the changing notions of the individual have been explored primarily in literary, religious, and political studies through the analysis of aggregate data about family relationships and institutional affiliations and using close textual analysis of the writings of prominent thinkers, preachers, and political figures. The challenge for archaeologists and anthropologists is to examine whether these shifts in the concept of the individual are relevant to or might better explain the material remnants of persons other than the intellectual elite. Can we see expression of particular conceptions of individuality as a component in studies of holistic identity? This preliminary exploration seeks to consider historically contingent definitions of individuality in the study of Eleazer Tyng's identity.

Within historical archaeology, some scholars have already explicitly addressed the idea of new modes of individuality. Deetz (1996 [1977]) and Shackel (1993) both relate material culture to the changing nature of the individual in North American, examining the shift in the concept of the individual after the mid-eighteenth century. Of particular interest to both authors is the increase in items designed for individual use such as plates, bowls, tea cups, saucers, and chamber pots (Deetz, 1996:84–85). Deetz interprets this change as one of world view; people moved out of an "older, corporate emphasis" to a position of more defined individuality (Deetz, 1996:85–86) that featured order, control, balance, and symmetry in the relationship between people and certain items of material culture, such as having a separate plate and cup for each person (Deetz, 1996:86). In Deetz's interpretation, use of these new consumer products in the third quarter of the eighteenth century reflected an already-completed mental transformation.

Shackel also gives these newly available items a role in shaping a sense of individuality. He states that use of dishes intended for one person "subconsciously taught the concepts of individuality" (Shackel, 1993:30), placing the material objects in a formative role. The concepts that he connects with individuality are segmentation (of person from person and dish from dish) and standardization (the existence of many people using their many, identical dishes and items such as toothbrushes in a uniform way). Shackel also sees this as a change in ideology, from preindustrial to modern (Shackel, 1993:5). Interestingly, both Deetz and Shackel discuss the changing nature of the individual with studies of aggregate data. Both of these studies also focus on the consumption of consumer goods as central to either detecting or creating new identities and new individualities. This focus on consumption, while productive, is insufficient, and I would like to broaden it here.

Late Eighteenth-Century Self-Fashioning

Research on the relationship between the merchant elite, material culture, and identity has also focused on consumption and purchase, especially of newly available luxury goods. A literary example, however, provides an excellent counterbalance to this emphasis. Dick Hairbrain, a literary creation of John Trumbull in 1773

(Trumbull, 1962 [1773]; Bushman, 1992:189), was the son of a rich country farmer who sent Dick off to the city to go to college and lead a life of gentility. Poor Dick, alas, had country manners, only an approximate idea of how to dress, and made a fool of himself trying; he became the butt of jokes and the subject of scornful laughter. But Dick pressed on; he hired a dancing master and a tailor, learned witty jokes and appropriate language, and shone at balls and parties. At the end of his education, however, Mr. Hairbrain is *not* held up as a wonderful example of the transformative power of the right materials and manners. Instead, Trumbull decries the process:

> And ev'ry money'd Clown and Dunce
> Commences Gentleman at once
> For now, by easy rules of trade,
> Mechanic Gentlemen are made!

(Trumbull, 1962 [1773]:58)

In Trumbull's satire, Dick is ridiculed for attempting to purchase a genteel identity rather than transforming his character from within. Despite his consumption of the requisite goods and mastery of the outward forms of gentility, he was not a true gentleman.

Both proper use of the new material goods of the eighteenth century (dishes, tea wares, items of dress, and artifacts of leisure) and the mastery of manners were integral parts of making a gentleman in the eighteenth century. Many merchants, men whose economic and social lives were closely tied to these new consumer products, used these goods to fashion an elite identity and reinforce their social group cohesion (Goodwin, 1999; Hunter, 2001). Economically, they were responsible for importing manufactured goods and then, through a network of rural merchants such as the Tyngs, distributing them throughout British-America. Furthermore, merchants used these items to create and solidify their social networks and their own social identities through the continual appropriate use of novel goods (Chan, 2007; Goodwin, 1999; Hunter, 2001).

Possession was not enough; an added component of proper behavior carried just as much meaning, if not more, as Goodwin's focus on an archaeology of manners makes clear (Goodwin, 1999). The point that Trumbell's satire makes, however, was that to a degree, even the proper behavior could be "purchased" by being educated at a college, hiring a dancing master, going on foreign travel, and so on. The result, however, was not true gentility in the opinion of Trumbull and his contemporaries; rather, it was something worthy of scorn, ridicule, and satire. True gentility sprung from within, and aspiration to it involved a comprehensive transformation of character. As described by Richard Bushman, "pecuniary display was outward and by definition superficial; *refinement* was inward and profound" (1992:182). In no sense then could a true genteel identity be purchased (contra Hunter, 2001).

Culture Brokers

Nuanced studies of consumption make important points about the ways in which individuals construct identity, both in the study of the merchant elite and of others

(see Mullins, this volume). While consumption may have been a part of the way in which Eleazer Tyng defined his identity, it is inadequate as a sole focus in itself. Mullins (this volume) states, "the most significant dimensions of consumption are … the ways in which the consumption of particular things positioned specific consumers in relation to a broader social and material backdrop." Tyng strategically, actively used items of material culture as he attempted to establish and maintain certain social relationships. This focus on Tyng's interactions with other individuals is drawn from De Cunzo's characterization of eighteenth-century merchants as culture brokers (1995, 2004). As culture brokers, success could be realized only by being treated and accepted as part of multiple groups, by attaining relationships of friendship, influence, trust, or even power in their business community, among their economic, urban peers, and among their rural townsmen.

As culture brokers, local merchants such as Tyng linked rural communities to the larger world economically, socially, politically, militarily, and materially (De Cunzo, 1995:181–185; 2004:41–69) by trading local for imported goods, using those new goods to set styles, and building on their economic connections to fill local political and military leadership positions. By virtue of their economic advantages, personal popularity, and cultivation of relationships of trust, culture brokers mediated the flow of both goods and information among community members and the larger world (De Cunzo, 2004:11, 70–71). Massachusetts rural merchants used their material possessions to express their participation in multiple communities. In both locations, their ownership of large tracts of land "symbolized their position in an economic and social order culturally defined in terms of land ownership and success in farming" (De Cunzo, 1995:195), and their Georgian houses expressed ties with a distant urban mercantile community (De Cunzo, 1995:196; Beranek, 2004:6–7). Massachusetts merchant families were part of a socially close, though geographically dispersed, social and business network as much as they were part of their towns.

Eleazer Tyng's identity as an individual was defined by social ties. Following Kaufmann's (1998) definition of "institutional individualism," Tyng, had he thought about the nature of his individuality, might have conceived of his individuality as his personal affiliation with and relationship to a range of social groups, both those determined by filial ties (such as his family), those determined by voluntary associations (such as the network of his economic peers, the military), and those based upon location (such as his position in his town). Although it may seem to be counterintuitive to base an examination of individual identity on the creation and maintenance of social group ties, anthropological theory and the contemporary (eighteenth-century) understanding of the individual as separate and indivisible yet still defined in relationship to groups supports this approach. Understanding the different communities with which the Tyngs and other rural elites interacted and the roles they played as culture brokers is crucial to understanding the contexts in which they structured their identities and to giving the study of individual persons wider social relevance.

Meskell warns against a fictional search for "representative data" in her work on individuals, social lives, and identity in New Kingdom Egypt and demonstrates a

wide range of individual variation (Meskell, 1999:7, 176–215). She states else-where that "there can no longer be nomothetic or broad class treatments for single groups such as women, children, or foreigners. Clearly, not all individuals in a single category shared commensurate experiences; these would have varied according to rank, status, education, age, stage of life, and a host of other social variables" (Meskell, 2002:4). For Meskell, understanding "social life" means conducting an archaeology of individuals. Neither the material conditions of life nor the understanding of those materials are shared by all members of a society. This is why the individual biographies of our subjects as *identified persons* with personal histories and motivations are important, even within a study of group affiliations. They are not generic figures in the past, replaceable by any other individual. My archaeology of the individual begins with an elite, adult, white man living in a rural setting in eighteenth-century Massachusetts, engaging in both agriculture and trade.

Then again, this individual elite white man had a wife, children, business partners, slaves, neighbors, correspondents, visitors, and all manner of people with whom he interacted, and who shaped his individual experiences. He grew up subject to the religious, political, and social ideas held by others in his communities. It is only in studying individuals as part of larger groups and processes that archaeologists produce meaningful pictures of the past. As Meskell says, "both levels, society and selves, are necessary to produce a truly representative picture of the past" (1999:6). Scholars wrestling with this problem have recognized that there is a complex relationship between selves and society. Meskell summarizes by saying that a "'single' identity is made up of a multiplicity of social variables…embedded within a matrix of social relations" (1999:9). Individuals are embedded, entangled in society. The Tyngs were positioned between differing ideals of rural and urban society, between intensely local, household-based, and widely international trade networks, and the brokers between local and colony-wide military and political positions. Material culture played an important part in the lives of Eleazer Tyng and his family, but it is more fruitful to examine the materials as they were used to enact and maintain behavioral ideals and relationships, not as simple outgrowths of consumption for display or emulation.

Archaeology at the Tyng Property

Archaeological excavations at the Tyng property took place in 1980, 1982, and 2002 by Stephen Mrozowski, Mary Beaudry, and myself, respectively (Beaudry, 1982; Beranek, 2004, 2006). These excavations investigated the deposits around the recently destroyed Tyng Mansion, a Georgian house most likely constructed in the 1760s, and discovered a filled cellar of another, previously unknown structure that was filled in the late 1760s or early 1770s. Many of the deposits around the Mansion had been disturbed by twentieth-century construction and demolition activities. The cellar hole deposits from the earlier structure, however, appeared to be redeposited domestic sheet refuse and architectural rubble, deposited quickly in

the eighteenth century and not later disturbed. A number of artifacts pointed to Tyng's position as a merchant including a cloth bale seal, a scale weight, and numerous broken but unsmoked pipe stem fragments (many from the same manufacturer), suggesting that they were imported in bulk with the broken ones discarded on site. My analysis of the material from these two houses investigates how material culture functioned in Tyng's ties to multiple social groups, interactions crucial to Tyng's conception of himself as an individual.

Disjunctures

The documentary, visual, and archaeological evidence revealed a number of inconsistencies or seeming disjunctures, fragmentary glimpses of different parts of Eleazer Tyng's life. Buchli (1999:15) terms such fragments "scraps" because they are incomplete, heterogeneous, and potentially conflicting (in a play on words of the slang "scrap," meaning "to fight"). This scrappiness is not unexpected in light of the fact that Tyng's life was shaped by the complicated task of maintaining relationships with diverse groups of people, answering conflicting demands, not by a smooth and abstract logic of consumption. Colonial American commentators were aware of the existence of such inner complexities; the Reverend John Cotton stated, "I cannot but find a bundle, not only of contradictions, but of contrafactions in myself. I believe, I doubt: I allow, I condemn, I hope, I fear: I love, I hate: I rejoice, I grieve: I would, I would not; I do, I undo: the same self, the same thing, at the same time" (Cotton, 1968 [1648]:308). As part of his analysis of the changing notions of the individual, Michael Kaufmann commented that this passage was uncharacteristic of its author and unusual for its time period because of "its logic of identity," approaching the idea of a self full of contradictions described later in the nineteenth century by Whitman and Emerson (Kaufmann, 1998:108–109). This remaining section will examine some of the disjunctures in Eleazer Tyng's life and their implications for Tyng's social interactions and personal identity. The scraps from the Tyng site show a seeming incongruity between the Georgian house form and the social rituals for which the Tyngs used their house, illuminate Tyng's reshaping of his identity as he approached old age, and tie artifacts from the site and Tyng's portrait to pre-Revolutionary debates about dress and politics.

One of the most striking disjunctures in the material record at the Tyng site is the disparity between the Georgian Tyng Mansion (likely constructed by Eleazer Tyng in the 1760s on the basis of archaeological and architectural evidence) and the ceramics and glassware recovered from the site. The Tyng Mansion (Fig. 2) had a center hall plan with four rooms on each floor, a symmetrical five-bay façade, and Georgian details on the exterior (around the original doorway) and interior (in the form of paneled fireplace walls). Many scholars have studied the Georgian house plan, constructed by the Anglo-American elite between the 1720s and the later eighteenth century, as a setting for "theatrics of hospitality" (St. George, 1998:270; see also Bushman, 1992; De Cunzo, 2004; Goodwin, 1999;

Fig. 2 The Tyng Mansion which stood until the late 1970s. (**a**) Exterior. The porch and columns are a twentieth-century addition. (**b**) Interior. The paneled stairway in the center hall. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS MASS,9-TYNG,3–1 and 3–5. Photographs by Arthur C. Haskell, November 22, 1936

Sweeney, 1984, 1994). The individual rooms, with access controlled and directed through the central hall, often served as the settings for social rituals such as dining and tea taking that were important aspects of urban merchant social life and key occasions for the creation and maintenance of social relationships (Goodwin, 1999:144–155). At similar New England sites, plates, glasses, cups, serving pieces, and special function dishes for these social rituals are highly visible archaeologically and indicate a significant investment in the food, presentation, and preparation of meals for large groups of people (Beaudry, 2008; Chan, 2007; Goodwin, 1999; Mohler et al., 2000).

Archaeological evidence for Eleazer Tyng's participation in the social ritual of fashionable dining is conspicuously absent. The filled cellar hole on the Tyng site, for example, contained fragments of between 55 and 61 vessels (Fig. 3; Beranek, 2006:Table 6.2). Half (30) of these were utilitarian redwares; many of the other vessels are not identifiable to form, but include tea wares (six or seven) in stoneware and porcelain, mugs (four or five) in white salt-glazed and Nottingham-type stoneware, and tablewares (four creamware, one stoneware, and one porcelain) (Fig. 3). Nine pieces of glassware are identifiable from the cellar; only two of these are stemware, the rest are bottles of various sorts. The deposits from around the Tyng Mansion were disturbed, so it is not possible to separate the Tyng material from the later households, but these deposits contain neither large numbers nor a wide variety of eighteenth-century tablewares. The Tyng assemblage is strikingly different from the glass and ceramic evidence from the roughly contemporary Offin Boardman deposit at the Spencer-Peirce-Little Farm in Newbury, Massachusetts (Beaudry, n.d., 1995), for example, which points to large-scale dining and drinking of beer, wine, and punch. It differs from the eighteenth-century urban sites with a wide variety of ceramic ware types such as the one described by Hodge (this volume). Comparison with other rural sites, probate inventories, and store accounts indicates that ceramic and glass tablewares (with the exception of materials for tea) were infrequently used in rural Massachusetts at this time, even among the elite who had knowledge of and access to these wares (Beranek, 2004, 2006), suggesting that the Tyng data are not an anomaly. The presence of very small amounts of porcelain and tin-glazed wares differentiates the Tyng assemblage from other rural sites, but they otherwise share a similar lack of investment in ceramic and glass tablewares.

How is the disjuncture between the Georgian Tyng Mansion – a form associated with entertainment and social rituals – and the archaeological deposits at the site to be explained? If Eleazer Tyng did not cement his brokerage relationships through large-scale dining and drinking, as other merchants did, what role did his house and hospitality perform in his identity? The rural community of which Tyng was a part resulted in a different social milieu and alternate social activities. Whereas celebrative dining and drinking played a large role in fostering community and providing settings for displays of refined behavior among the urban elite and gentleman farmers in Boston or Newburyport's social orbit, Eleazer Tyng likely focused on family and small group entertaining, similar to the social interaction described by Sweeney among the merchants of the Connecticut River Valley in Massachusetts known as the River Gods (1984).

Fig. 3 Tea and tableware fragments from the Tyng site. (**a**) Stemware. (**b**) Feather-edged creamware. (**c**) Porcelain tea bowl fragments. (**d**) Scratch blue stoneware tea bowl fragments

The archaeological evidence suggests that to this end, Tyng adopted a limited and selective range of new ceramic forms, creating an assemblage that differed from those of his neighbors in chosen ways that were socially useful; he purchased tea wares in expensive ceramic forms for entertaining his economic or social peers and invested in mugs in a variety of stone and earthenwares, possible for offering beer or cider to his fellow townsmen laboring or transacting business on his property. This implies that Tyng's consumption of ceramics and glassware was not for display or driven by emulation. Instead, he selected a few pieces of porcelain and delft, maybe an early set of creamware, to facilitate the kinds of social interactions that he had call for in his rural location. The assemblage speaks to individual decision making in the face of a changing consumer marketplace. The demands of household food production and farm labor, local social requirements, personal tastes, as well as selective adoption of refined practices all influenced the choices that Tyng and his family made in acquiring glass and ceramics.

If the Tyng Mansion was not the setting for large and frequent entertainments as was the case in more urban settings, why did Tyng choose to build such a grand and expensive house late in his life? Even 30 years after it was constructed, the Mansion still stood out in Dunstable as larger and more valuable than the other houses in town (Fig. 4). The house's placement on a rise over the Merrimack River and on one of the main roads into Dunstable suggests that Tyng intended the house for an audience. Rather than functioning primarily as a setting for social rituals, the house may have functioned in the realm of "communicative media" (De Cunzo, 2004:46) and "material statements" (Sweeney, 1984:231) to enhance and communicate the family's political and cultural leadership and put a visible material gulf between themselves and their neighbors.

The timing of the construction of the Mansion (in the 1760s, after Tyng's wife's death in 1753) is also significant as a part of Eleazer Tyng's own reshaping of his identity as he ended his military career and entered retirement. For decades, Eleazer Tyng and his family, slaves, domestic help, and visitors had occupied a house (over the filled cellar, discovered archaeologically) that was probably just a larger and better finished version of most of the houses in Dunstable. Eleazer Tyng was active in local political activities through the 1750s and on military campaigns until 1762 (Taylor, 2006:36–37) when he was 72 years old. By that time, his children were settled and his economic situation was secure. When he stopped his military involvement, he may have had time to devote to fashioning an appropriate setting for his retirement, to envision and build a property suited to the "leisure, independence, and solitude" (Sweeney, 1984:244) of a country gentleman. John Williams, a member of one of the Connecticut River Valley families, the River Gods, advertised his Georgian mansion in these terms:

> A Large, elegant and well finished House, in Deerfield…with an exceeding convenient Store, large Granary, Barn, Chaise-House, Wood-House, &c. With a few Acres of Land adjoining, well stocked with a Variety of Fruit Trees, a fine Garden, &c…well suited for *easy Retirement* or Trade.
> *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* March 10, 1777, issue 1174, p. 4.

The Oxford English Dictionary definitions and eighteenth-century examples of "retirement" stress seclusion, privacy, withdrawal from society, or a place or abode
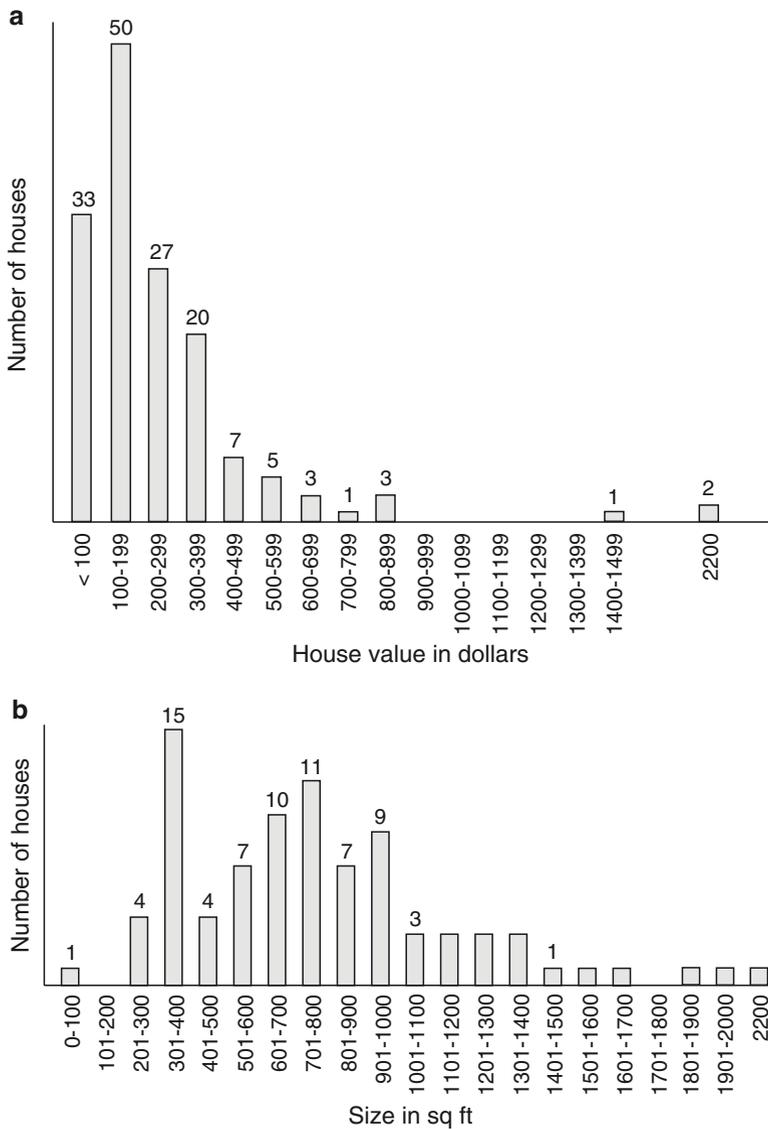
Fig. 4 House values (**a**) (from Dunstable and Tyngsborough) and sizes (**b**) (from Tyngsborough) based on the 1798 Direct Tax (Anonymous, 1798). The Tyng Mansion is the sole house with 2,200 sq ft and one of the two valued at $2,200

characterized by the aforementioned characteristics (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989), such as the 1772 example of "a sweet country retirement." A Georgian mansion with its increased ability to provide privacy and separation, through multiple rooms, would have been an elegant solution to the idea of gentlemanly, country retirement.

While the Tyng Mansion may have been designed as a setting for Tyng's retirement, other factors make clear that he was not planning a complete withdrawal from society. He also had his portrait painted in 1772 by John Singleton Copley (Fig. 1), another material statement of social display (discussed below). The construction of the house and the commissioning of the portrait indicate that Tyng was still actively crafting, or even reshaping, his public image at this point in his life. The house would have enhanced his image as a culture broker by indicating that even though he had entered retirement, he was still connected to the world of urban merchants and polite behavior.

Dress and Politics

In addition to his military and mercantile activities and affiliations, the colonial political arena was a final area of interaction that was crucial to Tyng. Elected political office put him, as well as other male members of the Tyng family, in privileged positions of interaction between the local and colonial scales. The town elected Tyng (and, later, other members of his family) as town selectmen, to various town committees, and as representatives to the General Court in Boston. The male Tyngs also received political appointments from the colonial government as Justices of the Peace. Although Tyng had retired from active political life by the time of the Revolution, his son (also a merchant) and cousin were delegates from Dunstable to the 1775 Provincial Congress. These positions were recognition from their town and from the colony of the Tyngs' success, status, and trustworthiness in both communities.

Tyng presented himself as both merchant and patriot throughout the 1760s and 1770s, a difficult line to walk that brought many Boston merchants to grief. Tyng employed material goods, particularly dress, in his construction of his political self around the time of the Revolution when there was an important connection between dress and politics (Hunter, 2001; Zakim, 2003). While clothing himself in ways that were "appropriate, respectable, and desirable" (White, 2005:4), he was not passively reflecting social norms in doing so. Rather, his behavior in dressing and his conceptions of what *was* appropriate, respectable, or desirable, were part of an ongoing set of choices about self-presentation and group affiliation. Tyng left two distinct material statements about his bodily self-presentation: the remains of personal adornment from the archaeological record and a 1772 portrait by John Singleton Copley (Fig. 1).

Most of the artifacts of personal adornment found in and around the filled cellar were of forms and decorative motifs that had come into fashion since the 1750s and would still have been fashionable in the early 1770s, suggesting that Tyng maintained an updated wardrobe. The 26 metal buttons, 20 buckles, and other artifacts represent a fairly uniform level of dress, neither the most elaborate nor the simplest options available at the time. The most fashionable buttons in the 1750s and 1760s were textile-covered buttons, followed by stamped copper alloy, plain copper alloy,

and finally pewter buttons (White, 2005). Whether due to preservation or to choice, no cores for the textile-covered buttons were preserved at the Tyng site, but 11 of the buttons were stamped copper alloy, several of them gilt, suggesting that Tyng purchased the most expensive buttons of this type available. Ten buttons were plain copper alloy discs (the remaining five fragments were button backs or cores). Plain copper alloy discs were the most common type in White's study of Portsmouth, New Hampshire (White, 2002), so their low frequency here is notable. In the eighteenth century, buckles exhibited a wide range of variation, and the most fashionable in this time period might be decorated with rococo forms or set with pastes. The Tyng buckles include these rococo styles but do not include any that were set with pastes. The size of these embellishments was also an element of style; in general, button and buckle sizes increased from the 1760s to the 1780s (White, 2005:41, 59). In terms of size, the measurable buttons and buckles from the Tyng site fall within the range of fashionably large sizes, but not near the top of that range, suggesting that this was not an avenue through which the Tyngs pursued fashion. It may also be the case that these extreme sizes, mocked by some contemporary commentators (White, 2005:41), would have been out of place in the rural setting.

The second of Tyng's material statements of self-presentation was a portrait by John Singleton Copley (Fig. 1); this item, full of disjunctures of its own, can be interpreted as part of Tyng's political self-fashioning in light of the contemporary debates about dress and politics. In the 1760s and the following decades, a "culture of homespun" developed with broad political implications. Homespun clothing and simplicity of dress were tied to independence from Britain, both economic and social. The economic argument decried the continual dependence on imported British goods and stated that people who were materially dependent on another nation could never be politically independent from them (Zakim, 2003:11). Social arguments linked masculine strength and independence to dress as well. Lombard's (2003) study of manhood during the colonial era concluded that manhood was defined as a state of independence (as opposed to women, children, slaves, and lesser men who were to one degree or another dependent). Therefore, contemporary commentators connected manly character and virtue to the ability to rid the self of luxury dress and this form of dependence on British influences (Lombard, 2003:163). Merchants whose livelihood depended on importing goods from England and whose social world had been permeated by the use of the same goods found themselves in a delicate situation. Mobs destroyed the houses and wares of merchants seen to be too sympathetic to English interests (St. George, 1998:205–296), and fear of such actions made some cautious in expressing political opinions (Hunter, 2001:152).

Homespun was a symbolic opposition to British corruption and luxury and was rhetoric more than reality for many of its most ardent supporters (Zakim, 2003:1–2; Ulrich, 2001). This suggests that the fabric was not so much at issue; rather, the discourse on homespun "challenge[d] meanings attributed to goods by the polite and commercial elite" (Hunter, 2001:147), severing the connections between good character, authority, luxury materials, and the British and Anglo-American merchant elite. Homespun, as a representative material, was celebrated as simple, civic, patriotic, economical, and indicative of virtue, while imported clothing that was too luxurious

was condemned as too British, wasteful, unmanly, and indicative of a lack of moral character. Luxury dress (moving beyond the particular case of homespun versus imported fabric) became a matter with political implications; in one of the protests of the Townsend Duties in 1764, for example, merchants agreed to "discard lace and ruffles and to forgo elaborate and expensive mourning rituals" (Hunter, 2001:160). It was in this climate that Tyng, near the end of his life, had his portrait painted in 1772 by renowned Boston portraitist John Singleton Copley.

Copley's portraits usually realistically portrayed the sitters' faces, but surrounded them with clothing and accessories that may or may not have belonged to the subject, sometimes placing them in dramatic, imaginary settings (Staiti, 1995b). In this way, the sitter and Copley together worked to create a "plausible fiction" of the sitter, showing him or her as the "personae they wanted to project" (Staiti, 1995a:35, 1995b:53). Understanding the constructed nature of Copley portraits means that the portrait was no less a material statement than Tyng's actual clothing. In his portrait, Copley painted Tyng in a suit of "wool broad cloth" (Staiti, 1995b:70), creating a luxurious yet restrained impression, especially in comparison to the silk and brocade-swathed figures in Copley's other portraits (see Rebora et al., 1995). Tyng is shown with the narrow-cuffed shirt sleeves of an artisan or worker, similar to Copley's portrait of Paul Revere, and wears unfashionable black stockings (Staiti, 1995b:70), although his breeches are stylishly buckled below the knee (White, 2002:222) with a simple, rectangular, silvered buckle. His coat, waistcoat, and breeches are all buttoned with matching, cloth-covered buttons in varying sizes. These would have been quite fashionable at the time the portrait was painted (White, 2002:615), more fashionable than the stamped metal buttons recovered from the fill of the cellar hole. He has dirt under his fingernails, possibly an allusion to his farming and land ownership – the basis of his wealth. Like other later Copley portraits, Tyng is portrayed in a simple, fairly neutral interior, although with some stylish touches such as the molded chair rail and gilt edging on the green wallpaper above the mahogany-painted dado (Staiti, 1995c:309). He sits on a Windsor chair, quite different from the Rococo furniture in most other Copley portraits (Staiti, 1995b:70), emblematic of simplicity and of country life.

Copley's portrait of Tyng is strikingly different from many of his other works in which the textiles that clothe and surround the sitter seem to be the primary subjects (e.g., Rebora et al., 1995). Rather, Tyng's head is unnaturally large, and his face is the focus of the painting, in contrast to many of his other works. Staiti suggests several explanations for these differences; he discounts cost as a determining factor and attributes the style to choices by Tyng based on his age and rural location (Stati, 1995b:70, 1995c:309). Although Staiti suggests that Tyng's portrait may be expressing the concept of simplicity as a virtue, I would explicitly link the portrayal to the political debates of the day (as Stati does for John Hancock's 1765 portrait; Hancock, who was known to be flamboyant and extravagant, had entered politics that year, and Staiti suggests that Copley's portrait of Hancock at work was meant to present an image of simplicity, hard work, and republican virtue [Staiti, 1995b:71]).

With his portrait, Eleazer Tyng made complex visual statements about the body and presentation that might be missed archaeologically, but are equally material. The

imagery of the painting positioned him in the current political debates which cele-
brated simplicity, industry, and homemade products, but the painting itself was a
luxury artifact painted by a man with more than a decade of association as a portraitist
for the merchant elite. Of Copley's portraits, a large percentage are of Massachusetts
and New Hampshire merchants and their families (the Royalls, the Sargents,
the Warrens, the Greens, the Hancocks, the Boylestons, the Langdons, and the Lees,
to name just a few, see Rebora et al., 1995). Staiti attributes the desire for Copley's
portraits to the anglophile character of Boston at the time; the merchants viewed
themselves as part of trans-Atlantic society and this drove them to spend money on
things, such as portraits, that they viewed as English (Staiti, 1995a:31–32). The imagery
made one statement (that Tyng was a model of restrained, Republican style, with the
dirt under his fingernails signaling that he was a producer, not just a consumer or
opportunistic merchant making money by selling goods to others); ownership of the
portrait made another. Both of these were part of Tyng's identity, perhaps drawn on
differently as the situation called for, but equally present.

The combination of the archaeological and documentary records relating to
Eleazer Tyng's appearance indicates that Tyng continued to update his wardrobe
with new styles of buttons and buckles, indicating an ongoing concern with fashion
and appearance, but his choices were mediated by considerations of what was
appropriate for his rural location. In having his portrait painted, Tyng also made a
material statement about his appearance that simultaneously allied him with the
anglophile, urban mercantile elite, through his choice of painter, and distanced
himself from them through its content.

Conclusion

By focusing on the positioning of the self in social relationships and cultural argu-
ments, this article seeks to understand persons in their wider contexts and to work
within a historically particular concept of the notion of the individual, approaching
Tyng's identity as he may have, as a collection of increasingly voluntary identifica-
tions of individuals with groups and institutions. This is a position reached by
incorporating documentary and material evidence and attempting to investigate
identity holistically rather than separating it into components such as status, profes-
sion, ethnicity, or gender. There was probably no single, determining aspect of
Eleazer Tyng's identity that dictated his dress, self-presentation, or choice of house-
wares. Considerations of gentility, ruralness, politics, masculinity, and an inacces-
sible level of personal preference were all in play simultaneously. He was refined
and fashionable, a wealthy owner of a large country property suited for rural retire-
ment, yet productive and restrained, hence virtuous. Each of the different "scraps"
(Buchli, 1999:15) of archaeological and documentary evidence must be interpreted
and placed into the context of the Tyngs' social, commercial, and intellectual
worlds. Recognizing the heterogeneity and potential conflict among these scraps
relating to a single life is an important aspect of recognizing the complexity of our

subjects. It is through the contrasts, disjunctures, and overlaps between the artifacts, the portrait, the house plan, and the tea and tablewares that individuals create meaning and that we begin to grasp the multifaceted, or even jagged, nature of an individual's identity with no single explanation (such as emulation or status display) driving all material choices.

As expressed so eloquently by Rev. John Cotton, Tyng may have felt the internal tensions and conflicting claims that his participation in so many groups caused him. Like other merchants, he may have been ambivalent about cutting ties with the British merchant world – socially and materially. By examining the discontinuities in the material record that Eleazer Tyng left behind, we begin to get a picture of the distinct and autonomous individual, crafting an identity in and among all of these affiliations, positioning himself relative to the cultural arguments of the day about masculinity, gentility, retirement, morality, and politics. Exploring this self-positioning in relationship to social groups and cultural contexts allows archaeologists to link each individual and his or her highly particularistic personal collections to the larger world without engaging in a futile search for "representative data" (Meskell, 1999:7) or creating overly rigid explanatory patterns that obscure the unique personhood of the subject.

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Widow Pratt's Possessions: Individuality and Georgianization in Newport, Rhode Island

Christina J. Hodge

Introduction

Widow Elizabeth Pratt of Newport

The widow and shopkeeper Elizabeth Pratt lived in Newport, Rhode Island, during the first half of the eighteenth century, as Newport grew from a minor port to a commercial and cultural center (Fig. 1). Pratt was one of many entrepreneurial traders in the town. During the 1720s and 1730s, her store of goods included finished clothing, accessories, at least 16 types of coarse and fine textiles, and comestibles such as chocolate, sugar, pepper, butter, and coffee. Pratt sometimes rented a shop for her goods. She also likely sold items from her small house on Spring Street. Pratt lived there from 1723 through at least 1739, probably through 1749. This small lot, now known as the "Wood Lot," is part of the Wanton-Lyman-Hazard historic site, which is owned and maintained by the Newport Historical Society. The existence of Widow Pratt and her household was forgotten until recent archaeological excavations (Hodge, 2007).

Systematic archaeological testing was first undertaken at the Wanton-Lyman-Hazard property in 2000 in response to the Newport Historical Society and Newport Garden Club's desire to renovate and reinterpret the yard. Dr. James Garman of Salve Regina University led four summer field school seasons at the site between 2000 and 2004. The author served as Project Archaeologist at the site in 2003 and 2004. Numerous, significant features from the eighteenth through early nineteenth centuries were found, and these features were targeted by excavations in 2001, 2003, and 2004.

There is a fascinating, if spotty, documentary legacy of deeds, mortgages, and court cases from much of Widow Pratt's Newport residency. These records contextualize archaeological finds from Pratt's home site which, in turn, provide an intimate

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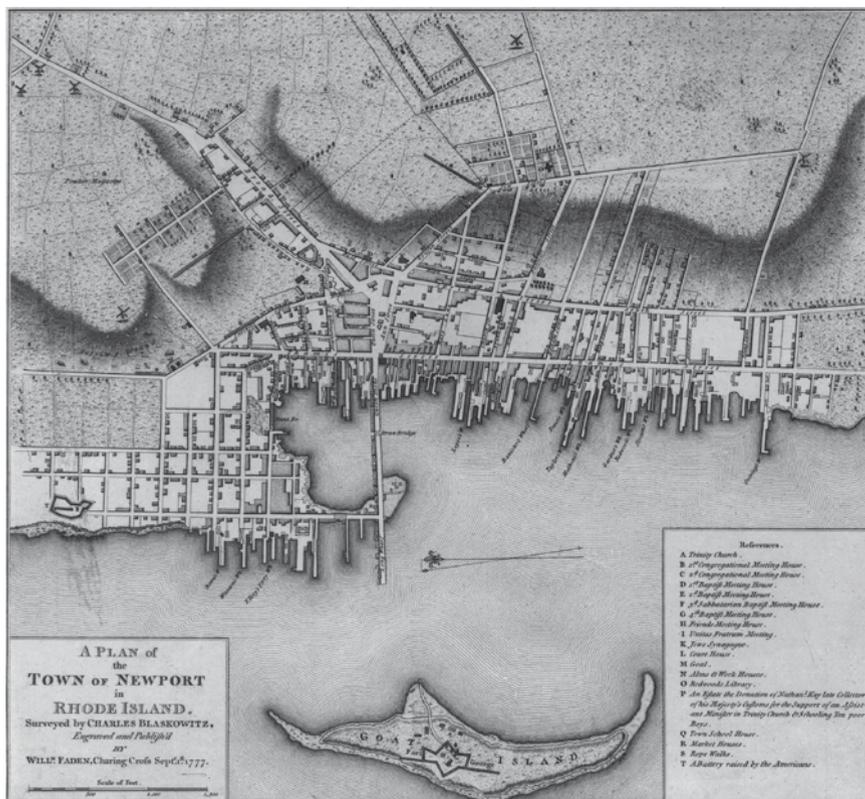
Fig. 1 A Plan of the Town of Newport in Rhode Island, surveyed by Charles Blaskowitz, engraved and published by Willm. Faden, London, 1777 (*The Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, G3774.N4 1777.B5*)

understanding of material practices, choices, and struggles within an eighteenth-century household. Artifacts from the Wood Lot are not only chronological markers and status correlates, but also useful, meaningful constituents of identities, values, and social relations.

The Individuality of Materiality

Archaeology is particularly adept at recovering and scrutinizing the physical remnants of everyday life. Some social theories actually place everyday material practices at the center of social reproduction. Thus, archaeology provides powerful, even unique, insights into the ways people learn and reform the common rules of their society while negotiating their own place within it. In his "theory of practice," Bourdieu (1991 [1977]:72–78, 167–171) emphasizes two aspects of an essential

relationship between objects and people: (1) social reproductions occur both through habitual/unthinking and through exceptional/calculated engagement with things; (2) orders (also described as regimes, taxonomies, schemes, structures; organizing principles, and value systems) of material life express underlying orders of social life (such as class, status, gender, age) (Miller, 2005:6–7; Myers, 2005:99). The familiar Georgian order exemplifies these mechanisms in eighteenth-century Britain and her colonies. Describing a process (termed "Georgianization" or the "Georgian Revolution"), historical archaeologists and historians such as Deetz (1988, 1996), Leone (1988, 1999), and others (Bushman, 1993; Carson, 1994; Hall, 1992; Johnson, 1996; Leone and Potter, 1988) have long linked material and bodily discourses of balance, symmetry, hierarchical taxonomy, regulation, discipline, and refinement with new social orders, principally emerging merchant capitalism and consumerism. I add (in the long view) the rise of a distinctly American middle class in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Bledstein, 2001; Blumin, 1989).

The Georgian order does not explain modernization, but in various places, times, and configurations, it is a recognizable constituent of it. It is also a "distinctive" and potent element of eighteenth-century British and British-American contexts (Tarlow, 1999:268–269). Such discourses are rarely, if ever, homogeneous and uncontested. There are competing regimes of value and authority. Most clearly, new objects (and people) beget new options, empowering some and threatening others. Thus the previously taken-for-granted is exposed and interrogated, potentially destabilizing organizing principles on which a given social stability depends, leading to new ways of being in the world and new habitual practices that are inculcated, sublimated, and challenged in turn (Bourdieu, 1991 [1977]:167–171, 1996:471). It is this process that I explore in eighteenth-century Newport, through Widow Pratt and her possessions. Miller (2005:8–9) frames a wider agenda when he writes that a social order – such as our class system, gender roles, consumer culture, or simply the association of tea with a virtuous domesticity –

> may come to us as immutable… It does not appear to have been created by people… But once we understand that these things are created in history or in imaginations, we can start to understand the very process which accounts for our own specificity, and this understanding changes us into a new kind of person, one who can potentially act upon that understanding.

These theories of material practice inform this study of Widow Pratt and centralize the subject/object relationship. A formulation of this notions of "materiality" goes further, proposing that any subject/object, person/thing, or material/cognitive divide is fallacious (Miller, 2005:34–37). These are not binary or oppositional relationships between pure and a priori forms; they are mutually constitutive, recursive, and embedded. That is, objects create subjects as much as subjects create objects. In theory, or perhaps more appropriately in philosophy, I find this a compelling position. In interpretive practice, however, I tack between things and people while focusing on a (unpure, materially constituted) subject.

This study is more subject- or agent-oriented than classic Bourdieuian or materiality theories. Pratt was social agent "actively pursuing specific actions and intentions" both creatively and unthinkingly (Hodder, 2000:22). She was a force for the exposure, interrogation, and critique of social orders (for further perspectives on

individuals' potential for critical alterity see Beranek, Loren, Mills, and Mullins, this volume). I consider past practices from the widow's reconstituted viewpoint as plausibly and authentically as possible. Interpretation at an individual scale – and of Widow Pratt as a particular individual – foregrounds the human subject and human experience. The approach is designed to confront broad historic narratives with the realities of lived practices.

When faced with small things – a bead or an inscribed tool, for example – it seems natural to discuss an object with respect to a singular person and, if possible, a biographical context. All artifacts, however, were experienced by individuals. All archaeology thus deals with the material remnants of individual lives, whether or not archaeologists interpret our evidence so intimately. Archaeologists rarely can say with absolute certainty who used a given object, and most artifacts were encountered by multiple people. It is therefore unreasonable to limit discussion only to those cases with a definitive match between an artifact and an identified person. Such matches are, however, powerful when they can be made or surmised.

Working at the individual scale achieves three things: it bounds research; it allows us to relate to the past at a human scale; and it foregrounds certain significant cultural themes, including agency and choice, identity and self-fashioning, and belief and emotion. It is not appropriate to project our postmodern articulations of personhood, personal identity, and subject/object relationships onto the past (for a material perspective on the development of those concepts during the eighteenth century, see Beranek, this volume). It is appropriate to investigate how past individuals created their own identities, that is, how they articulated social difference and affiliation (Cochran and Beaudry, 2006:199; Meskell, 2002:279–280). It is also appropriate to consider how the past persists in present social forms.

A focus on individuality centers the experiences of a singular person in a material world. It is an interpretive strategy, a way to bridge the space between artifacts and lived practices, as well as to find a way through the multiple shifting perspectives inherent in postmodern understandings (of the past and present). Multiple individuals moved through the Wood Lot household. They all may have encountered the material goods excavated there and known from documents. I choose to center Widow Pratt, rather than her daughters, sons-in-law, slave Dinah, or customers, although documents link all these individuals with material life at the Wood Lot site. This woman is a lens for understanding interplays among personal values, social relations, and material culture in Newport in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Evidence

History and Biography

Newport, on the southern tip of Aquidneck Island in Rhode Island, spent the colonial period as "an island of nonconformity in a sea of congregational orthodoxy" (Crane, 1985:9). The town was founded in 1639 by religious dissidents who fled

persecution by the Puritan authorities of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Newport had a sheltered harbor and wealthy inhabitants and soon became the most successful of the Rhode Island colony's first four townships and the colony's capital (Skemp, 1974:12). Its leaders purposely transformed Newport into a "market city" (James, 2000:154–155; Skemp, 1974:83; Withey, 1984:3, 17, 29–30). Its economic and cultural heyday came during the 1720s–1760s. Newport – pluralistic, mercantile, and worldly – was unlike any other New England port. The town epitomized the successful Anglo-American entrepôt.

Newport's culture was a trading culture, its dense streetscapes defined by warehouses, markets, shops, and stores. Men of different social strata mingled in taverns and coffee houses, exchanging gossip and news (Skemp, 1974:19–21, 227–228). Much of Newport's wealth derived from a trade in enslaved individuals and rum. Newport was the leading slave port in America, with many people of African descent among its population (10% or 220 in 1708, 18% or 1,234 in 1755) (Withey, 1984:24, 71). The merchant elite created and supported lavish lifestyles through international and intercolonial trade. Most of the city's humbler residents, including many of its women, were also involved in some form of retail (Crane, 1985:49, 1998:101–102). Newporters were keenly aware of mercantilism because the city's economy depended on it (Crane, 1985, 1998). As in other port cities, Newport's economic success fostered a population generally knowledgeable about new fashions, foods, and other consumer goods (Agnew, 1988; Bushman, 1993; Crane, 1985; Goodwin, 1999; Hunter, 2001).

Widow Pratt married once, had two surviving daughters, and was a widow in 1723 when she purchased the Wood Lot from William Wood for £100 (Town of Newport, 1723). Daughter Sarah married mariner/shopkeeper John Morris in 1721 (Arnold, 1898:465), before Elizabeth moved to the Wood Lot. Daughter Mary married gentleman/shopkeeper/merchant John Lawrence in 1728 (Arnold, 1898:465). Mary probably lived at the Wood Lot with her mother from 1723 to 1728. Widow Pratt owned an enslaved girl of African descent named Dinah during this period, and Dinah probably also lived with Pratt at the Wood Lot (1728). From 1728 to at least 1738, Pratt seems to have lived alone.

John Morris, Widow Pratt's son-in-law, died in 1738 (Newport County, 1738a). While it is conceivable that Widow Sarah Pratt Morris then moved her family to the Wood Lot property to be with her mother, there is no evidence of it. Widow Morris rented a property to a Henry Jorden for a few months in 1738 (Newport County, 1739c). It may have been a Newport property where she had previously lived with her husband or some other property she owned; its description does not match the Wood Lot (Hodge, 2007:220–224). Widow Pratt seems to have resided on the Wood Lot until at least 1739, still under terms of the 1734 agreement between John Lawrence and John Morris for her upkeep (Newport County, 1738a,b, 1739a,b; Town of Newport, 1734).

It is not known when Elizabeth Pratt or Sarah Morris died, but the Wood Lot was under new ownership by 1749 (Town of Newport, 1749). There is no documentary evidence to suggest intermediate owners or occupants (Hodge, 2007:19). Archaeological evidence is most consistent with an occupation by a single household

between ca. 1720 and 1750. Widow Pratt and her kin, therefore, likely retained both ownership and occupancy from 1738 until around 1749.

Archaeology

Archaeological work between 2000 and 2004 revealed the foundations of Widow Pratt's house beneath the grassy surface of the former Wood Lot. The structure has a northern bay of about 4.88 m by 4.88 m, in area 23.78 m² (16 ft. by 16 ft., 256 square ft.). At its southeast corner are remains of a brick chimney on a stone stack base. Disturbed foundations extend at least 2.44 m (8 ft.) south of the northern bay, indicating a second bay or ell with a void beneath for storage. Based on this information and a 1758 schematic town plan (Downing and Scully, 1967:34), Pratt's dwelling is believed to have been a small two-storey enclosed end-chimney house (Isham, 1895:31–33) (Fig. 2).

Similar structures are known throughout Rhode Island (Isham, 1895; Stachiw, 2001). The plans of these structures, the configuration of the Wood Lot, and archaeological evidence suggest the floor plan of Pratt's small home. The house was approached from Spring Street, and the chimney facade faced the street. Entering the front door from the side yard, one would have faced stairs leading to the second floor chamber above. That chamber and the dim, cramped attic above it probably were used for sleeping and storing household and shop items. There may have been a trap door in the entry floor, leading to the storage space below the

Fig. 2 Conjectural rendering of the southern facade of Widow Pratt's house (drawing by the author after Isham, 1895: Fig. 18); the urban landscape, with yard detritus, outbuildings, neighboring houses, and fenced lot boundaries, was denser than the one depicted here

southern half bay. The downstairs room was to the left of the entrance. Larger neighboring houses, built according to newer Georgian ideas of spatial order and utility, had three or even four separate first floor rooms (Downing and Scully, 1967:70, 75; Stachiw, 2001:24–25; Stubbs, 2004). The floor plan of Pratt's house, with only one multipurpose room on each floor, was outmoded by the time she moved there in 1723. Her single lower room must have been a busy and cramped place of working, cooking, and socializing.

Excavators found a stone-lined privy at the far northeastern corner of what was the Wood Lot, less than 2.44 m (8 ft) from the rear foundation of the house. The privy was filled between 1720 and 1750 with pieces of ceramics, glasswares, pipe stems, architectural debris, animal bones, plant remains, and other refuse. Artifact manufacture dates and fragment size suggest the lower two levels accrued when the privy was in use in the 1720s and 1730s, while the upper two levels date from the mid- to late-1740s and represent abandonment fill. Sherds from a few ceramic vessels were recovered in lower, upper, and middle privy fill levels, indicating that material in all levels originated within a single household. A dense sheet midden accumulated over most of the Wood Lot's West Yard, also during the 1720s through 1740s. Both the privy and midden are therefore attributed to a ca. 1720–1750 site occupation period. The nearly 8,000 artifacts from these contexts can be associated not only with a particular household, but also with the documented head of that household: Widow Elizabeth Pratt.

Material Practices

Material practices of elite Anglo-Americans are generally well known and are associated with modernization and Georgianization during the eighteenth century (Bushman, 1993; Deetz, 1996; Goodwin, 1999; Isaac, 1999). Values associated with the Georgian ethos include order, symmetry, balance, restraint, distinctness, refinement, and gentility. These values were expressed, challenged, and inculcated through a wide variety of discourses involving objects, architectural spaces, landscapes, printed matter, art, education practices, foodways, time management, political and natural philosophies, and physical bodies. Pratt was a member of the middling sorts, a nonelite participant in material transformations "that marked the emergence of the modern lifestyle in New World communities" (Yentsch, 1990:24). The scope of this transformation is not accessible through a single individual. Rather, it is possible thoughtfully to consider documentary and archaeological evidence as it pertains to an individual, and then to use the concept of "the individual" to unite necessarily partial understandings. In this way, one can frame broad cultural transformations that are inherently incremental and idiosyncratic.

A survey of primary and secondary documents shows that, in eighteenth-century Newport, gendered consumerism and leisured sociability were particularly sensitive loci of culture change and identity construction (Brown, 1886; Crane, 1998; Franklin, 1959 [1732]; Hamilton, 1948; Hodge, 2007; Osborn and Anthony, 1807; Skemp, 1974;

Stiles, 1901). Artifacts recovered from Pratt period contexts at the Wood Lot allow one closely to probe these themes in a domestic context. Documents and material finds most richly evoke Widow Pratt's experiences of retail, dining, drinking, and litigation. It is through these material practices that Pratt made her way in her world, articulated her values, constituted her identity, and related to family, friends, employees, customers, and servants. They occurred at the interface of Pratt's internal and external worlds, and between Pratt as an individual and the individuals around her who constituted her society.

Retail

Pratt established herself as a shopkeeper in Newport in the early 1720s, after she was widowed. Newport was an ideal location for such an enterprise. Trade supported the town, goods were everywhere, and entrepreneurship was the norm. Additionally, the gender imbalance in the town made women-run businesses and households relatively common and accepted during the eighteenth century, at least within families of middling social rank (Crane, 1985:51, 76, 1998:104). Pratt sometimes stored goods in her home and sometimes rented a separate shop on Thames Street (Newport County, 1733d,e).

Court records show that Widow Pratt sold an array of items, including finished clothing. Pratt was legally savvy and utilized the town and colony court system on multiple occasions, with some success. She sued Stephen Easton for £3:0:6 in September of 1725 (Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1725). Easton, a member of one of the founding families of Newport (Downing and Scully, 1967:15), had neglected to pay for several pairs of worsted and yarn stockings, a brocaded girdle, and two speckled shirts. Pratt did not necessarily sew these clothes herself. She may have had her daughter or enslaved servant sew them. The widow certainly used the services of a tailor, seamstress, quilter, and possibly (the handwriting is unclear) a quiller (someone who fashions lace into neck or sleeve embellishments) (Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1729a,b; Newport County, 1733d).

Details of Pratt's business practices are revealed in a pair of 1729 law suits. Widow Pratt and mariner John Darkins sued each other in March of 1729 for debts plus damages (Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1729a,b). Over at least a four-year period, John Darkins and his wife, Mary, purchased fabric (such as calico, chintz, worsted, osnaburg, duffel) and other sewing supplies (tape or ribbons, silk thread, homespun thread, pins, needles, yarn, lace), foodstuffs (coffee, chocolate, sugar, butter, cheese, mutton), and sundries (indigo, buckles, chamber pots) from Pratt. Mary Darkins, in turn, sewed many finished clothing items for Elizabeth (trousers, frocks, shirts). She also did other handiwork, such as quilting and sewing "sprig on an apron" (Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1729a). Most of the garments Mary Darkins made for Widow Pratt were probably intended for sale in Pratt's shop – shirts and trousers would not have been needed in Pratt's

all female household, although they may have been for her sons-in-law. The court eventually decided in Pratt's favor, barely. She was awarded £1:2:5.

What does it tell us about Widow Pratt's priorities and personal identity that she hired Mary Darkins and others to do sewing and finishing work for her? Sewing materials and tools could be expensive, especially the finer fabrics and finishing details needed for fashionable clothing (Montgomery, 2007; White, 2005; see also MacLean, this volume). Pratt sold such things, however, so one can assume she had access to them herself. In eighteenth-century New England, tailors (usually but not always men) made coats, breeches, and trousers; professional seamstresses were women and typically sewed shirts and gowns (Beaudry, 2006:174–175; Main, 1994:44, 59–60, 64). Women (like Mary Darkins) also undertook a great variety of needlework in a nonprofessional capacity from the home, to earn extra income or to participate in neighborly exchanges of goods and/or labor (Beaudry, 2006:171; Main, 1994:56; Ulrich, 1998:19). If an eighteenth-century woman could afford to hire someone outside the home or to have servants or slaves sew for her, she typically did (Beaudry, 2006:170–171). Thus, for a woman, the avoidance of sewing could be a strong statement of financial means and social status; she had other, more appropriate things to do with her time. It also placed her in a position of authority over those who sewed for her.

Pratt herself owned fine clothing, including a silk-lined riding habit, silk fans, and silk gloves (Newport County, 1733d). When Widow Pratt wore fashionable clothing and hired others to sew for her, she behaved similarly to her elite and wealthy neighbors, but she was not necessarily mimicking them. Given that Pratt kept shop and sold fabrics, finished clothing, and accessories, projecting good taste and success through dress and adornment was good business strategy. Pratt challenged the boundaries of ostensibly elite behavior and authority through daily practices that associated control over others' labor, fashion, and refinement with the middling sorts.

Court records describe public events but are surprisingly intimate documents, revealing individual preoccupations, motivations, and struggles. Material matters are often at the heart of these conflicts (as in the Pratt and Darkins suits). Court documents present Elizabeth Pratt's life as one marked by hostility not only with business associates and customers, but also with her closest relations. Family conflict developed over several years and eventually centered on Pratt's shop of goods. Pratt and her sons-in-law began by covering the cost of items and services for each other (Newport County, 1733a,c–e, 1738a,b, 1739b). These transactions seem to represent an informal, interfamilial, cooperative barter system. Eventually, however, the family's financial support network fractured. The causes are unclear; presumably it was instigated by one family member – most likely John Morris, given the nature, timing, and instigation of the law suits – with a cascade effect throughout the kin group.

Pratt's sons-in-law separately sought control of Elizabeth's valuable shop stock. According to court testimony, in 1728 son-in-law John Lawrence offered to pay her £600 for the shop goods (Newport County, 1733e). This sum represents a large amount of money, six times what she had paid for her house and roughly 157 m² (0.04 acre) lot just a few years earlier. Pratt rejected Lawrence's offer and, in 1732,

delivered the stock into what she reportedly termed the "safe keeping" of her other son-in-law, John Morris (Newport County, 1733e).

Pratt turned over the textiles to Morris and rented a shop and dwelling on Thames Street for him and his family (Newport County, 1733bc). In her mind, however, she had not given up her ownership of the shop contents. In 1733, Morris sued Pratt at Newport's Inferior Court for "money due by book" (amounts recorded in written financial accounts) and damages (Newport County, 1733d). Pratt countersued Morris at the same session, for an amount including the £600 "shop of good[s]" (Newport County, 1733e). She thus still considered the shop of goods hers, and reparation from John Morris for its transferal her right. Morris and Lawrence also sued each other over separate debts at the session (Newport County, 1733a,c). That day in court saw the public fragmentation of a formerly supportive kin network.

There can be tension between an individual's needs, desires, and choices, and the needs, desires, and choices of other members of a household or kin group. The tensions between Widow Pratt and others generated documentary evidence in the form of court records. John Lawrence and John Morris each desired their mother-in-law's shop, presumably because it represented both a valuable collection of goods and a means to financial success and economic independence. Pratt, even after turning over the shop goods to Morris and renting a retail space for him, still viewed the shop as her business. The case of Widow Pratt points to property ownership, business management, household authority, consumerism, and family finances as key arenas of cultural negotiation between men and women, adults and elders, haves and have-nots, as early modern values developed in colonial American settings.

Dining

Anglo-American foodways were "in a state of flux" during the early decades of the eighteenth century, as fashionable courtly French traditions, English folk traditions, and localized provincial traditions blended and differentiated (Yentsch, 1994:235). The developing Georgian ethos elevated order, individuality, discreteness, refinement, and specialization in a material discourse that associated these qualities with moral discipline, virtue, social status, wealth, and influence (Bushman, 1993; Deetz, 1996; Goodwin, 1999; Isaac, 1999). As expressed through drinking and dining, portions and place settings were individualized, meats and side dishes were separated, individual flavors were celebrated, and specialized beverage and tableware forms proliferated (Bushman, 1993:74–78; Yentsch, 1990:29, 36–37, 42–45). To create, serve, eat, drink, and appreciate required the appropriate ingredients, equipment, skill, and knowledge. New tastes were, literally, novel experiences of tasting, as well as embodied practices of preparation, presentation, and dining. In the middle decades of the eighteenth century, urban New Englanders associated elite status and

influence with French cuisine and elaborate table settings (Bushman, 1993; Goodwin, 1999; Yentsch, 1990).

Animal bones from the Wood Lot privy tell us that the 1720–1750 household purchased most of their meat at market (Landon et al., 2006). They ate some veal and suckling pig. These expensive, young meats were usually reserved for holidays and special occasions and were valued according to traditional English hierarchies of age, *not* increasingly fashionable French ideals of cut and portion (Yentsch, 1994:234). Widow Pratt apparently combined traditional and novel methods of cookery and presentation: her household enjoyed young meats but did not purchase many; and they sometimes embraced the then-new idea of using individual plates.

Archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that Widow Pratt had few ceramic tablewares. She used pewter plates and platters, a few decorative delft pieces, and at least one porcelain plate (Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1730; Hodge, 2007:425; Newport County, 1733d,e). There is no evidence of individualized matching place settings, elaborate tableware sets, or large serving vessels. Diners in Pratt's home may have wielded forks (still an uncommon technology in 1730s New England) along with their knives, keeping their hands clean, separating their bodies from their food, undertaking the mundane act of eating with manners that manifested their refinement, bodily discipline, and good taste (Goodwin, 1999:18; Yentsch, 1990:36). Although no forks were recovered from Pratt period contexts at the Wood Lot, Widow Pratt's daughter and son-in-law, John and Mary Lawrence, owned at least two knife and fork sets (bought from or provided by the other son-in-law, John Morris; Newport County, 1733c). Widow Pratt and her family were thus aware of new dining tools.

Overall, evidence suggests that Pratt entertained informally and on a small scale, perhaps at single course meals (Weatherill, 1996:152). Her circle of intimates must have included family members (at least before the 1733 law suits) and, perhaps, close friends or business contacts. Why didn't Widow Pratt aggressively pursue fashions in tablewares and cookery? Widow Pratt's dining practices were informed by new material discourses as well as personal experiences: her existence within a small home; her financial successes and tribulations; her social aspirations; and learned traditions of cooking and food presentation. Her choices should not be trivialized as paradoxical (Moran, 1976:201; Moran et al., 1982:184; Shammas, 1990:220). Nor do they necessarily represent a failure to understand the intricacies of the new cooking styles or to reproduce the celebrated dining events of Newport's commercial elite (for examples see Crane, 1985, 1998; Downing and Scully, 1967; Goodwin, 1999). It is not productive to measure Pratt's "Georgianization" against a nomothetic Georgianism, any more than it is useful to index acculturation through artifacts. Considering Widow Pratt as an individual in particular circumstances, one sees creative, active choices made among recognized possibilities and sublimated parameters. While the Pratt household apparently did not enact the developing Georgian ethos through fashionable dining, they did practice selective fashionable drinking.

Drinking

Archaeological findings suggest that the Widow Pratt and other members of her household were selective and discriminating in their beverage choices. They did not discard many vessels or bottles used for wine, spirits, or punch. It is not that the Pratts did not participate in Georgian drinking fashions. Elizabeth and other family members regularly sold coffee and chocolate (Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1729b; Newport County, 1733c,e), and John Morris provided John Lawrence over three pounds of tea in the early 1730s (whether for consumption or sale is unknown) (Newport County, 1733a). It seems that during the first half of the eighteenth century, members of Widow Pratt's household were most dedicated to tea, perhaps the most genteel and influential new beverage.

Cups for drinking tea, coffee, and chocolate were made of the same refined earthenwares, stonewares, and porcelains, but they were distinguished in the early to mid-eighteenth century by their shapes (Hughes, 1970; Roth, 1988:458). Teacups were handleless, squat, and bowl shaped. Chocolate and coffee cups were taller, can shaped, and had handles. There were also differences in the forms of pots for tea and those for coffee and chocolate or of jugs for hot water or milk. When processing Wood Lot materials, I catalogued a vessel as either a teacup or a coffee/chocolate mug only if I found sufficient indication of its shape from the remaining fragment or fragments. Otherwise, I identified it as a generic "new beverage vessel" (Hodge, 2007:452, 455). I assumed all saucers were used for tea, "tea cups and saucers" being a regular pairing in eighteenth-century documentary and visual sources (Hodge, 2006; Roth, 1988).

Teawares dominate the ceramic vessel assemblage from the Pratt Privy (Fig. 3, Table 1). The 24 teapots, teacups, and saucers account for 20% of all ceramic vessels from the feature. This high percentage of teawares is comparable to that found at contemporary elite planter sites in Virginia (Yentsch, 1994). It is roughly twice the percentage recovered at an elite merchant site in Medford, Massachusetts (Chan, 2007). Two middling, mid-eighteenth-century Newport domestic sites – with privy and sheet midden features similar to those excavated at the Wood Lot – yielded only 19 tea-related vessels between them (Mrozowski et al., 1979:119). Only *one* of these teawares was porcelain (see also Mrozowski, 1981, 2006). Of the 16 teacups recovered from the Pratt Privy, 11 (69%) were porcelain (Table 1).

Tea was a refined luxury good, and the taking of tea a conspicuously genteel activity, before 1750. By mid-century, however, "tea was beginning to be drunk by more and more people, as supplies increased and costs decreased"; after 1750 it became "commonplace necessity" (Goodwin, 1999:123; Roth, 1988:442). Tea gained popularity in the 1730s and 1740s, but the drink was still costly and generally considered rarified (Martin, 1994:172; Roth, 1988:440). Its association with only the wealthiest and most powerful families slipped notably earlier in Newport. Court documents and archaeological finds prove that Pratt and kin were buying and selling tea by 1733 (Newport County, 1733a,c–e). Most teawares excavated at Pratt's home were probably purchased and used during the 1730s and early 1740s.

Fig. 3 Several Chinese export porcelain teacup and saucer fragments from ca. 1720–1750 Wood Lot contexts (*scale = 5 cm*)

There is no way to tell if Widow Pratt and her family used teawares correctly, but the fact that they owned and sold at least some supplies needed for tea drinking is significant.

Archaeological evidence from the Pratt privy reveals that porcelain teacups were preferred over cups of other, less expensive wares, such as refined earthenwares or white salt-glazed stoneware. It also suggests a preference for teacups over other porcelain forms. These findings are unexpected. Probate records indicate that Pratt's contemporaries owned porcelain bowls and plates as often as teacups (Hodge, 2007:467–469, 472; for dissimilar patterns at other middling Newport sites see Mrozowski, 1981, 2006; Mrozowski et al., 1979). Distinctive consumer priorities apparently held sway within the Pratt household. Given the myriad ceramic choices available in Newport (Hodge, 2006), and court records describing Pratt's sometimes difficult financial circumstances, why the relative abundance of porcelain teacups? Pratt and her household were not simply copying local merchants or other neighbors. I suggest that personal tastes were shaped by gender, occupation, material environment, and idiosyncratic desires.

By the late eighteenth century, the tea ceremony was a gendered social performance. It was typically overseen by women (even in mixed-gender contexts) and was associated with leisured women's socializing (critiqued by some as imprudent,

Table 1 Fragments and minimum number of vessels (MNV) for beverage-related ceramic and glass vessels from the ca. 1720–1750 Pratt Privy (data is presented as "number of fragments/MNV")

Vessel type	Coarse earthenware	Staffordshire-type slipware	Coarse stoneware	Delft	Refined earthenware	Refined stoneware	Chinese porcelain	Glass	Total
Preparation/storage									
Case/gin bottle								6/1	6/1
Wine bottle								98/5	98/5
Other bottle			1/1					15/2	16/3
Subtotal			1/1					119/8	120/9
Traditional beverage									
Cup		16/3	1/1						17/4
Mug	1/1		27/7	2/2		6/3			36/13
Jug	3/1		32/1						35/2
Pitcher			2/1						2/1
Tumbler								19/5	19/5
Unidentified	2/1	1/0	15/4						18/5
Subtotal	6/3	17/3	77/14	2/2		6/3		19/5	127/30
New beverage									
Punch bowl				9/3	2/1	1/1			12/5
Stemware								6/2	6/2
Tea cup/bowl				2/2		4/3	11/11		17/16
Teapot						2/2			2/2
Tea saucer						5/2	4/4		9/6
Unidentified					10/2	13/2	11/2		34/6
Subtotal				11/5	12/3	25/10	26/17	6/2	80/37
Other									
Ink well								1/1	1/1
Pharmaceutical bottle								4/4	4/4
Subtotal								5/5	5/5
Total	6/3	17/3	78/15	13/7	12/3	31/13	26/17	149/20	332/81

socially destabilizing gossiping) (Franklin, 1959 [1732]; Goodwin, 1999:123; Roth, 1988:440; Yentsch, 1991:223). It was most likely Widow Pratt who purchased the teawares recovered from the Wood Lot's filled privy. The wares date from the first half of the eighteenth century and were presumably used on site and, therefore, in a household that was a feminized space of social reproduction. Widow Pratt may have favored tea over other beverages because of its gendered associations, still nascent in the 1720s and 1730s.

Associations between widows and tea may have their roots in households like Pratt's (Chan, 2003:247–248; Teller and Gorely 1968). The secular tea ceremony had a suite of more or less necessary equipment, including tea saucers and teacups, spoons, a teapot, a slop bowl or dish, a sugar vessel and sugar tongs, a vessel for milk or cream, a tea chest or canister, a tea table, and a serving tray (Roth, 1988). These items were available at a range of price points and did not take up much space, and not all households possessed matched sets of all items (Roth, 1988). Taking tea was thus fashionable and genteel, but flexible. It was better suited to intimate domestic spaces than parties for dinner or dancing, for example. By serving tea, a person might make even a small home refined and hospitable. For respectable women of moderate circumstances, made vulnerable by their "feme sole" status, tea and its equipage were a sensible social investment (Chan, 2003:247) (Fig. 4).

Tea facilitated socializing and reinforced social networks for both women and men (Roth, 1988:440). Widow Pratt may have used teawares to engender intimacy and trust, not to emulate the elite per se, but to facilitate her business ventures. In a specie-short, debt-prone town like Newport, retail success was maintained through trust, reputation, and self-presentation (Agnew, 1997; Cleary, 1995, 2000; Ditz, 2000; Mui and Mui, 1989; Norton, 1979). According to Pratt's particular tastes – with her small home, limited finances, genteel practices, gendered preferences, and business concerns – we understand how she may have come to invest relatively more money in tea supplies than supplies for other sorts of dining or drinking.

Reflections

Close study of Widow Pratt's life and material concerns raises many important themes: preference for fashionable drinking over dining and for fashionable nonalcoholic over alcoholic beverages; strategic investment in new sociable activities; and the development of gendered social practices. Shop keeping was evidently a desirable occupation, one that offered financial empowerment and access to goods. Court records highlight how formal and informal retail could shape relations among neighbors, customers, employees, and family members. Wood Lot archaeology and the specific history of Widow Pratt invite an exploration of her life as both an individual widow and shopkeeper and a member of the middling sorts.

Although the middling sorts stubbornly resist definition as a collectivity (Bledstein, 2001:1; Hoppit, 1991:349), the study of middling individuals is illuminating. At the individual scale, it is easier to trace how, and even speculate why,

Fig. 4 The Old Maid, an English cartoon of 1777 (*The Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, 3b43653r*)

idiosyncratic personal identities, priorities, and values influenced domestic practices (see for example Bell, 2002; Hodge, 2007; Richards, 1999; Weatherill, 1996). Materials associated with Pratt's household constituted contingent, layered acts of self-fashioning and social reproduction. It seems that she was both creative and strategic as she used material culture to negotiate (sometimes conflicting) roles of mother, widow, matriarch, shopkeeper, litigant, property owner, and head of household. We can trace an alternate discourse of taste and material practice at her home site, one developing alongside an idealized, elite gentility, simultaneously drawing from and critiquing it.

While Pratt probably did not put a name to the developing ethos of Georgian gentility, she participated in it. Interpreting her daily material practices in this light suggests that gentility's power lay in its ability to regulate social interactions,

bestow an aura of legitimacy and respectability, and foster confidence (in both self and others). Genteel practices were influential not because they were rarified and elite, but because they were accessible, in various configurations, to different sorts of people. Pratt chose her own material refinements in a dynamic colonial world. This complex negotiation shaped the boundaries between middling and elite social ranks and transformed Anglo-American culture in the process.

The material investigation of an individual life thus leads to a better understanding of the development of a normative, genteel American culture, one progressively situated with middle, rather than upper, social groups. American values shifted during the Revolutionary period, as desirable personal qualities of virtue and independence increasingly were bound to discourses of moderation, frugality, and the use of local (versus imported English) goods (Breen, 1988, 1993; Hoppit, 1991; Ulrich, 2001; see Beranek, this volume). This slippage between elite and nonelite materialities was not new. Earlier mechanisms through which colonial American social structures and value systems were challenged and changed are revealed through case studies like that of Newport's Widow Pratt.

Portions of this paper were presented at the Fourth Annual Material Culture Symposium for Emerging Scholars, 18 March 2006, Winterthur, DE.

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Consuming Individuality: Collective Identity Along the Color Line

Paul R. Mullins

In the wake of World War I a wave of racism and cultural xenophobia washed over Indianapolis, Indiana, fueled by an aspiration to create a host of new barriers to Black public rights. In some ways, this moment was the nadir of an undistinguished but otherwise commonplace record of local race tensions: By the early 1920s, elected representatives in city and state government frankly acknowledged their membership in the Ku Klux Klan, a newly elected School Board moved to segregate the schools across the color line, and racist neighborhood residency covenants were introduced into local law (Thornbrough, 2000). Paradoxically, though, African-American Indianapolis quietly thrived in the city's near-Westside as a network of African-American churches, school, and social institutions expanded, a local business community emerged, and an increasing number of Southern refugees settled in the community. On Camp Street, a modest corner grocery store reflected many African-Americans' ambitions even as the store owners' and consumers' experiences betrayed the contradictions of citizenship along the color line in Indianapolis. The archaeological assemblage from the store reveals the interesting potential insights of an archaeology of individuality, while it simultaneously provides a cautionary tale about how archaeologists might interpret such experiences.

The Indianapolis store was under the ownership of Martha Miller from 1911 until 1928, a period that witnessed dramatic expansion of the African American community in the city. Miller was born in Canada in 1871, but, like many people, she left behind a frustratingly thin documentary trail that leaves unanswered the complex story of why she made her way to Indianapolis and decided to open a little grocery. Miller immigrated to the US in July 1909, arriving at Detroit from Harrow in nearby Ontario. She appeared on the alien manifest as a school teacher, indicating she had no relatives in Harrow and was bound for Indianapolis. The archaeological context makes a fine-grained archaeology of Miller's individual experience seem challenging if not infeasible – the store operated for nearly a century during which a steady succession of store owners and their families discarded goods into the lot

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alongside many more neighbors and customers, leaving behind a complex strati-graphic jumble like that facing many urban archaeologists. Nevertheless, the material culture left in her store paints an illuminating picture of Miller's story and provides interesting mechanisms to position her within the broader society that aimed to deny her and other African-Americans most citizen rights.

In summer 2000, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis conducted excavations at the 1890–1969 corner store that was both home and workplace for Martha Miller from 1911 until 1928. The 800-square feet store sold a range of foods and assorted goods such as coal, and comparable little stores dotted the surrounding neighborhoods with nearly every corner punctuated by a similar market. The neighborhoods surrounding Miller's store on Camp Street were dominated by modest residences that fanned off Indiana Avenue, the central thoroughfare into the near-Westside and the city's Black business district from the late nineteenth century until the 1960s. Many near-Westside neighborhoods like Camp Street had been settled by White Hoosiers (the local term for Indiana-born residents) as well as a scatter of European immigrants, but in the late nineteenth century, the community became quickly segregated and predominately African-American. By the time Miller settled in Indianapolis around 1911, she found an overwhelmingly African-American neighborhood. Quite a few of Miller's neighbors along Camp Street were aspiring marketers, running all sorts of businesses including restaurants, bars, salons, and groceries. A scatter of coins at the Camp Street site provide particularly firm *terminus post quem* dating for yard deposits that are often notoriously difficult to date, and several features dating from the store's construction as well as its last moments long after Martha Miller's management provide archaeological material culture from most of the store's 80-year tenure.

The clearest insights into Miller's life come from some of the most apparently prosaic things in her assemblage. Among the items associated with her occupation of the store is an Afrocentric motif brooch depicting a woman of color in profile (Fig. 1). The brooch is rendered in a 1920's style that most clearly evokes the Harlem Renaissance's renewed interest in African cultural roots and aesthetics. However, jewelry like the Camp Street brooch also was popularized by African-American dancer Josephine Baker, and many Americans with no interest in African aesthetics consumed goods from the wave of pseudo-Egyptian King Tut material culture. Divining a consumer's motivation for wearing such a piece of jewelry is indeed complicated, as is attributing this particular brooch to Martha Miller, since it might have been discarded by any number of anonymous folks living in the neighborhood. Such challenges of attribution, though, are commonplace, and if an archaeology of individual agency is restricted simply to intentionality and absurdly well-preserved archaeological contexts, there will be very little historical archaeology can say about individual experiences. The challenges of attribution still allow for contextualization of the most likely symbolism for this object based on our understanding of the broader community in which that item was consumed. The brooch was a bold show of cultural distinction in any African-American consumer's hands, displaying conscious African roots while the likes of the Klan threatened residents' most basic citizen privileges. In Miller's hands, the brooch paints a picture

Fig. 1 Brooch depicting a woman of color in profile recovered at the Camp Street store

of her resisting marginalizing inequalities like racism and patriarchy, running a neighborhood business for nearly 20 years when few labor opportunities were open to women of color. Yet using a mass-produced trinket to embrace the Afrocentric sentiments of the Harlem Renaissance was somewhat counter to the New Negro movement's focus on folk art traditions, so seeing the brooch only as a symbol of racist resistance ignores how its very consumption embedded Martha Miller in an anti-Black consumer culture.

Contemporary historical archaeology paints a half-millennium canvas that is increasingly peopled by individuals like Martha Miller. Variously portrayed as idiosyncratic, thoughtful, goal-oriented, and self-empowered, archaeological subjects have come to look like complicated beings in the midst of dynamic worlds. Scholars have long contemplated individuals' positions and power within broader collectives, and a wide range of social scientists have advocated various approaches to elevate the prominence and interpretive visibility of individual agents (e.g., Ginzburg, 1993). It is not especially surprising that historical archaeology's fine-grained insight into everyday life has likewise complicated monolithic social collectives

and generalizations with the specificities of local and individual experience. Armed with detritus attributable to single households, assemblages that are often very tightly dated, and symbolically charged individual objects, historical archaeologists certainly have the capability to illuminate small-scale contexts and individual experiences. Much of the historical archaeology in this vein focuses on the interpretive force of things that seem inconsequential, like the Camp Street brooch (cf. Stewart-Abernathy, 1992; Orser, 1996; Mullins, 2001). Such scholarship typically aspires to counter deterministic interpretations that invest power in broadly defined processes or dominant collectives, placing more significance in social life at a local if not individual scale, rather than within an abstracted system (cf. Dornan, 2002:318–319).

Archaeological data provide exceptionally powerful evidence to illuminate unseen everyday agency, potentially revealing the contradictions in dominant ideology, the complexity concealed by normative subjectivities, and the utter fragmentation and fluidity of social life. Yet individual experience and the notion of individuality bring with them some profound interpretive challenges that can energize or doom an examination of life along the color line. One challenge revolves around the elevation of agency in forms that risk ignoring structure or simply do not distinguish between deterministic structuring influences and individuals' experiences. An archaeology of individual subjectivity and experience can very productively defy analytically defined "objective" social patterns by painting life as it is lived through contextually specific experience. Nevertheless, archaeology has routinely sought to simultaneously define broad patterns, even if they had no especially coherent articulation in individual consciousness and even if such patterns were the reflection of structural continuities instead of surprisingly similar individual actions.

We are unlikely to ever divine the symbolism Martha Miller attributed to her brooch, but we risk approaching material meaning as an isolated entity emanating from individuals if the brooch and similar discards are not seen primarily as social mechanisms negotiating dominant social structures and patterns. An archaeology of individuals' experiences certainly harbors interesting insight into the everyday world and the sheer irrationality of human life that is often hidden within analyses of broad social patterns. Yet even the most data-rich examination of an individual's life or some material moments mean little or nothing anthropologically if they are not clearly positioned within and against dominant structural influences, regardless of how those structural influences registered in everyday experience. Martha Miller's brooch is meaningless if it is not positioned within and against racial subjectivity and the persistent structural continuities of racism that are invested in particular classes and social collectives.

The other challenge posed by an archaeology of the individual is the ambiguous social meaning of individuality and the ways in which people positioned along the color line defined individuality in distinct forms. Individuality can be defined in a vast range of contextually specific forms that have an equally vast range of historical and contemporary political implications. For African-America, racial subjectivity has profoundly impacted the social meanings of individual and collective identity alike. The genuine citizen privileges linked to individuality have routinely been

denied to people of color through a variety of collective racist subjectifications that were persistently resisted. In 1933, for instance, African-American insurance executive and business champion C.C. Spaulding (1933:67) argued that "We must repel, with all our strength, the growing tendency to deny to the Negro individuality, to deny to us the right and privilege of rising, by force of character, personality, and intelligent application, above the average of our racial group." Spaulding sounded a familiar refrain that racism's monolithic caricatures of people of color hindered the advance of upwardly mobile Black individuals. For example, in 1902 a delegation of self-described "cultured, refined, and thrifty colored citizens" from Baltimore went to the Maryland General Assembly to protest the passage of a Jim Crow law segregating railroad cars. Their advocacy against racist codes was perhaps laudable, but they were clearly driven by their own self-interests. The group noted that the law seemed to unfairly wound "the more intelligent and self-respecting class of colored people" that they represented, instead of the "objectionable class" of African-Americans that needed such social disciplining (The Afro-American Ledger, 1902:4).

Class-interested complaints that collective racist identities held back individual progress were not always greeted with sympathy. Franklin Frazier (1957a) directed his ire toward social climbers and African-American business champions in his classic *Black Bourgeoisie*. Frazier argued that over the twentieth century, the African-American middle class willingly distanced itself from those African-American masses that Spaulding derided as the "average of our racial group" and the Maryland delegation lumped within the "objectionable class." Yet Frazier concluded that the African-American middle class ultimately remained unwelcome into broader White society as well as tragically alienated to their own heritage despite their embrace of dominant consumer ideals and social practices.

The complicated tension between individuality, citizen rights, and racial collectivity is a commonplace theme in African-American thought. Jeffersonian individualism held that rights were granted to individuals rather than groups, and at the end of the nineteenth century W.E.B. Du Bois pondered Jeffersonian individuality and African-American collectivity and challenged how individuality was projected onto race. Du Bois (1897:6) argued that Africans had been brought to America as collective captives, concluding that, "the history of the world is the history, not of individuals, but of groups, not of nations, but of races, and he who ignores or seeks to override the race idea in human history ignores and overrides the central thought of all history." Yet, while Du Bois cleverly dissected the complexity of individual and group identities in a racialized society, he also saw people of color trapped within a racial consciousness that thwarted identities outside racial subjectivity. Du Bois' famous notion of double consciousness examined the entrapment he believed was fostered by Black subjects' positioning between White and Black worlds ensnared in a racialized identity.

A more systematic archaeological focus on individuals might well illuminate the impression of racial ideology on individuality, but it could just as well efface race or produce an archaeology that has little objective political force. Poet June Jordan

(1992):15–16) raised the political effect of certain definitions of individuality when she argued that

> Beloved national myths about you and me as gloriously rugged, independent individuals pervade our consciousness. … The flipside of this delusional disease, this infantile and apparently implacable trust in mass individuality, is equally absurd, and destructive. Because every American one of us is different and special, it follows that every problem or crisis is exclusively our own, or, conversely, your problem – not mine.

Jordan illuminated how a focus on individuality risked posing societal problems as aberrant reflections of individuals' lives, forsaking a collective antiracist politics that acknowledges racism as a socially shared, structural feature of contemporary life. Franklin Frazier (1957b:291) sounded a similar note when he observed that "in most discussions of desegregation, there is an implicit assumption that Negroes are merely atomized individuals who have been excluded from full participation in the life of the White society." For Frazier, it was essential to examine the cultural and social complexities of African-American communities in order to fathom the everyday impact of racism in various African-Americans' lives. The challenge facing an archaeology of individuals along the color line will lie in how the newly visible individual changes archaeological interpretation in some way that emphasizes agency without ignoring structure or lapsing into assuming a universal individual with rationality, intentionality, and self-consciousness.

Some archaeologists seem reluctant to elevate race to the heart of analysis, making it one of many dimensions of identity that we each merge through a life's experience. This perspective is in part a reflection that systemic analyses hazard ignoring the many ways people lived in opposition to race and racism. Yet it also seems to reflect a broader sentiment among archaeologists that grand-scale social histories spin a rather demoralizing story of long-term social processes that have shackled everyday people into centuries of marginalization. For instance, Lauren Cook, Rebecca Yamin, and John McCarthy (1996:55) champion a historical archaeology that will supplant "the simplistic idea that mass consumption is merely the manifestation of an alienated populace being manipulated by capitalist interests." Archaeologies of capitalism are indeed invested in large-scale if not worldwide analyses of patterns, and when local case studies are not cleverly written into those studies they risk overinflating the deterministic power of dominant socioeconomic processes. Still, it seems infeasible to separate the African-American experience of fashioning individual subjectivity from racial ideology that inevitably shaped all Black identity. Black individuality has been cast in many terms, but they rarely strip individualism from race. This has yielded many different senses of Black individuality and collective social identity alike, but few have ignored the complicated relationship between race, individuality, and collectivity.

Consumption scholarship often makes a strong case for the self-determination of shopping and the empowering implications of materiality, and this makes an interesting union with historical archaeology's focus on households and even individual scales. Since the 1980s, consumption theory has often stressed the symbolism of end users, a scholarly maneuver that de-emphasizes dominant economic processes and places newfound power in consumers. The first anthropological volley in this

literature was fired by Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood's 1978 study *The World of Goods*, which leveled a critique on economic determinism and argued for a systematic understanding of how objects created cultural order in the hands of consumers. As the interest in consumption spread across disciplinary boundaries, the freedom of consumers to fabricate the world in mundane and consequential forms alike became an increasingly prominent theme, but not all scholars have considered shopping especially emancipatory. Frederic Jameson (1984, 1991), for instance, focuses on the notion of pastiche in postmodernism and accords it a central role in contemporary consumption. In Jameson's vision, consumers cannibalize a range of historic styles and combine them in ever-unfolding ensembles. For Jameson these shifting postmodern styles are increasingly private and distinct to a group, mirroring a broader tendency toward social fragmentation in which style is utterly idiosyncratic. Jameson's analysis clearly foregrounds the individual variability in contemporary consumption, but he is not at all optimistic about the political impact of such consumption. Jameson argues that this sort of style cobbled together by small collectives and even individuals is divorced from its historical origins, rejecting any clear comparison to or critique of a broader social norm and absence of political import.

Yet where Jameson approaches this with somewhat dystopian sentiments, other scholars have seen this process of fabricating the material world in individually idiosyncratic ways as empowering if not liberating. For example, A. Fuat Firat and Allad Venkatesh (1995:254) argue that the postmodern fragmentation of consumer meaning should be interpreted as an emancipatory maneuver in opposition to the totalizing logic of the market. In the face of overwhelming global markets that aspire to define identity as unified, monolithic, and objectively real, consumers are constantly restructuring their identities and escaping totalizing identities (cf. Giesler and Pohlmann, 2003). However, most of the scholarship examining such decentered subjectivity examines contemporary consumption and is focused on especially sensational contexts like Las Vegas and Disneyland (Baudrillard, 1996) or distinctive social collectives like club cultures (e.g., Muggleton, 1997). The politics of early twenty-first century ravers and the crowds at Space Mountain make for a difficult parallel to most of the subjects of historical archaeology, and the postmodern individual being contested in contemporary consumption literature does not seem easily transportable to most historical contexts.

Historical archaeology has provided a receptive audience to the notion that consumption is empowering, and the identities painted in historical archaeology have fragmented subjectivity into increasingly dynamic forms that routinely resist or even ignore domination. What constitutes that "empowerment" can vary quite a lot from one study to the next, with self-determination and empowerment painted somewhat vaguely or implicitly, but it typically invokes conscious or at least unrecognized consumer defiance of dominant meanings. Throughout this archaeological scholarship, consumers typically favor alternative symbolisms for things that reflect their identities or contextually specific inequalities. This is construed as resistance to dominant norms by most archaeologists, though the specific dimensions of those norms – exactly what is being resisted and what

constitutes the "authentic" material meanings that are being resisted – are often strategically ignored.

Most of the archaeological studies of empowerment tend to focus on small collectives or households, so it accommodates an archaeology of individuality quite neatly. Since excavations are often focused on discrete households, historical archaeologists have fashioned a rich scholarship focused on the finest everyday life details among otherwise anonymous households. In some ways, this follows the lead of microhistories that focus on previously unrecognized folks and intensively probe the details of their lives (cf. Ginzburg, 1993; Lepore, 2001:3). The scholarship that dubs itself or could be considered microhistory is reasonably broad, but it typically focuses on the most commonplace folks with the assumption that their lives provide a reflection of the broader issues shaping many other hitherto undocumented people. However, the degree to which a microhistorical study can persuasively illuminate broader social history can vary considerably from one context to the next depending on the case study data and the specific issues that scholars hope to indirectly examine (cf. Gregory, 1999:107). The same caveat would seem to hold true for an archaeology of individuality.

African-American thinkers have long celebrated the empowering potential of consumption, often arguing that African-America's collective materialism could defuse racist stereotypes. In 1907, for instance, Booker T. Washington (1907:19–20) optimistically championed African-American marketing, arguing that

> "More and more thoughtful students of the race problem are beginning to see that business and industry constitute what we may call the strategic points in its solution. These fundamental professions we are able to occupy not only without resistance but even with encouragement, and from them we shall gradually advance to all the rights and privileges which any class of citizens enjoy. It is in business and industry that I see the brightest and most hopeful phases of the race situation to-day."

Washington believed that assuming the socially condoned roles of merchants, laborers, and consumers would demonstrate African-America's suitability to full citizen rights and compel the end of racist exclusivity, and this sentiment was embraced in Indianapolis. Richard Pierce (1995) has referred to the city's somewhat marked African-American conservatism as "polite protest," arguing that African-Americans in Indianapolis favored civil discourse against racism that involved negotiation between Whites and African Americans within the city's existing power structure. This civility and fulfillment of ordained social and labor roles was intended to prevent White antagonism that many African-Americans believed would come from confrontational protest.

A vast volume of historical archaeology confirms that many African-Americans were deeply invested in post-Emancipation consumer culture, at least in the sense that African-Americans were consumers, but archaeologists have rarely asked why African-Americans consciously embraced consumption. Jamie Brandon and James Davidson (2005:124–125) excavated an Ozarks site with both antebellum and postbellum features, and in comparing those features they found a distinct difference in the postbellum landscape and goods that suggested African-Americans saw consequential rights in post-Emancipation consumption. The antebellum feature

was dominated by architectural artifacts and kitchen essentials, but the postbellum assemblage was graced by a significant volume of mass-produced goods, including a sizable sample of toys. Brandon and Davidson recognize that Reconstruction transformations delivered more goods to these and other Southern households, but this purely functional assessment of market availability does not address why African-American consumers purchased these specific things. Brandon and Davidson argue that these newly freed African-Americans saw consumption of apparent "nonessentials" as a mechanism to "assert their humanity and equality." They argue that such consumption defied racism's effort to deny goods and consumer rights to African-America.

An archaeology truly focused on individual experience would paint the most persuasive possible picture of the factors that moved these consumers to secure these specific things. Perhaps there is some evidence to illuminate the favor for toys and the effort to shield African-America's first free generation from the material inequality of captivity, but this is a complicated question to resolve. However, just as with Martha Miller's brooch, the most significant dimensions of consumption are not the conscious motivations behind purchase but instead the ways in which the consumption of particular things positioned specific consumers in relation to a broader social and material backdrop. An archaeology of individuality is potentially most powerful when it addresses the cumulative effects of otherwise isolated agency and does not stop at simply recognizing agency, illuminating idiosyncrasy, and acknowledging the symbolic power of things (cf. Lightfoot and Martinez, 1995:477). The African-American embrace of consumption was perhaps not primarily an embrace of the power of things in individual African-American consumers' hands; rather, it was a recognition of the rights inherent in consumption and collectively denied to African-America. This paints consumption as resistance to racism in much the way Booker T. Washington envisioned. However, the political hope invested in consumption's liberatory potential and its genuine capacity to secure an African-American citizen foothold were often overinflated and misplaced.

Perhaps the most articulate critic of African-American consumption was Franklin Frazier, whose 1957 classic *Black Bourgeoisie* virulently attacked African-American middle-class materialism. After World War II, Frazier hoped that wartime sentiments for class and color equity would encourage a new society-wide push for racial equality, but he was instead profoundly dismayed by a post-war assault on civil liberties and the role materialism and the middle class played in racial inequality. Frazier's (1957a:234) *Black Bourgeoisie* launched a devastating critique of the hope African-Americans invested in entrepreneurialism, arguing that "'Negro business,' which has no significance in the American economy, has become a social myth embodying the aspirations of this [Black bourgeoisie] class." *Black Bourgeoisie* directed much of Frazier's vitriol toward African-American materialism, which he argued effaced cultural traditions and a long heritage of political struggle in the service of cultural as well as economic assimilation (Gaines, 2005:513). Frazier (1957a:81) argued that from the turn of the century onward an African-American middle class had embraced conspicuous consumption

that saw respectability as "a matter of the external marks of a high standard of living." According to Frazier (1957a:83), the Black bourgeoisie's "interest was in automobiles, furniture, and household appliances, the same values as the rising White middle class." Frazier argued that in the utterly model embrace of dominant materialist values, these African-Americans "gave the impression of being super-Americans" (Frazier, 1957a:83).

Some African-Americans did advocate a sort of assimilation at the turn of the century, with Washington perhaps the most visible proponent of an African-American entrance into American society based on demonstrated contributions to that society. At the end of the Civil War, African-America had been swept by optimism that racism would be defeated through legislative fiat, but the collapse of Reconstruction witnessed a renewed entrenchment of racism as it found its way into Jim Crow law and a broader body of socially condoned racism. In the midst of increasing segregation, many African-Americans directed their aspirations toward entrepreneurship as they became increasingly disappointed by and suspicious of partisan politics.

In Indianapolis, many newcomers settled in neighborhoods around Indiana Avenue, which became the central thoroughfare in African-American Indianapolis and was home to an ever-expanding number of African-American enterprises ranging from restaurants to theaters to grocery stores. None of these merchants was more visible than C. J. Walker, whose beauty products and salons were the foundation for one of nation's most profitable and prominent African-American enterprises. Walker is often celebrated as the prototypical American dream story, rising from poverty and hardship to affluence with a combination of perseverance, ingenuity, and hard work. Walker herself suggested in 1917 that "If I have accomplished anything in life it is because I have been willing to work hard. …. I got my start by giving myself a start" (*New York Times*, 1917:SM4).

Walker's own clever appropriation of the ideological value of "hard work" belied the structural challenges placed before her and other African-American entrepreneurs, especially women. While a network of local churches and social service agencies lauded entrepreneurship and advocated genteel social discipline, about 60% of Indianapolis' African-American male heads of household were performing unskilled manual labor on the eve of World War I, with most African-American women working in domestic service through World War II (Pierce, 2005:93). Exasperated with everyday inequality, Walker herself left Indianapolis in 1916 leaving behind her factory but moving to New York where she remained until her death in 1919 (Bundles, 2001:169). Indianapolis had a nineteenth-century heritage of integration in many public institutions, though, so even in the face of increasing twentieth-century racism some historically deep-seated social bonds reached across the color line and provided genuine Indianapolis alliances between Whites and Blacks. In 1904, an African-American businessman in Indianapolis even told journalist Ray Stannard Baker (1973:228–229) that the absence of racism in Indianapolis actually *hurt* African-American enterprise. This anonymous entrepreneur told Baker that "The trouble here is … that there is not enough prejudice against us.… We are still clinging too much to the skirts of the White man. When you hate us more it will drive us together and make us support coloured enterprises."

There were some significant similarities between the aspirations of African-American entrepreneurs and their neighbors that reflect the common social and material conditions marketers negotiated along and across the color line. Before Martha Miller managed the store on Camp Street, Mary and William Smith established and ran the same store, and their entrepreneurial route was much like those of many of the African-Americans who later followed them at the same corner business. Both Mary and William were born in Indiana and came to Indianapolis from rural Owen County in the 1880s. The Smiths settled on Camp Street and followed a typical entrepreneurial tactic of living on the premises of a small corner store with the hopes of saving enough money to move into a better location and secure a larger stock. The Smiths began managing the Camp Street store in 1892, which Mary likely ran on an everyday basis while William continued to sell goods on the streets as a huckster. Throughout the 1890s, William appeared in the city directory under a variety of descriptions for a street peddler, including salesman, traveling agent, and canvasser, while Mary appeared throughout the decade as a grocer. A metal city-issued license dated 1897 was recovered in archaeological excavation, providing an interesting confirmation that Smith was peddling goods on the street in the late-nineteenth century. Like most small grocers, when the Smiths secured some economic stability in 1899, they moved to a better location on Indiana Avenue, leaving the store to another small entrepreneur climbing the same mercantile ladder. Those later entrepreneurs, though, were African-Americans hoping to climb the marketing ladder even as they must have understood the profound barriers that were erected before them.

Racialized Individuality

Seemingly suffocated by systemic models that ignore most small-scale agency and eager to defuse the specter of an all-encompassing capitalist economy, historical archaeologists have embraced a variety of conceptual frameworks meant to focus our interpretation on everyday life. Agency theories, consumption models, micro-historical scales, and individuality have all been deployed in an effort to stress the active roles of scattered people in shaping broad historical currents, defying domination, and blazing the path of their own lives. Yet individuality has often been posed in a rather mechanical formulation that stresses autonomy and intentionality, which risks ignoring profound social and structural influences on individual agency. Agency is essential to any interpretation of African-American experience, but consumers were positioned along lines of color, class, and region that provided many different structural experiences of materialism and agency, so it is critical to assess how individual agency was shaped within particular contexts (cf. Wurst and McGuire, 1999:192–193).

Archaeologists can develop thoughtful ways to interpret individual intentionality, but we risk ignoring how and why certain forms of individuality come into existence; in American historical archaeology, we hazard ignoring the racialization

of all social and individual identity. If archaeology does not clearly confront the impression of racism, it risks imposing an utterly ideological notion of individuality that ignores genuine structural determinism in a misplaced effort to celebrate the meaningfulness of everyday life. Racism is a fundamental structural element of post-Columbian capitalist societies, so the question is how individual agents negotiated this and comparable systemic ideologies that shaped their everyday lives. It does not caricature the human condition to argue that these dominant systemic features structured all life, and in fact in many ways the assertive and reflective linking of individual lives and dominant structures makes diverse negotiations of persistent racism that much more meaningful. Yet if we want to interpret objects like Martha Miller's brooch, they must be consciously situated within a structural context that does not simply approach Miller's motivations and decision-making as utterly independent of class, color, and patriarchal ideologies.

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