Community Formation and the Development of a British-Atlantic Identity in the Chesapeake: An Archaeological and Historical Study of the Tobacco Pipe Trade in the Potomac River Valley ca. 1630-1730

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Lauren Kathleen McMillan
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Abstract

Trade in goods, and the exchange of information and ideas that resulted, was the backbone and lifeblood of the Chesapeake colonies. Through these formal and informal interactions colonists formed personal and community relationships that defined many aspects of life in 17th-century Virginia and Maryland. Marked or decorated imported clay tobacco pipes and locally-produced mold-made tobacco pipes are one of the most tangible pieces of evidence of these relationships and are the main focus of this study. By combining archaeological and documentary records, the multiple interaction spheres in which residents from 16 archaeological sites in the Potomac River Valley were engaged from 1630 to 1730 are studied to examine the impacts of politics and conflict on trade and exchange. The overarching questions that guide this study of local and trans-oceanic trade are: How did colonists on the periphery use material culture to negotiate their new place within the early modern world, their integration within the Atlantic World, their participation in the emerging capitalist world-system, and ultimately, how did their actions on the periphery help shape the formation of an 18th-century British-Atlantic identity? The formation of social networks based on the trade of goods and the exchange of information at the local, regional, trans-Atlantic, trans-ethnic, and trans-national levels helped Chesapeake settlers establish a new colonial society; a society with foundations not only rooted in English culture, laws, and mores, but one that was also heavily influenced by interactions with new groups of people. While the colonists encountered many different groups of people, all of whom contributed to the formation of this new society, I will specifically trace Anglo-Dutch interactions and discuss the influence of political and economic ideologies from the Netherlands on Chesapeake culture. The creolization process was not the same for everyone, and the adoption of a multiscalar , micro-historical approach allows for a discussion of trade at the household,

community, regional, and Atlantic levels and determine why individuals chose to interact with specific people or groups. These differences speak to agency and consumer choice, rather than pure economic or geographic constraints.

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Chapter 1 : Introduction

It was a warm September day in 1647 as John Hallowes stood up from digging the deep, square hole that would hold one of the foundation posts for his new house on Currioman Bay. He had recently resettled in the colony of Virginia and was looking forward to his new-found freedom out from under the watchful eye of the Proprietary government across the river. As Hallowes stood there smoking, pondering his new life, he looked down at his pipe and reflected on the decoration applied by the maker around the bowl and along the juncture of the little ladle. The pipe reminded him of the failed uprising of the year before and the men he had bonded with in the trenches of Pope's Fort. One of their companions had made this pipe, and several like it, in the fort during the year of the Plundering Time. Hallowes and his friend Thomas Speke took several of those pipes with them when they left Maryland, sailed across the Potomac River, and chose land near the Matchotic village, intending to cultivate a trading relationship with the Indians. He was glad his old ally Speke was just a short boat-ride away and hoped their friendship and partnership would continue in their new community.

Deep in thought, Hallowes dropped his pipe, smashing the bowl in half. Upset not over the loss of the pipe, that was easily replaced, but the loss of the fine sotweed, he kicked the broken remains of the bowl into the hole that he had just excavated. As Hallowes walked over to his bag to retrieve a new pipe, he considered the bargains he had struck to obtain each one.

He could choose the fine white one decorated with flowers that he purchased from Abraham Jansen. The Dutchman had some interesting ideas about politics and liberty that Hallowes wanted to hear more about, but first, he had to make good on his agreement to pay the merchant for his last purchase with his first crop of tobacco and a number of deer skins. This thought reminded him of the brown pipe with the deer on the bowl made in the nearby Matchotic

village. He had mixed feelings about the deer decoration that was so popular among the local Indians; the decoration brought to mind both his past in England, where he would never have been allowed to hunt the antlered beast, and his future in Virginia, where he planned to make his fortune partially through the trade of their skins. He had not really needed the pipe at the time, but he hoped that by bartering for several of the pipes now, the Indians would remain friendly and more likely to trade with him again in the future. Hallowes was still surprised that the Susquehannock Indians of Kent Island continued to exchange goods with him after his participation in the 1635 raid on their villages.

In the end, he decided that he would drink a bit of smoke using one of the multicolored pipes from the Lynnhaven settlement in the southern part of the colony. Hallowes had always been partial to the elaborately decorated ones and the pipes made in the Puritan community reminded him why he had left Catholic-controlled Maryland, hoping to prosper without the interference of the government, here in the colonies or from across the seas.

Although there is no way of knowing John Hallowes' true memories imagined in the above vignette, there is tangible evidence of the social, political, and economic ties presented and of the events in his life that were referenced. Archaeological and historical sources used to analyze the remains of his 1647-1681 fortified earthfast home in Westmoreland County provide a nuanced and detailed interpretation of his life in Virginia (Figure 1.1; Hatch et al. 2013, 2014; McMillan et al. 2014; McMillan 2015). While it is unlikely that all of the pipes mentioned above (Figure 1.2, Figure 1.3, Figure 1.4, Figure 1.5, Figure 1.6) were in use at the time of Hallowes' arrival in Virginia, there is strong archaeological evidence that the pipe Hallowes was initially smoking in the vignette that was broken and discarded into the post hole did come with him from

Maryland. At least one, if not several, examples of each of the pipes described above were recovered from the John Hallowes site (44WM6).

Each of these pipe types, whether made in the Chesapeake or imported from Europe, provides supporting evidence of alliances gleaned from the documentary evidence and reveals connections, behaviors, and ideologies only implied or completely invisible in historical records. By combining the archaeological and documentary records from 16 sites in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley (Figure 1.7, Table 1.1), the formation of a Potomac River Valley community and of a British-Atlantic identity among free members of Chesapeake society at the household, community, and regional levels can be traced through the trade of goods and exchange of information.

Through formal and informal interactions that resulted in the exchange of not just goods, but also information, colonists formed personal and community relationships that defined many aspects of life in the Chesapeake colonies. Marked or decorated imported clay tobacco pipes and locally-produced mold-made tobacco pipes are one of the most tangible pieces of evidence of these relationships and will be the main focus of this study. This dissertation examines the impact of politics and conflict on trade and exchange in the English colonies of Virginia and Maryland during the first century of European settlement using archaeological and historical evidence. The multiple interaction spheres in which residents from 16 archaeological sites in the Potomac River Valley were engaged from 1630 to 1730 will be studied to discuss the development of distinct colonial communities, the introduction of the capitalist world-system in the Chesapeake colonies, and the formation of a British-Atlantic identity.

Archaeology of Trade, Community Formation, and the Development of the British Atlantic

There are two main research goals of this dissertation. The first seeks to understand the

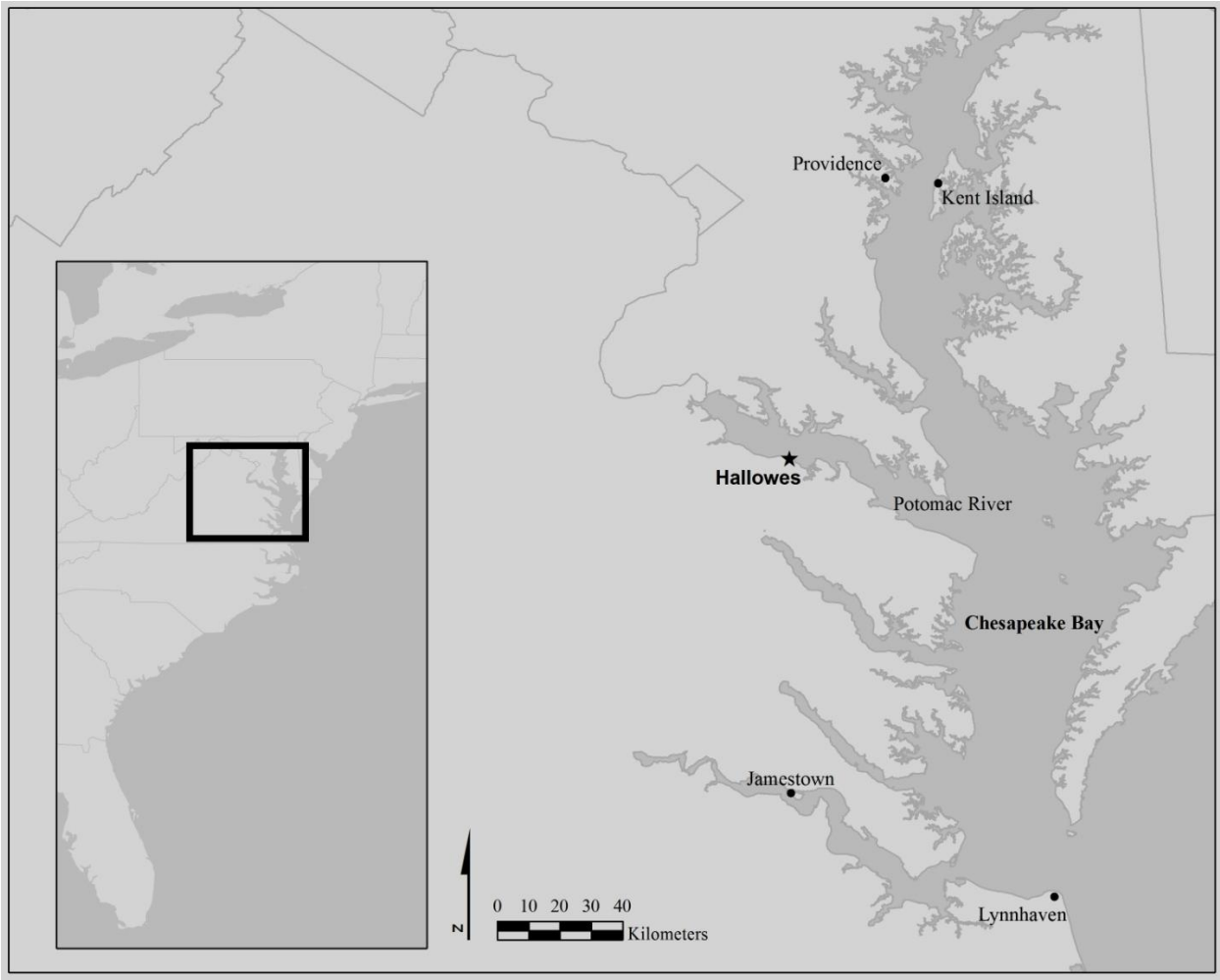

Figure 1.1: Location of the John Hallowes site in the Chesapeake Bay Region. Map by Andrew Wilkins.

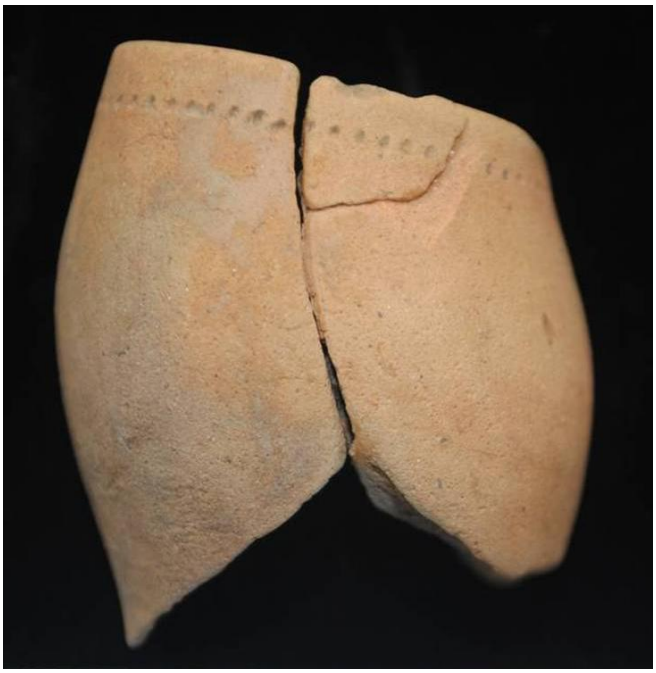

Figure 1.2: Locally-made pipe bowl found in a post hole at the John Hallowes site (44WM6). Photo by the author 2011. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Figure 1.3: Dutch pipe stem from the John Hallowes site (44WM6). Photo by the author 2011. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Figure 1.4: Algonquian-style running deer pipe bowl from the John Hallowes site (44WM6). Photo by the author 2011. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Figure 1.5: Susquehannock-style ribbed pipe stem from the John Hallowes site (44WM6). Photo by the author 2011. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Figure 1.6: Agatized pipe fragments manufactured in Lynnhaven, Virginia from the John Hallowes site (44WM6). Photo by the author 2011. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

formation of communities based on social, political, religious, and economic connections as evidenced by local and regional trade networks. The second goal seeks to trace the introduction of the modern world system into the Chesapeake and the development of the British-Atlantic World. Clay tobacco pipes will be the main sources of evidence used to accomplish both goals.

This dissertation engages with a variety of historical, archaeological, and anthropological perspectives to study trade and exchange in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley. Archaeologists have approached the topics of trade and exchange in a variety of ways, from early- 20th-century diffusion models to neo-evolutionary ideas that trade is a cultural adaptation, to the post-processual concept of exchange as a social and symbolic interaction (Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010).This project adopts the latter perspective. Using the Atlantic approach (Armitage 2002; Hatfield 2004; Greene and Morgan 2008) this dissertation will discuss the Chesapeake as one interconnected part of the larger Atlantic World, not an isolated place on the periphery. Drawing from several theoretical perspectives, my discussion of trade and exchange will be viewed through the lens of world-systems analysis and modifications to Wallerstein's (1973) original perspective (Hall 2000a, 2000b; Stein 2002; Orser 2009; Hall et al. 2010). The choices occupants on each site made regarding pipe consumption will be used to interrogate individuals' agency and their relationship to the structure of the emerging British Empire (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1979, 1984; Johnson 2000; Gardner 2002, 2004, 2008). Pipes will be discussed for both their tangible economic value and their social-symbolic significance.

Drawing on Lorena Walsh's definition of community in the 17th-century Chesapeake, I will trace the connections of people who shared a common way of life through "collective economic and social action" (Walsh 1988:201). Communities were not restricted to colonies, counties, or neighborhoods; instead, communities are defined here as groups of people who

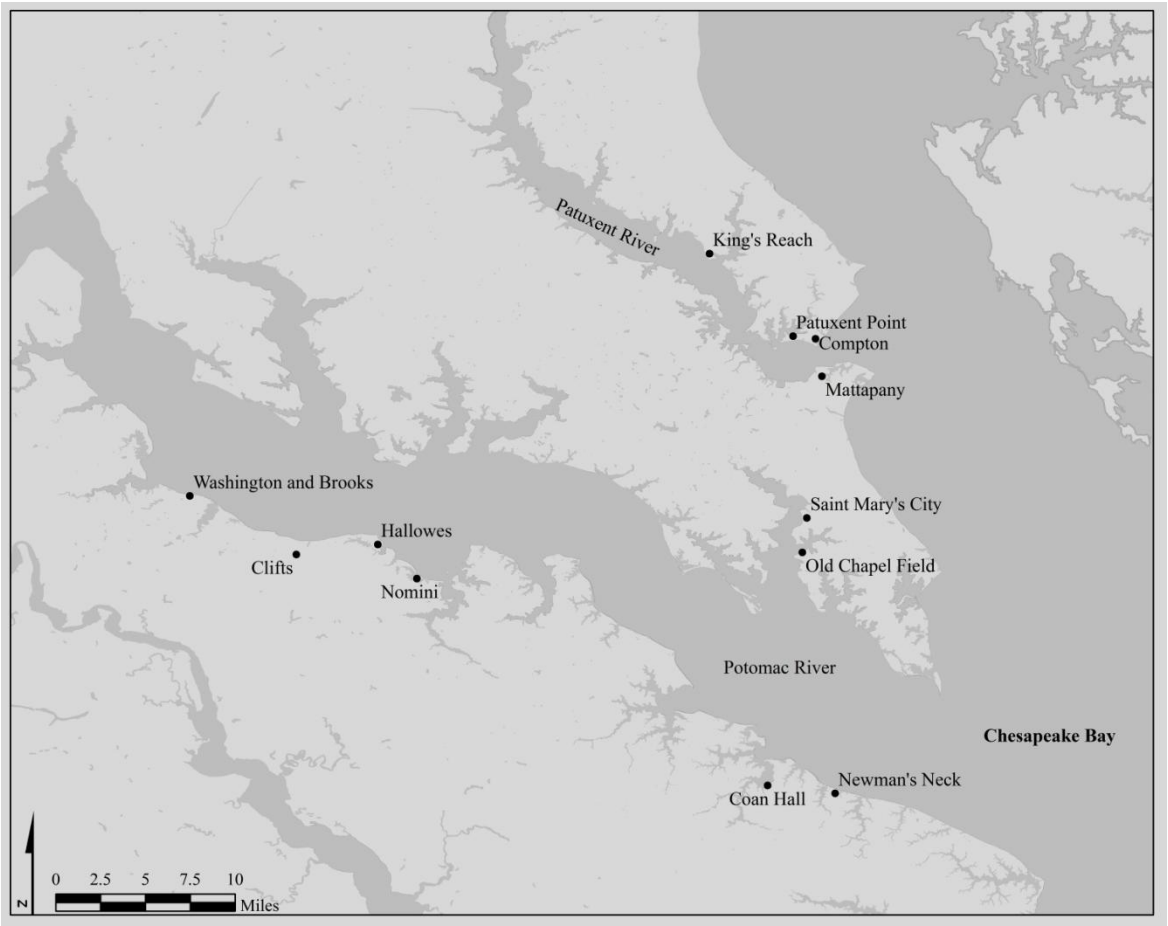

Figure 1.7: Location of sites within the Potomac River Valley*. Map by Andrew Wilkins.

***Note: Four sites (St. John's, Pope's Fort, Smith's Ordinary, and the Big Pit site) are located in St. Mary's City**

Table 1.1: List of Sites, Location, Dates, and Number of Pipes Used.

Site	Location	Date	Imported	Local
Old Chapel Field (18ST233)	Maryland	1637-1660	5	2
St. John's (18ST1-23)	Maryland	1638-1715	356	30
Pope's Fort (18ST1-13)	Maryland	1645-1655	61	47
Hallowes (44WM6)	Virginia	1647-1681	21	13
Nomini (44WM12)	Virginia	1647-1722	315	7
Compton (18CV279)	Maryland	1651-1685	84	4
Patuxent Point (18CV271)	Maryland	1658-1690	51	13
Coan Hall (44NB11)	Virginia	1662-1727	12	1
Mattapany (18ST390)	Maryland	1663-1689	25	0
John Washington (44WM204)	Virginia	1664-1704	50	2
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13)	Maryland	1666-1678	90	2
Big Pit (18ST1-13)	Maryland	1669-1670	91	0
Clifts Plantation (44WM33)	Virginia	1670-1730	322	0
Newman's Neck (44NB180)	Virginia	1672-1747	8	0
King's Reach (18CV83)	Maryland	1690-1711	32	0
Henry Brooks (44WM205)	Virginia	1700-1725	3	0

chose to interact with one another despite geographic distance based on shared social, religious, and political ideas. Michael Jarvis argues that communities in 17th- and 18th-century Bermuda formed through "sustained social and economic interaction" and members "bonded through adversity and shared struggle" (Jarvis 2010:44). Similar developments occurred in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley through exchange networks and shared participation, or at least sympathy, in political struggles. Locally-made pipes and a detailed documentary history of each site is used to trace these network connections. I will explore social and political affiliations of each of the sites' residents by performing a micro-historical, contextualized analysis of each of the archaeological sites where they lived.

Several scholars have argued that a shared British identity developed around the Atlantic World in the first decades of the 18th century, after England had adopted many Dutch traits such as religious tolerance, a national banking system, free trade, and liberty for the individual (Haley 1988:183-195; Armitage 2000; Pestana 2004; Games 2008; Pincus 2009; Koot 2011, 2014; Hartman and Westeign 2013). David Armitage (2000:167) argues that the "association of religious and civil liberty with freedom of trade became an enduring ideological foundation of the British Empire" (see also Greene 1998). Jan Hartman and Arthur Weststeijn (2013:25) state that Britain's new political economy that resulted from the explicit link between liberty and free trade "was clearly indebted to the Dutch."

The Dutch and English adopted differing philosophies on the ownership of the sea during the 17th century. While they both believed that it was their destiny, and God's will, that they become sea powers, they differed on how this would be accomplished (de Pauw 1965; Haley 1988:63; Armitage 2000:107-119; Pincus 2012). Seventeenth-century Dutch culture emphasized free trade, specifically m*are liberum*, or "freedom of the seas," and the concept of "liberty of

conscience," or the idea that the individual, not the government or church, makes decisions regarding human beliefs and behaviors (Grotius 1608; de Witt 1688; Haley 1988; Israel 1994; Cruz 2008:19-20). These concepts regarding liberty and free trade were directly linked to the rise of the Netherlands as the first modern economy; if not a full blown capitalistic state, it was a least the first nation with capitalistic tendencies (Wallerstein 1973:214; de Vries and van der Woude 1997:690; Appleby 2010:54; Hartman and Weststeijn 2013). Dutch concepts of free trade are directly juxtaposed to early English mercantilist policies that emphasized restricted trade and *mare clausem* or "closed seas" (Selden 1663; McCusker and Menard 1985; Haley 1988; Armitage 2000; Pincus 2009). Under this system, Englishmen could only trade with other Englishmen. These ideas of restricted trade led to the passage of a series of laws known as the Navigation Acts starting in 1651. The purpose of the Navigation Acts was to eliminate the Dutch in English colonies and increase revenue in England by restricting with whom colonists could trade and where their products could be exported (McCusker and Menard 1985:35-47; Leng 2005:933-935).

In this dissertation, I demonstrate that some Chesapeake colonists had adopted Dutch economic ideology in the mid-17th century. The colonists were arguing for free trade and liberty, and particularly the connection of these two ideas, decades before these concepts became metropolitan policy; colonial ideals helped stimulate debates within the empire, ultimately leading to changes in imperial practices. Imported pipes that were manufactured in England and the Netherlands are used to determine which English colonists engaged in intensive interactions with Dutch merchants in the early 17th century, prior to the passage of the Navigation Acts, and who was choosing to trade illegally with the Dutch after the strict mercantilist laws were enacted. Pipes that date from the early-18th century will show that Chesapeake colonists had abandoned

merchants from the Netherlands for Dutch-inspired British traders, demonstrating the formation of a shared British-Atlantic identity.

Historical and archaeological evidence indicates that merchants from the Netherlands and English colonists in the Chesapeake traded extensively during the first half of the 17th century. These trans-national commercial activities prior to 1651 were the principle conduits by which Dutch ideas spread throughout the region. Commodities did not cross international borders alone. Values and ideas, specifically Dutch concepts of trade, also spread with goods into the Chesapeake, influencing the way that the colonists understood their place within the early modern world, specifically regarding political economy and the individual's participation within the system.

While English colonists in 17th-century Virginia and Maryland had not adopted full blown capitalism, the roots of a capitalistic culture can be traced to the middle of the century, and are directly linked to the considerable interactions that occurred between Dutch merchants and Chesapeake settlers. This new system emphasized an individual's profit over the good of the nation-state and the ability, or at least the desire, by merchants and planters to sway political policy in their favor. Some colonists appropriated these concepts and used them during the second half of the 17th century to resist mercantilist policies, specifically the Navigation Acts, and to advocate for less government control in more direct ways, such as through armed rebellion. However, not all Anglo-colonial settlers in the 17th-century Chesapeake chose to trade with the Dutch or adopted their free trade policies; instead, their identities were shaped by shared experiences on the British Isles and continued interaction with English merchants after immigrating to the New World. These differences are explored at the household level of analysis, using archaeological and historical sources of evidence.

Statement of Purpose

In this dissertation I argue that Chesapeake colonists on the periphery of the Atlantic World had adopted social and political ideologies associated with the new cultural and economic system of capitalism in the middle of the 17th-century decades before the English imperial government in the core implemented these policies. Dutch merchants introduced concepts regarding free trade and liberty to the Chesapeake through the direct trade of goods and exchange of information. Several local and regional communities arose in the middle of the 17th century in the Potomac River Valley partially as a result of these new ideological perspectives that emphasized the rights of individuals to oppose absolutist government intrusion in their lives. Colonists protested both imperial policies that restricted their rights to free trade and Chesapeake proprietary government interference in their day to day activities, including an individual's ability to engage in local exchange networks.

These constraints placed on colonists by local and imperial governments led to a series of armed conflicts that resulted in several episodes of intercolonial migration between Maryland and Virginia. Local social and exchange networks helped create and maintain communities of like-minded individuals who held similar political views, but were not necessarily in close geographic proximity to one another. These community connections can be traced through an examination of material culture, and specifically, the distribution of clay tobacco pipes. These mid-17th-century communities that developed as a direct result of conflict related to tensions between ideological concepts surrounding the rights of individuals slowly broke down after absolutist forms of government, both in the core and in the periphery, were removed from power. By the turn of the 18th century, the small rebel communities disappeared and a Potomac River Valley identity formed based on shared commercial interests related to the oronoco tobacco

economy. At the same time, the Potomac River Valley, and the Chesapeake more broadly, were incorporated into the British-Atlantic World through a shared identity with ideological foundations rooted in religious and civil liberty and rights to free trade.

The overarching questions that guide the study of local and trans-oceanic trade in this dissertation are: How did conflict, politics, trans-Atlantic, and trans-national trade affect the formation of communities within early Potomac River Valley society? How did these communities in the Potomac River Valley, based on political alliances and regional trade networks, help individual colonists and members of specific social or political groups confront, resist, or conform to imperial mercantilist policies imposed by England to restrict free trade? What factors led colonists to choose to trade illegally or within the bounds of the law? Are there any correlations between local trade networks and colonial involvement in illicit trans-Atlantic Dutch trade? These questions touch on the broader problem of how colonists on the periphery used material culture to negotiate their new place within the early modern world, their integration within the Atlantic World, and their participation in the emerging capitalist world-system. Ultimately, this study contributes to an understanding of how actions on the periphery helped to shape the formation of an 18th-century British-Atlantic identity.

In this dissertation, I argue that the formation of social networks based on the trade of goods and the exchange of information at the local, regional, trans-Atlantic, trans-ethnic, and trans-national levels helped Chesapeake settlers establish a new colonial society with foundations rooted in English culture, laws, and mores, but one that was heavily influenced by interactions with new groups of people. While the colonists encountered many different groups of people, all of whom contributed to the formation of this new society, I specifically trace Anglo-Dutch interactions in the Potomac River Valley and discuss the influence of political and

economic ideologies from the Netherlands on Chesapeake culture. I argue that the ideas surrounding the individual and trade introduced into the Chesapeake through intensive and prolonged contact with Dutch traders were used by some colonists to integrate into the early modern world and the capitalist world-system, while others rejected those ideas, choosing to negotiate their place within the Atlantic World and imperial system through shared English customs. Eventually, by the early 18th century, the tensions between these two methods were resolved with the formation of a broad British-Atlantic identity after metropolitan policy, stimulated by the crowning of the Dutchman William of Orange in 1688, incorporated many of the ideals some Chesapeake colonists had already adopted.

I explore ideologies considered by the Dutch to form the foundations of their culture and economic prosperity, specifically *mare liberum* and liberty of conscience, and examine how those ideas permeated and influenced Chesapeake colonial thought. Both the historical and archaeological records demonstrate exchanges of information regarding these differences in economic philosophy between Chesapeake colonists and English and Dutch traders in the form of letters and government records and tangible artifacts that speak to the behaviors of the colonists. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688/89 and the ascension of the Dutch prince William of Orange to the English throne, English, and then British, economic policy heavily integrated Dutch ideas into the empire's trade strategy (Haley 1988; Armitage 2000; Pincus 2009; Wallerstein 2011:246, 279; Hartman and Westeign 2013). Archaeological evidence also reveals colonial acceptance of a new British-Atlantic identity.

The creolization process in the Chesapeake was not the same for everyone, and by adopting a multiscalar approach to the study of the Potomac River Valley, I will discuss differences in trade choices and social connections among the English colonists during the first

century of settlement. A multiscalar study of the Potomac River Valley will allow me to discuss trade at the household, community, regional, and Atlantic levels, determine why individuals chose to interact with specific people or groups, and explore differences among the colonists. These differences speak to agency and consumer choice, rather than pure economic or geographic constraints. Individual actions and histories played key roles in these decisions regarding trade networks and alliances.

Significance

The significance of this project comes not just from the exploration of trade at several different levels, but from its use of several lines of evidence to ask: How did Chesapeake society form out of early modern English culture through trade of goods and exchange of information? The use of historical sources to contextualize the interactions revealed through archaeologically recovered tobacco pipes provides another model to research consumption patterns and interaction spheres, building on, and adding to, other contextualized consumer studies of the historic Chesapeake (Carson 1994, 2006; Heath 2004; Galle 2006; Martin 2008; Breen 2013). Instead of making broad statements regarding how all Chesapeake colonists adapted to their new world, I am able to explore individual actions, choices, and their negotiation into the capitalist world-system by combining multiple lines of evidence.

Christian Koot (2012:43) has argued that scholars should try to discover "how the specific character of empires emerged out of negotiations to resolve the tensions between local conditions and imperial policy." My dissertation investigates the emergence and resolution of those tensions between Chesapeake colonists and lawmakers in England. Most research so far has focused on the debates within the metropole and how colonists in the Caribbean responded to the Navigation Acts; there has been little investigation into how colonists in Virginia and

Maryland reacted and how these tobacco colonies on the periphery affected change within the core (Pestana 2004; Koot 2011). This study uses the Potomac River Valley specifically, and the Chesapeake more broadly, as a case study to look at how social relationships and material culture work together to create new societies and seeks to understand how a shared British identity developed through the struggles between core and periphery.

My research is the first to investigate trans-Atlantic, trans-national, local, and regional trade in the 17th-century Chesapeake using both historical and archaeological evidence to argue that the periphery was not passive to core domination during a time when the imperial government was increasingly attempting to control her colonies. Most scholars working in the Chesapeake have focused on 18th- and 19th-century industrial capitalism and the oppressive nature of the economic system (Shackel 1992; Mullins 2004; Little 2007; Leone 2010; Matthews 2010). My research addresses how the roots of a capitalistic culture were introduced into the region through trade and exchange and which events and politics influenced trade networks. More broadly, it provides a theoretical and methodological framework for examining agency within colonial peripheries.

Approach and Units of Analysis

This research draws on two separate but complementary sources of evidence to address questions regarding politics, conflict, community formation, trade, and exchange in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley. First, I review and analyze historical documents relating to these sites specifically and to trade laws and policies that more broadly affected the region during this period. Second, I identify and analyze imported and locally-made, mold-made clay tobacco pipes recovered from16 archaeological sites dating from 1630 to 1730 located along the Potomac and Patuxent rivers in Virginia and Maryland.

Given the explicit interconnectedness of the 17th-century Atlantic World that resulted from trade and exchange at multiple levels, the results of this dissertation are informative to researchers throughout the Chesapeake Bay region and beyond. However, the Potomac River Valley has been chosen as the unit of analysis for several reasons. There have been many 17th-century archaeological sites excavated on the Northern Neck of Virginia (the peninsula between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers) and in Southern Maryland. The number of contemporary yet markedly different sites available in the area allow for a multiscalar, comparative study of social, political, and trade networks. I chose to analyze sites on both sides of the Potomac River in Virginia and Maryland due to the fact that the river served as a conduit for interaction and not a border separating two distinct colonies. Archaeological and historical evidence discussed in this dissertation indicates that people, goods, and information flowed freely between the two sides of the river (Bailey and Nicklin 1938; Walsh 1988:228; McMillan and Hatch 2012).

All 16 of the archaeological sites used in this project were excavated, or at least first identified, prior to 2000, most at the height of the "Golden Age" of Chesapeake historical archaeology during the 1970s and 1980s (Hudgins 1993:171-172). However, some of the sites had not been fully analyzed until recently and most have not been looked at since their initial investigation. This project takes advantage of advances made in the late 20th and early 21st centuries concerning 17th-century material cultural analysis and identification, colonial Chesapeake social history, and the digitization of archaeological collections and archival materials to ask new questions of old collections.

Seven sites from Virginia and nine sites from Maryland are used in this project. The Virginia sites include: Hallowes (44WM6), Nomini (44WM12), Coan Hall (44NB11), Clifts

Plantation (44WM33), the John Washington site (44WM204), Newman's Neck (44NB180), and the Henry Brooks site (44WM205). The Maryland sites include: St. John's (18ST1-23), Pope's Fort (18ST1-13), Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13), the Big Pit site (18ST1-13), Old Chapel Field (18ST233), Patuxent Point (18CV271), Compton (18CV279), King's Reach (18CV83), and Mattapany (18ST390).

Locally-made pipes are used to address the formation of Potomac River Valley communities. The locally-made pipe data set consists of 121 mold-made tobacco pipes of 9 distinct types/ workshop groups. These pipes were manufactured in the Chesapeake throughout the 17th century from local red and brown clays, then distributed around the region. By tracing the circulation of specific pipe types, I explore the formation of exchange networks in the Potomac River Valley and more broadly in the Chesapeake region. By performing a micro-historical, contextualized analysis of each of the archaeological sites used in this study, I will reconstruct social and political affiliations of each of the sites' residents. These local networks of exchange developed through shared participation, or at least sympathy, in political struggles, focusing on anti-government and anti-Catholic sentiments held by specific groups of people in the Potomac River Valley.

I use imported pipes from England and the Netherlands to address the second goal. The dataset consists of 1,526 marked or decorated imported clay tobacco pipe fragments. These white ball clay pipes were made in four main production centers: Bristol and London in England, and Amsterdam and Gouda in the Netherlands. White pipes were brought to the American colonies on English and Dutch merchant ships, then traded to local settlers for locally-produced commodities, mainly tobacco. By examining the scale and intensity of English and Dutch trade in the Potomac River Valley from 1630 to 1730, I trace the development of a British-Atlantic

identity in the Chesapeake colonies. Specifically, I am interested in whether, and to what extent, Dutch trade rose and fell before, during, and after the passage of the Navigation Acts in 1651, 1660, and 1663. Dutch pipes found on archaeological sites that were manufactured after these laws were enacted would indicate which colonists chose to engage in illicit trade.

I address questions regarding the impact of English mercantilist and Dutch free trade policies on the development of the British colonies in Virginia and Maryland using primary and secondary documentary sources. In order to fully understand the impact that these policies had on the Chesapeake, I discuss the history and development of capitalism and mercantilism as defined by several scholars (Wallerstein 1973; Braudel 1992; Appleby 2010; Pincus 2012), the political economy of England and the Netherlands (McCusker and Menard 1985; Haley 1988; de Vries and van Der Woude 1997; Ormrod 2003), and the economy of the Chesapeake colonies (Menard 1980; Perkins 1980; Hatfield 2004; Hancock 2006; Walsh 2010; Enthoven and Klooster 2011; Koot 2014). Additional primary sources shed light on English and Dutch ideology surrounding political economy (Grotius 1608; Violet 1651; Selden 1663; de Witt 1688). English and colonial government records are used to trace the enforcement of trade policies (Hening 1823; Sainsburg 1860; Fernow 1897; Firth and Rait 1911; Kingsbury 1933; AOMOL). Pamphlets and other political and economic writings will be used to explore core economic policies an English emulation of Dutch practices (Parker 1648; Violet 1651; Aglionby 1669; de la Court 1671; Burthogge 1687; Brewster 1695; Cary 1695). Letters, diaries, legislation, and pamphlets aree examined to discuss firsthand accounts of trade and exchange in the Chesapeake colonies, to analyze what colonists in Virginia and Maryland wrote concerning trade and trade policies, and to gauge colonial resistance to trade restrictions (Bullock 1649; Alsop 1666; Ferrar 1649; Bland 1661; Berkeley 1663; de Vries 1853; McIlwaine 1915).

Organization

This dissertation is organized into nine chapters to explore the formation of early Chesapeake economic thought and the impacts of conflict and politics on trade and exchange over the first hundred years of colonial occupation in the Potomac River Valley. The following two chapters focus on relevant theoretical and methodological approaches used in this dissertation. The next five chapters present the results of my historical and archaeological analyses and illustrate the multiscalar approach I have adopted. In my three history chapters (Chapter 4-6), I start at the broadest level, discussing core policies and the English Atlantic World, then narrow the discussion to the regional level and local events, and then to the household level and individual histories. In the two archaeological chapters (Chapter 7 and 8), I start with household, site specific analyses, then broaden to the regional level, and end with a discussion of trans-Atlantic trade.

Chapter 2 discusses on the history of archaeology of trade in addition to the theoretical foundations of this study. These approaches include world-systems theory, updated systemic models, the Atlantic approach, agency theory, and creolization studies. World-systems theory and other systemic approaches to the study of interaction provide multiscalar models to analyze trade and exchange at several different levels from the household to the larger system; these approaches provide a way to understand how each site in this study impacts and is impacted by the capitalist world-system. The way the historical concept of the Atlantic World is used in this dissertation is closely related to a world-systems approach, and allows for a discussion of the Potomac River Valley in relation to other colonies and European nations. This dissertation also engages with agency theory, and specifically structuration theory, by viewing consumption practices of locally-made and imported clay tobacco pipes by colonists as individual actions

performed within the structures of regional Chesapeake society and the broader Atlantic World. Creolization models provide a way to interrogate the questions of culture contact and change, specifically in regards to Anglo-Dutch interactions in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley.

Chapter 3 includes discussions of material culture theories and previous tobacco pipe studies in the Chesapeake region. In this chapter I explore various studies that argue that objects are not static things, but active in the shaping, structuring, and reproduction of identities and relationships. Particularly important is the idea that objects can communicate ideas and information between individuals and groups. I will also review relevant research regarding imported and locally-made tobacco pipes.

Chapter 4 focuses on 17th-century Atlantic political economy and Anglo-Dutch interactions in the Chesapeake. This chapter includes a discussion of the history and current debates surrounding 17th-century political economy, mercantilism, and capitalism in addition to differences between Dutch and English economic models and the development of shared British identity around the Atlantic basin through changes in political economic thought at the turn of the 18th century. I conclude this discussion with primary resource evidence regarding the rise and fall of Dutch trade in Virginia and Maryland, the influence of Dutch ideology of colonial economic thought, and colonial resistance to English mercantilist policies.

Chapter 5 covers local history of the Potomac River Valley in order to provide context to each of the archaeological sites and the interactions that occurred on and between the sites. This chapter focuses on social history, politics, and conflicts in Southern Maryland and the Northern Neck of Virginia. Specific events that are covered include the Chesapeake Fur Wars, Ingle's Rebellion, Bacon's Rebellion, and Coode's Rebellion. Included in this chapter is a discussion of

archaeological, anthropological, and historical approaches to the study of community development, and the importance of sub-regional analyses in the Chesapeake.

Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the history and archaeology at each of the 16 sites used in this dissertation. Information discussed includes dates and chronology of all the sites, a detailed account of who owned or occupied each site, what kinds of activities took place at the sites, and what known political, social, or trade connections each owner had based on historical records. I also explore connections between individuals included in this study and the events covered in Chapter 4. Information regarding the excavation and analysis of each site is discussed, including details regarding the numbers and types of pipes used in this study.

Chapter 7 presents the results of the locally-made pipe analysis. I start this chapter with an outline of the qualitative methods used to study local exchange and a discussion of my locally-made pipe data set. In this chapter I explore local and regional trade networks revealed through the trade of tobacco pipes. These relationships were determined by which pipe types were found on which sites through a presence/absence analysis. The social and symbolic significance of the pipe decorations are also explored in relation to exchange networks, politics, and religious beliefs. I also discuss correlations between known or inferred social and political relationships and trade networks traced through the archaeological remains.

Chapter 8 presents the results of my imported pipe analysis. This chapter includes an overall discussion of the results from all 16 sites and a detailed exploration of selected assemblages. The data are then divided to understand illicit trade at a variety of scales, including at the household and community levels, in order to determine who chose to trade mainly with English or Dutch merchants. This multiscalar , chronological approach will allow me to observe patterns between sites and ask a variety of questions of the data, such as: Were people in urban

areas, under the watchful eye of the government, more likely to trade within the bounds of the law than people in rural areas? Did tenants follow the same trading patterns as people who owned their property? Did people who arrived in the colonies after 1660 follow the same trade patterns as those who were living in the Chesapeake prior to the passage of the Navigation Acts? These types of questions allow for a discussion of individual motivations behind trading practices.

Chapter 9 summarizes and compiles the results of the historical and archaeological research conducted in the previous chapters in order to provide interpretations regarding the political economy of the 17th-century Potomac River Valley and the formation of early colonial and British-Atlantic identity through the trade of goods and the exchange of ideas. I discuss what the historical records reveal about Anglo-Dutch interactions, the flow of information, and the formation of political and social factions in the Potomac River Valley. The results of the pipe analysis are used to support and expand on these inferences, revealing tangible evidence of human behavior and interactions.

Chapter 2 : Archaeological, Anthropological, and Historical Approaches to the Study of Trade and Exchange

Scholars have defined and studied trade and exchange in a variety of ways over the past fifty years. In this chapter, I discuss approaches to understanding the exchange of goods and ideas and the cultural changes that occurred as a result of these interactions, including the study of interaction and exchange from an archaeological perspective; systemic approaches to understanding trade, including the historical use of the Atlantic World as an analytical concept; agency theory and structuration models; and creolization studies in order to address culture contact in the Potomac River Valley. I end the chapter with a discussion of my methodological and theoretical approaches to the study of trade and exchange.

Archaeology of Trade and Exchange

Archaeologists have approached the topics of trade and exchange in a variety of ways, from early 20th-century diffusion models (Child 1925; Kroeber 1940; Willey 1953) and the neo-evolutionary idea that trade is a cultural adaptation (White 1945, 1957; Binford 1962a), to regional interaction models (Caldwell 1964; Flannery 1968a; Renfrew 1969, 1975; Kohl 1975; Renfrew et al. 1966; Renfrew and Cherry 1986), systemic studies (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989; Schneider 1977; Blanton and Feinman 1984; Schortman and Urban 1987; Schortman 1989; Frank and Gills 1993), and the post-processual concept of exchange as a form of social and symbolic interaction (Hodder 1982, 1987; Fotiadis 1999). This dissertation adopts a combination of the latter two perspectives; using modifications to systemic models, the social and economic aspects of trade and exchange can, and will, be examined as a part of this study (Hall 2000a, 2000b; Stein 2002; Orser 2009; Hall et al. 2010; Agbe-Davies and Bauer 2010). By tracing the transfer of goods, specifically tobacco pipes, into and within the Potomac River Valley, I will connect the tangible archaeological evidence of social and political networks to relationships

determined or inferred from the historical records at the local, regional, trans-ethnic, trans-Atlantic, and trans-national levels.

The terms trade and exchange are often used interchangeably to mean the transfer of goods or ideas from one group to another. For the purpose of this dissertation, these two concepts are differentiated. Exchange is typically considered any transfer of goods or ideas, and can range from gifting, pirating and bartering, to redistribution. Trade is a specific type of exchange that is more formalized, with a focus on material goods, which takes place within a market economy (Agbe-Davies and Bauer 2010:15).

Trade is often inferred archaeologically by the presence of non-local goods and materials; objects that differ in some way, usually in composition or form, from those typically seen in the area (Kohl 1975; Renfrew 1975, 1993; Oka and Chapurkha 2008; Bauer and Agbe-Davie 2010). Archaeologists, particularly those working in the prehistoric past, usually focus on the luxury trade, or the trade in the exotic, as a way to understand the rise of hierarchy and social complexity. Another way that trade, or at least exchange, is inferred is by changes in social and political organization, or changes in technology. Social, political, and technological changes may occur through the exchange of information and ideas in addition to the physical items traded (Schortman and Urban 1987; Hall 2000a; Peregrine 2000; Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010). Culture change was the main argument of archaeologists of the culture history school of thought who adopted a diffusion model to study trade. A good example of this type of diffusion research is V. Gordon Childe's study of the spread of agriculture and accompanying technology during the Neolithic from the Middle East to Europe (Child 1925, 1928; Willey 1953; Oka and Kusimba 2008; Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010). Historians have also studied luxury trade, tracing the distribution of commodities such as African slaves, wine, gold, tobacco, and sugar, but they also

focus on trade as a way to understand community development, labor and the control of production characteristic of capitalism, and the emergence of the modern world (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989; Price 1980; Menard 1980; Heyrman 1984; Braudel 1992; Hatfield 2004; Hancock 2009; Appleby 2010; Coombs 2011).

Interaction leads to more than just the trade of goods; the exchange of information also occurs any time groups of people meet and communicate. Marcel Mauss's 1954 book *The Gift* was one of the most influential works on the study of exchange and introduced the concept that exchange was not just about economics, but was primarily a way to form and maintain social relationships. He identified three different types of exchange: reciprocity, redistribution, and market economy. Reciprocity occurs between two individuals, or in some cases, between two groups with the leaders or chiefs acting as intermediaries. Redistribution was conducted within chiefdoms, and was a way for the leader to maintain social cohesion within a group; the chief needed tribute to maintain his authority, and the people needed him to redistribute the surplus. Market economies only appear in state level societies, and are characterized by commodities exchange. Mauss argued that all forms of exchange are a political act; gifting is mainly about accruing debt and obligation. Mary Douglass, in her introduction to the 2002 reprint of *The Gift*, said that Mauss was the first person to introduce the individual into exchange, giving agency to the people who chose to exchange, instead of seeing the movement of goods as a natural occurrence.

The 1960s saw a shift in archaeological studies of trade with the rise of processual archaeology led by Lewis Binford (1962a) and his New Archaeology. Drawing on environmental models of neo-evolutionary archaeologists, such as Leslie White (1957) and Julian Stewart (1955), trade studies of the 1960s and 1970s saw trade as one strategy employed by societies to

adapt to their surroundings (Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010:34). Studies of interaction spheres, in which archaeologists would measure the scale and intensity of trade between two areas, were common at this time (Caldwell 1964; Flannery 1968a; Renfrew 1969, 1975). Processual archaeology's focus on the scientific method and the use of new technologies, such as source analysis, became standard in trade studies at this time. One of the first and best examples of this approach was Renfrew's study of the obsidian trade in the Mediterranean (Renfrew et al. 1965; Renfrew et al. 1966). Renfrew and his colleagues determined that there were zones of extraction and zones of use, and saw the exchange between these two places as adaptations to each area's lack of specific raw materials.

Sally and Lewis Binford (1968) and Kent Flannery (1968b) first introduced the concept of cultural systems in to archaeological theory in the late 1960s. With the development of the world-systems approach, archaeological systemic studies increased in popularity in the 1970s and remained common over the next two decades (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989; Schneider 1977; Champion 1989; Blanton and Feinman 1984; Schortman 1989; Frank and Gills 1993; Groover 1998; Kardulias 1999). These systemic studies also focused on interregional interaction, but widened the scope of study to focus on core/periphery relationships and not on individual states or societies. In the world-systems model, inequality is fundamental to the system and trade is understood as multiscalar, with differential access to goods depending on the location within the system. The closer to the center of the system (i.e. core) a person or community is, the greater their access to goods. There have been many critiques of Wallerstein's original concept, specifically that it only focuses on bulk goods, and ignores the social reasons for trade (Schortman and Urban 1987; Hall 2000a, 2000b; Stein 2002; Orser 2009; Hall et al. 2010).

Wallerstein's ideas and modifications to a world-system approach will be explored in further detail in the next section.

Starting in the 1970s, historical archaeologists began to engage in consumerism studies as one of the ways to understand the flow of material goods in the past and the importance of individual objects (Mullins 2011:13-41; Breen 2013:27). Most of the early studies were focused on determining class and status based on consumption practices, and were rooted in Thorstein Veblen's (1899) ideas of gentry, emulation, and conspicuous consumption (Miller 1980, 1991; Spencer-Wood 1987; Mullins 2011). By the 1980s, archaeologists had begun to incorporate ideas from cultural anthropology, specifically Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood's (1979) book *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. In their book, Douglas, an anthropologist, and Isherwood, an economist, posited that goods are more than reflections of one's status, but in fact are used to convey information and consume information. With these ideas in hand, archaeologists began to study not just the economic value of goods, but also the culturally specific social-symbolic significance of artifacts, and how objects have been used to create and maintain culture (Beaudry et al. 1991). Material theory and consumerism studies will be discussed in further detail in relation to tobacco pipe analyses in the next chapter.

In 1982 Ian Hodder introduced his "social exchange theory," which focused on the symbolic meanings of goods and information exchanged. In the 1990s, many researchers adopted Hodder's highly contextual approach as a response to the overtly economic-deterministic studies of processual archaeologists and those who used the world-systems approach. By contextualizing each interaction, archaeologists can make interpretations regarding the meaning behind individual exchanges; these meanings can vary depending on the time, place, and people involved. Others have tried to understand both the economic and social reasons for trade, often

employing a hybrid of systemic models and post-processual critiques (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999; Agbe-Davies 2004a; Agbe-Davies and Bauer 2010; Sherratt 2010).

Agbe-Davies and Bauer (2010:13) state that trade is "a fundamentally *social* activity" and that researchers should focus "not just on the movement of goods but also on the social context and consequences of the exchange." They argue that people live in a system that includes trade, exchange, technology, religion, and politics, and each of these parts of the system are interconnected. They further assert that archaeologists should study all of these things together, and advocate for an approach that considers the context of each society, individual trade transaction, and exchange of information, ideas, and ideologies. Additionally, we should try to understand how material culture can be imbued with both economic and symbolic meaning. Approaches that blend systemic models with a post-processual focus on meaning and context, and which form the theoretical underpinnings of this dissertation, are discussed below.

The World-System, Archaeological Approaches, and the Atlantic World

World-systems theory came to prominence in the late 1970s, and was first and most fully articulated by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 1989) in his three part anthology entitled *The Modern World System*. Wallerstein defined the modern world-system as a capitalist system that has existed since the 15th century; a detailed discussion of "capitalism" will be presented in the next chapter of this dissertation. The rise of the capitalist world-system began with the Age of Discovery and colonialism; these events institutionalized an axial division of labor and emphasized resource extraction in the periphery and consumption and production in the core.

This approach rose out of dependency theory, which was mostly employed by Latin American scholars to describe the poverty and lack of development in South America due to continued post-colonial suppression by former colonial powers such as Spain and England

(Prebisch 1950). The analytical units in dependency theory are the "core," or first world, developed countries, and the "periphery," or the third world, underdeveloped countries. These studies focused on the "development of the underdeveloped," stressing that a country's third-world status was not a natural state, but resulted from free trade and historical capitalism (Wallerstein 2004:12).

Fernand Braudel's (1972) concept of the *long dureé* is essential to understanding the rise of the modern world. Braudel argued for the importance of the gradual movement of history and rejected episodic, event-driven history and short chronologies. The modern world did not appear in a single event, the discovery of the New World, but instead one must recognize that Columbus' expedition was the result of many shifts and changes that occurred over a long period of time starting in the Middle Ages culminating in European expansion in the 15th century. Single events cannot change the course of history, but are the results of long term, cyclical change.

Wallerstein combined the concepts of core and periphery from dependency theory with Braudel's idea of the *long dureé* in his newly formed world-systems theory to describe the modern world-system. Wallerstein additionally added a third category to dependency theory's core and periphery units. The semi-periphery nations have a mix of core-like and peripheral characteristics. Semi-peripheries act as core states to the periphery and as peripheries to core states (Wallerstein 2004:28).

Wallerstein argued that the world since the 15th century has been a part of a capitalist world economy. The inequality that results from core/periphery interactions is essential to the modern world-system. The modern, capitalist world-system has an axial division of labor, multiple culture groups, and multiple state political centers. The multi-component nature of the

modern world is key to world-systems theory; it is a spatial and temporal zone that cuts across many political and cultural units, connecting them all through trade. The system, not the nation-state, is the main unit of analysis.

The ceaseless accumulation of wealth in the core through unequal exchanges of goods and labor and the extraction of resources from the periphery to the core is fundamental to the continued growth and development of the capitalist world-system (Wallerstein 1980:39). In the modern world-system, this unequal partnership obviously benefits the core to the detriment of the periphery. The core needs the periphery to extract resources in order to produce manufactured goods to sell back to the periphery for a profit. Wallerstein states that the core has absolute control over peripheral and semi-peripheral nations.

In a world-system, one dominant core state can gain hegemony, or the ability of "a given core power [to] manifest *simultaneously* productive, commercial, and financial superiority *over all other core powers*" (Wallerstein 1980:39). The hegemonic state gains power because it is able to outcompete all other states, first agriculturally, then commercially. Specifically, hegemonic states gain power because their manufactured goods are well made, and produced at a low enough cost that their goods can easily out sell another state’s goods within that other state's own boundaries. Commercial success leads to domination in the financial sectors, specifically banking, and the ability to offer competitive rates of exchange and credit. Hegemonic powers serve as cultural models to other core countries to emulate in the hopes of gaining wealth and power (Wallerstein 1980:65).

There have been three hegemonic powers in the modern world: the United Provinces (1648-1660s), the United Kingdom (1815-1848), and the United States (1945-1973) (Wallerstein 1980:xxiii). Hegemonic states advocate for policies that allow for the free flow of goods, and

resist monopolies and mercantilist policies. Semi-peripheral states implement the most aggressive "protectionist policies" in order to protect internal trade and impact the world market in hopes of becoming a core state and out of fear of slipping to peripheral status (Wallerstein 2004:29).

Archaeologists have used world-systems theory to study the growth of the modern world, globalization and interconnectedness of sites, and to examine the impacts of large-scale cultural changes and events on individual regions of study (Groover 2005:230). The world-system model's popularity peaked in the 1980s and 1990s, and because of its emphasis on the circular nature of trade and interaction in the modern world, this approach became popular among some historical archaeologists. A recurring question among many archaeologists studying colonial and frontier regions was "how were peripheral settlements incorporated into the capitalist world-system" (Lewis 1984; Paynter 1988; South 1988; Hardesty 1991; Orser 1996; Crowell 1997; Groover 1998; Cabak and Loring 2000)?

This question continues to be a point of interest among historical archaeologists and one of the many questions this dissertation asks. However, there have been many critiques of Wallerstein's world-systems approach, specifically the model's Eurocentric focus and emphasis on the economic aspects of trade over the social aspects of exchange. Many scholars have pointed out that Wallerstein over-emphasized core domination in that relationship, lost sight of the individual, and often underestimated the impact groups on the periphery had on and within the system (Gibb 1996:9; Hall 2000a, 2000b; Stein 2002; Orser 2009; Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010:39; Hall et al. 2010). Several archaeologists have offered alternative systemic models to help combat the inherent biases of a globally-focused approach.

Thomas Hall (2000a, 2000b) has provided many critiques of Wallerstein, including that there are several different modes of accumulation and exchange, not just through the trade of necessities. These types of exchanges include bulk goods, political and military expansion, the luxury trade, and the exchange of information. Each of these types of exchange is nested within one another, providing four different frontiers corresponding to each type of interaction, with intense trade in bulk goods located within the most widespread boundary. These boundaries narrow in impact and intensity successively from political influence, to luxury trade, and finally to the exchange of information. Each of these different frontiers has corresponding degrees of incorporation into the system. Integration of a region by the core is a continuum starting with external periphery (bulk goods), to contact periphery (political/military), marginal periphery (luxury), and dependent periphery (information).

Hall has argued that the periphery is just as important as the core; the periphery is where boundaries and frontiers are established and it is within these places of culture contact and conflict that creolization occurs. Hall and his colleagues state that world-systems analysis should be multiscalar, and unlike Wallerstein, they believe that the individual should be a part of any interaction study. They state that even though the original iteration of world-systems theory focused on economics, researchers can address the individual participant and study how residents in the periphery shaped their incorporation into the system (Hall et al. 2010). One of Hall's colleagues, Nick Kardalias (1999), has provided the concept of "negotiated peripheries," arguing that people played active roles in their incorporation into the system. This concept tries to understand individual agents' willingness and ability to participate in trade.

Gil Stein's (2002) trade diaspora model provides a framework for considering individual agents and the economic and social meanings of exchange and trade goods by rejecting

Wallerstein's ideas that core dominance is absolute with a unidirectional flow of influence. He states that there are many different types of relationships that take place within a system, including exchange, emulation, colonization, and conquest; each of these modes of interaction result in different forms of social change and cultural reproduction. Stein also questions the assertion that the system should be the main focus of any study, arguing that the system is too broad and external, and an exclusive focus on it results in the loss of individual agents. He goes on to state that too many interaction studies are simple typologies, measuring the scale and intensity of trade, ignoring variables within systems.

Stein's (2002:908) trade diaspora model provides a way of understanding colonies and peripheries without assuming hierarchical relationships with core powers. He explicitly states that in his model he combines processual methods with post-processual questions of agency and identity, and advocates for a multiscalar approach. Stein also argues that it is important to recognize that each system/network will take shape differently, because internal dynamics of societies vary and will often be in conflict. While the macro-level trade network and core political economy is still important in this approach, it is not the main focus of study; human agency and individual action are just as important in shaping the system. In an earlier study on the development of civilization in Mesopotamia, Stein (1999) employed his distance-parity model in which he argued that ability of the core to exercise power declines with distance. Hall et al. (2010:243) state that Stein's trade diaspora and distance-parity models are "alternatives [to world systems-theory] that are sensitive to both the general and historically/culturally specific events that structure interaction."

Charles Orser (2009) proposed a similar model, advocating for network theory. Like Stein, Orser says that archaeological studies of interactions should be multiscalar. These types of

analyses should focus on the local as a part of the larger system and the impacts the system has on the local; neither is separate from the other. He also emphasizes the fact that interaction occurs within specific, distinct social and historical settings; each interaction will be different. Lastly, Orser (2009:263) states that archaeologists must "incorporate the role of material culture in fostering and maintaining social connections;" a goal that requires not only spatial control, but temporal analyses of artifacts, as well. Historical archaeologists are able to control and account for issues of time in ways that prehistoric archaeologists cannot, and thus, we are able to link and associate artifacts to specific people or groups of people on a site. All of these considerations (multiscalar, temporal and spatial control, consideration of historical settings) allow archaeologists to address the original goals of world-systems theory (i.e. globalization, spread of capitalism, interconnectedness, impacts of societal changes on specific areas, influence of the local on the global), without placing preferential treatment on the core, semi-periphery, or periphery, but understanding the entire system.

The Atlantic approach is appropriate to the study of the rise of the modern world-system for several reasons. According to Wallerstein, the capitalist world-system was bounded by the Atlantic basin until the 19th century (Wallerstein 2004:23). Additionally, any discussion of trans-Atlantic and intercolonial trade, policy, and the exchange of inter-imperial ideologies, is by its very nature Atlantic. This dissertation explicitly adopts approaches outlined by Atlantic historians in order to understand several different scales of interaction (Armitage 2002; Armitage and Braddick 2002; Games 2006; Morgan and Greene 2008). Such an approach is appropriate because it provides easy boundaries to work within. Chronologically, it dates to roughly 1492-1800 (modern, pre-industrial), and geographically it is bounded by the Atlantic basin. This

approach provides a way of studying history that is not limited by imperial history, and in fact, imperial boundaries were permeable during the early modern world.

According to Armitage (2002), there are three main approaches to Atlantic history: Circum-Atlantic, Trans-Atlantic, and Cis-Atlantic. Circum-Atlantic is the study of the entire Atlantic world in which national histories are not key; it is a way to understand an "Atlantic culture." Trans-Atlantic is a comparison of maritime societies; it is a way to understand how the Atlantic World varied. Lastly, Cis-Atlantic is the study of specific places within the Atlantic World; it is a way to understand how different places were unique within the Atlantic World. The Cis-Atlantic approach lends itself to contextualized studies of individuals and how people impacted and were impacted by broader trends in the system.

Agency Theory and Structuration

The modern archaeological use of agency theory developed from the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990) and Anthony Giddens (1979, 1984). In both Bourdieu's practice theory and Giddens' structuration theory, individual people (agents) live in, react to, and impact the interrelated nodes of power within society (structure); the structure shapes the agent and the agent shapes the structure. "Agency" is the ability of the individual to recognize the structure in which he or she lives and the power to impact that structure. Agency theory tries to understand the role of the individual in the reproduction, maintenance, and transformation of cultural systems (Gardner 2004, 2008).

Bourdieu's practice theory focuses on how an individual's gender, class, race, ethnicity (i.e. identity) in society impacts his or her ability to recognize his or her own agency and place in the structure. The key development of Bourdieu's work is the concept of "habitus," or the shared cultural ideologies and activities that shape a particular social group. These shared cultural ideas,

or schemas, are formed through repetitive action and interaction with people, objects, and the environment (i.e. structure). An individual's role in society shapes the way he or she interacts with and within the system and his or her ability to impact and change society. Bourdieu emphasizes the constraints placed on agents by their status within the structure; in each society, there is unequal access to power and the ability to implement change (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Gardner 2004, 2008)

In Giddens' structuration theory, which is grounded in Marxist critical theory, the duality of the structure/agent relationship is key to understanding the world. This relationship is "a simple equation that makes actors dependent upon the rules and resources of structure, but allows them knowledgeable and conscious choice in manipulating these" (Gardner 2004:2). Key components of Giddens' work are that agents can be both cognizant of their place within the structure and their ability to impact it, but sometimes actions can have unintended consequences. Structuration theory assumes recursive processes in which agents and structures are constantly constraining and changing one another. There is no dichotomy in structuration theory, instead there is a duality in the agent/structure relationship; these concepts are intertwined and dependent upon one another (Giddens 1979, 1984; Gardner 2004, 2008).

Archaeologists John Barrett (2000, 2001), Matthew Johnson (2000), and Andrew Gardner (2002) have employed structuration theory, drawing different conclusions on the way in which it should be implemented. Barrett (2000:61) states that "the study of agency is not the study of the individual *per se*," and instead argues that archaeologists should study the formation of agency in specific contexts, focusing on specific "practices." These activities will leave unique archaeological signatures that can be analyzed. Barrett, working in the prehistoric past, starts with actions and makes interpretations about agents' status and place within a given structure.

Matthew Johnson (2000), as an historical archaeologist, makes similar arguments, but starts with the status of individual agents and then interprets their actions in relation to their place within the structure of 17th-century England and how their choices shifted cultural expectations. In a discussion of his concept of "historicized agents," Johnson argues agency must be interpreted within a specific time and place, including contextualizing individuals, their actions, and their relationship within any given structure. He states that "agency... only exists in a dialectical relationship to structure," and cautions against studies that are too generalized and not historicized (Johnson 2000:213).

Gardner's (2002) work on the effects of Roman soldiers' actions of the decline of the empire tacks back and forth between micro-level, actor centered analyses and macro-level, structure-centered studies. He says that the best way to understand the entirety of the human experience is to balance "small-scale and large-scale processes in our accounts of the past through the medium of practice" (Gardner 2008:102). Structuration theory provides an analytical framework to conduct this type of research without prioritizing either the structure or the agent, but allows researchers to study them as two parts of the same system. Gardner argues that agency is both a quality (power) and a process (exercising that power) that agents within a given structure employ. He also states, that as archaeologists, we can study artifacts in order to understand how people materialized their agency; the best way to do this is to trace and examine non-normative objects at a given location (Gardner 2004, 2008).

Creolization Studies

Archaeological use of creolization theory developed in the 1980s out of cultural and linguistic anthropological studies of the 1960s and 1970s that focused on creole, "mixed," or "hybrid" languages of Latin America and the Caribbean. Additionally, studies that examined the

impacts of the African Diaspora around the Atlantic Basin, and specifically within the United States, have been especially influential in thinking about creolization (Mitnz and Price 1976; Ogundiran and Falola 2007:17-19). The terms "creole" and "creolization" vary from context to context, but generally refer to the processes of cultural contact, interaction, exchange, and the resulting group of people that live in that new society. Creolization models diverge from earlier acculturation and assimilation studies, in that the creolization process does not assume one group (usually European colonizers) maintained complete cultural domination in these interactions, but instead, both groups contribute to the resulting culture change (Ewen 2000; Gundaker 2000; Palmié 2006). In historical archaeology, creolization studies have tended to focus on Native/European interactions in Spanish Florida, best represented by the work of Kathleen Deagan (1983), or on African American contexts in the plantation South, first articulated by Leland Ferguson (1992).

Gundaker (2000:24) states that there are at least five different ways of understanding the creolization process: as the "birth" of new languages and societies; a new society resulting from the mixtures of the "old;" studying changes over generations; interrogating identity negotiations; and "sustained conditions of intercultural complexity and instability." Mark Groover (2000:101) argues that creolization models are appealing because there is no one way to study these processes of culture contact and change and are thus applicable to many different times and places. The creolization process and the resulting groups are all contextually dependent. Each study will vary depending on spatial and temporal characteristics of the site or sites, and these situational relationships can change, allowing for a variety of interpretations (Hu 2013).

Groover (2000) also contends that creolization studies have become prominent in historical archaeology because of the discipline's overarching focus on the development of the

modern world since the Age of Discovery in the 15th century. Colonization, globalization, and the integration of peripheral locations into the capitalist world-system led directly to prolonged, often constant, contact people many different cultures. Creolization models' emphasis on cultural contact and sustained interactions allow researchers to study the process of change, not just a static dichotomy of pre-contact and post-contact cultures; the study of the process also stresses the importance of individual identity and agency within these interactions (Ogundiran and Falola 2007:19).

Dan Mouer (1993) and his colleagues' (Mouer et al. 1999) research on creolization in the 17th-century Chesapeake significantly advanced the notion that locally-made material culture was a multi-vocal product resulting from Native American, African, and European interactions. Mouer and several other Chesapeake archaeologists explored many influences on items such as tobacco pipes, ceramics, foodways, and archaeological features, specifically root cellars/subfloor pits. Contexts for creolization in the 17th century were sex, trade, military alliances, frontiers, and plantations. These three groups of people interacted and mingled in these difference contexts, contributing to culture change. Significantly, Mouer and his colleagues advanced the idea that influence was a two-way street; Native Americans and Africans contributed just as much to the emerging colonial Chesapeake culture as Europeans. With this interpretation, they reject assimilation models and the assumption that European culture was the dominate force in creating a New World identity. These authors' arguments regarding locally-made pipes will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Shannon Dawdy's (2000) work on the creolization process in New Orleans draws on James Deetz's (1977) Georgianization model for English colonial culture change. Although Deetz only uses the word "creolization" in the 1996 updated edition of his book *In Small Things*

Forgotten in relation to African American archaeology, his model to discuss the shift from medieval/communal to the individual/modern in various forms of English colonial material culture could be considered a study in the process of culture change due to contact with new groups of people. However, he never explicitly discusses influences of Native Americans, Africans, or other, non-British, Europeans on the development of the Georgian mindset. Deetz traces shifts in gravestones, music, architecture, and foodways among Anglo-Americans throughout the colonial period, developing three stages to track these changes. From initial colonization in Jamestown in 1607 to the third quarter of the 17th century, the first phase is a transplantation of traditional, communal, medieval English culture. From the middle of the 17th century until about 1760, Deetz argues that colonial American material culture reflects divergence from Old World traditions with the emergence of regional folk cultures. Lastly, from 1760 until after the American Revolution, Anglo-American culture becomes re-Anglicized, individualistic, and Georgian/modern.

Dawdy bases her study on Deetz's phases of change, arguing that there were three stages of creolization in New Orleans: Transplantation (1718-1765); Ethnic Acculturation (1765-1805); and Hybridization (1805-1862). During her first phase, "transplantation," newly arrived immigrants replicated the foodways, material culture, and architecture of their homes in the Old World. The first generation of colonists born in the New World began to incorporate goods and processes into their everyday lives, but maintained the old ways, as well. A creole class formed during the "ethnic acculturation" phase, in which Old and New World material culture and their uses blended among the elite classes. New traditions formed to accommodate their new conditions and reinforce the dominant status of the native creole elite. During the final, "hybridization" phase, the dominant status of the creole elite began to wane, there was much

more interaction between all groups of people, and ethnic distinctions broke down (Dawdy 2000:111).

Approach used in this Dissertation

Drawing on material culture theory and consumerism studies, discussed in detail in the next chapter, I understand trade to be a political, economic, and social act (Douglas and Isherwood 1976; Appadurai 1986; Beaudry et al. 1991; Yentsch and Beaudry 2001; Agbe Davies and Bauer 2010; Mullins 2004, 2011). There are times when one may become more dominant and important in trade, and there are other times when there is a struggle between these domains, but all three are always present. People in power will always try to control trade for their own political purposes, but by viewing exchange exclusively from the top down and only discussing laws passed by those in charge, one misses the negotiation of and resistance to hierarchical control. Trade is not always controlled by political motivations either; there are times when economics are more important, specifically in isolated areas than may have limited resources. People's choices of what to consume will always balance the economic and social; people are not completely rational, nor are they wholly controlled by their symbolic desires. The social, and ideological, will often influence how, when, and with whom, someone trades.

The systemic models developed by Hall (2000a, 2000b; Hall et al. 2010), Stein (2002), and Orser (2009) discussed above provide a way to conceptualize trade and exchange on several levels in order to trace the political, social, and economic motivations behind these interactions. In this dissertation, I explore the idea that trade and exchange were, and are, one part of a larger system. In order to understand individual motivations and actions behind the choice to engage in trade, the links between all parts of the system must be acknowledged and understood. Unlike some archaeologists, such as Rahul Oka and Chapurukha Kusimba (2008) who argue that trade

should be studied as its own separate entity apart from politics, religion, and ideology, I explicitly adopt the idea that the archaeology of trade is also the archaeology of exchange. By focusing only on trade in a market economy, it is easy to miss the socially important exchanges that also took place. This non-market-based trade includes illicit trade/smuggling/piracy, which I investigate at the trans-Atlantic, trans-national, and trans-ethnic levels through an analysis of Anglo-Dutch interactions; and informal bartering and exchanges between community members, which I study at the local and regional level within the Potomac River Valley and the broader Chesapeake area.

This dissertation is explicitly multiscalar in scope, drawing on the models of Stein (2002) and Orser (2009). By tacking back and forth between events and policies implemented at the Atlantic and imperial levels, and circumstances within the Potomac River Valley and individual histories of the people studied, I analyze the ways in which individuals and groups on the periphery negotiated, resisted, or accepted their incorporation into the system. Additionally, Hall's (2000b) emphasis on the importance of the periphery in any study of interaction is equally important to this research, as is Kardalias's (1999) concept of "negotiated peripheries." Stein's (2002) trade diaspora model is especially influential to this dissertation, particularly his emphasis on the significance of individuals in the formation of any trade network and the importance of the social and symbolic aspects of exchange in addition to the economic reasons for trade. Matthew Johnson (1996:210) specifically calls for an archaeology of capitalism that links "different scales of analysis together, from the level of the capitalist world-system through the circulation of commodities to individuals and households," and suggests that pipes are one of the best pieces of evidence with which to conduct this type of study. This dissertation's use of all of these concepts provides a model to other researchers; by studying the degrees to which people in

the periphery were integrated into the world-system, archaeologists can understand how the local was affected by the system and how the system was impacted by the local.

Given that I write from the perspective of historical archaeology and explicitly examine the development of the early modern world, I adopt an Atlantic approach to understand several different scales of interaction. I will be applying the Cis-Atlantic level of analysis, which allows for a detailed study of how one particular place, the Chesapeake, developed from interactions between agents at the local level and events within the larger Atlantic World (Armitage 2002:21). The Atlantic approach provides a model to study not only the movement of people and goods but also the spread of ideas and values, which allows for a detailed understanding of how trans-Atlantic interactions impacted the local, regional, and world-system. In this dissertation, the Chesapeake is studied as one interconnected part of the larger Atlantic World and not an isolated place on the periphery.

This dissertation also engages with agency theory by viewing consumption practices of locally-made and imported clay tobacco pipes by colonists as individual actions performed within the structures of regional Chesapeake society and the broader Atlantic World (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1979, 1984; Barrett 2000, 2001; Gardner 2004, 2008). Drawing on structuration theory, I will discuss how the choices made by individual colonists about their participation in local exchange networks and whether to trade within the bounds of English mercantilist law were influenced by their place within the structures of Chesapeake and imperial society. Additionally, and more importantly, through these trade decisions, colonists, as individual agents, actively participated in the transformation of several groups of colonial settlers into a more unified Chesapeake society, and the English colonial system into the British Empire. Mathew Johnson's (2000:13) concept of historicized agents within a specific time and place,

including their relationship within any given structure, will be used to contextualize the actions of individuals and groups within the 17th-century Potomac River Valley.

Creolization theory is used in this dissertation to understand culture contact and change by studying the transformation process, not just the pre-contact and post-contact cultural characteristics. My study falls into two of Gundaker's (2000:124) creolization study-types: "generational changes" and "negotiation of identity." Similar to Deetz's (1977) Georgianization model and Dawdy's creolization approach, this dissertation traces generational changes among Chesapeake colonists as they negotiated their place within Potomac River Valley society and the British-Atlantic World. It should be noted, however, that I am only studying one aspect of the creolization process in the 17th-century Chesapeake: Anglo-Dutch relations. There were many different groups of people interacting, exchanging goods and ideas, and influencing one another, including, but not limited to: Native Americans, West and Central Africans, various groups from the British Isles (not just the English), and other Europeans, such as French, German, Swedish, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colonists and traders.

Drawing from several theoretical perspectives, trade and exchange are viewed through the lens of world-systems analysis and modifications to Wallerstein's (1973, 1980) original perspective. The choices occupants on each site made regarding pipe consumption are used to interrogate individuals' agency and their relationship to the structure of the emerging British Empire and Chesapeake colonial society, and pipes will be discussed for both their tangible economic value and their social-symbolic significance. Archaeological and historical evidence will be discussed in three distinct phases to trace the creolization processes within the Potomac River Valley in regards to social, political, and economic interactions over a one hundred year period.

Chapter 3 : Material Culture Studies and the Archaeology of Tobacco Pipes

It could be argued that material culture, the tangible and intangible world created by humans that surrounds us, is the main focus of archaeological research (Mullins 2011). However, how we, as archaeologists, study and understand the impacts of material culture on individuals and society can vary depending on the methodological and theoretical approaches we adopt: from a Veblian focus on socio-economic status and conspicuous consumption (Veblen 1899; G. Miller 1980, 1991; Spencer-Wood 1987), or processual- and structuralist-based studies of patterns and ethnic affiliation (South 1977; Otto 1984; Deetz 1996), to Marxist approaches (Leone 1984; Shackel 1992), and ideas that artifacts are not passive objects that humans manipulate but are active in the creation and maintenance of social relationships (Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Beaudry et al. 1991). More recently, many scholars have argued for a more explicit focus on the material aspects of artifacts (Olsen 2010; Hodder 2012). In this chapter, I will discuss archaeological and anthropological approaches to material culture studies and the use of clay tobacco pipes in identity studies that have influenced my analyses and interpretations.

Material Culture Studies

In this dissertation, I adopt the idea that material culture does not merely reflect one's identity but is active in shaping identity and culture. There are several studies that have influenced my perspective, but most important are the works of Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1979), Arjun Appadurai (1986), Daniel Miller (1987, 2012), Grant McCracken (1988), and Anne Smart Martin (2008). Many archaeologists have adopted and adapted these anthropological approaches to material culture studies; most importantly to my research are the works of Mary Beaudry and her colleagues (Beaudry et al. 1991; Yentsch and Beaudry 2001; Beaudry and White 2009).

The first scholars to posit that goods are more than reflections of one's status and are used to convey information and consume information were Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1979). In their book *The World of Goods*, Douglas, an anthropologist, and Isherwood, an economist, argued that goods have a social life and are active. One of the most influential concepts that they introduced to archaeology is the idea that objects help to create and maintain communities by materially defining "us" versus "them;" objects can serve as bridges to connect people, or build fences to create group identity that is separate from others. They also argue that the information conveyed through the exchange of goods is dependent on the consumer's location within the exchange system; the closer one is to the "node" the more consistent an object's meaning will be, whereas, the further one is from the node, the more that information exchange breaks down. The more one consumes, the more information, and thus power, one has, and conversely, the less one is able to consume, the less information one has available to him or herself. This concept of differential information access is very similar to Thomas Hall's (2000a, 2000b) systemic approach discussed in Chapter 2.

Several anthropologists and scholars studying material goods and consumerism have used Douglas and Isherwood's book as the foundation for their research. For example, in the forward to his edited volume, *The Social Life of Things*, Arjun Appadurai (1986) argued that consumption is political and that political and group identity impacts the way people consume. He rejected the notion that all consumption is solely regulated by supply and demand economics, and instead argued that people consume for specific, often culturally or politically mandated, reasons. One example that Appadurai used was the political protests organized by Mahatma Gandhi within India, in which he convinced people to only purchase domestically produced cloth, rejecting the cheaper, imported cloth that was more readily available.

Daniel Miller (1987, 2012) argues that material culture is culture; material culture is not a reflection of the self, but is the self. All goods, even mass produced items, have meaning, beyond indications of socio-economic status. One of his most important contributions is the idea that an object’s meaning can change depending on the situation and who is consuming that item. When someone consumes, they are changed. Miller states that we not only make objects, but they make and shape us by impacting the way we move through and view the world. He also points out that while the elite may control production and distribution, they do not control meaning. Although most people do not get a say in an object's form, its meaning is partially created through the act of consumption and by how we integrate that object into our lives.

Grant McCracken's (1988) work also built on Douglas and Isherwood. He argued that objects not only reflect a group's identity, but also help to create group cohesion. Objects, styles, and symbols can be appropriated by a group as a way to manipulate their meaning for the purposes of group identity. He, like Miller, argued that an object's meaning is not static or permanent, but is dynamic and contextual; an object's meaning can change depending on who is consuming the object and if the person's status and identity changes during the ownership of the object. Drawing on the work of Hannah Arendt (1958), who argued that people and cultures ascribe special meaning to certain objects, and the consumption of these meaningful objects helps prevent individual and cultural identity "drift," McCracken introduced the concept of ballast into material culture studies. Ballasts "stabilize us by reminding us of our past, by making this past a virtual, substantial part of our present" (McCracken 1988:124). These objects help people remember group identity in a new time or place and serve as a visual cue of cultural categories; they provide support to a group during social upheaval (McCracken 1988:131-132).

Anne Smart Martin's (2008) study of Virginia's backcountry in the 18th century provides a model to understanding consumption practices within the periphery of the Atlantic World. Martin argues that objects are imbued with cultural meaning, and that meaning is created and recreated throughout an object's life. She also argues that objects have value; however, value is not inherent, but is contextually dependent. Martin's study of a backcountry store illustrates that by understanding the meanings and value an object possesses within a specific context, a researcher can understand how individuals used an object in their everyday lives to communicate with other members of their community.

Many archaeologists have drawn on these anthropological approaches to studying material culture and consumerism. The most influential of the archaeological studies is the approach outlined by Mary Beaudry and her colleagues, in which artifacts have "active voices," and are not merely reflections of their owner's socio-economic status, ethnic affiliation, political ideology, or gender identity, but are dynamic and influential in identity formation (Beaudry et al. 1991). The authors state that "the relationship of behavior to the material world is far from passive; artifacts are tangible incarnations of social relationships embodying the attitudes and behaviors of the past" (Beaudry et al. 1991:150). They also argue that material culture is a form of communication that can both define and control human behavior (Beaudry et al. 1991:153).

Beaudry and her colleagues posit that artifacts are texts that can be read for their symbolic meaning (Beaudry et al. 1991:153-156; Yentch and Beaudry 2001:226-227). They base this assertion on the works of Ian Hodder (1990, 1991) and Henry Glassie's (1976) seminal study of folk housing in Virginia. An artifact's textual meaning is contextually dependent, and thus can only be decoded if one understands the circumstance in which the object was used. In this vein, Beaudry et al. (1991) contend that artifacts served as symbols to communities, and served to

create and reinforce group identity. Drawing on Miller's (1987) work on mass consumerism, they outline their "cultural hegemony model," positing that there is not one meaning, controlled by the elite, applied universally to an object. Instead, even mass produced items, such as imported white clay pipes, can be used to communicate and convey information regarding individual and group identity. The authors also point out that objects associated with leisure time activities, such as pipes, are usually the most active in shaping identity and are the most visible indicators of personal choice and group cohesion because they are chosen by the individual (Beaudry et al. 1991:154).

Carolyn White and Mary Beaudry (2009) have investigated the ways in which artifacts influence and help create personal identity. Artifacts, they argue, "are the physical remains of... acts undertaken as part of the performance of identity" (White and Beaudry 2009:213). One form of performance in which a person can engage is the "voluntary association" with groups that share a common interest, such as secret societies or activist organizations. A voluntary association is similar to Mac Sweeny's (2011:31) "relational community" discussed in Chapter 4; these are groups with which people choose to associate based on a shared mindset, and not based on geographic proximity. Therefore, voluntary associations "are entities through which imageries, symbols, and ideologies are projected and negotiated" (White and Beaudry 2009:213). White and Beaudry (2009:213) argue that archaeologists can examine the tangible remains of these "voluntary associations" through "the analysis of personal artifacts" which are "remnants of mundane and repeated acts."

Particularly important to this study are Paul Mullins' (1999, 2004) ideas about the intersection of politics and consumption. Drawing on Appadurai's (1986) argument that consumption is a political act, Mullins (2004) has pointed out that politics not only shape which

goods were available and the modes of consumption used (i.e. tariffs, mercantilism), but they also shape why people choose to consume specific items. He also argued that "objects that do not symbolically 'fit' within an assemblage or material system" provide the best avenue for interpreting ideology and consumer choice (Mullins 2004:207).

Recently, some scholars have argued that archaeologists have focused too much on the social, psychological, symbolic, and aesthetic aspects of artifacts with little consideration for the objects themselves (Renfrew 2001, 2004; Olsen 2010; Hodder 2012). Colin Renfrew (2001, 2004) has argued that we should try to understand the social-symbolic meaning of things, but that it is easy to lose sight of the materiality. He has stated, "the symbol cannot exist without the substance, and the material reality of the substance precedes the symbolic role which is ascribed to it when it comes to embody such an institutional fact" (Renfrew 2001:131). So, while it is important to make interpretations regarding the symbolic meaning and social lives of things, we must first recognize that these objects are real, physical items.

Bjørnar Olsen (2010:37-38) has lamented that "little emphasis is placed on things qua things, and the possibility that they themselves might be indispensable constituents of the social fabric that is studied." He does recognize that an object's value and importance is contextual and relational, but argues that the physical characteristics of things are significant. Olsen rejects the common notion that there is a hierarchy between humans and things, in which people are more important than the tangible realities of the material world. Instead, he argues for a symmetrical approach in which people and things are given equal consideration in archaeological studies-people and things are inseparable.

Ian Hodder (2012) has argued that we should consider the actual material aspects of artifacts, not just the social role they played in the lives of those who used the objects. He argues

that things do more than facilitate human interaction and aid in the formation of groups and relationships, but are themselves intimately involved, or entangled, with humans. This intimacy is due to the physical nature of dependence and dependency between humans and things- each needs the other to survive. Hodder believes that archaeologists should pay attention to the biological and chemical aspects of artifacts, because it was with the physical items, not just the social-symbolic ideas they convey, that people interacted.

Tobacco Pipe Studies

Clay tobacco pipes are one of the most plastic and highly decorative forms of material culture from the colonial period; and they can be used to discuss personal preference and consumer choice. I focus on pipes because they are among the most ubiquitous artifact types found on colonial American sites. Pipe form and decoration varied and changed throughout the 17th century, particularly in regards to manufacturing origin. Researchers can distinguish between European and Chesapeake-made pipes based on material and form and between English and Dutch pipes based on makers' marks and decorations.

A Brief History of Smoking

Tobacco smoking and the use of pipes to ingest addictive substances is a New World phenomenon; there is no historical evidence of smoking in Europe prior to the late-15th century. There was a strong tradition of pipe making in the Eastern United States prior to European contact. The oldest pipe ever found, a tubular stone pipe, was recovered from the Eva site in Tennessee, which dates to about 2000 BC. Several other tubular pipes have been recovered from Late Archaic shell mounds in Alabama and Kentucky. The florescence of pipes began in the Early Woodland period resulting from the introduction and spread of ceramic technology; although tubular stone pipes remained popular into the Late Woodland. Other forms were

introduced during the Middle and Late Woodland periods, including platform pipes and ceremonial effigy pipes (Rafferty and Mann 2004:xi-xii; Rafferty 2004:4). Clay elbow pipes were introduced in the Late Woodland period, and were most popular in the Middle Atlantic and Northeast regions after AD 1000 (Rafferty and Mann 2004:xii). Elbow pipes are characterized by a long stem and bent between a 45 and 90 degree angle at the bowl/stem juncture. The bowl on an elbow pipe could vary in style from a round, bulbous form to a funnel shape.

The first written accounts of tobacco use date to Columbus' first exploration of the New World in 1492; the Spaniards observed natives in the Bahamas smoking cigars (Rafferty 2008:276). The name tobacco is likely derived from the name of the device in which many people in the Caribbean inhaled tobacco smoke through their noses; the indigenous people called their two-pronged, Y-shaped device "tobagos," which the Spanish took to mean the plant (Las Casas 1514, cited in West 1970:30-31). There were many different names for the *Nicotiana* plants that Native Americans smoked, including "uppowoc" by North Carolina Algonquians, "acchuma fina" by Floridians, and "petun" in French Canada (West 1970:32; Hann 1986:96). Unlike the native people in the Caribbean and much of South America, who smoked tobacco through these "tobagos" or in the form of cigars, native North Americans used pipes. Jacques Cartier, while exploring Montreal in 1535, was the first European to explicitly record the use of pipes (Von Gernet 2000:59; Rafferty 2008:276).

After their initial voyage to the Western Hemisphere, Columbus and his men brought tobacco back to Spain and by the 1560s the nicotine-rich plant was popular among the elite in Europe as an exotic luxury item. Tobacco was made into a variety of products including cigars and snuff, but for the most part, was not smoked (Walker 1977:27). It was not until Sir Walter Raleigh famously popularized smoking in the late 1590s that pipe making and pipe use took off.

These pipes were initially fashioned after Algonquian elbow style pipes brought back to England after the failed Roanoke colony adventure. Smoking and tobacco use became so popular at the turn of the 16th century that James I penned his 1604 treatise, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*, in which he condemned the use of the addictive plant. The king's warnings and distaste fell on deaf ears, and soon potters in England began to mass produce "little ladles" to smoke, or "drink," the newly introduced sot weed. After some initial experimentation, European pipes were produced exclusively in molds, which led to fast and substantial growth in the industry in the early-17th century (Walker 1977:31-33).

The first patent for a pipe mold was filed in 1601 and the first royal monopoly to produce pipes was granted to potters in Westminster, outside of London, in 1619. This monopoly was largely ignored and soon many people were producing pipes in England. London remained the center of the English pipe industry until the middle of the 17th century, when production shifted to Bristol, England (Oswald 1975:7). The Bristol pipe makers' guild was formed in 1652, corresponding to the rise of Bristol as a major shipping port in the country (Walker 1977:257). English pipe making was not restricted to these two cities, but London and Bristol remained the largest production centers into the late 18th century. Additionally, the majority of the pipes found in North America from the colonial period were manufactured in London and Bristol; likely a result of both the large number of pipes made in those two places and shipping routes that originated in these two large cities (Oswald 1975:7).

The Dutch pipe industry was established in the early-17th century by exiled English men and women who fled England in order to enjoy the bourgeoning economy of the United Provinces, because of religious dissatisfaction over the crowning of a Stuart monarch, and to avoid James I's hatred of tobacco, the tobacco industry, and smoking. The first workshops were

officially established in Amsterdam in 1607, although sparse historical and archaeological evidence suggests that the Dutch were producing pipes in the late-16th and early 17th-century (Duco 1981:416; Dallal 2004:209). The center of production remained in Amsterdam until the 1650s, when Gouda began to out-produce its northern neighbor. Gouda remained the most important city for clay tobacco pipe production on the continent into the late-18th century (Walker 1977:264-265; Duco 1981:390-391).

Both the English and the Dutch pipe making guilds required their members to register with each city's organization. In England, most makers simply used their initials to mark their pipes. In the Netherlands, some makers marked their pipes with their initials, but some also used a unique mark, design, or image. While there were some instances of forgeries and people manufacturing pipes without registering with a guild, for the most part, membership and the guild roles were tightly regulated. These regulations have allowed archaeologists and pipe researchers to compile lists of makers and their marks (Jackson and Price 1974; Oswald 1975; Walker 1977; Duco 1981, 2003; Hurry and Keeler 1991; van der Meulen 2003).

European mass produced pipes were made using white ball clay, which is sometimes erroneously called kaolin clay. Ball clay is actually a sticky, titanium rich, smooth, highly plastic clay, and is called “ball clay” because it was initially shipped in large balls, whereas, kaolin clay is much chalkier and does not have the consistency to produce usable pipes (Vince and Peacey 2006). England and the Netherlands dominated the European pipe industry throughout the 17th and 18th centuries; however, there were smaller centers of production elsewhere in Europe, including in Bavaria, France, and in the late-18th and 19th centuries, in Scotland (Oswald 1975; Walker 1977; Mehler 2009; Higgins 2013). European white ball clay pipes were mass produced

in large numbers; a skilled pipe maker could produce up to 20 gross, or 3,000, undecorated pipes a week (Walker 1977:85).

Unlike the English and Dutch pipes, locally-produced pipes were not standardized and displayed a number of varied decorative and manufacturing techniques. Clay elbow pipes were the most dominant form in use by the Native American peoples that European colonists encountered upon their arrival in North America. Elbow, or funnel shaped, clay pipes continued to be produced during the 17th century in Virginia and Maryland. There have been many publications devoted to determining who was making and using local pipes in the 17th century (Harrington 1951; Henry 1979; Emerson 1988, 1999; Deetz 1996; Mouer 1993; Magoon 1999; Monroe 1999, 2002; Mouer et al. 1999; Neiman and King 1999; Agbe-Davies 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2010, 2015; Luckenbach 2004; Luckenbach and Kiser 2006), which L. Daniel Mouer (1993:129) has called "the most intriguing surviving examples of folk art in the early Chesapeake."

For the most part, locally-made pipes were not produced in large quantities, but instead pipe making was a type of "cottage industry" (Monroe and Mallios 2004), with a few notable exceptions discussed below (Luckenbach 2004; Luckenbach and Kiser 2006). Most of the non-imported pipes were made by hand; however, there are some examples of mold-made pipes (Luckenbach and Kiser 2006). The local pipe industry's output declined over time. Researchers from the Lost Towns project in Maryland have shown that percentages of local pipes in archaeological assemblages decreased throughout the 17th century (Cox et al. 2005). They group sites into three time periods: pre-1660, 1660 to 1680, and post-1680. Locally-made pipes represent more than 50% of the assemblage at sites dating to before 1660. At sites dating from 1660 to 1680, they make up 9-25% of the collection. Assemblages from the last group, sites

dating after 1680, have 0-3% local pipes. This dating method has been shown to work on several 17th-century sites on the Northern Neck of Virginia (Hatch et al. 2013; McMillan and Heath 2013; McMillan and Hatch 2013; McMillan et al. 2014).

This decrease in percentage over time is likely due to several factors. Susan Henry (1979), drawing on Russell Menard's (1976, 1980, 1984) economic depression model, argued that Chesapeake colonists produced pipes out of local clays during times of economic hardship, particularly when tobacco prices fell and the cost of imported English goods increased. Henry Miller (1991:87) modified Henry's argument by stating, "the general condition of the tobacco economy is not the crucial variable in spurring local manufacture. Instead, it may be the availability of manufactured goods. A basic problem for most colonial societies is that of supply." Miller then argued that in the 1650s, after the passage of the Navigation Acts, when it was illegal to trade with the Dutch, but during a time when England could not supply her colonies with the goods they needed, the colonists made pipes in response to commercial shortages. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, many Chesapeake scholars now reject the economic-depression model (Bradburn and Coombs 2006, 2011; Walsh 2010). Additionally, as I will elaborate on in great detail in Chapter 4 and will be demonstrated in Chapter 8, the Dutch were not eliminated from the Chesapeake by the Navigation Acts until the close of the 17th century.

Daniel Mouer and his colleagues argued that locally-made pipes all but disappear from the archaeological record at the end of the 17th century because of the decline of the Native American population in the Chesapeake (Mouer 1993; Mouer et al. 1999). Anna Agbe-Davies (2015) argues that local pipe production ceased at the end of the 17th century because the pipes represented a threat to elite Virginia society; as an aspect of colonial economy that the oligarchs

could not directly control, the independence that locally-made pipes demonstrated needed to be squashed. It may be that all of these interpretations are correct. The majority of locally-made pipes are the handmade variety, and these types likely disappeared in relation to the decrease in the Native American population in the Chesapeake at the turn of the 18th century (Mouer 1993; Mouer et al. 1999). Mold-made pipe production may be related to supply and demand models proposed by Henry (1979) and Miller (1991) and production ceased at the turn of the 18th century because of the ability of the English to resume shipping routes after the Glorious Revolution (1688/89).

Locally-made Pipes

Locally-made pipes are often referred to as "terra cotta," "Chesapeake," or "colono" pipes; however, I prefer the term "locally-made" because the term "Chesapeake pipe" implies specific ideas about who produced the artifacts (Emerson 1988). "Colono pipe" also invokes questions of production, even though those who employ the term use it to refer to the colonial period (Monroe and Mallios 2004). These questions arise because of the resemblance to the term "colonoware" used to describe locally-made, low fired, handbuilt pottery produced largely in the 18th century (Noël Hume 1962; Ferguson 1980, 1992, 1999; Mouer 1993; Heath 1996; Deetz 1999; Mouer et al. 1999; Singleton and Bograd 2000). It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to explore the colonoware debates other than to state that there are similar questions about who produced this pottery as there are about 17th-century locally-made pipes.

I also reject the term "Chesapeake pipe" because these types of red, yellow, buff, brown and multi-colored pipes were not restricted to the Chesapeake Bay region, but have been found up and down the East Coast of the United States, although they are still concentrated within Virginia and Maryland (Magoon 1999; Capone and Downs 2004). I also choose not use the term

"terra cotta" because it literally means "baked earth" and could be applied to any fired clay object, including white ball clay pipes that were manufactured in Europe. Instead, the term locally-made pipes provides the necessary information that the objects were not manufactured in Europe and are not made of white ball clay. However, I do recognize that this term is contextually dependent, and the scale and scope of a study can change the meaning of the word "local." In this dissertation, the term "locally-made pipe" refers to pipes made, used, and discarded in the colonies of Virginia and Maryland.

In 1951, J.C. Harrington, as the first archaeologist to discuss locally-made clay pipes, stated that he believed that the red, yellow, and brown pipes found in Virginia were manufactured by local Native American groups for trade with European colonists, but did leave open the possibility of European colonial manufacture. His was the generally accepted interpretation of local pipes until Susan Henry (1979) added to Harrington's interpretations with a formal typology that included pipes made of local clay but in European forms, and in some cases, from European-style molds. Henry believed that these European style mold-made pipes were produced by European colonists and that hand-made pipes were manufactured by local Indians.

In 1988, Matthew Emerson was the first researcher to offer an alternative explanation to the origins of locally-made pipes. Initially, Emerson (1988:1) stated "these decorated pipes were made by Europeans, Africans, and Indians...they represent one of America's earliest folk industries and are embellished with decorative art, which consists of European, West African, and Native American elements." However, after acknowledging that many different groups of people contributed to the production of locally-made pipes, he argued that both hand-made and mold-made pipes were mainly produced by Africans and African Americans. In his dissertation

(1988) and subsequent book chapters (1994, 1999), Emerson compared motifs found on 17th-century locally-made tobacco pipes found in the Chesapeake to designs found on pieces of West African pottery and art, and drew parallels between these two sources of information. Emerson made interpretations about the identities of the producers and users of the pipes based on comparisons of these motifs. He focused on several motifs that have specific meanings among various groups in West Africa (Emerson 1988:142-156).

For example, Emerson pointed to the double-bell motif, consisting of two triangles that meet in the middle at their points (Emerson 1988:152, 154-155, Figure 51) that was used by people in Cameroon and Nigeria as a symbol that represents the ruling class, or members of the elite within those societies. He interpreted the appearance of the double-bell motif on pipes in the Chesapeake as reflections of "individual status and personal identity" and perhaps "a stage in one's life" (Emerson 1988:156). Probably the most famous of the motifs that Emerson discussed are the quadrapeds, or "running deer" pipes and hanging triangles. He argued that these motifs have antecedents among the Fon of Dahomey and among people from Nigeria (Emerson 1988:142-145). Emerson stated that these "examples of West African symbolism...demonstrate the strength of West African decorative traditions in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake" (Emerson 1988:152) and that these motifs served as "a visual reminder of Africa and African self-awareness in the everyday lives of some seventeenth-century slaves in Virginia and Maryland" (Emerson 1988:155).

There are several problems with Emerson's interpretations that the majority of these pipes were manufactured by captured Africans and African Americans. The biggest issue with Emerson's work is that he failed to contextualize any of his interpretations, either within 17th-century Chesapeake society or at individual archaeological sites (Mouer 1993; Mouer et al.

1999). Additionally, his interpretations are based on an assumption there was a "pan-African" culture in the Chesapeake.

For example, one of the largest assemblages that Emerson used was from Nomini Plantation (44WM12), which is also used in this dissertation. Almost all of the locally-made pipes from Nomini were recovered from the lowest layer of the midden, which Hatch and I have shown dates to circa 1647-1679 (McMillan and Hatch 2013). In a 1659 deed of land transfer, William Hardidge I, who owned the land adjoining Nomini Plantation to the north, described his property boundary as "...at the head of a small marsh in the branch of a creeke issuing out of Nominy Bay...near the side of an Indian field commonly known as the Pipemaker's field" (LOV 1653-1671:11-12). Further evidence to support the assertion that the pipe maker lived on Speke's property includes the presence of pipe wasters in the bottom layer of the refuse midden. This reference suggests that the majority of the pipes made at Nomini Plantation were likely the products of the Indian pipemaker. An additional source of these pipes could be from nearby Algonquian Indians, including those living on the eastern side of Nomini Bay at the Matchotic village, which was illustrated on John Smith's 1608 map and Augustine Herman's 1670 map of the Chesapeake. However, if Emerson had provided a detailed history of each site he used, he would have found evidence to support his arguments. Thomas Speke, the first owner of Nomini Plantation, was one of the few planters in the Potomac River Valley in the early- to mid-17th century who owned enslaved African Americans, as evidenced by his 1659 will (LOV 1653-1671:103-105). These historical references suggest that the handmade pipes from Nomini Plantation could represent the work of both local Native Americans and enslaved Africans, in addition to influences from European colonists.

Emerson did acknowledge that Native Americans produced tobacco pipes during the 17th century (Emerson 1988:162-166) but argued that Chesapeake Indian populations were significantly reduced after 1644 and thus it was unlikely that they contributed to local pipe-making. However, as several prominent Chesapeake archaeologists have pointed out in their critique of Emerson's interpretations: "to suggest that Indians were not a very significant element in the history and culture of the colonial Chesapeake would require ignoring both historical and archaeological evidence" (Mouer et al. 1999:109). Mouer and his colleagues go on to provide several examples and evidence of Native American presence in the Chesapeake throughout the 17th century. It also seems misinformed to suggest that there were few Native Americans in Virginia and Maryland at the end of the century considering that one of most important and fundamental events in Chesapeake history, Bacon's Rebellion, which was sparked by Anglo-Native tensions, occurred in 1676.

Mouer et al. (1999:110) also asked, "were Africans in a position, in the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Chesapeake, to form a viable subculture or social context that could produce a widespread and consistent folk tradition of...a coherent decorated tobacco pipe art form? The premise that they were is contrary to most historical and archaeological evidence." As we have seen, locally-made pipes decreased in abundance over the course of the 17th century and were most popular prior to ca. 1660 (Cox et al. 2005; Figure 3.1). As pointed out by Mouer et al. (1999), there was plenty of evidence when Emerson conducted his research that enslaved Africans and African Americans made up a small percentage of the population in the 17th-century Chesapeake. Recent scholarship by historians provides quantitative data to support this assertion.

Data taken from Walsh's research on the slave trade indicates that the number of captured Africans imported into Virginia prior to ca. 1704 was very low (Walsh 2001; Figure 3.2). Similarly, Coombs' research on the transition from the use of white indentured servants to African chattel slaves shows that the number of black headrights claimed in Virginia markedly increased after ca. 1660 (Coombs 2011; Figure 3.3). These three graphs show the inverse relationship between the increase in number of captured Africans imported in the Virginia and the decrease in popularity of locally-made pipes during the 17th century, suggesting that these pipes were not primarily the products of captive Africans. Estimates of the European and Indian populations in the Chesapeake during the 17th century also support the interpretation that these pipes were most likely produced by Native Americans and in some cases European colonists. Around 1630, the white population was roughly 3,000 and there were an estimated 10,000 Native Americans living in the Chesapeake at the same time (Morgan 1975:404; Egloff and Woodward 1992:45). Scholars estimate that by the end of the century, the white and black population had reached approximately 50,000, with African and African American people making up roughly 15% of that number, and the Native American population had decreased to around 1,000 (Morgan 1975:404; Kulikoff 1986:319; Egloff and Woodward 1992:45; Walsh 2010:138).

Emerson (1988:1) argued that locally-made pipe "surface art [was] derived from a generalized West African decorative art tradition," implying that there was a single "West African culture" imported to the Chesapeake. Walsh (2001) has shown that enslaved Africans in the Chesapeake came from many different ethnolinguistic traditions, representing many different majority of the enslaved Africans in the sweet-scented region were from the Bight of Biafra. Although Walsh's research focused on the 18th century, it does serve to illustrate the problems

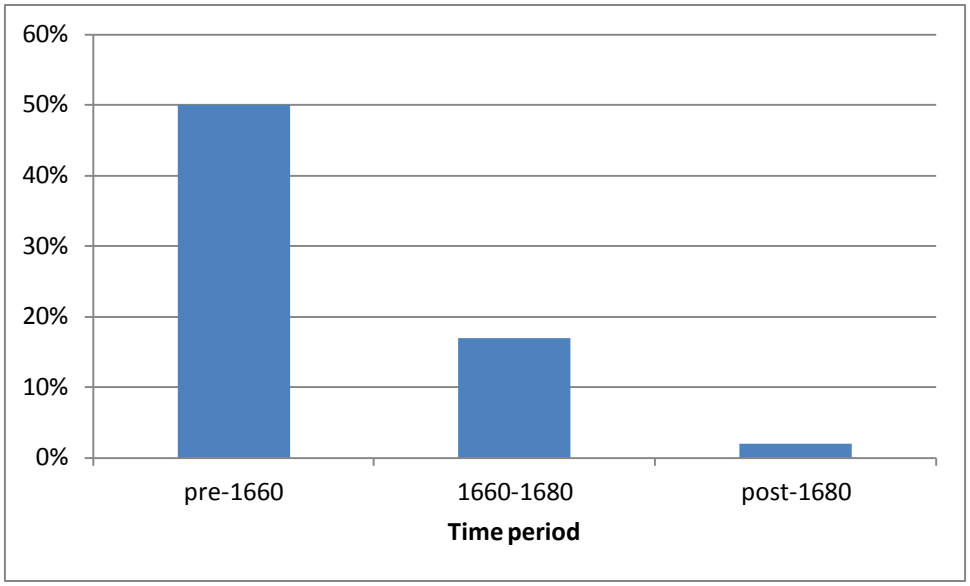

Figure 3.1: Average percentage of locally-made pipes in an archaeological assemblage by time period. Data from Cox et al. 2005.

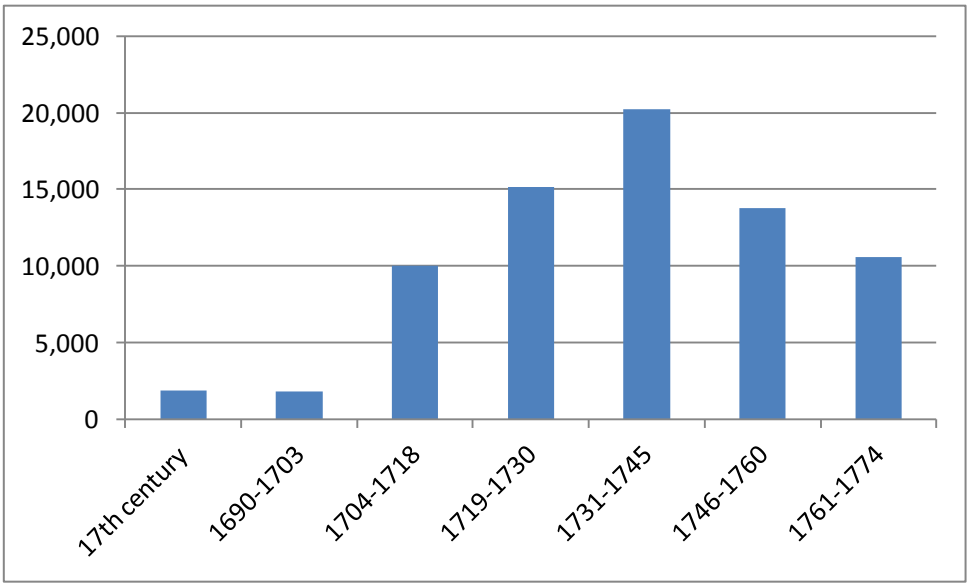

Figure 3.2: Number of slaves imported into Virginia. From Walsh 2001.

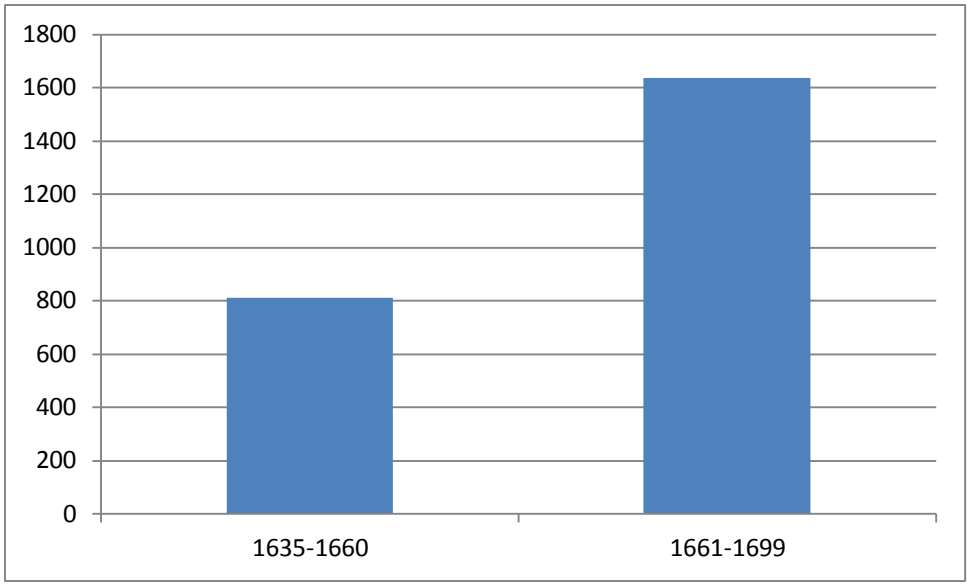

Figure 3.3: Number of black headrights claimed in Virginia. Data from Coombs 2011.

with assuming that all captured Africans who were imported to the Chesapeake shared the same cultural foundations and would have understood the motifs in the same way.

Despite this critique, Emerson's study of locally-made pipes is important. He provided the most widely used moniker for this artifact type, "Chesapeake pipes," and the most comprehensive typology and descriptions of various motifs found on locally-made pipes (Emerson 1988). Emerson brought African Americans into the discussion regarding pipes and provided the catalyst for such discussions around ethnicity and sources of influence on decorative motifs. Most importantly to this dissertation, he also introduced the concept that pipes can be useful tools in identity studies. While some scholars accept Emerson's broad assertions that enslaved West Africans made these pipes, most archaeologists favor Mouer and his colleagues' interpretations that these pipes were the products of the creolization processes that were occurring in the 17th-century Chesapeake (Mouer 1993; Mouer et al. 1999; Monroe 1999, 2002; Sikes 2008).

Focusing on handmade pipes, Mouer and his colleagues demonstrated that the motifs that Emerson claimed were of African origin were actually common among Anglo, African, and Native American cultures (Mouer et al. 1999:106). Given the small African population present in the Chesapeake in the early- to mid-17th century, when the majority of locally-made pipes were produced, and the fact that similar motifs and decorative styles are also found on prehistoric Indian pipes, the authors state that most hand-made pipes are likely the product of Native Americans with African and Anglo influences. Mouer believes that common motifs, such as stars, triangles, and quadrupeds, were chosen to adorn the Native-made pipes not only as an effort by local Indians to keep their cultures alive in the face of a new, large population influx, but also as unifying themes and modes of communication among the producers and users of the

pipes (i.e. among Native Americans, European colonists, and enslaved Africans). It is important to stress that all groups contributed to the production of these pipes.

The majority of research on locally-made pipes has focused on the handmade variety. Al Luckenbach and Taft Kiser (2006) have produced the most comprehensive work on mold-made local pipes manufactured by European colonists. The authors identify six distinct workshop groups assumed to represent the work of European colonial pipe makers. Anna Agbe-Davies (2004a:115-128), in her research on 17th-century locally-made pipes and their distribution networks in and around Jamestown, defines workshop groups as groups of artifacts that show the same attributes due to production; these attributes are both decorative (motifs and maker's marks) and technological (i.e. from the same pipe-mold or use of the same smoothing technique). Standardization of a sample could point to the pipe being produced by a specialist or group of specialists from the same workshop.

There is historical evidence that names at least three English colonists who were known pipe makers. Robert Cotton was producing pipes in Jamestown as early as 1608. Richard Pimmer was working somewhere near Nansemond Fort in Virginia around 1659. Emmanuel Drue, a Puritan who lived in the Providence settlement in Maryland, had a pipe kiln that he operated during the 1650s and 1660s (Luckenbach 2004; Luckenbach and Kiser 2006).

The majority of analyses on locally-made pipes have focused on the ethnicity of the people making pipes (Emerson 1988, 1999; Magoon 1999; Mouer 1993; Mouer et al. 1999), the status of those actually smoking the pipes (Neiman and King 1999; Graham et al. 2007), the symbolic meaning of the decoration on the pipes (Emerson 1988; Monroe 2002; Sikes 2008), and how the pipes were made (Henry 1979; Luckenbach 2004). In her dissertation, *Up in Smoke: Pipe Making, Smoking and Bacon's Rebellion*, Anna Agbe-Davies (2004a) used locally-made

pipes to discuss the social and political networks in which pipes were produced and distributed by applying new classification methods to the analysis of these archaeological specimens. In the previous studies mentioned above, the researchers attempted to understand the pipes from an emic perspective and determine why local artisans produced such varied forms of a simple device used to smoke tobacco and what those differences meant to the producers and users.

Agbe-Davies (Agbe-Davies 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2010, 2015) approached the study of locally-made pipes very differently than previous scholars. She explicitly states that her research is not emic; instead her study uses historical documents and the archaeological record to produce a "historic ethnography of pipe making and using" in order to "create a context for understanding what these artifacts can tell us about the social worlds in which they were produced, exchanged, used, and discarded" (Agbe-Davies 2004a:6). The main question in her dissertation and book was: Did Virginia elite or the artisans producing the pipes control the 17th-century pipe industry (Agbe-Davies 2004a, 2015)?

In order to answer her main research question, Agbe-Davies (2004a:239) analyzed local tobacco pipe fragments from 11 sites in and around Jamestown dating from ca. 1640 to 1710. All of the sites she used were associated with and/or owned by many of the elite and powerful families in Southern Virginia in the 17th century; thus social alliances and networks can easily be understood, connecting the sites to one another through historical records. Agbe-Davies particularly focused on social alliances related to Bacon's Rebellion. She stated "the focus is not on the elite for their own sake, but because knowledge about their alliances and social networks can be used as a baseline against which to compare the networks along which pipes actually were exchanged" (Agbe-Davies 2004a:65).

Agbe-Davies rejects the use of predefined types in her analyses of workshop groups because they tend to favor nearly complete specimens, bowls, and highly decorative or "unique" pipes. She also rejects formal types because they are based on “graded” classifications that compare New and Old World pipes, and inherently make judgments about the “Indian-ness” and “European-ness” of the pipes, and consequently, of the makers (Agbe-Davies 2004a:89). Instead of adopting a traditional hierarchically based taxonomic classification system, she used an “analytical,” or “modal,” classification (Agbe-Davies 2004a:104). In a modal analysis, the data are grouped by one attribute at a time into groups called “modes" in order to analyze attributes sequentially, not hierarchically. She argued that a modal analysis helped her recognize variation more easily, because it allowed for the use of all pipe fragments, not just unique pieces.

In order to determine variability among attributes and the patterns illustrated by those variations, she ran statistical tests on individual traits, as opposed to previous studies, which have been concerned with recognizing traits that occurred together, then assigning a “type” to those co-occurring traits. Similarities between sites could then be used to trace social networks (Agbe-Davies 2004a: 236-240). She argued the variation in her sample could be due to multiple pipe manufacturers, whereas, similarities point to specialization and likely pipes produced by the same maker.

Agbe-Davies posited that since the elite were controlling other forms of local production, such as brick and tile manufacturing (Metz at al. 1998), then it is likely that they were controlling the production and distribution of locally-made tobacco pipes, as well. The alternative to this is that production was controlled by the artisans, and the distribution networks have more to do with geography than elite social relationships (Agbe-Davies 2004a:270). She concluded that the elite did not control local pipe production and distribution, but that geographic proximity

accounts for similarities and differences. However, she did argue that the elite had some role in pipe manufacturing and attributed the decline of local pipe production to the elites' lack of involvement; without their sponsorship and support, the specialized craft became obsolete (Agbe-Davies 2004a:319-330).

Agbe-Davies' methods (modal analysis and emphasis on traits over types) are useful in the rejection of preconceived notions of categories and allow the researcher to view all pipe fragments, not just the unique pieces. However, there are some issues with the complete rejection of types. She made interpretations about relationships between people that occurred during the last half of the 17th century and distribution networks of locally-made pipes. However, as already discussed, the local pipe industry declined rapidly after ca. 1660. The majority of the pipes that she used to trace social networks were likely manufactured well before Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 and the alliances she inferred were formed. In fact, if she had used "types" she would have recognized that many of the pipes that she studied were actually made in the 1640s and 1650s (as will be discussed in Chapter 7); the relationship between the distribution of pipes from the first half of the 17th century and late 17th-century social alliances is unclear.

The overall concept of understanding how locally-produced pipes were distributed by identifying workshop groups is one that I am very interested in, and the additional analysis of technological traits, especially determining tools and techniques used for shaping the pipes, is a major contribution to the study of locally-produced pipes. The idea of using Bacon's Rebellion as a social lens through which to view and understand the sites is an interesting one, and has heavily influenced my research regarding conflicts in the Potomac River Valley. However, while I have based my overall question of tracing social networks through the local-pipe trade in relation to known political alliances, I will not be using her modal and trait analysis methods as

my primary interest is in identifying types, and because we are asking slightly different questions of the data. Instead, I use typologies to track local distribution networks. Finally, I do think that modal analysis could be useful, especially on all the "rejected" fragments that do not fit a known type; perhaps a method somewhere between the two approaches could be effective, in which known types (with known, named makers from the historical record, or pipes that have a known workshop location) are eliminated from the assemblage and then modal analyses are conducted on the remaining pipe fragments.

Imported Pipes

Throughout much of the 20th century, white clay pipes were often relegated to dating tools or studies focused on questions of function and typology (Cressford 2001; Loktu 2012). The most common method of dating an archaeological site using pipes is through pipe stem formulas, in which the size of the bore diameter is measured and the average size is calculated in relation to manufacture and deposition (Harrington 1954; Binford 1962b; Hanson 1971; Heighton and Deagan 1972; McMillan 2010, in review). If researchers examined marks and decorations beyond determining the maker and the production date, it was usually to make generic interpretations about European ethnicity, such as "Home Rule" pipes were used by Irish immigrants. This trend began to shift away from essentializing ethnic patterns and dating methods in the 1990s towards contextualized, social-historical studies (Cressford 2001; Loktu 2012:159). Since the late-20th century, several archaeologists have used white clay tobacco pipes to discuss individual and community identity formation (Cook 1989; Beaudry et al. 1991; Dallal and Reckner 1995; Dallal 2000; Reckner 2001, 2004; Kellar 2004; Pheiffer 2006; Janowitz 2013).

Probably the best known of these studies is Lauren Cook's analysis of pipes from the Boott Mills site, a collection of 19th and 20th-century working class boarding houses in Lowell, Massachusetts (Cook 1989; Beaudry et al. 1991). Through the use of the cultural hegemony model and semiotics, he investigated the symbolic meaning of tobacco use in relation to class and ethnic identities of the site's occupants. Cook (1989:210) asserted that pipes and other tobacco-related artifacts are perfect sources of information regarding identity formation because, "it is through leisure, or at least non-work, activities that the greater part of self-definition and self expression takes place." Cook (1989) examined historical references to smoking in the Northeast in the late-19th and early-20th centuries in order to contextualize the archaeologically recovered pipes from the Boott Mills site. He found evidence that although smoking was something in which everyone engaged, how one smoked was dependent on one's class and ethnic identity. He found that short stemmed, or "cutty," clay pipes were associated with the working class, whereas, long "churchwarden" and meerschaum pipes were associated with the middle class. Additionally, smoking in public was considered vulgar, and only something working class people would do.

Cook and his colleagues argued that the presence of short stem pipes in public spaces, in addition to evidence of alcohol consumption, at the Boott Mills site indicated that the working class tenants who lived there were engaging in subversive activities as a way to resist attempts by the bourgeoisie to impose hegemonic control over their behaviors and material lives. Additionally, not only did they find pre-made cutty pipes, the researchers also found evidence that several of the pipes had been purposefully shortened prior to being smoked; these modifications were interpreted as purposeful acts to display a working class identity. The authors argued that the act of smoking short stemmed pipes in public served to link the working classes

through subversive action as an expression of identity. These "vulgar activities" were also seen as an intrusive presence to non-members and served to link the middle and upper classes through disdain. Cook also examined marks and decorations on the short stemmed pipes. He found that many of the pipes displayed imagery associated with Ireland and the Irish Diaspora, the most common of which were "Home Rule" pipes, likely indicating that the people who smoked these pipes were recent Irish immigrants (Cook 1989:219-223; Beaudry et al. 1991:167-168).

Several archaeologists working on 19th-century sites in New York City and in nearby New Jersey have examined decorative motifs on pipes in relation to social, political, and ethnic affiliations (Dallal and Reckner 1995; Dallal 2000; Reckner 2001, 2004; Brighton 2004; Janowitz 2013). Paul Reckner has examined 19th-century pipes from the Five Points neighborhood in New York City (Reckner 2001) and from the "Dublin" neighborhood in Patterson, New Jersey (Reckner 2004). Reckner's studies move beyond simple interpretations of "Irish immigrants smoked pipes with Irish imagery" to highly contextualized analyses of why these immigrant communities chose or rejected pipes with specific imagery and how those symbols were used in social discourse, focusing on class conflict. He argued "the use or avoidance of nationalist symbols by working-class immigrant groups need not be understood merely as an indicator of acculturation or the resurgence of pride in a distant homeland;" instead these pipes should be viewed "as symbols with contingent and contested meanings, actively structuring and structured through the day-to-day interactions of social agents" (Reckner 2004:243).

Reckner (2001) analyzed pipes from three different immigrant occupied tenement houses in Five Points: an 1840s-1860s German site, an 1850s-1860s Irish site, and an 1860s-1870s Irish site. He found that only the German immigrants purchased pipes with American patriotic

symbols, such as 13 stars or a federal eagle. He argued that these motifs represented more than immigrant communities attempting to adopt the dominant ideology of their new homeland through acculturation, but instead were negotiated symbols that represented many different ideas. To the Irish, who did not purchase these pipes, the patriotic images represented the nativist movements that rejected their presence in the United States. Anglo-Saxon, Protestant nativists believed that Irish Catholics brought poverty, disease, and crime with them from Ireland, and that the Irish could never become American because the hierarchical and aristocratic nature of Catholicism clashed with democracy and republicanism. To the Irish, federal eagles and other American imagery served as a reminder of their dire situation and low socio-economic status. Conversely, Reckner argued that the German immigrants used pipes with American patriotic motifs as a way to challenge middle and upper class ideology; specifically the use of these symbols by factory and shop owners to further the idea that to be American was to be an entrepreneur, and that patriotism was equated with the ability to profit from other people's work. Instead, the Germans, many of whom were members of trade unions and political organizations, used these patriotic symbols as a way to bring about class consciousness and promote democracy.

Reckner (2001) also argued that initially, the Irish immigrants in Five Points tried to assimilate into mainstream American culture. Only a single pipe out of 276 from the earlier Irish site was decorated with Irish imagery, a harp and shamrock motif, whereas, 23% of the pipes from the later Irish site had Irish mottos or symbols. He argued that once the Irish immigrant population increased in the late 19th century and assimilation was no longer seen as an effective defensive strategy, they stopped trying to hide their Irish affiliations and began to adopt radical political ideologies and nationalistic pride as a way to resist nativist rhetoric and economic

suppression. Reckner (2004) made similar arguments about pipes from late-19th and early-20th century contexts in Patterson, New Jersey, where he focused on Irish political mottos and the transformation and modification of the symbolic meaning of those motifs in relationship to the rise of trade unions and working class social activism.

The most important of the previous studies on imported pipes to my research is Diane Dallal's 2004 analysis of Dutch pipes from New Amsterdam. In her study, she examined the most common motifs found on 17th-century pipes manufactured in the Netherlands: Tudor Rose, fleur-de-lis, and Sir Walter Raleigh. Each of these decorative patterns was introduced into the Dutch pipe industry by exiled English men and women, but became common among all pipe makers in the Netherlands. She argued that these images "*stylistically* communicated the position" of the people who made and consumed the decorated pipes (Dallal 2004:211). Dallal examined the symbolic and historical meaning of these motifs in relation to political, religious, and cultural movements central to English immigration to the Netherlands.

The Tudor Rose represented life under Queen Elizabeth, before James I took the throne and harshly criticized tobacco use and pipe making (Dallal 2004:212). Don Duco (1981:397) argued that the Tudor Rose was "a symbol for freedom and prosperity." Dallal (2004:214) pointed out that there were three general types of Tudor Rose motifs: a stylized flower stamped on the heel (Figure 3.4), a rose created from raised dots on the base on the heel (Figure 3.5), and a dotted rose on the side of the bowl (Figure 3.6). All three versions of the Tudor Rose motif have been found in the Potomac River Valley.

The fleur-de-lis, Dallal argued, also represented Queen Elizabeth and Tudor rule to pipe makers in the Netherlands. The fleur-de-lis in French iconography symbolized a white lily, which was associated with the Virgin Mary, and when it was incorporated in the English

heraldry in the 14th century, it came to represent female authority within the ruling family (Cirlot 1993). Alfred Dunhill (1925) argued that the meaning of the fleur-de-lis transformed during the 17th-century to represent not the Virgin Mary, but the perfection of tobacco plants as sources of prosperity through the tobacco trade and pipe making. The association with women was strengthened by 17th-century pipe makers when they placed the fleur-de-lis within a diamond, or lozenge (Dallal 2004:221; Figure 3.7; Figure 3.8). The lozenge is the traditional backdrop for women's arms, as opposed to men's heraldry, which was placed on a shield (Neubecker 1988:46).

Thus, Dallal argued that the fleur-de-lis within a diamond on Dutch pipes was meant to evoke memories of Tudor Protestantism through a symbol of purified tobacco plants that represented the Virgin Queen (Elizabeth Tudor). She stated, "similar to the Tudor Rose mark, which represented memories of England and home, freedom and prosperity to English pipe makers in Holland, it is reasonable to assume that the fleur-de-lis marks on the long stems of pipes reflected those same inchoate yearnings" (Dallal 2004:222). The fleur-de-lis was one of the most popular motifs in the Netherlands and was used by both Dutch-born pipe makers and English exiles. Many pipes in the Potomac River Valley are decorated with the fleur-de-lis.

The last theme that Dallal examined was the highly decorative, molded Sir Walter Raleigh pipe, which was derived from earlier decorative pipe patterns known as Jonah and the Whale. Over the first half of the 17th century, the Jonah pipes transformed from a generically bearded man with a crown of seaweed to one that resembled contemporary portraits of Raleigh. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of Queen Elizabeth's favorites, a famous promoter of smoking, and was executed by James I in 1618. Raleigh pipes show an image of a man with a pointed beard being swallowed by a crocodile (Figure 3.9). Duco (1981:380) has pointed out that James I was often portrayed as a "snake who devoured Tudor power" with a forked tongue, representing

Figure 3.4: Stylized Tudor Rose on the heel of a Dutch pipe. John Hallowes site (44WM6), Westmoreland County, Virginia. Photo by the author 2011. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Figure 3.5: Raised Dot Tudor Rose of the heel of the Dutch pipe. Big Pit (18ST1-13), St. Mary's City, Maryland. Photo by author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland.

Figure 3.6: Raised Dot Tudor Rose on the side of a Dutch pipe bowl. Big Pit (18ST1-13), St. Mary's City, Maryland. Photo by author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland.

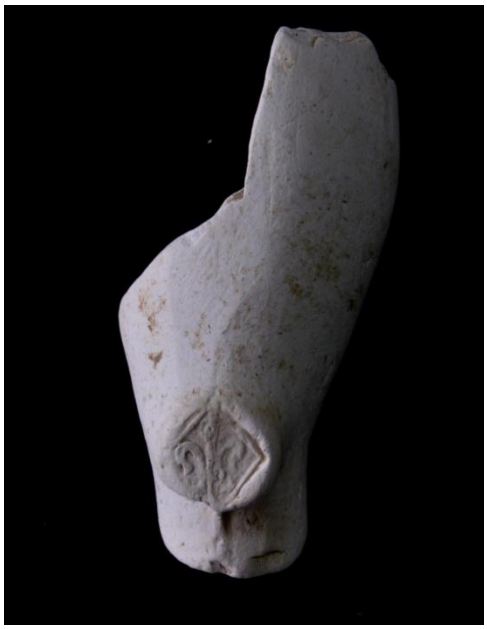

Figure 3.7: Fleur-de-lis stamp on the heel of a Dutch pipe. Big Pit (18ST1-13), St. Mary's City, Maryland. Photo by author 2015, Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland.

Figure 3.8: "Four on Diamond Fleur-de-lis" motif on a Dutch pipe stem. Nomini Plantation (44WM12). Photo by the author, 2014. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Figure 3.9: Reproduction Sir Walter Raleigh pipe, from author's personal collection. Photo by author, 2015.

Figure 3.10: Sir Walter Raleigh pipe fragment from the John Washington site (44WM204). Photo by D. Brad Hatch 2014, Courtesy of St. Mary's College of Maryland and the George Washington Birthplace National Park.

duplicity. Thus, Dallal (2004:219-220) argued that these pipes depict Raleigh (Tudor freedom, prosperity, and Protestantism) being devoured by a serpent/crocodile (Stuart authoritarian rule, absolutism, and Crypto-Catholicism), illustrating exiled-English and Dutch resentment toward new laws, regulations, and policies enacted by James I and his allies that not only forced the English to flee, but also imposed economic hardship on Dutch manufacturers and merchants. Only one Sir Walter Raleigh pipe was identified in my dissertation assemblage; it is a small fragment of the crocodile, showing its scales (Figure 3.10).

Conclusions

In this dissertation, I draw heavily on anthropological models of material culture studies. From Douglas and Isherwood (1979), I adopt the view that goods are more than mere reflections of status and identity, but convey information; goods are never silent, static things. Instead, the exchange of goods is also the exchange of information which helps to develop and maintain community boundaries. Appadurai's (1986) argument that consumption is a political act and not solely an economic choice informs my arguments about the pipe trade, and specifically in regards to my imported pipe analysis. Mullins (1999, 2004) restated the argument that people consumed goods for political and social reasons. Also influential to this dissertation is Miller's (1987, 2012) contention that mass produced goods, such as European ball clay pipes, are just as important in identity formation as goods produce on a small scale because meaning is contextually dependent, and not imposed from the top down. McCraken's (1988) concept of ballast will be used in the following chapters to discuss community cohesion in the face of international, national, regional, and local instability. Martin's (2008) study illustrates how people on the periphery were engaged and active within the world-system and how a micro-historical approach can illuminate individual choice and action.

Beaudry and her colleagues' work on the relationship between artifacts and identity formation has been very influential in my understanding of how objects were active in shaping culture (Beaudry et al. 1991; Yentsch and Beaudry 2001; White and Beaudry 2009). Artifacts are active, not passive, and served as contextually dependent symbols within communities and to individuals in the past. Drawing on White and Beaudry's (2009) discussion of individual identity formation, I argue that tobacco pipes are the remains of one such "mundane and repeated" act, that of smoking; additionally, pipes are closely associated with the self, and the person, as one has to intimately hold a pipe in order to ingest smoke into the body. Additionally, pipes served to form, alter, and sustain community identity and boundaries. Pipes, like other personal artifacts, were used in public, not just inside the home in private. The public act of smoking a specific pipe with a specific decorative motif could have served as a signal to other members of a group and could have indicated social and political affiliations (Cook 1989; Beaudry et al. 1991; Dallal 2000; Reckner 2001, 2004; Thomas and Thomas 2004; Janowitz 2013).

The same characteristics that make pipes ideal for studying social-symbolic relationships and interactions make them ideal for understanding the physical world in which the individuals studied in this dissertation lived. Material items impact human lives and culture and serve real roles in society; for example, while the form and decoration of a pipe may vary and meaning may be contextually and temporally dependent, the function of most pipes is to ingest smoke. The tangible, material aspects of clay pipes speak volumes (Olsen 2010; Hodder 2012), particularly about the day to day activities of colonists living in the Potomac River Valley. Pipes are small, light, and portable, and thus could be carried with people as they moved around the landscape, whether on their individual plantations, on a boat traveling to the urban center of St. Mary's City, or on horseback visiting nearby friends and family. Everyone smoked tobacco, and

would have engaged in this activity both privately and in public; to "drink a bit of smoke" was a social pursuit, one that would have been done with friends, acquaintances, social allies, economic partners, and with complete strangers. The material properties of a pipe can impact those who used it; for example, clay pipes are hard and can erode holes into human teeth when smoked over many years. These pipe facets worn into teeth would result in cavities, abscesses, and infections ultimately leading to shorter life expectancies (Angel 1976; King and Ubelaker 1996; Phung et al. 2009). Clay pipes are fragile and easily broken, and thus would have been replaced rapidly and easily, and because pipes were mass-produced in Europe, were often easily accessible; even when imported pipes were unavailable, there were many locally-produced options on hand.

Although artifacts are the archaeologist's main analytical unit, we must remember that one of the main phenomenon that we are observing is the creation and maintenance of identity and relationships. Goods help create and maintain social networks, and as archaeologists and anthropologists, we should try to recognize and study those networks. Archaeological remains represent the tangible evidence of those networks; not just trade networks, but social networks that supported and influenced political and economic behavior and were influenced and supported by political and economic behavior. None of these elements can be separated.

Pipes, as symbolic pieces of material culture that shaped and reflected individual and group identity can shed light on the political ideology behind the trade and exchange of both locally-made and imported tobacco pipes that helped shape Potomac River Valley communities and the formation of the British-Atlantic Empire. By determining who was exchanging pipes, the tangible evidence of social networks, relationships and motivations behind these interactions can be understood and can be used to infer non-tangible exchanges of information and values. In

Chapter 7, I discuss the results of my locally-made pipe analysis. In chapter 8, I explore the imported pipe trade in the Potomac River Valley. First, I provide Atlantic, regional, and household level contexts to my tobacco pipe analyses in the next three chapters.

Chapter 4 : The British-Atlantic World, 17th-century Political Economy, and Anglo-Dutch Interactions in the Chesapeake

Several scholars have recently urged researchers studying the early-modern Atlantic World to question assumptions of 17th-century English Atlantic political economy, specifically advocating for studies that investigate ideological debates pertaining to mercantilist policies around the empire and in the periphery, not just the resulting laws passed in the core (Pestana 2004; Leng 2005; Koot 2011, 2012, 2014; Matson 2012; Pincus 2012). In this chapter, I explore the political economy of the 17th-century Atlantic World and the impacts of trade ideology on identity. I will first discuss current historical arguments regarding the development of the British-Atlantic World as a result of English adoption of Dutch economic systems at the end of the 17th century. This section is followed by a discussion on 17th-century political economy, specifically clashes that occurred in both the core and periphery regarding mercantilism and the roots of early capitalism. This section includes an exploration of differences between these two economic systems and contemporary notions regarding the efficacy of both strategies.

In the second half of this chapter I present the results of my primary source research regarding Dutch trade ideology and the influence of merchants from the Netherlands on English commercial thought. Specifically, I discuss English and Dutch ideas of liberty in relation to the merits of free trade. Next, I explore historical evidence of Anglo-Dutch interactions in the 17th-century Chesapeake and colonial resistance to English restrictive trade policy. I end this chapter with a brief discussion of archaeological approaches to the study of the origins of a modern economy and how my research fits within both historical and archaeological studies of early capitalism.

Development of the British-Atlantic World

Allison Games (2008) argues that origins of the British Empire can be traced to the last quarter of the 16th century when English merchants and travelers established intensive trade relationships in the Mediterranean. It was through these contacts that the English developed a model of cultural interaction that they would take with them around the globe while trading and colonizing in the 17th and 18th centuries. During this time, Englishmen who found themselves in strange and foreign lands learned how to organize overseas endeavors, the importance of cooperation in trans-ethnic and trans-national exchanges, and recognized that if they emulated the superior trading skills of the Dutch, they, too, could become masters of commerce.

Everywhere the English went in the 16th and 17th centuries, from the Mediterranean and Africa to the Americas and East Indies, the Dutch had previously established trading partnerships by the time their North Sea neighbors sailed into port. These two groups of oceanic-focused Protestants engaged in prolonged and intensive contact all around the world, and "the Dutch often showed the English how to adapt to new circumstances, whether cultivating sugar cane in Barbados or dining Japanese style in Hirado" (Games 2008:8).

Interactions between the English and Dutch were frequent in the 17th century. This century has been referred to as "England's Apprenticeship" to the Dutch; a time when the English were modernizing and adopting Dutch cultural and economic characteristics (Wilson 1965; Haley 1988; Jardine 2008). In this section, I will discuss the development of the British-Atlantic World over the course of the 17th century and the influence of Dutch ideology and economic thought on the formation of British identity. While there were many contributing factors to changes that took place over the roughly 100-year period, I will provide a broad outline of the

social and political climate of England, particularly in regards to the rise and fall of the Stuart monarchy, focusing on political economy and Anglo-Dutch interactions.

David Armitage (2000) argues that the British Empire and British identity did not coalesce until the late-17th century, and it was not until the early-18th century that the North American colonies considered themselves part of the empire. Many struggles, debates, and uprisings occurred throughout the 17th century while England, her subjects, and colonies developed a unified identity based on commerce, mastery of the seas, and liberty in opposition to Continental ideas of military strength, wealth in land, and absolute monarchy (Armitage 2000; Pincus 2009).

Some historians have argued that Protestantism formed the roots of early modern English and British identity (Colley 1992; Greenfield 1992; Clayton and McBride 1998), but recently, others have rejected this idea as too simplistic. While many feared a Catholic monarchy in the 17th century, the English were more focused on the absolutist nature of Catholicism and worried that their liberties would be taken away under such a system (Armitage 2000; Pincus 2009). These fears of absolute government control and restrictions of liberty were played out in several ways throughout the 17th century.

When James VI of Scotland became James I of England in 1603, he began to implement new political and economic policies counter to his Tudor cousin and predecessor, Elizabeth. The king brought with him Scottish ideas regarding trade to England; specifically the concept of *mare clausum*, or closed seas. He believed that as the king of England and Scotland, he, and only he, had absolute dominion over trade and other maritime activities in and around the British Isles (Armitage 2000:107-108).

Anglo-Dutch relations were tense during the reign of James I for several reasons. Despite the strong alliances formed under Elizabeth during the Dutch revolt against Spain, the Stuart monarch viewed the Dutch as his enemy. One of the main reasons James I despised the Dutch was that he was an absolute monarch who saw himself as the literal head of the government and his subjects as the body. He disapproved of any people who rebelled against their divinely-placed sovereign and was afraid that if the English people became too close to the Netherlands, they too might rise up against their lawful ruler. James I was also jealous of Dutch wealth gained through maritime commerce; he believed that the Dutch were interlopers who had taken away England's prosperity. This was particularly true in regards to North Atlantic fishing rights (Haley 1988:54-55, 59-60).

Because the king believed that he ruled through divine right as God's chosen ruler, he did not have to consider the desires of Parliament. James I and Parliament clashed over many issues because the English Parliament understood the government of England as a partnership between the king and themselves (Croft 2003:77; Russell 2011:90-94, 103-111). James I's son, Charles I, encountered many of the same difficulties with Parliament, ultimately leading to his beheading in 1649. Charles I, like his father, believed in the divine rights of the monarch. His absolutist views on government caused problems with Parliament throughout his reign (Kennedy 2000:2-3; Croft 2003:177; Russell 2011:94).

Bliss (1990:18-34) contends that colonial governments became incorporated into the English Empire under Charles I, because of his absolutist policies. He specifically points to the concept of contractualism that implies an agreement made between the king and colonial governments (Bliss 1990:43). These agreements regulated royal governors and charter holders dependent upon the king. The colonial elites in charge who sought greater control did in fact feel

closer to England, but those whose rights were restricted felt more isolated. Some scholars (Haffenden 1992; Sosin 1992; Aylmer 1994) have critiqued Bliss because he purposefully ignored commercial policies in his narrative and separated politics from economy. Pestana (2004:1), in turn, argues that prior to 1640, imperial involvement in colonial matters was minimal. During the reigns of James I and Charles I, colonists did feel some closeness to England because they were all subjects of the same king. However, colonists resented imperial policies that relegated them to the status of secondary citizens, which never allowed the development of a unified English identity. This resentment was particularly true in regards to commercial policies; because they considered themselves equal English citizens, colonists resisted any and all limits on trade (Pestana 2004:158).

Anglo-Dutch relations remained strained during the 1620s and 1630s. A treaty signed by Charles I with Spain in 1630 upset many Protestants, and large groups of dissenters fled to the Netherlands in the wake of the treaty, fearful of strong Catholic alliances. Many of these emigrants also left England because of the king's absolutist policies, seeking a place that valued free will and liberty. Charles I was suspicious of the Dutch, whom he believed enflamed discontent among his own people. He also tried to limit Dutch trade and fishing in England and implemented restrictions in the 1630s to strengthen his father's policy of *mare clausum* (Haley 1988:62-67).

While there were many contributing factors that resulted in the English Civil War, one of the main issues that drove rebellious thoughts were the clashes between king and Parliament; Charles I's absolutist policies eventually led to a populist uprising that would last nearly a decade and end with his death. (Kennedy 2000:3-4, 10-21; Pestana 2004:25-26). From the outset of the rebellion in early 1642, the goal of Parliament was not to oust the king, but to reform the

government. Balance of powers within the government remained the objective of the uprising until Oliver Cromwell, the New Model Army, and Puritans gained control of Parliament in 1645, when the war became about eliminating the monarchy and establishing new religious rule. The New Model Army was successful against the Royal forces, and eventually Charles I was arrested in May 1646 (Kennedy 2000:6, 30-35). In late 1648, leadership within the New Model Army began to call for Charles I's execution and for Parliament to be purged of anyone who supported the king's restoration (Kennedy 2000:110-115). On January 20, 1649, Parliament put the king on trial for high treason. He was found guilty on January 26, 1649 and was executed on January 30, 1649 (Kennedy 2000:118-120, 133-135).

Pestana (2004:25-52) has argued that colonists in the Caribbean and North America were greatly interested in the events that unfolded throughout the 1640s in England; their interest mainly stemmed from fear of abandonment and lack of resources from their mother country. Although there were a few notable colonists who vocally declared for one side or the other, most prominently in Maryland, many colonists chose to remain neutral and look for other opportunities for survival and prosperity, particularly among the Dutch. Neutrality provided protection to the colonists, who worried about the consequences of a poor choice and retribution from the opposing side. Many colonial planters and government officials feared that privateers from opposing sides would disrupt free and open trade.

During the English Civil War, the colonies were cut off from English trade, news, and new immigrants, and as a result, settlers in the New World became more distant and less aligned with England. There was also a sense of lost English identity. Under James I and Charles I, colonists may not have agreed with every aspect of imperial rule, but they were all citizens under the same king. While Parliament and the Crown struggled for control in England, many colonists

felt disconnected from their shared Englishness, while at the same time, were increasingly coming into contact with new groups of people. Colonists turned to other Europeans, most notably the Dutch, during the war years for links to Europe and as sources of information and commodities. Colonists continued to question their place within the English Atlantic World under Cromwell during the Interregnum.

In May 1649, England was declared a Commonwealth that was governed by the people, and not a monarch (Plowden 2006:x-xi; Ackroyd 2014:311-313). Cromwell, like James I and Charles I, found it difficult to rule with Parliament and dismissed them in April 1653. In December of that year, Cromwell was made Lord Protector, a position which granted both civil and military authority over the country. Until 1660, England was essentially under military rule with brief periods of Parliamentary action. After Cromwell's death in 1658, Parliament was restored and a new election was held in March 1660. The next month, newly elected representatives voted to restore Charles II, who returned to London in May 1660 (Plowden 2006:xi-xiii; Ackroyd 2014:332-334, 346-347; 349-350, 357-363).

Cromwell viewed the Dutch as opportunists who took advantage of England and her colonies during the troubles of the 1640s. Cromwell continued to claim absolute dominion over the seas around England and trade in the Caribbean and North America while the Dutch continued to argue for free trade (Haley 1988:78-79). Parliament passed the first Navigation Act in 1651, requiring that all goods imported into England must be transported on English ships. The goal of this law was to restrict Dutch trade in England and her colonies. Tensions rose as a result of this new mercantilist policy, and the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654) soon erupted (Ormrod 2003:37). Although Cromwell and his followers had recently rebelled against Charles I, whom they saw as an absolute monarch who restricted civil and religious liberties, Parliament

and the Council of Trade continued to implement policies to restrict trade and maintain complete government control over Atlantic commerce and industry.

Colonists in the New World had assumed that Cromwell would extend new freedoms to the colonies after the abolition of the absolute monarchy in 1649. They expected to be treated as equals within the English Empire. As freeborn English men and women, colonists believed that the same rights provided to citizens in England should be extended to them, as well, since the goals of the English Civil War were the suppression of tyranny and protection of liberty. However, Cromwell quickly instituted policies that made the colonies subservient to England, particularly the 1651 policy to restrict trade. Cromwell believed that he had the right to impose restrictions on New World commerce because he ruled by right of conquest, and thus he had gained all former powers of the monarchy (Pestana 2004:158-163).

Colonists resisted Cromwellian trade policies on the basis that they were English citizens, but the metropolitan government viewed the colonies as "dominions" that England owned; to Cromwell and the Commonwealth government, colonists were not English, but subordinate others across the ocean. Pestana (2004:162) argues that the commercial policies of the 1650s "sparked a transatlantic conversation about the place of the colonies" and questions arose concerning the traditional relationship between the core and the periphery. Many colonists believed that these new, unprecedented commercial policies would reduce them to paupers and that free trade was needed in the colonies. Luckily for North American colonists, although Cromwell did indeed want to reduce the colonies and gain absolute control over them, he was unable to enforce these laws. Cromwell was too busy squashing rebellions in Scotland and Ireland, fighting the Dutch in Europe, and conquering Jamaica to worry about mainland North America. All Cromwell was able to accomplish with his mercantilist policies was to alienate

colonists, lose their loyalty, and force them to turn to their old allies, the Dutch (Pestana 2004:162-174).

Initially, much of England remained peaceful and content after the restoration of Charles II in 1660. However, it quickly became apparent that Charles II was following in his father's footsteps. In the late 1660s, the English king began courting an alliance with King Louis XIV of France and entertaining the idea of converting to Roman Catholicism. In 1670 Charles II and Louis XIV signed a secret treaty allying England and France (Ackroyd 2014:409-410).

Not only was Parliament fearful of the king's courtship of France and Roman Catholicism, but also his increasingly commercially restrictive behavior. Charles II, like his father and grandfather, believed in the divine rights of kings and pursued policies in support of an absolute monarchy (Harris 2005:57-59). Throughout the 1670s and 1680s, the king brought much of the English bureaucracy, including the military, manufacturing, and commerce, under his direct control and formed a strong central government with himself at the head (Harris 2005:419-421).

Under Charles II, England engaged in two more wars with the Dutch. The king disliked the Dutch for several reasons. First, he was wary of a republic that governed without a king, and he was fearful that Dutch Puritans would sow the seeds of discontent in his own country. More importantly, however, Charles II subscribed to notions of trade as a zero-sum game. He believed that the Dutch were stealing wealth that was rightfully England's, particularly in regards to the slave trade. The English were jealous of the Dutch hold over Africa. Additionally, Charles II's brother, James, was the head of the Royal African Company, and stood to make a great deal of money if England could cut off the Dutch (Pincus 2009:372-375; Ackroyd 2014:391-393).

Although Charles II did not initially want to engage the Dutch militarily, war was declared in 1665, and the second Anglo-Dutch War was fought on the seas for the next two years. One of the main events that led to war was the seizure of New Netherland by Charles II's brother, James, Duke of York, in the spring of 1664; the English wanted to prevent Dutch merchants from sailing into Virginia and Maryland via their North American colony. Although the English suffered huge losses during the war, James kept his new colony of New York (Haley 1988:95-97; Ackroyd 2014:397-398).

The Third Anglo-Dutch War commenced in 1672, when the French declared war on the Netherlands, and England, due to the secret alliance between Charles II and Louis XIV, was forced to enter the fray. In August 1673, the Dutch recaptured New York, and held onto the colony until the end of the war 15 months later. Charles II was forced to make peace with the Dutch in early 1674 due in part both to the lack of English victories on the seas and Parliament's outrage upon learning of the secret treaty with France (Koot 2011:160; Ackroyd 2014:411-418).

The colonies viewed the restoration of Charles II with mixed emotions. The governments of almost all of the Caribbean and North American colonies immediately declared loyalty to the Stuart monarch. Many colonials were hopeful that, under the steady hand of a single ruler, order and prosperity would be restored to the English Atlantic and anticipated the growth of commerce and trade in the wake of Charles II's ascension. During the years of war and uncertainty in the 1640s and 1650s, colonists had come to regard free trade as essential to survival and a fundamental right they were owed as English citizens (Bliss 1990:132-133; Pestana 2004:213-219). Both Carla Pestana (2004) and Christian Koot (2011) have argued that the foundations of a coherent empire began to emerge in the mid-17th century due to trade and commerce within the colonies stemming from a lack of imperial involvement. Pestana (2004) has focused on the

intercolonial commerce and the trade networks that connected various colonies in response to England's indifference; these intercolonial networks encouraged a sense of shared Atlantic identity. Koot (2011) argues that free Anglo-Dutch trade allowed struggling colonies to survive and form an empire.

Despite the 1651 law passed under Cromwell, colonists in North America had been given free access to trade by default since their establishment and were loathed to give it up. Thus, colonists were outraged by the continued imperial pursuit of mercantilist policies. Under Charles II's reign, three acts to restrict trade were passed: the 1660 Navigation Act, the 1663 Staple Act, and the 1673 Plantations Act (these will be discussed further in the next section of the chapter). Once again, colonists felt their trade threatened, which ultimately led to a failed cohesive English Atlantic identity during this period. Colonists believed that these trade laws would transform them into servants of London and the metropolitan core. Atlantic colonists were particularly fearful of becoming conquered like the Irish or enslaved like the increasing numbers of captured Africans in their midst, and many argued that trade restrictions would relegate the colonies to a subservient status within the growing empire (Pestana 2004:181-183).

James II was a very divisive figure in England during his short reign from 1685 to 1688. Like his brother Charles II, he supported a strong central government and turned to Louis XIV of France as an example to follow. Steve Pincus (2009) argued the English people rebelled against James II and invited his daughter and son-in-law from the Netherlands to replace him because of his authoritarian rule, restrictions of liberty, foreign policy of French alliances, support of mercantilist policies, and his promotion of Catholicism (Pincus 2009; Appleby 2010:92-93).

James II increased taxes on merchandise, decreased land taxes, and insisted on absolute control over trade and commerce. Merchants were particularly enraged by his support of trade

monopolies, such as the East India Company and the Royal African Company. In 1687 and early 1688 merchants and members of Parliament gave money and support to William of Orange to oust James II and improve England's commerce. As Pincus (2009:381) has pointed out, "Arguments about political economy played a pivotal role in generating the ideological energy that gave rise to the Revolution of 1688-89."

The Glorious Revolution of 1688/89 is seen as the major turning point in the development of British identity (Armitage 2000). While England had looked to the Netherlands as a model for political, religious, and economic success, and many Englishmen had urged the king, Parliament, and society as a whole to emulate the Dutch, it was with the ascension of William III (William of Orange) and Mary that many Dutch cultural characteristics were fully adopted into English society. William of Orange brought with him ideas concerning religious liberty, free trade, and representative government in the form of a constitutional monarchy.

William III made it clear upon his arrival in England that his invasion was not a religious war, but one of nation building in defense of liberty. The prince signaled his intentions by flying a banner proclaiming "Pro Libertate et Libero Parlamento" (for liberty and a free Parliament) on the ship as he sailed from the Netherlands to England in 1688 (Pincus 2009:339). This revolution, to William III and his allies, was about resisting France, Louis XIV, and French Catholicism, which stressed strict hierarchy and the power of an absolute monarchy. One of the first laws William III passed was the Act of Toleration in 1689, providing liberty and religious freedom within England (Pincus 2009:343-365).

William III began repealing many of the provisions Charles II and James II had enacted regarding trade, ending absolutist political economic ideology. After the Glorious Revolution, the English prioritized merchandizing over land by repealing taxes on manufactures and

implementing taxes on land (Pincus 2009:382-384). With the breakdown of executive-controlled trade at the turn of the 18th century, English merchants were able to outcompete the Dutch. De-regulation of trade, coupled with passage of laws to encourage religious and civil liberties, led to the growth of immigrant populations within England. Two particular groups were important to English commerce. Huguenot refugees, many of whom were merchants specializing in the wine and silk trade, fled to London in the late 1680s (Ormrod 2003:42). William III encouraged Dutch potters and clothiers to immigrate to England, and English industry quickly surpassed the Dutch in quality and quantity (Haley 1988:161).

After the Glorious Revolution, "England followed in Holland's footsteps" and established the Bank of England in 1694 (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:141). Emulating Dutch financial practices initiated by the Bank of Amsterdam in 1609, the English used their bank to manage public debt and encourage capital production (de vries and van der Woude 1997:198-211; Appleby 2010:42-46). The bank increased publicly available credit, lowered interest rates, and promoted the circulation of money (Pincus 2009:390).

The East India Company and the Royal African Company lost their royal monopolies in the 1690s, which encouraged many merchants to enter into international trade (Pincus 2009:385). With the growth in industry, the English began to increase the quality and quantity of the ships built in England (Haley 1988:161). These changes within English laws, mores, and manufacturing all encouraged more merchants to sail to the New World (Koot 2011:184-185).

England at the turn of the 18th century emerged as a modern, capitalist state, and one that saw trade and liberty as the ideological foundations of their identity (Pincus 2009:366). In 1707, the parliaments of England and Scotland were united under Queen Anne and Great Britain was formed, strengthening the ever-growing empire. British identity solidified around the idea of an

empire of the seas whose main focus was on maritime commercial activities in and around the Atlantic World (Armitage 2000:101-102).

Anglo-Dutch relations began to crumble in the first few decades of the 18th century, because "the British had exhausted what they could learn from the Dutch" (Haley 1982:183). Although the Dutchman who sat on the English throne brought with him many ideas concerning the proper way to encourage trade and industry from his homeland, he did have to rule over his new country, protect its commerce, and bow to his newly empowered Parliament. William III passed yet another Navigation Act in 1696 that required all colonial trade to be confined to English-built ships and required all ships to be registered with the imperial government. This law, unlike the previous acts to restrict trade, resulted from petitions by merchants and not a regulation imposed by the king (or Protectorate). In the same year, a permanent Board of Trade, known formally as the Commission for Trade and Plantations, was established (Ormrod 2003:46-47).

The Dutch began to lose their hegemonic control over trade and the Atlantic World at the turn of the 18th century. The number of wars in which the Netherlands had been embroiled--against England throughout the 1650s, 1660s, and 1670s, and with France in the 1670s and 1690s--drained Dutch coffers. In the 1690s, during the Nine Years War, England strengthened and expanded her navy in response to French threats against English trans-Atlantic merchant fleets. The enlarged Royal Navy began to escort English, then British, merchants across the ocean, leaving little room for Dutch smugglers (Ormrod 2003:57-59; Enthoven and Klooster 2011:114-115; Koot 2011:185, 200). The decline in Dutch wealth and the rise in English naval power and commercial success ultimately led to the end of the Dutch Golden Age and the rise of Britain as the next hegemonic power.

At the same time the Dutch were losing their monopoly on the Atlantic trade, the British Empire and British identity was beginning to solidify. Koot (2011) has argued that shared Englishness was not enough to form the British Empire; instead colonial and metropolitan goals had to be the same, and the policies to achieve those goals had to be acceptable by all. Armitage (2000:8) has argued that a coherent British identity had codified around the Atlantic World by the 1730s based on the idea that "the British Empire was, above all...Protestant, commercial, maritime and free." Koot (2011:227) has stated that colonial "access to Dutch goods affected their economic ideologies." Similarly, core economic policies were influenced by Dutch practices, as will be explored further in the next section.

17th-century Political Economy

Mercantilism and Capitalism

Although many archaeologists focus on the oppressive nature of 18th and 19th century industrial capitalism (Shackel 1992; Mullins 2004; Little 2007; Leone 2010; Matthews 2010), recently historians have argued that the roots of a modern economy were firmly in place by the 17th century. The old assumptions of a mercantilist consensus during the 17th century and the rise of capitalism in the late-18th century are breaking down. There are several scholars who now see the 17th century as a tumultuous time of debate, defiance, and negotiation over the proper way trade and industry should be conducted (Koot 2012; Pincus 2012). These debates culminated in the middle of the century with the passage of the Navigation Acts in England, and the consequential resistance to mercantilist policies in the colonies and by some politicians in the metropole.

In a mercantilist government, colonies and the metropole traded in a closed system, and wealth circulated within the empire. Scholars have referred to mercantilism as a “zero-sum

game" in which the world's wealth is finite, and the only way for one nation to profit was by hording money at the expense of its neighbors. In this system, colonies acted as consumers of domestic products, and the profits returned to the mother country. Because trade was inherently unequal, and merchants could not be trusted to value the public good above their own, government intervention was needed. In England, this intervention resulted in the Navigation Acts (McCusker and Menard 1985; Leng 2005; McCusker 2013).

On October 3, 1650, Parliament passed the Colonial Trade and Shipping Act that placed a trade embargo on the five colonies of Virginia, Maryland, Antigua, Barbados, and Bermuda, all of which had refused to acknowledge the Commonwealth at the end of the English Civil War, and had declared loyalty to Charles II. All trade, including by English merchants, to and from these colonies was banned "because of their rebellion against the Commonwealth and the Government of England," (Sainsburg 1860:343-344) and any foreign merchant trading to any English colony required a permit issued by Parliament (Firth and Rait 1911:425-429; Wilson 1957:52-58; Pagan 1982:93; Bliss 1990:60-61).

Parliament then enacted a series of laws known as the Navigations Acts directed at colonial commerce in the mid-17th century to protect English shipping and trade. McCusker and Menard (1985:46) have called the Navigation Acts "the culmination and epitome of English mercantilist thought." Unlike the 1650 embargo, which only applied to five colonies, the Navigation Acts impacted all trade in the Atlantic Basin. In 1651, the Commonwealth government passed the first Navigation Act, hoping to eliminate Dutch shipping in the Atlantic. Under this act, all commodities shipped to England and her colonies had to be transported in English-owned ships directly from their point of origin, and not pass through an entrepôt. The last stipulation, to avoid entrepôts, was meant to decrease traffic into and out of the largest

European trade center, Amsterdam (Firth and Rait 1911:559-562; Pagan 1982:494; Haley 1988:89; Bliss 1990:63).

After the restoration of Charles II in May 1660, the second Navigation Act was passed to further limit Dutch access to English colonies. Under this law, goods going into or out of English territories had to be carried on English-owned and operated ships, and could only go to England or English colonies. The Staple Act was passed in 1663, and stated that all European goods to English colonies first had to pass through England. In 1673, the previous act was strengthened by requiring customs officers in the colonies to monitor shipping and trade (Pagan 1982:499; McCusker and Menard 1985:47).

While all scholars agree that the purpose of these acts was to eliminate the Dutch and increase revenue in England, some have differed in their interpretation of how the acts affected the empire. McCusker and Menard (1985) argued that the Navigation Acts created a closed system that benefited all English citizens, including colonists. According to them, colonists were protected by the laws, and were given equal citizenship rights as English merchants. Colonists could participate and compete with London traders as peers because "As far as the Navigation Acts were concerned, the colonies were a simple extension of the metropolis...somewhere west of Cornwall," and by the end of the 17th century, all members of "the empire had clearly absorbed the spirit of mercantilism" (McCusker and Menard 1985:47). McCusker and Menard (1985:49-50) argued that the Navigation Acts were so successful, not through punishment and regulation, but because of new opportunities afforded to colonial merchants, and specifically the ability of colonists to dominate intercolonial trade.

Oppositely, Bliss (1990:111) interpreted the Navigation Acts, specifically those passed under the Restoration government, as predatory and called this system "commercial feudalism"

which was only in place to benefit the landed elite in England. Similarly, Thomas Leng (2005:952) has stated that "the flaw in this system…was that in practice it relied on relegating the colonies to a state of institutionalized commercial subservience." Joyce Appleby (2010:119) has referred to this model as the shadow of anti-capitalism that would rear its head at times of economic or political instability, as was the case the in 1650s and 1660s, when the Navigation Acts were first passed during the overthrow and restoration of the Stuart monarchy, and again in the 1670s, during the third Anglo-Dutch War.

Steve Pincus (2012) has argued that the assumption that there was an ideological consensus in the 17th century that trade was a zero-sum game and the world's wealth was finite is incorrect. Additionally, the link scholars have made between the mercantilist system and the rise of early modern Europe is not the whole story. Pincus also critiqued scholars, such as John Elliot (2006), who argued that differences between empires, specifically their colonies, are due to geographic factors. Pincus (2012:31) argued "At every critical stage in the development of European empires in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, policy makers had a range of choices available to them; they were not constrained to a single political economic outlook. Political choice rather than environmental or economic determinism shaped early modern empires."

Appleby (2010:94) argued that in the early-17th century, northern Europe began to modernize by "pitting the private against the public and the personal against the moral." While the capitalist-world system had begun to grow in the 15th century, it was not until the 17th century that nations as a whole engaged in this new economic system. To Appleby (2010), capitalism is not an extension of trade, but instead, it is a cultural system that involved the rise in the belief in the individual, the willingness to risk investing money into new innovations, the ability of

entrepreneurs to sway politics in their favor, and the ceaseless accumulation of wealth. It is not enough to hoard money, or be wealthy; capitalism requires the investment of capital for the sole purpose of creating more capital. She distinguished between commercial capitalism and full blown capitalism. Full blown capitalism is the culture, while commercial capitalism is a few people who have capitalistic tendencies. Appleby placed the rise of full blown capitalism at the turn of the 18th century. She pointed to the practice of field enclosure as the origin of individualism; once people were no longer engaged in community planting, but instead were only concerned about their family's farm, the individual took primacy over the communal.

Braudel (1977) also argued that England was the first state to develop a fully national capitalist economy. He understood capitalism as a multi-layered, nested system that includes: material life, the market economy, and the capitalist economy. The market economy consists of local markets in which consumers have direct access to goods. The capitalist economy sits above market economies, connecting various locations. Although he stated that the Dutch, particularly merchants in Amsterdam and the rest of Holland, were capitalists by 1650 (Braudel 1977:99), he argues that the Netherlands was not a unified country and did not have a capitalist economy because they were too focused on external markets.

Similarly, although Appleby argued that the English were the first true capitalists, she does acknowledge that the Dutch were the first to adopt capitalistic tendencies and served as a model to the English. The Dutch were the first to engage in many capitalistic endeavors, such as the establishment of the Bank of Amsterdam in 1609, the ability to offer credit to monarchs and individuals, and most importantly, a hegemonic control over trade and commerce (Appleby 2010:42-46; 99-101). The Dutch focus on trade encouraged the development of a diverse nation composed of people of many different nationalities and religions. Appleby (2010:46) stated that

one third of the population in Amsterdam during the 17th century was foreigners seeking religious and civil freedom. Appleby believes that despite the fact that the Dutch had many modern tendencies, they were not able to form a coherent national, industrial system until the 19th century.

Some scholars have argued that the Dutch were the first true capitalists (Kellenbenz 1965; Wallerstein 1973:214; de Vries and van der Woude 1997; Pincus 2009). Wallerstein (2011:60) stated that "in the seventeenth century, the Dutch state was the *only* state in Europe with enough internal and external strength such that its need for mercantilist policies was minimal." Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude (1997) argued that the Netherlands in the first half of 17th century was the first state to adopt the four main features of a modern economy: a free market economy, high agricultural productivity with a division of labor, individual property rights, and technological innovation (de Vries and van der Woude1997:692-693). De Vries and van der Woude (1997:692) argued "the Dutch entropôt matured to become the nerve center of *capitalism*, with its primary need for efficient access to information." Amsterdam served as a center of thought, innovation, investment, and free expression, not just a place to accumulate wealth. The Dutch were modern, because they were calculating, innovative, and individualistic.

One of the key institutions that the Dutch developed in the 17th century was the Bank of Amsterdam, which provided a way for merchants to offer credit (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:83). The widespread use of credit and bonds throughout the 17th century allowed a wide swath of Dutch society to make investments and purchase bonds; something that only the very wealthy could do elsewhere in Europe (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:116-117). Additionally, the national bank encouraged monetization, the circulation of currency, and capital accumulation. De Vries and van der Woude rejected the idea that modernization and

industrialization go hand in hand, and instead suggested that because the Dutch were rational and individualistic they were capitalists.

Ideology of Trade

The Dutch and English adopted differing philosophies regarding the ownership of the seas during the 17th century. The Dutch embraced the idea of *mare liberum*, or "freedom of the seas," in which the sea was a common arena of commerce for all. Juxtaposed to this philosophy of free trade, the English believed in *mare clausum*, or "closed seas." These dichotomous concepts emerged in the late-16th century (de Pauw 1965; Haley 1988:63; Israel 1994; Armitage 2000:107-119; Cruz 2008; Lipman 2010).

With the ascension of the Stuart monarchy in 1603, the English adopted *mare clausum*. James I brought with him from Scotland the desire to protect national fishing rights by the exclusion of other states, specifically the Dutch (de Pauw 1965:9-11; Armitage 2000:107-108). The year before James I restricted fishing around England, Dutch theorist Hugo Grotius published his treatise *Mare Liberum*, arguing for freedom of the seas and free trade. The English king interpreted *Mare Liberum* as a direct attack on his sovereign rights to control English waters. In 1618 James I commissioned John Selden to write *Mare Clausum*; however, it was not published until 1635 under Charles I. In his treatise, Selden argued for strict control of the seas by right of divine monarchy, and England's natural dominion over the ocean. The Commonwealth government supported the concept of closed seas, and under the direction of Cromwell, enacted strict laws that restricted trade based on *mare clausum* (de Pauw 1965:12-13; Haley 1988:63; Armitage 2000:111-119).

De Vries and van der Woude (1997:697) have stated "in an age when national interest usually expressed itself in some form of mercantilism, the weakness of such tendencies in the

Dutch policy have long attracted attention" and point to Grotius' oeuvre as the origins of free trade advocacy as a uniquely Dutch trait in the 17th century. Wallerstein (2011:61), too, argued that "the ideology of Dutch hegemony was *mare liberum*, most cogently expressed by Grotius." In his book, Grotius argued two main points: the sea is free and trade is free (de Pauw 1965:30). *Mare Liberum* can be interpreted as a treatise that argues for free trade as a central characteristic of Dutch culture. He argued strongly that commercial exchange was a "primitive" right and "the opportunity to engage in trade...should be free to all men" (Grotius 1608:61).

As early as the 1570s, the Dutch had linked free trade to ideology surrounding the individual, specifically "liberty of conscience" (Haley 1988:113; Israel 1994; Dunthorne 2013:133). Liberty of conscience is the idea that no man, no government, no religious official, has control over another man's mind or actions. Only God has that power. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the concept of liberty of conscience was usually applied to religious matters, particularly in regards to denomination with which one chose to affiliate, or how one interpreted the Bible. Liberty of conscience was understood to be a political right, and not something for which the state could give permission (Greene et al. 1976; Murphy 2001; Kidd 2010). However, the Dutch also applied it to the right of free trade; a cultural characteristic the English would copy and adopt at the turn of the 18th century (Hartman and Westeijn 2013:24-25).

During their rebellion against Spanish rule in the late-16th century, the Dutch, led by Prince William I of Orange, had associated their adoption of liberty of conscience and rejection of Catholicism to their political stability and economic prosperity, and continued to apply religious and civil liberty to economic freedom into the 17th century (Cruz 2008; Weststeijn 2011:227). The most influential 17th-century Dutch writers regarding liberty and free trade as "the highest law" in the Dutch state were Pieter de la Court and his brother Johan (Weststeijn

2011; Hartman and Weststeign 2013). Pieter de la Court (1662:8, 320) argued that commercial success would only occur when a state encouraged "freedom in Religion, Study, trade, manufactures, arts, citizenship, and Government" and prosperity would result from "liberty of conscience [and] freedom of burgership, and from monopolies." He went on to state that "in Holland [there is] freedom of religion... it is no wonder that traffick and navigation settled here" (de la Court 1662:371).

Jan Hartman and Arthur Weststeijn argue that the de la Court brothers emphasized liberty and free trade in direct opposition to English mercantilist policies (Weststeijn 2011:228-230; Hartman and Weststeijn 2013:19-22). The brothers stressed these economic policies in order to be competitive with the English; the Netherlands is a small country with restricted land, and the only way to import food and other necessary goods was through trade. Additionally, the de la Courts argued that freedom of trade and religion would encourage the wealthiest and smartest people from other countries to immigrate to the Netherlands, which would allow the Dutch to outcompete the rest of Europe in technology (de la Court 1671:21, quoted in Weststeijn 2011:230).

In 1688, Cornilius de Witt, continuing in the same vein as the de la Court brothers, directly linked the Netherlands' success in trade and accumulation of wealth with liberty of conscience. The Dutchman wrote from Amsterdam to a friend in England describing the advantages of the liberty of conscience in respect to trade. He explained to his friend that:

> [T]he steady adherence to that *Maxim [liberty of conscience]*…[is] one of the Fundamental Principles of our Policy; 'Tis *That* to which we owe our *Populousness*, and consequently our Trade, Riches and Strength; the Engine whereby we have at once *Drained* other Nations, and mounted our selves to such an Ascendent of Opulency and Power, as to vye with the most plentiful *Kingdoms* and tallest *Monarchs*.

This statement reaffirmed what Grotius had stated eighty years earlier in his treatise *Mare Liberum*, and the first William of Orange had implied in the 1580s, that freedom of trade was central to Dutch culture and prosperity, and it was directly connected with liberty of conscience.

De Witt listed five reasons why freedom of religion encouraged trade: 1) "Persecution tends to *depopulate;* so *Liberty of Conscience* naturally draws a vast Conflux of People;" 2) People who are given religious freedom are "the most *Sober* and *Industrious* of any Countrey;" 3) When people are persecuted for their religion "Merchants, Artifficers, or Laborious Tradesmen" flee, causing "the grand staple of *Trade* [to be] Transplanted from one place to another;" 4) "Religious Liberty…incourages the Inhabitants of any Countrey, to be more *Industrious,* and more freely to venture their Stocks in Trade;" and 5) "Granting *Liberty of Conscience* secures the Government" by preventing rebellion. He concluded his argument by declaring,

> [I]f *Liberty of Conscience* should be once firmly setled in *England,* it cannot fail to Attract a wonderful Concourse of Strangers, thereby greatly advancing the *Rents* of Lands and Houses, and the Prices of all sorts of *Provisions,* and consequently, a mighty Increase of *Manufactures, Trade* and *Riches.*

Clearly, de Witt believed that the English had not adopted the Dutch cultural traits of freedom of trade and religion; it would take the ascension of William and Mary in 1688, and the establishment of the Bank of England, before England would invest "their Stocks in Trade."

The English desire to emulate Dutch commercial practices, or at least English jealousy of Dutch wealth, can easily be seen in the writings of English pamphleteers. As early as 1638, Lewes Roberts warned English merchants of the "crafty Dutch" who engage in "villany and

deceit" in trade. Similarly, Thomas Violet in 1651 stated “Wee must match the Dutch at their own weapons.”

Writing of the English Civil War, Parliamentary overthrow of Charles I, and Puritan religion's role in the Commonwealth government, Andrew Murphy (2001:79-82) argues that liberty and tolerance were rejected by leaders who saw little room for religious freedom in English society during the 1640s, mainly out of a fear of Catholicism. Cromwell and other Puritan leaders wanted to protect traditional Calvinist orthodoxy and believed that choices would weaken the English state. Cromwell supported a strong central government that controlled the church. However, these were not necessarily the views held by Levellers and members of the New Model Army. Murphy (2001:115) states that some English Puritans wanted liberty; these "tolerationists...pointed to the Netherlands as a single state in which adherents of many faiths coexisted...[and] not only could such a state survive, but it could prosper and thrive." Murphy (2001:118-122) argues that a balance was struck in the 1650s between these two sides, in which there was a strong government that controlled many aspects of life, but allowed people religious liberty. Cromwell in particular saw a difference between liberty of conscience and liberty of action and thought that people could have their own beliefs but must conform to state law.

Many Englishmen, and particularly those in the government, refused to accept free trade and liberty as an avenue of success, and instead argued for a restricted economy. In 1648, Henry Parker, in his capacity as the secretary for the Company of Merchant Adventurers, a government protected trade monopoly, argued "the benefit of the *English* Merchant is to be regarded as the benefit of the *English* Nation," and that free trade only applied to those in the company because "our Trade [cannot] prosper without government."

After the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, liberty of conscience was once again restricted in England (Murphy 2001:128-134). Throughout the 1660s and 1670s, the king and Parliament struggled over religious freedom; first under Charles II, who was a Catholic sympathizer, and then under James II, who was a proclaimed Catholic. Both Charles II and James II tried to pass laws that would give Catholics more freedom. Parliament was wary of religious liberty if it were granted to Catholics, and fearful of papal overreach, especially in the 1670s, when Charles II allied himself with Catholic France. In the late 1680s James II began to severely limit Protestant rights and stifle any debate regarding religious liberty (Pincus 2009:166-170). However, while Parliament was seeking to restrict Catholic liberty in the 1660s and 1680s and James II was tamping down on Protestant tolerance, English merchants increasingly turned to their neighbors in the Netherlands as a model for prosperity (Murphy 2001; Pincus 2009).

In the late-17th century, the English began to recognize that Dutch emphasis on free trade, religious and civil liberties, and investment of capital into commercial activities allowed Amsterdam to become the hegemonic sea power. In 1669, Englishman William Aglionby penned a book entitled *The Present State of the United Provinces*, in which he praised the Dutch for their ability to surpass all other nations in wealth and happiness. He was particularly enamored with Holland and wrote "*Holland*, is much superiour to the others in strength and riches...every one being pleas'd with the liberty he has to enjoy the freedome of his conscience" (Ablionby 1669:177-178).

At the turn of the 18th century, Englishmen began to argue that repressing liberty had a negative effect on trade and prosperity and turned to the Dutch as a model (Murphy 2001:147). On the eve of the Glorious Revolution one Englishman wrote "Trade is the Interest of *England*,

and Liberty of Conscience the Interest of Trade" (Burthogge 1687:9). The English began to see these ideas inexorably linked in a feedback loop; religious liberty led to prosperity through trade, which led to civil liberty, which led to religious liberty, and so on. Even one of James II's advisors, William Petty, wrote in 1687 for his king, that in order "to take away the Trade of freight...from the Hollanders" the English must enact and secure several rights, including "giving Liberty of Religion" (Pincus 2009:326). Although Petty himself was an admirer of the Dutch and against restricted trade (McCormick 2010), on behalf of James II he argued that the English must have "a firm aliance with Ffrance" and that "*Mare Clausem* shall be instituted & guarded" (Petty 1997). Clearly, the absolute monarch recognized the link between liberty and trade, but still held onto old ideas of restricted commerce and trade as a zero-sum game.

In the mid-1680s, Parliament was still unwilling to allow religious liberty under a Catholic monarch nor would James II extend religious tolerance to his Protestant subjects (Murphy 2001:148-150; Pincus 2009:172-174). With the ascension of William and Mary in 1688 and passage of The Toleration Act of 1689, many Dutch cultural characteristics, including the link between free trade and liberty of conscience, became English, and then British, ideological traits. For example, one Bristol merchant discussed fourteen ways to improve English manufacturing, trade, and commerce; he ended his list by stating "I should in the last place have added *Liberty of Conscience*, but that being already settled by Law I need not mention it" (Cary 1695:42). Another pamphleteer described commerce under William and Mary, stating "there now seems a greater tendency in the Nation to remove those Bars that lie in the way of New-Comers by that Charitable Law for Liberty of Conscience" and went on to discuss how woolen manufacture would improve because Dutch clothiers were more willing to emigrate to England due to newly enacted religious and civil toleration (Brewster 1695:8-9). At the turn of the

century, the English were no longer arguing to imitate the Dutch in these regards because they had already adopted these practices.

Anglo-Dutch Interactions in the Chesapeake

Until recently, the generally accepted narrative of Anglo-Dutch interaction in the Chesapeake was periodic prior to the 1630s, then intense during the 1630s and 1640s, followed by a slow decline the 1650s, and near elimination after 1660 (Menard 1980; Pagan 1982; McCusker and Menard 1985). In the past decade, historians and some archaeologists have begun to explore the scale and intensity of Dutch trade into the region, and the influence merchants from the Netherlands had on Chesapeake colonial culture throughout the first century of European settlement (Hatfield 2004, 2005; Schnurmann 2005; Pecoraro and Givens 2006; Enthoven and Klooster 2011; Koot 2014). While Dutch trade in the Chesapeake did follow the general trend of intensity in the first half of the 17th century and a slow decline in the last half of the century, it was not nearly as simple as previously assumed. There were significant debates about free trade and resistance to core-imposed restrictive policies.

Anglo-Dutch interactions in Europe and in the Atlantic World have interested scholars for several decades. Christian Koot (2014:74) argues that these types of studies are significant because "Dutch trade was important to the development of British colonies and thus the British Atlantic. More than providing needed trade, colonists' experience with Dutch commerce also spurred them to advocate for the flexibility to determine their own commercial futures even if this approach clashed with England's increasingly mercantilist empire" (Koot 2014:74). The following section illustrates Koot's point, and the utility of such a perspective by elaborating on the evidence for Dutch trade in the Chesapeake and the influence of Dutch ideology on colonial

economic thought, particularly in regards to free trade advocacy. First, I will briefly summarize recent studies on Anglo-Dutch interactions in the Chesapeake.

Chesapeake planters relied on the Dutch to bring manufactured goods, such as textiles and ceramics, as well as provisions, such as beer, wine, and flour. Particularly important to the tobacco colonies were sources of labor. The Dutch maintained control of the trans-Atlantic slave trade for much of the 17th century, and Chesapeake colonists sought out Dutch merchants in order to purchase enslaved Africans to work on their tobacco plantations. For these imported commodities and captured Africans, colonists in Virginia and Maryland sold tobacco to the merchants (Hatfield 2005:208; Koot 2014:75). Additionally, Dutch traders were sought after because they were able to offer better interest and prices on goods and shipping needs. Haley (1988:55) stated that Dutch sea captains could offer rates 1/3 to 1/2 lower to colonists compared to English ships for the same voyage because of their small, quick moving ships called fluyts, and Koot (2011:20) estimated that Dutch goods were between 20% and 30% less expensive than English goods.

Dutch merchants were extremely interested in purchasing Chesapeake tobacco for several reasons. Not only did everyone smoke during the 17th century (thus tobacco could be turned over for a quick, easy profit), but Amsterdam was the leading market for tobacco where it was processed, packaged, and then resold (Enthoven and Klooster 2011:92). Victor Enthoven and Wim Klooster (2011:114-115) argue that the Dutch tobacco trade supported the Upper Chesapeake region, and particularly the lower Potomac River Valley area that grew oronoco-type tobacco. While the English preferred the milder, sweet-scented variety that was grown in the James and York River Valleys of Virginia, the Dutch actively sought out the stronger oronoco tobacco. Dutch interest in the orocono trade would suggest that colonists in the Potomac

River Valley, the area of focus of this dissertation, would be much more willing to engage in illicit trade with the Dutch than colonists who lived in and around Jamestown, Virginia.

April Lee Hatfield (2004, 2005) has conducted extensive research on intercolonial trade in the 17th-century Chesapeake, particularly in regards to Dutch settlers on the Eastern Shore of Virginia and in the most southern areas of Virginia. She has explored links between colonists who lived in these Dutch enclaves and merchants in New Netherland, Holland, and Rotterdam. Hatfield draws a connection between Dutch Chesapeake settlements and communities of English Puritans, particularly the Lynnhaven settlement in modern day Virginia Beach. She argues that there was not only a shared religious identity between these two groups, but also that many of the English Puritans who eventually settled in the Chesapeake first fled to the Netherlands from England under James I, Charles I, and Charles II, and likely formed close economic and personal relationships in Europe with the Dutch that continued in the New World. Hatfield (2005:209) has argued that the "convergence of British and Dutch economic and political interests" that occurred in the metropole at the end of the 17th century first transpired in the Chesapeake during the middle of the 17th century.

Koot (2011, 2014) has studied Dutch trade throughout the Atlantic World, focusing on its role in the survival of English colonies prior to the 1660s when England could not support them, and the role of Dutch smuggling after the 1660s in the formation of a coherent empire. He argues that Dutch trade was most intense and important in agricultural colonies that produced staple crops, like tobacco and sugar; mainly the Chesapeake and the Caribbean.

Recently, he has investigated Anglo-Dutch interactions in the Chesapeake to argue that colonists were engaging in illicit trade as a way to actively participate in identity formation; English colonists did not want to be secondary citizens to policy makers in the core (Koot 2014).

Colonists argued that free trade was the best avenue for success, for themselves and for the empire, and they advocated for changes to mercantilist policies, whether out-right, through petitions to the government, or through smuggling. Ultimately, Dutch trade allowed colonies to survive and prosper, and with colonial success, the British Empire was able to grow and eventually break the Netherlands' hold over the Atlantic World.

Enthoven and Klooster (2011) have explored the rise and fall of Anglo-Dutch connections in Virginia throughout the 17th century. They argued that Virginia was predisposed to accept Dutch merchants and seek out trans-national relationships because of pre-colonial ties that dated back to Elizabeth I's commitment of troops to help fight Spanish invasion of the Netherlands in 1585. Two of Virginia's first governors, Thomas Gates and Thomas Dale, were both soldiers in Flushing during the Dutch-Spanish war, and thus had many Dutch contacts when they moved to the New World. Enthoven and Klooster (2011) argued that although overt references to the Dutch largely disappear from the historical records after 1660, the Dutch continued to trade into Virginia during the 1660s, 1670s, and 1680s. The Dutch become what the authors call "Masters of Disguise." The Dutch traders changed their ships' names to English ones, and often paid an English merchant to become a partner, so that they could continue to ship Dutch goods into Virginia. Additionally, many Dutch merchants would sail into New York prior to sailing to Virginia, providing a veil of legality to the transactions. The Dutch use of these "legal loopholes" have made it "even harder for modern historians to detect their presence" (Enthoveen and Klooster 2011:118). They argued that it was not until war with France broke out in the 1690s that Dutch trade to Virginia began to truly disappear, due not primarily to colonial enforcement of the Navigation Acts and an Atlantic mercantilist consensus, but because the British Royal Navy began to escort merchant ships to and from the colonies and England.

Although not focused on Dutch trade, Douglas Bradburn's (2011) study on the impacts of the development of the convoy system on the Chesapeake from 1690-1715 provides context to the end point of this dissertation. During this period, the trans-Atlantic tobacco trade became increasingly rigid, in what Bradburn calls the "visible fist," in which citizens cooperated with imperial policy through coercion and military might (Bradburn 2011:362). This increased military presence was due to armed conflict with France; first the Nine Years War/King William's War (1688-1697) and then the War of Spanish Succession/Queen Anne's War (1702-1713). The Royal Navy began to mass during the 1690s in the Chesapeake, mainly in the Hampton Roads area, near the mouth of the James River. The navy would then escort merchant ships twice a year from the James River, across the Atlantic Ocean, to London, where they would unload their cargos of tobacco.

However, Bradburn (2011:364, 367) argues that the increase in military presence and control over trade in the Chesapeake was not due to imperial policy but due to requests from elite merchants out of fear of French seizures. The Admiralty, Board of Trade, the Virginia Council of State, and the Virginia oligarchy worked together to negotiate terms of trade, including limiting the number of ships that could enter and leave the Chesapeake every year. These policies greatly benefited the twenty or so great planter families that would come to be known as "The First Families of Virginia," most of whom lived in the sweet-scented tobacco areas, and had severely negative impacts on small planters (Bradburn 2011:378).

During this time period, the convoy system mainly applied to planters in the sweet-scented region of the Chesapeake; the men and women who grew sweet-scented tobacco bought into the system while planters in the oronoco region did not. This is because there was no market for the harsh strain of tobacco in England; instead it was popular on the Continent.

Consequently, while the sweet-scented region was heavily regulated, the oronoco region of the Upper Chesapeake was largely left alone from ca. 1690-1715, and when regulations were applied in this area, they were heavily protested (Bradburn 2011:382-383). These differences in trade policy between the sweet-scented and the orinoco regions could have potentially impacted the scale and intensity of Anglo-Dutch trade in the Chesapeake at the turn of the 18th century, resulting in dramatically different archaeological records.

Hatfield (2004, 2005) has shown that Dutch merchants had direct, prolonged contact with individual planters in the Chesapeake, which she argues affected Virginian society, specifically gender roles and women's increased ability to own property and engage in trade on the Eastern Shore. I argue that the Dutch exchanged more cultural ideas than just gender roles to the Chesapeake, such as concepts of free trade, liberty of conscience, the importance of the individual, and *mare liberum*. English merchants in both the core and the periphery were influenced by Dutch ideology, which encouraged debates about political economy. Chesapeake colonists openly appropriated Dutch ideas of free trade and liberty of conscience, and the link between them, in the middle of the 17th century as a direct result of their contact with traders from the Netherlands. Increasingly, settlers in Virginia and Maryland argued for free trade and resisted any attempts by London merchants or the imperial government to monopolize their commercial activities.

Historical Evidence of Dutch Trade

There is abundant evidence that the Dutch were trading into the Chesapeake throughout the 17th century, which facilitated the transfer of Dutch concepts of free trade to the periphery. Prior to 1650, trade was controlled locally, and in the Chesapeake this largely meant free trade with whomever sailed up the Bay and into the rivers to the many tobacco plantations. There were

ample opportunities for Dutch traders and Chesapeake colonists to interact and exchange not just goods, but also ideas. Unlike New England, the Chesapeake did not have large port towns that served as the center of commercial activity. Instead, merchants would sail from plantation to plantation to buy and sell goods with individual planters (McCusker and Menard 1985:132).

The travel log of one such Dutch sea merchant, David Pieterz de Vries, illustrates the close interactions that occurred between colonists and traders. De Vries, who was originally from Holland but often used New Amsterdam as an entrepôt, traveled to the "English Virginias" several times. The first time he sailed to Virginia was in the winter of 1633 when he met a planter, merchant, and councilor named Samuel Matthews who lived near Newport News. De Vries stayed with Captain Matthews several times, twice in 1633 (de Vries 1853:49; 53), again in 1635, and in 1643 (de Vries 1853:186). On his way back to his ship from Captain Matthews' house in 1643, de Vries ran into a ship carpenter whom he had met years before and had visited his ship. The carpenter welcomed the Dutchman and they dined together and de Vries stayed the night with the Englishman (de Vries 1853:189). De Vries describes several other encounters where he welcomed colonists onto his ship, or incidents when he dined with Englishmen on their ships.

During his first voyage to the Chesapeake in 1633, de Vries visited with Governor John Harvey in Jamestown where he dined and stayed with Harvey for seven days. The Englishman and Dutchman exchanged information regarding where colonists were settling, the placement of New Netherland, dangers from local Native Americans, and de Vries' travels in Europe and the New World (de Vries 1853:46-52). De Vries went on to stay with two other English colonists before sailing back to New Amsterdam with goats and tobacco (de Vries 1853:52-53).

On October 22, 1642, de Vries traveled with another Dutch merchant to Jamestown where they met Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia. After the Dutchman explained to Berkeley that he had lost his ship, the governor offered to let de Vries stay with him through the winter and to give him a ship for safe passage back to his home in New Netherland because the Dutchman "had treated their nation well" (de Vries 1853:182). De Vries declined the offer, as he had made other arrangements nearby, but promised visit again (de Vries 1853:183). He spent much of that winter, when he was not staying with Berkeley in Jamestown, sailing "daily from one plantation to another, until the ships were ready, and had their cargoes of tobacco" (de Vries 1853:183). After filling his friend's ships' hulls with tobacco, de Vries "went down to Jamestown to the governor, to thank him for the friendship which he had been shown me by him through the winter" and took his leave of Berkeley on April 10, 1643 (de Vries 1853:184).

Hatfield (2005:209) has argued that "the kind of socializing that accompanied seventeenth-century Chesapeake trade...facilitated a familiarity that made Dutch merchants and mariners far from foreign to English Chesapeake colonists." The accounts of de Vries illustrate the close interactions and exchanges of information made possible through trans-national trade in the Chesapeake. These Anglo-Dutch commercial enterprises were not merely market-based exchanges of goods, money, and credit, but also consisted of intense communications and relationships forged over many years through the sharing of food, shelter, company, and ideas.

The earliest recorded instance of the Dutch trading in the Chesapeake occurred in 1619, when a Dutch man-of-war, the *Witte Leeuw* (the White Lion) from Flushing, sailed into the harbor at Point Comfort with "20 and odd Negroes" to sell to Virginia colonists (Kingsbury 1933[3]:243; Enthoven and Klooser 2011:95). Chesapeake colonists began to rely on Dutch merchants to carry their tobacco to Europe and the large market for their goods in the

Netherlands in the 1620s. For example, in 1621, the Virginia Company appointed a factor in the Netherlands so that colonists could ship all of their tobacco to Middleburg that year (Wyckoff 1936:28; Wilcoxen 1987:23-24). By 1629, merchants from New Netherland were common in Virginia's waters (Enthoven and Klooser 2011:96-97).

While there were no laws directly prohibiting trade with the Dutch at this time, three different times in the 1630s Parliament or the king told Virginia not to engage with traders from the Netherlands (Sainsburg 1860:239, 250-251, 273-274). On April 22, 1637, Charles I even went so far as to say that he “Strictly forbids trade with the Dutch” and if they did not obey, "His Majesty will advise the Privy Council to punish” the colonists (Sainsburg 1860:251). The fact that the Royal government had to continually remind colonists in the Chesapeake not to trade with the Dutch, and even resort to direct threats, indicates that colonists were relying on traders from the Netherlands.

Dutch presence in the Chesapeake significantly increased during the 1640s due to political upheaval in the metropole. Starting in 1642 until the beheading of Charles I in 1649, England was engaged in a civil war, pitting Royalists against Parliamentarians, and as one historian points out, "the wider Atlantic world was low on the list of priorities engaging the king and Parliament during the 1640s" (Pestana 2004:26). Trade to and from England was severely impacted due to the conflict, and Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic complained of the disruption.

In 1648, Henry Parker, a pro-monopoly English merchant discussed in the previous section, complained that “the late obstructions and calamities of civill war in our Kingdome” disrupted commerce and that “nothing can secure us against intruding *Interlopers.”* Supporters of mercantilist policies often referred to the Dutch as "interlopers" in their trade.

A year later, referencing the recently concluded Third Anglo-Powhatan War, which lasted from 1644 to 1646 (Fausz 1988), Virginian John Farrer wrote that the local Indians had risen against the colony because their leader (Opechancanough) had heard "that all was under the Sword in *England*" and "that now was his time or never, to roote out all the *English*" since the settlers had "no supplyes from their own Country" (Ferrar 1649:11-12). Because England was focused on its own internal struggles, English merchants were largely unable to sail to the New World, so the colonists turned to the Dutch for their commercial needs.

The Dutch sea-captain, David de Vries, reported that when he sailed to "the English Virginias" in 1635, all 36 ships he saw there were English; however, eight years later, in 1643, he reported that 4 of the 34 vessels that he encountered were from Holland, which he stated "make a great trade here every year" (de Vries 1853:112, 183). A 1646 act passed by the Virginia legislature illustrates the ubiquity of Dutch traders:

> "the merchants...Dutch as English, trade within the collony doe practice much deceit by diversity of weights and measures...Be it therefore inacted, That noe merchant or trader whatsoever either English or Dutch shall sell, buy, or otherwise make use of...any other weights as measures then are used and made according to the statute of parliament" (Hening 1823[1]:331).

This law suggests that merchants from both England and the Netherlands were common in Virginia. Additionally, the fact that the colonial government regulated both Dutch and English merchants equally demonstrates the importance of trans-national interactions.

In 1649, Virginian John Farrer wrote in a letter "last Christmas we had trading here ten ships from *London*, two from *Bristoll*, twelve *Hollanders*, and seven from *New-England*." Nearly 40 percent of the ships Farrer reported were of Dutch origin, illustrating the ubiquity of their presence in the mid-17th-century Chesapeake.

The Dutch trade that had flourished in the fourth decade of the 17th century came under attack with the end of the English Civil War and the inauguration of the Parliament-controlled Commonwealth government. Both the 1650 trade embargo and the 1651 Navigation Act tried to eliminate the Dutch. However, the colonial records indicate that throughout the 1650s and into the 1660s Chesapeake colonists were largely ignoring, and even protesting, these laws. For example, the records from Maryland indicate that in the 1650s, no Navigation Act violations were recorded. Several historians have pointed out that, while trade restrictions were strictly enforced in the Caribbean, and particularly Barbados, the 1651 Navigation Act was largely ignored in the Chesapeake colonies (Hatfield 2005:208; Schnurmann 2005:188-190; Klooster 2009:158; Koot 2014:86).

On January 2, 1655 a group of London merchants petitioned the Interregnum Parliament for a privateering license in order to seize Dutch ships trading in Virginia. They complained to the Lord Protectorate "there are usually found intruding upon the plantation, divers ships, surreptitiously carrying away the growth thereof, to forreign parts." They then produced a copy of the 1650 trade act that required all foreign merchants to obtain a license from Parliament prior to trading in the colonies, in addition to authorizing the seizure of any ships that did not have a license (Sainsburg 1860:420). The merchants did not receive permission to go privateering in the Chesapeake, but what this event illustrates is that colonists and Dutch traders were largely ignoring the mercantilist policies.

Russell Menard has pointed out that the Dutch are rarely mentioned in the records of Virginia or Maryland after 1660, interpreting this omission as an indication of their absence from the colonies (Menard 1980:152). However, the Records of New Amsterdam report dozens of Dutch ships sailing into and out of the Chesapeake throughout the late 1650s up until the English

conquest of that colony in 1664 (Fernow 1897[3]:3:17, 374, 381, 427; 1897[4]:15, 62, 96, 129, 189, 198, 201, 226, 255, 261, 270, 278, 282, 315; 1897[5]: 59, 65, 83).[1] Koot (2011:152) suggests that one reason for the lack of Dutch vessels or traders in the records after the 1660s is that merchants from the Netherlands began to carry two sets of documents; one set that claimed the ship and her captain were English and one set that showed them to be Dutch.

One interesting case from 1663 supports Victor Enthoven and Wim Klooster's hypothesis that the Dutch became "Masters of Disguise" during this decade, either Anglicizing their names and the names of their ships, or partnering with an English merchant to legitimize their trade (Enthoven and Klooster 2011:111-112). Dutch merchant Dirck Jansen made a deal with Deliverance Lamberton to place his ship *The Hope* in the Englishman's name "so as not to be seized or made a prize of." Because their goods and vessel were apprehended in Virginia, Jansen sued his partner claiming that "Lamberton caused the said bark to be seized and captured" (Fernow 1897[2]:278, 282). Jansen also appears in the Maryland records several times (AOMOL 49: 299, 341, 388, 391-393).

After the passage of the Staple Act in 1663, the colonial governments in Virginia and Maryland began to enforce trade restrictions. It was not until December 1664 that the first Navigation Act trial occurred in Maryland. The *Red Sterne* was seized because its owner, Jacob Backer, was Dutch. However, New York Governor Nicolls wrote to the Maryland government reminding them that since August of that year the former Dutch colony fell under English rule, making it is legal to trade with the Dutch residents of New York. This incident illustrates the veil of legality that Dutch traders were afforded after the capture of New Netherland in 1664. From

[1] The records prior to the late 1660s do not appear to distinguish between Virginia and Maryland, and instead often refer to "the English Virginias."

1664 to 1673, the Records of New Amsterdam/New York record several incidences of Dutch and Dutch-descended sea merchants sailing from New York to Virginia (Fernow 1897[5]:109, 131, 214, 240, 277, 291; 1897[6]:85, 89, 89, 91, 186-187, 330) and Maryland (Fernow 1897[6]:219, 248; 1897[7]:32).[2]

There are numerous archaeological sites in the Chesapeake that attest to the presence of Dutch traders in the middle of the 17th century. For example, at the George Sandy's site in James City County, Virginia, which dates from ca. 1630-1650, 16 of the identifiable 23 European pipes recovered were of Dutch origin (Pecoraro and Givens 2006). At least 30 of the 63 marked white ball clay pipes found at Green Spring, the country estate of Governor William Berkeley from 1646 to 1677, were manufactured in the Netherlands (Crass 1988). At the Historic Kecoughtan site in Hampton, Virginia, numerous Dutch clay pipes were recovered. Kecoughtan was a settlement located at the end of the Virginia Peninsula, between the James and York rivers, at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. This particular site (44HT44) was likely a mid- to late-17th-century plantation, but a part of the larger Kecoughtan community. Throughout the 17th century, ships would stop at Kecoughtan, near Point Comfort, before sailing up the James River to buy tobacco or on their way out of the Chesapeake across the Atlantic Ocean (Higgins et al. 1999). The Dutch sea captain, de Vries, visited "Kicketan" several times while trading in Virginia (de Vries 1853:49, 53, 181, 189).

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[2] Although New Amsterdam became New York in August 1664, with the invasion of James, Duke of York's forces, the colonial judicial records continued in the same vein, usually under the same councilors, board, Burghers, and courts. The transition between European powers was smooth and unimpeded. On August 23, 1664, the names of the Burgomasters were listed in the Court Minutes, along with preparations for the impending English invasion .The English arrived on August 27, 1664 and captured the city. On September 4, 1664 there is no mention of the transition of power, and the same city leaders are listed as present and continued to rule on cases in front of the court (Fernow 1897[5]:104-107).

Dutch material culture has been found at other archaeological sites in the Chesapeake. Large quantities of Dutch yellow brick, redware mugs, floor tiles, and imported tobacco pipes have been excavated from the Town Neck site in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. The site dates from ca. 1661 to 1680; however, the majority of the goods from the Netherlands were recovered from features that were filled between 1673 and 1680 (Mintz and Moser 2002). Similarly, Burle's Town Land, another third quarter of the 17th-century archaeological site in Anne Arundel County, contained a number of imported Dutch ceramics, architectural materials, and tobacco pipes, providing "strong evidence of a Netherlands trade network" in the this area of Maryland (Sharpe et al. 2002:31).

Bartmann stoneware bottles with medallions displaying the Amsterdam coat of arms have been found at two sites near Jamestown: the Governor's Land site and in a 1660s context at Carter's Grove (Outlaw 1990:121; Skerry and Hood 2009:18); Janine Skerry and Suzanne Hood (2009:18) argued that these bottles were likely the result of direct trade with the Netherlands into the Chesapeake. Other German stoneware bottles that display the personal marks of Dutch traders have been recovered throughout Virginia. For example, a sherd with the initials of Pieter van den Ancker, a Dutch merchant who lived in London in the middle of the 17th century, was excavated at the Edward Thomas site in York County (Skerry and Hood 2009:21).

Two different vessels with the date "1664" on the stoneware bottle seals were found at the Chesopean site in Virginia Beach. Both of these medallions bear the initials of Jan op de Kamp, a Dutch merchant who exported pottery, wine, and other goods from Frechen between 1649 and 1672. Skerry and Hood (2009:20-21) argued that these ceramic vessels likely arrived in the colony on a Dutch ship, due to the social, political, and economic ties of Adam Thoroughgood, the owner of the property during the 17th century. Charlotte Wilcoxen (1987:21)

notes that the Chesopean site contains "one of the largest aggregations of Dutch artifactual remains yet found archaeologically in Virginia." The Chesopean site, Adam Thoroughgood, and his trans-Atlantic and intercolonial connections, will be discussed in further detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

Dutch merchants continued to trade into the Chesapeake in the 1670s and 1680s, usually through New York, the previously Dutch colony of New Netherland that was seized in 1664. These Dutch merchants who lived in New York were given a veil of legality as newly made English citizens; however, many maintained contacts in the Netherlands through family and business partners (Hatfield 2005:207; Schnurmann 2005:192-193; Koot 2011:153-154; Morgan 2014:119, 121). Koot (2011:153) estimates that from 1668 to 1674 roughly three to five ships a year were sailing directly from Amsterdam to New York, and that this trans-Atlantic trade continued into the 1690s. The governors of New York encouraged illicit trade from the Netherlands in the 1670s and 1680s because Dutch goods were of better quality and often less expensive than English goods (Koot 2011:154). Intercolonial trade between New York and the Chesapeake likely accounts for some of the Dutch artifacts found in the Chesapeake after 1670.

Koot (2014:92-94) argues that from 1690 to 1730, intercolonial trade began to replace trans-Atlantic Dutch trade into the Chesapeake. Both the English and the Dutch were embroiled in a number of wars during at the turn of the 18th century, including King William's War/Nine Years War (1689-1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession/Queen Anne's War (1702-1713). During this time, while Dutch and Dutch-descended merchants from New York continued to sail into the Chesapeake, trade was more sporadic and opportunistic.

The Influence of Dutch Ideology on Free Trade in the Chesapeake

The colonial records from Virginia and Maryland attest to the influences of Dutch concepts of free trade on English colonial economic ideology. Throughout the middle of the 17th century, colonial leaders and government officials advocated for free trade. Colonists in Virginia were particularly resistant to outside control of their trade. When in 1639, the Virginia Company tried to re-exert power over the now Royal colony, the governor, Council, and burgesses of Virginia objected, and in 1642 delivered to the king their "Act against the Company." In their protest letter, one of their main arguments against reinstituting the Company was fear of commercial monopolies and losing free trade. They stated "That by the admission of a Company the freedom of our trade (the blood and life of a commonwealth) will be monopolized" (McIlwaine 1915:66-70). The Virginians were successful in their resistance and remained under royal dominion.

In the 1640s, the colonial governments in the Chesapeake actively encouraged trade with the Dutch. On July 17th, 1644, the Maryland courts commissioned Edward Packer to trade with the Dutch and was ordered to New Netherland to promote Maryland tobacco (AOMOL 4:281). Virginia more openly promoted Dutch trade. In March 1643, the Grand Assembly passed the "Encouragement to Dutch merchants," act stating "It shall be free and lawfull for any merchant, factors or others of the Dutch nation to import wares and merchandizes and to trade or trafique for the commoditys of the collony in any shipp or shipps of their owne or belonging to the Netherlands" (Hening 1823[1]:58). On April 17, 1647, in response to rumors that London merchants had proposed an act to limit trade in Virginia, Governor Berkeley stated that "some English Merchants" wanted to "expell the Dutch, and make way for themselves to Monopolize not onely our labours and fortunes, but even our Psons." He ended his speech saying "wee doe

againe invite the *Dutch* Nation...& declare all ffreedome & libertie to them to trade within the Collony" (McIlwaine 1915:74).

Upon hearing of the trade embargo passed in 1650 prohibiting all trade into Virginia, Maryland, Antigua, Barbados, and Bermuda, Governor Berkeley declared "The Indians, God be blessed round about us are fubdued; we can onely feare the *Londoners*, who would faine bring us to the same poverty, wherein the *Dutch* found and relieved us; would take away the liberty of our consciences, and tongues, and our right of giving and selling our goods to whom we please" (McIlwaine 1915:76). The Virginia assembly agreed with Berkeley, concluding "we will peaceably (as formerly) trade with…all other Nations in amity" (McIlwaine 1915:78).

Liberty of conscience is the idea that no one, not even the government or the king, has control over a citizen's mind or actions. Since the late 16th century, the Dutch had directly linked free trade, liberty of conscience, and economic prosperity. I have demonstrated in the previous section that the English in the metropole had not linked these concepts in the 1650s and instead focused on restricting trade as the avenue to economic success. It would not be until the 1670s and 1680s that English merchants began to agitate for liberty of conscience in regards to commerce. However, while the core had not appropriated and linked these concepts, it is obvious that Berkeley and others on the periphery had been influenced by the Dutch when he declared the Londoners "would take away the liberty of our consciences" by denying the colonists free trade.

Parliament responded to Berkeley's 1650 defiant speech by sending a fleet in 1651 "to reduce all the plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake," (Sainsbury 1860:361), meaning to take control in the name of the Cromwell. Virginia submitted to Parliamentary rule the next year under several conditions, including "that all goods already brought hither by the *Dutch* or others which are now on shoar shall be free from surpizall," and that "the people of *Virginia* have free

trade as the people of *England* do enjoy to all the places and with all nations according to the lawes of that common wealth" (McIlwaine 1915:79-80). This last condition illustrates the ideological differences between the English and their Dutch influenced colonists. Free trade to the Virginians included trade with the Dutch, but the Commonwealth purposefully inserted the stipulation "according to the lawes of that common wealth" indicating that they meant trade within the bounds of the English empire.

On June 13, 1652. Richard Husband captured a Dutch ship in Northhampton County, Virginia on the grounds that the Dutchman had no license from Parliament. The county court ordered Husband to return the vessel, evoking the free trade clause from the colony's surrender to the Commonwealth earlier that year, despite the fact that the clause was not meant to allow Dutch trade, but to encourage English mercantilism (Tyler 1893:191-192; Pagan 1982:497).

In 1660, both of the leaders from Virginia and Maryland openly courted New Netherland's commerce. In March 1660, the Virginia assembly enacted a law entitled *An Act for the Dutch and all other Strangers for Trading to this Place*, that declared "the Dutch...shall have free liberty to trade with us" (Hening 1823[1]:535). Clearly the Virginia government was promoting the Dutch concept of free trade with the law. On July 20, 1661, Lord Baltimore wrote to his colony from England in defiance of the 1660 Restoration act to restrict trade, warning them not to go to war with Dutch occupied New Amstel, because "the Dutch Trade being the Darling of the People of Virginea as well as this Province" (AOMOL 3:428). Both of the colonial leaders valued Dutch free trade over English mercantilism.

In 1661, Berkeley went to London to argue for free trade in Virginia, and distributed his pamphlet, *A Discourse and View of Virginia*, in which he stated that the colony's wellbeing was impeded by "confining the Planters to Trade only with the English." The governor's efforts were

to no avail, and in September 1662 the Restoration government refused his petitions and denied Virginia free trade. Additionally, Berkeley was made personally responsible for the enforcement of the Navigation Acts, and was required to submit to the Council of Foreign Plantations accounts of all exports out of the colony. This proclamation, which was extended to other colonial governors, along with the stricter 1663 Staple Act, was an attempt by the imperial government to severely restrict illicit trade (Pagan 1982:499; Enthoven and Klooster 2011:110).

Berkeley never gave up on the idea of free trade in Virginia. In 1670, the Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations sent him a number of enquiries regarding the state of the colony. Berkeley responded in 1671. The council asked many questions, including what impacted trade the most, to which Berkeley responded, "Mighty and destructive, by that severe act of parliament which excludes us the having any commerce with any nation in Europe but our own." (Hening 1823[2]:515-516). The commissioners went on to ask what actions could be taken to improve trade. Berkeley answered, "None, unless we had liberty to transport our pipe staves, timber and corn to other places besides the king's dominions" (Hening 1823[2]:516).

Although Dutch trade began to wane in the 18th century, Virginians continued to look favorably upon the Dutch. Traders from the Netherlands and New Amsterdam were considered the saviors of the colony, especially during the political troubles of the 1640s and 1650s, when English merchants could not sail to the New World, or offer the same deals the Dutch could. Even after the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660 and the reestablishment of trans-Atlantic trade from England to her colonies, the Dutch, who privileged free trade and liberty over mercantilism and absolutism, and had a national bank to provide favorable interest rates, remained popular among many colonists.

In 1705, Robert Beverly published his *History and Present State of Virginia*, and in it he recounted the story of English ships sent by Cromwell to reduce Virginia in 1651. He praised the commonwealth for resisting Protectorate rule and Dutch support in the struggle, stating "The country at first held out vigorously against him, and Sir William Berkeley, by the assistance of such Dutch vessels as were then there, made a brave resistance" (Beverly 2013:49). In his discussion of the causes of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, Beverly (2013:57) partially attributes the violence to "The heavy Restraints and Burdens laid upon their Trade by Act of Parliament in *England*," which James Rice (2012:198) interprets to mean the attempt by the Navigation Acts to eliminate the Dutch.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have argued that there was no ideological consensus in the 17th-century English-Atlantic World regarding the best way to govern an empire, specifically in regards to commercial activities. There were many options available to the early modern English, including the absolutist, mercantilist policies of the Stuart monarchy and Cromwellian Protectorate and the Dutch model of liberty and capitalism. The English Empire struggled to maintain control and loyalty of its subjects throughout the 17th century. Only once English absolutism was abandoned in favor of Dutch freedom, did a coherent British identity, in which all free citizens of the empire subscribed, begin to emerge. Lisa Jardine (2008) has referred to this development that resulted from cultural copying as England's "plundering" of Holland's glory. This image does indeed illustrate the process described in this chapter. As England adopted Dutch ideology and commercial practices, the Netherlands was slowly losing its control of the Atlantic. However, while it took nearly a century for English leaders in the core to implement these changes,

Chesapeake colonists had already began to employ the Dutch model learned through intense trade interactions.

Colonists on the edge of the burgeoning empire brought mores and traditions with them to the New World from England under the assumption that they would maintain connections to their mother country. However, when England all but abandoned her colonies in the 1630s, 1640s, and 1650s, settlers on the periphery turned to merchants from the Netherlands for their salvation. Chesapeake colonists were agitating for free trade from the 1640s nearly to the end of the century and were using Dutch rhetoric to demand freedom from English mercantilist policies in order to maintain their sovereignty as freeborn citizens. If it were not for the Anglo-Dutch interactions that occurred in the middle of the 17th century, Virginia and Maryland would not have survived, nor would their settlers have adopted liberal commercial ideologies. The American colonies all but abandoned the Dutch after England had "plundered" all it could from the Netherlands. Once the English in the core, under the direction of a Dutch monarch, implemented liberal commercial and merchandising policies, the colonies no longer needed their former friends.

What can archaeology contribute to this discussion? The purpose of this chapter was to provide an Atlantic context to the archaeological results discussed later in this dissertation. The Potomac River Valley was not an isolated place on the periphery, but a place with widespread connections both within the Chesapeake and the broad Atlantic World. While the historical record provides a rich narrative of intellectual growth and development, particularly among the wealthy, educated elite, it does not tell individual stories. Who, specifically, was influenced by the Dutch? How did this process occur over time? While the documents provide a strong foundation from which to work, they cannot complete the history of how the capitalist-world

system was introduced into the Chesapeake. Some archaeologists have studied the development of capitalism in Europe and the introduction of the new system into the New World.

Matthew Johnson (1996) has made arguments similar to Appleby's (2010), but focused his research on the role of material culture in the transformation of medieval, feudal society into a modern, capitalistic culture in England. He has explored the feudal/capitalist transition through changes in and distribution of 16th- and 17th-century material culture. He argued that archaeology is uniquely suited to the study of the origins of the modern economy, including social and ideological changes, because of the material focus of capitalism and because objects are active in producing, maintaining, and altering personal relationships and broader society. In his work, Johnson discussed three economic systems that were vying for dominance between 1400 and 1750: mercantilist strategies of the 15th, 16th, and early 17th centuries, free market industrial capitalism of the 18th and 19th century, and a transition period between the two he terms "nascent capitalism" (Johnson 1996:6-8). Johnson traced the rise of nascent capitalism through land enclosures, the commodification of everyday objects, such as pipes and ceramics, and the ways in which objects were used differently during the 16th and 17th centuries than they had been previously.

Shannon Lee Dawdy's (2008) archaeological and historical study of 18th-century New Orleans examines the growth of one colony in relation to the development of the French-Atlantic Empire. Colonialism, she argues, was a failed experiment by European powers to control far reaching areas that led to rebellion, resistance, and contraband flow; she calls this phenomenon of inter- and intra-imperial struggle "rogue colonialism" (Dawdy 2008:3-5). Johnson (2011:170) has stated that this phenomenon that Dawdy discusses could easily be termed "rogue capitalism." According to Dawdy, rogue colonialism allowed individuals and collective groups of people to

refashion old identities and institutions, or create new ones. Of particular interest to this study was Dawdy's examination of illicit trade. She argued that the people of New Orleans engaged in illegal trade as a way to materially display their liberty from French imperial control. As she pointed out "smuggling was quintessentially the practice of free trade" (Dawdy 2008:243). As bandits became more successful and colonists resisted restricted trade, they put an end to French mercantilism and "ushered in the first stage of economic liberalism" (Dawdy 2008:243).

Kathleen Deagan has studied the role of illicit trade in 18th-century St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 2007). Deagan argued that archaeology is in a unique position to understand how different people engaged in smuggling depending on their social, political, and economic position. Instead of just supporting or contradicting the documents, studies at the household level, which most historical records ignore, can provide new information on trade. Deagan studied four different 18th-century households: low-income, harbor-guard, merchant, and elite government officials. She found that each one of these groups of people responded to the availability of illicit trade differently. For example, the elite did not purchase illegal goods because they did not need to, and they had to conform to the law because they were the ones enforcing it. The harbor-guard had the most direct access to illicit trade, and thus had the most illegal goods. The merchant, while he likely had access to smuggled goods, did not buy them, because he had to sell his goods in public. Lastly, the lower-economic status house engaged in smuggling goods, because the illegal goods were likely cheaper than those provided by the Spanish government.

This study follows in the footsteps of many scholars who have studied the development of the British-Atlantic World, early-modern struggles over political economy, and Anglo-Dutch interactions. In the above narrative of the formation of the British Empire and British identity

and 17th-century political economy, the main focus was on struggles and developments in the core. The role of the colonies has often been overlooked in the formation of the English/British Empire. As Matson (2012) and Koot (2012) have argued, by overtly ignoring the periphery, half the story is lost; especially given that colonists were some of the most vocal detractors of mercantilist policy. Matson and Koot also pointed out that it is important to recognize that mercantilism was enacted differently in different places, and people reacted differently to those policies depending on local conditions.

Koot (2011) has also argued that the scale and intensity of illicit exchanges varied from colony to colony, depending on local conditions. For example, the Leeward Islands were more likely to trade with the Dutch than Barbados, because English merchants were quick to purchase and actively sought out Barbadian sugar, while they tended to ignore tobacco from the Leeward Islands, which the Dutch were happy to buy. Koot's main point is that there were struggles in the periphery regarding the implementation of the Navigation Acts throughout the century. This is important to an understanding of Dutch trade in the Chesapeake. Historical sources indicate that Dutch trade waxed and waned in Virginia and Maryland throughout the 17th century and that colonists adopted concepts of the individual and rejected state-controlled trade as a direct result of intense interactions with merchants from the Netherlands in the first half of the 17th century. Dutch trade decreased in scale and importance at the turn of the 18th century, not only because the imperial government was better able to enforce trade restrictions, but also because colonists no longer needed or wanted it.

Although the broad history of the rise and fall of Anglo-Dutch interactions in the Chesapeake is fairly clear, documents do not illustrate the whole story. Historical data tell us that there was a strong Dutch presence in the Chesapeake prior to 1640, but not the scale and

intensity of those interactions. It is true that mention of the Dutch significantly decreases after 1660 and they all but disappear from the historical record after the 1670s, but archaeological evidence can help expand this narrative. Not only can archaeology provide information about general trends related to smuggling, but also an understanding of individual actions and choices. Koot (2014:83) has stated "The full extent of Anglo-Dutch trade is almost impossible to quantify," and similarly, Hatfield (2005:207) argued that illegal trade with the Dutch continued after the English conquered New Netherland in 1664, but "it is impossible to measure its extent." Perhaps this is true, if one only consults a single source of information; but as demonstrated in Chapter 8, archaeological data can and indeed allow for the quantification and measurement of Anglo-Dutch trade in the Chesapeake.

Chapter 5 : Community Formation and the History of the 17th-century Potomac River Valley

This chapter focuses on social and political changes that occurred throughout the 17th century in the Potomac River Valley. An exploration of migration patterns into the region and the establishment of neighborhoods in relation to popular uprisings against the colonial government, demonstrates that several distinct communities were formed in the middle of the 17th century based on shared political and social ideologies. By the turn of the 18th century, the lines between these distinct communities began to erode and a Potomac River Valley identity began to coalesce based not only on shared political and social ideologies, in addition to kinship ties, but also around a regional economy based on oronoco tobacco.

An exploration of archaeological, anthropological, and historical approaches to community formation is helpful in order to provide a foundation to my arguments regarding the development of a Potomac River Valley identity. This overview is followed by a discussion of Chesapeake sub-regions and the importance of regional studies in relation to this project. The bulk of this chapter focuses on the history of the Potomac River Valley, emphasizing migration patterns and popular rebellions against the colonial government. Throughout this chapter I trace the formation of neighborhoods based on common political ideology and the formation of a Potomac River Valley identity based on memories of rebellion and shared economic interests.

Community Studies

In archaeology and history, the term "community" is frequently used very broadly, with no formal definition provided. It can be used to describe a group of people, a geographic locality, or a shared idea. In archaeology, "community" often stands in as a representation of a town, settlement, or site. It is used as a unit of analysis without any true exploration of the concept, with an assumption that anyone who lived within close proximity to one another comprised a

social collective. These assumptions do not take into consideration individual actions and internal divisions among a group of people who lived in the same geographic location. Explicit within these assumptions is the idea that community members must live within a bounded area, and members could not live elsewhere (Cusick 1995:60-61; Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Mac Sweeney 2011:3-6).

These archaeological uses of community draw on early- to mid-20th century concepts developed by cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and geographers in which community is understood to be a natural ecologic unit; communities are derived from nature and arise as a result of people living within a geographic area. Since the 1980s, social scientists have begun to reject this purely environmentally deterministic concept of community, and instead, community is now studied as a socially-constructed unit in relation to group identity and conscious formation. Inherent in this definition of community is the understanding that group identity is within the minds of the members, and not an environmental niche that a population fills within a given locale. Communities are actively developed, maintained, and transformed through social practice (Cohen 1985; Mac Sweeney 2011:13-15).

Communities are based on a collective identity of "us" versus "them." Inclusive group identity is articulated and symbolized through shared ideas, cultural practices, and material culture. A group of people "that have a sense of common identity based on a perception of shared interests" is called "relational community" (Mac Sweeny 2011:31). Some scholars, such as Benedict Anderson (1983), completely reject the notion that community members need to live near one another, or even need any direct interaction; all that is needed is the conscious idea of the community and symbolic expression of group identity and membership. While Anderson's concept of community may be applicable to largely abstract notions of identity, such as his study

of how nationalism is formed, many researchers reject the idea that community members do not have to at least be aware of one another (Amit 2002; Mac Sweeny 2011:17-19).

Naoíse Mac Sweeny (2011:19, 31) proposes the term "geographic community" to refer to "a mental construct where members of the community feel a sense of cohesion and shared identity based on some perception of commonality...this commonality focuses primarily on a shared space and location" with other contributing factors, such as ethnicity, religion, and language. Mac Sweeny (2011:20) argues that geographic communities are the best unit of analysis for archaeological studies, because the concept provides an easily bounded area to "examine the realization of the intangible mental construct of community in social practice." Within geographic communities, individuals play a role in community formation and maintenance. Instead of making broad statements about the "community," when in fact archaeologists mean the town, village, or locale, with the recognition that individuals make up a community and have a say in its organization, researchers can examine community membership as a social identity.

Today, many archaeologists continue to use the term "community" broadly, in reference to spatial organization only. Mac Sweeny (2011:25) argues that archaeologists either conflate community and site, or see community as an organizational unit with little recognition that communities are comprised of people. However, there are some archaeologists who have tried to combine the relational and geographic approaches to community.

James Cusick (1993, 1995), in his study of St. Augustine, Florida at the turn of the 19th century, argued that historical archaeology is a particularly useful way to examine community formation due to the typical focus on comparative studies at the household level, and the unique ability of historical archaeologists to contextualize and define households through a combination

of archaeological and archival research. Cusick studied material culture at the household level among members of the Minorcan people, an ethnic minority from the Mediterranean, in St. Augustine. He was interested in whether the material life of the Minorcan people changed in relation to changes in socio-economic status between generations. Cusick found that while many aspects of their material culture transformed over time, kinship networks that united the Minorcan community remained intact, even after some members left the original, first generation immigrant neighborhood. Both archaeological and historical evidence indicated that patterns of interaction remained relatively the same even if their material life changed, revealing strong communal identities.

Crystal Ptacek's (2013) recent analysis of neighborhood formation also tacks back and forth between the concepts of relational and geographic communities. She found that many men who patented land and helped establish the Indian Camp neighborhood in Powhatan County, Virginia during the second quarter of the 18th century had pre-existing connections in the Tidewater area of Virginia prior to their purchases of land to the west. These previously established networks helped foster a sense of community and obligation among the elite residents/property holders of Powhatan County. Their Indian Camp communal identity developed not only out of their geographic proximity to one another, but also, their shared commitment to tobacco agriculture, ownership of enslaved Africans and African-Americans, participation in local and colonial government, and kinship ties formed through a series of inter-marriages (Ptacek 2013).

Chesapeake social historians have tended to focus on social networks based on kinship ties in discussions of 17th-century community formation (Kelly 1979; Walsh 1979, 1988, 2010; Rutman and Rutman 1984; Perry 1990; Carr et al. 1991). James Perry (1990) has explored

community cohesion and concluded that neighborhoods formed through kinship and friendship ties and economic networks. In the Chesapeake, people who were related to one another tended to live in close proximity, and economic relationships helped bind together people who were not related. Familial and localized economic connections were often restricted to the radius of a few miles, which helped solidify neighborhood identity. Communal ties were reinforced through various forms of interaction, but especially though face-to-face contact at church, militia muster, court days, and socializing at ordinaries. The cultural practices of social interaction and economic exchange helped to maintain and develop the concept of "us" in relation to their geographic location (Rutman and Rutman 1984; Perry 1990).

Non-local economic connections tied local neighborhood-based communities to larger regional and imperial communities; particularly important to these broad trade networks were merchants, seamen, and ship's captains who brought goods, news, information, and ideas to otherwise isolated areas. Official trips and correspondence made by government officials outside of their immediate neighborhoods would also help maintain ties to the broader region (Rutman and Rutman 1984; Perry 1990; Hatfield 2004). Lorena Walsh has argued that most communication networks in the Chesapeake were contained within a five mile radius and information networks to a ten mile radius, but both could extend as far as fifteen to twenty-five miles from a given point depending on a person's occupation, position within the government, and social and economic standing. Planter-merchants were engaged in the widest communication networks because of their economic interests in many different counties (Walsh 1988:219, 226).

Hatfield (2004, 2005) has focused much of her research on the ways in which maritime trade networks impacted colonial Virginia society throughout the 17th century. She has argued that everyone in the Chesapeake, in one way or another, participated in the Maritime Atlantic

World, which facilitated the expansion of all colonists' social and cultural exchange networks. Obviously elite, wealthy planters had greater access to mariners but everyone interacted with traders at some point. Colonists were engaged in a variety of water-based trade and exchange systems, including regional, intercolonial, trans-Atlantic, and international networks. Maritime traders brought with them knowledge of the outside world. These interactions helped maintain a sense of belonging within the Atlantic World while at the same time cultivating a sense of community by illustrating differences between their localities and the regional and global world. Despite the fact that the Chesapeake had no major urban centers equivalent in size and density of northern cities such as Boston and New Amsterdam, communal identities were formed and fostered through maritime trade and exchange networks that connected plantations and neighborhoods (Perry 1990:232).

Some scholars have argued that communities began to break down in New England and the Chesapeake with the rise of commercial capitalism (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1974; Breen 1979). However, others have rejected this assertion, arguing that over the course of the 17th century and into the early-18th century, communal bonds strengthened in the face of growing individualism, relying on old kinship, friendship, and exchange networks as well as geographic loyalty, both in the Chesapeake and in New England (Issac 1982; Heyrman 1984; Perry 1990). Both of these phenomena occurred in the Potomac River Valley during the transitional period of the long 17th century. Because ideas of individualism and community membership are different facets of identity, colonists could draw on different aspects of their identity depending on the situation, both as individuals and as a members of a community; these two concepts are not mutually exclusive.

Since the late-20th century, while archaeologists have begun to accept the idea that communities are not naturally occurring phenomenon that develop as a result of a geographic locale, but a result of shared beliefs, ideas, and social practice, there is still a tendency to assume that shared group identities cannot form unless people are living within close proximity to one another. The general interpretation is that people first move to an area, such as the frontier, then they form a community through shared experiences (Lewis 1976, 1977, 1984; Schwart and Falconer 1994; Verhoeven 1999; Mac Sweeney 2011:5, 13). While, there is no denying that this sequence likely occurred quite often, especially in places that were in relative isolation, this trajectory of community formation was not always followed and more complicated than often discussed in the archaeological literature. My definition of community draws on many different fields of study, and is located somewhere between Mac Sweeny's (2011) relational and geographic community definitions.

Communities in the Potomac River Valley were complex, dynamic, and ever-changing. Many aspects contributed to a group's sense of shared identity, including religion, economic ideology, and most importantly to this dissertation, political leanings. Many of the neighborhoods that were developed in the mid-17th century Potomac River Valley were established by pre-existing communities comprised of men and women who were involved in earlier political and economic struggles. The communities were formed before many of the individual members chose to live in close proximity to one another. However, archaeology illustrates that these communities based on shared political and economic ideas extended beyond the local neighborhoods that were established along the banks of the Potomac River. While there was often a geographic center to a community, a community of the mind could extend broadly around the Potomac River Valley and elsewhere in the Chesapeake.

Community identity, like all aspects of a person's identity, is a performance strengthened and maintained through the continual practice of social contact, interaction with and use of material culture, and purposeful movement on the landscape. Individuals could maintain many community affiliations, including membership in a localized social-political community, a regionally-based economic community, and an imperial Atlantic community all at the same time; these identities could shift and change depending on events and cultural contexts. The colonists on whom this study is centered performed many different aspects of their identities, depending on what associations benefited them the most at the time.

Chesapeake Sub-regional Analysis

Virginia and Maryland are often referred to as the "tobacco colonies" or as the "tobacco coast" with the assumption that there was a unified tobacco culture based on the cultivation, harvest, and sale of the addictive plant to English merchants across the Atlantic Ocean. It is easy to refer to the "Chesapeake" as a single economic entity based on a single staple crop with inhabitants who were united in their goals to produce and sell more tobacco. Although I do use this term broadly to refer to Virginia and Maryland, I also recognize that these two colonies, and sub-regions within the colonies, had their own distinct histories that impacted the formation of society during the 17th century. Similar to the term "locally-made pipe" discussed in Chapter 3, the term "Chesapeake" is also contextually dependent, and can be a useful analytical unit when comparing the colonies of Virginia and Maryland to other regions. But for more fine-grained analysis, such as this project, it is useful to narrow down to a sub-regional scale.

Until the turn of the 21st century there had been a tendency among Chesapeake scholars to use localized studies as proxies for the entire region with little recognition of the environmental, economic, demographic, and political differences between the various

Chesapeake sub-regions throughout the long 17th century. Much of the late-20th-century work on early-colonial Chesapeake society was based on Russell Menard's (1976, 1980, 1984; McCusker and Menard 1985) research on boom and bust cycles of the tobacco trade that, according to Menard, resulted in a 30-year economic stagnation from 1680 to1710 and low standards of living. Although not all researchers accepted Menard's interpretations of the tobacco trade as applicable to the entire Chesapeake (Rutman and Rutman 1984; Rutman 1987), many did (Carr and Menard 1979; Kulikoff 1979; Main 1982; Walsh 1987; Carr et al. 1991; Parent 2003). Douglas Bradburn and John Coombs (2006), in calling for a change to the previous narrative of 17th-century Chesapeake economy and society, have called Menard's depression thesis interpretive orthodoxy that was perpetuated by a small group of scholars who cited one another throughout the fourth quarter of the 20th century.

With the publication of Lorena Walsh's (1999, 2001, 2010) seminal work on Chesapeake sub-regions, these old assumptions of a unified Chesapeake tobacco culture began to alter. She argued that tobacco-coast-based analyses are too broad to account for individual planters' actions, and instead one must study cultural, economic, and social transformations at the sub-regional level in order to understand the nuanced changes that occurred at the local level. According to Walsh, there are three distinct Chesapeake sub-regions that began to develop in the 17th century and became solidified at the turn of the 18th century: the sweet-scented tobacco region in the James and York River Basins; the oronoco tobacco region that encompassed Southern Maryland, the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the Potomac River Valley in Virginia and Maryland; and the peripheral region in the Southside of Virginia and on the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

The environment in the peripheral region was not well suited to tobacco cultivation, and instead colonists south of the James River and on Virginia's Eastern Shore focused on the production of provisioning goods. While people in this region participated in some agricultural activity, particularly growing corn, most settlers produced naval stores, such as tar and pitch, timber from the vast forests in the area, and raised livestock for domestic use and for sale outside of the Chesapeake (Walsh 1999:59). There were also large merchant families who engaged in trans-Atlantic and intercolonial trade established in the peripheral region, specifically Dutch colonists who settled in the area or English Puritans who had spent a substantial amount of time in the Netherlands prior to their emigration to the New World (Hatfield 2004:43, 110).

Walsh has argued that there were basically two tobacco economies in the Chesapeake, not one, unified "tobacco culture." These two sub-regions were differentiated by the strain of tobacco grown and the production practices adopted by colonists in the oronoco region in the Upper Chesapeake and those planters in the sweet-scented region of the James and York River Valleys.

There are over 95 different species of tobacco that belong to the genus *Nicotiana*, several of which have been habitually used by the indigenous people of North and South America for centuries. The two most important species to the study of Chesapeake tobacco trade are the only two domesticated varieties: *Nicotiana rustica* and *Nicotiana tabacum* (Winter 2000a). Both domesticated species' origins are in the Peruvian Andes of South America. *Nicotiana rustica* was likely the first of the two species to be domesticated, because of its higher nicotine content, around 7000 BC. By 5000 BC it had reached Mexico, and the Mississippi Valley between 2000 and 1000 BC (Winter 2000b:317-324). There is some debate about when *N. rustica* was purposefully cultivated and grown in the eastern United States, but it was sometime during the

period from the first century BC to the third century AD, and by AD 1000 it was grown all over the eastern Woodlands (Wagner 2000a:185; Winter 2000b:324). Until European contact, *N. rustica* was the only tobacco smoked by eastern North Americans (Winter 2000a; Winter 2000b:312-313).

Nicotiana tabacum was also first domesticated in the Andes, but instead of moving north like *N. rustica*, the former moved east into the jungles and then to the Caribbean. The nicotine content in *N. tabacum*, while higher than all of the wild species, is lower than the other domestic variety. When the English established their first permanent colony at Jamestown, they immediately tried to grow commercial tobacco. However, many Europeans found *N. rustica* too harsh and potent to enjoy recreationally. It was not until John Rolfe brought a strain of *N. tabacum* called oronoco to Virginia in 1612 that much of the Chesapeake came to rely on tobacco as a staple crop (Winter 2000c:93; Winter et al. 2000:358). When colonists began to settle outside of the immediate area surrounding Jamestown, and planted the new domesticate in sandier, less nutrient rich soil, they noticed differences in the way the tobacco looked and tasted. By the 1640s, two types of commercial *N. tabacum* were recognized: oronoco and sweet-scented. Oronoco was the tobacco variety grown in the sandier soils along the Potomac River, in Maryland, and on the Eastern Shore, while the tobacco grown along the James, York, and Rappahannock Rivers was called sweet-scented. Oronoco was sought after by continental Europeans, particularly the Dutch, while the denser, milder sweet-scented was preferred by the English (Hardin 2006:139-140; Walsh 2010:147-148).

Walsh has demonstrated that once the sub-regions were separated from the whole, local economic and demographic developments often differed from regional trends. Instead of a Chesapeake-wide economic depression resulting from falling tobacco prices, each of the three

sub-regions reacted differently to the changes in the staple-crop's declining value at the end of the 17th century. The peripheral areas abandoned the addictive plant altogether. Oronoco planters increased their production and output quantity to combat the falling prices, while those colonists in the sweet-scented areas decreased their quantity, raised the quality of their sot-weed, and were able to increase the price per hogshead (Walsh 1999:59-60).

Walsh's sub-regional analyses provide a powerful counter-argument to Menard's (1980) earlier depression thesis, although she never critiqued him outright. Menard's interpretations were based on his analyses of tobacco prices in Maryland and total Chesapeake tobacco exports taken from official Customs lists. The data from Maryland showed that tobacco prices decreased over the 17th century and then leveled off around 1680 while the Customs records from the whole region indicated a stagnation of exports at the same time, which led to a thirty-year economic depression from 1680 to 1710. However, once the two tobacco growing areas are separated, it is clear that neither area suffered from stagnating prices and exports, but instead responded to the economic changes differently; colonists in the Upper Chesapeake increased quantity to maintain the same relative income, while those in the Lower Chesapeake increased quality and price and decreased their output (Walsh 1999:59-62; Bradburn and Coombs 2006:132-138).

In her comparison of the two tobacco sub-regions, Walsh (1999:61-62) argued that "the two major players – the oronoco and sweet-scented areas – remained in a relatively integrated market up to about 1705," as it was after this time that the Upper Chesapeake and the planters began to compete in earnest for the trans-Atlantic export trade. This rivalry was most clearly articulated in Virginia with the passage of several laws after 1713 that favored the lower Tidewater oligarchy that held power in the colonial government. The early-18th-century tobacco

legislation included "stint" acts to limit production in order to drive up prices and quality inspection laws that clearly benefited planters who grew the sweet-scented variety. The Maryland government did not support Virginia's attempts at reducing quantity because the northern colony only grew oronoco tobacco (Walsh 1999:70-75).

While it is true that the rivalry between the sweet-scented and the oronoco areas of the Chesapeake did not come to a head and become codified into law until the early 18th century, there is some evidence that colonists recognized the difference decades earlier. For example, John Bland, a London merchant with familial and economic ties in the Chesapeake, argued against the 1660 Navigation Act and the ban on Dutch trade, stating "If the Hollanders must not trade to *Virginia*, how shall the Planters dispose of their Tobacco? the English will not buy it, for what the Hollander carried thence was a sort of Tobacco not desired by any other people, nor used by us in *England* but meerly to transport for *Holland:* Will it not then perish on the Planters hands" (Bland 1661)? Although Bland only mentioned Virginia in this particular passage, his pamphlet was about both of the Chesapeake colonies; Bland, like many writers of the time, used Virginia as a proxy for both colonies (Hammond 1910; Russo and Russo 2012:5).

Bland was specifically discussing oronoco tobacco and the difficulty that the 1660 law to restrict trade would pose to planters in the Upper Chesapeake. While colonists from all over the Chesapeake resisted trade restrictions, planters and merchants in the oronoco areas bore the brunt of these laws due to their heavy reliance on Dutch merchants. Even after the restoration of the Stuart monarchy and the re-establishment of English trans-Atlantic trade, the Dutch were crucial to the tobacco economy along the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers because English merchants had no interest in purchasing the dense, harsh strain of sot-weed grown there (Hatfield 2004:48).

The Upper Chesapeake was impacted disproportionately by both the 17th-century Navigation Acts that sought to eliminate traders from the Netherlands and the early-18th-century convoy system aimed at all interlopers, Dutch, French, and other Europeans. For example, in 1704 one Chesapeake planter, Robert Quarry, protested the convoy system because the new regulations damaged trade and "lower'd the price of tobacco both at home and at all forreign marketts almost to nothing" and qualified his statement by noting, "I mean the Aronoco tobacco" (Headlam 1916:142). The recognition by Chesapeake colonists that there were distinct differences between the two tobacco areas illustrates the formation of a sub-regional identity. Loyalty to a Potomac River Valley community strengthened once oronoco and sweet-scented planters were pitted against one another in access to trade and implementation of tobacco production laws.

Since the publication of Walsh's (1999, 2001, 2010) original work on sub-regional analysis, many Chesapeake scholars have followed her lead (Anderson 2002; Bradburn and Coombs 2006; Rivers-Cofield 2007; Samford 2007; Bradburn 2011; Coombs 2011; Heath and Breen 2011; Breen 2013; see also contributed essays in Bradburn and Coombs 2011). In a discussion of Bradburn's (2011) work on the impacts of the convoy system on the Chesapeake at the turn of the 18th century, Paul Clemens (2011:396) pointed out Bradburn's emphasis on the James and York River Valleys, and stated "More puzzling is the story of what happened outside the sweet-scented areas of Virginia." Although he was directly questioning the impacts of new trade policies on the rise of enslaved labor in the Chesapeake, his statement holds true for other areas of study regarding trade. Although the Southern Maryland school of social historians have been quite active and influential in the Chesapeake, examinations of trade have been largely left to economic historians of the sweet-scented region, particularly in regards to both Anglo-Dutch

trade and the rise of London and Glasgow factors (Price 1973, 1976, 1995; Pagan 1982, Hatfield 2004, 2005; Pecoraro and Givens 2006; Koot 2014).

The Potomac River Valley as unit of analysis is a relatively recent development in historical archaeology and among historians (Potter 1994; Rice 2009; Morgan 2011; King 2011; Hatch 2015). Many regional analyses of the Upper Chesapeake have tended to focus on Southern Maryland; specifically St. Mary's City and surrounding counties with little attention paid to the Virginia side of the Potomac River. Historical archaeologists and historians alike now recognize that the Potomac River served as a conduit of communication, interaction, trade, and migration, and not a rigid boundary as seen on a map of the two colonies.

Historian Andrew Lipman (2010) has argued for the use of the term "saltwater frontier" to describe areas where the defining feature is a body of water that connected people locally and to the broader Atlantic World. The Chesapeake as a whole, and the Potomac River Valley specifically, can be viewed as a saltwater frontier; a politically and culturally negotiated space where the inhabitants' main focus was on the maritime networks that allowed them access to goods and ideas from across the river, down the bay, and overseas. The 17th-century Potomac River should especially be viewed in this way as there appears to have been little distinction to Potomac River Valley colonists between the two sides of the river on a day-to-day basis, especially in the first few decades of settlement. Colonists on the Northern Neck of Virginia appeared quite often in the court records of St. Mary's City, Maryland (McMillan and Hatch 2012; Hatch 2015). Additionally, there were some colonists who used the semi-liminal status of the Northern Neck prior to the 1650s, when it was technically illegal to settle there, to flee their legal problems in Maryland, facilitating the continuation and formation of neighborhood-based communities.

Potomac River Valley History

A year after the establishment of Jamestown in 1607, John Smith and a small party of colonists ventured up the Chesapeake Bay and into the Potomac River Valley. Mapping natural and cultural landscape features along the way, Smith and his fellow Englishmen visited many Indian villages and met with their local chiefs. The adventurers noted the fertile soil along the banks of the river, where the local native people had placed their homes and grew their corn, and the abundance of wildlife in the region, ripe for the hide and fur trade (Potter 1993:27-43).

Over the next half century, four distinct waves of European migration into the Upper Chesapeake occurred (McMillan and Hatch 2012; Figure 5.1). The first major wave of Englishmen into the far reaches of the Chesapeake Bay started with the arrival William Claiborne at Kent Island in 1630, and English immigration that led to the establishment of St. Mary's City in 1634 (Figure 1.1). The second wave of migration was from Maryland and Southern Virginia to what is today Northumberland County, Virginia, establishing the Chicacoan community, partially as a result of the Chesapeake Fur Wars in the late 1630s/early 1640s. The next wave of migration occurred after Ingle's Rebellion in 1645-1646, when several colonists who had lived in the Chesapeake for at least 10 years fled Maryland to what is today Westmoreland County, Virginia; these failed rebels formed the Nomini Bay community. The last wave of immigrants started in the late 1650s and continued into the 1660s and 1670s, and was comprised of colonists who immigrated to the area directly from England, and resulted in the Appamattucks community.

James Rice (2009) has argued that the nature of European colonization and much of the violence that occurred in the 17th-century Potomac River region resulted from conflicts and adversarial relationships between Native American groups, particularly Algonquian-speaking

peoples and Iroquoian peoples. Drawing on Braudel's (1972) concept of the *long durée*, Rice contends that some of these conflicts pre-dated European contact and settlement in the area, and were directly related to the little ice age and other ecological factors. Although Native American history and politics certainly impacted the events discussed below, the main focus of this dissertation is on European economics, politics, and conflicts in relation to trade and exchange.

Prior to the work conducted by Brad Hatch and me (McMillan and Hatch 2012; Hatch 2015), and a few, brief exceptions three decades ago (Norris 1983:40-42; Carr 1984:55), researchers in the Upper Chesapeake have not seriously considered the role that conflict between Virginia and Maryland, and within Maryland, played in the colonization of the Potomac River Valley. There were five main uprising that occurred in the Upper Chesapeake during the 17th century: the Chesapeake Fur Wars (1635-1638), Ingle's Rebellion (1645-1646), the Battle of the Severn (1655), Bacon's Rebellion (1676), and Coode's Rebellion (1689). There were also several other small skirmishes during this time. Each of these rebellions resulted from struggles over the proper way to govern the colonies, particularly between absolutist-leaning officials and those who resisted government interference. Factions that formed during each of these attempts to overthrow the government helped to develop, shape, sustain, and alter communities, both relational and geographic. Only once a Potomac River Valley identity coalesced, one based on shared economic and political interests related to the production of oronoco tobacco in opposition to the sweet-scented planters to the south and based on representative, Protestant rule, did these violent uprisings cease.

Each of these groups of people formed neighborhood-based communities along the banks of the Potomac River directly related to several of the archaeological sites used in this dissertation. These political, economic, and familial based communities, centered on specific

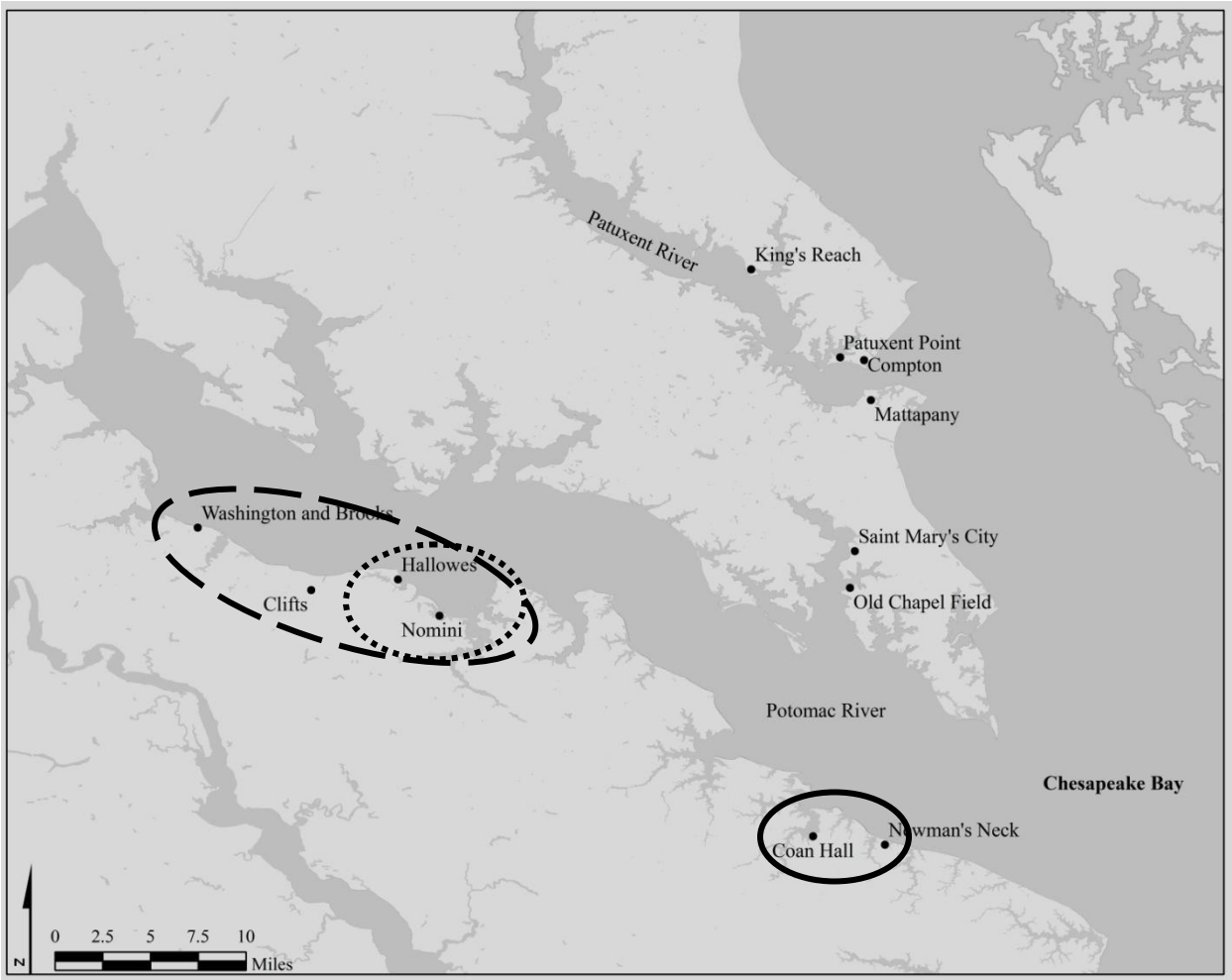

Figure 5.1: Location of Neighborhood-communities on the southern banks of the Potomac River.

Denotes the Chicacoan Community
Denotes the Nomini Bay Community
Denotes the Apamattucks Community

locales (geographic communities) that also reached beyond the tributaries where the founding members lived (relational communities), maintained their relationships through kinship ties and exchange networks. Colonists' loyalties to the neighborhood-communities began to erode at the end of the 17th century as a Potomac River Valley community emerged.

Kent Island and the Chesapeake Fur Wars

Within a few decades of Smith's explorations north of Jamestown, English men and women began to leave Jamestown for the upper reaches of the Chesapeake Bay and in 1631 a trading community was established on Kent Island (Figure 1.1) by William Claiborne, who had received a royal license that granted him exclusive trading rights in the region. Claiborne and his fellow Kent Island settlers traded with the local Susquehannock Indians for beaver skins, a venture that proved highly profitable, and within three years approximately 150 colonists had settled in the northern outpost. However, the Kent Island community, and their exclusive and lucrative beaver skin trade, soon came under threat, not from local Native American populations or their fellow Virginians to the south, but from new English immigrants (Fausz 1988:63; Russo and Russo 2012:14).

In 1629 George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore and Roman Catholic, came to Virginia in search of an appropriate place in which to found a new colony (Fausz 1988: 65). Starting from this moment, Virginians became suspicious of Calvert's designs on what they viewed as their land along the upper Chesapeake Bay (Carr 1984:53; Fausz 1988:65). Calvert and his retinue were not warmly welcomed by the Virginians and were quickly encouraged to leave Jamestown (Fausz 1988:65). Despite this cool reception, Calvert realized the importance and potential of the upper reaches of the Chesapeake Bay and soon began to seek a charter for a colony.

Charles I granted a land charter for the new colony of Maryland in 1632 to his friend Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, which included land north of the Potomac River and south of the Delaware Bay, and encompassed Kent Island. Baltimore's colonists arrived in 1634 and established the capitol of St. Mary's City on the northern banks of the Potomac River. Within a year, struggles between Claiborne and the newly arrived Marylanders over the beaver trade and the loyalty of the Susquehannocks erupted in a series of skirmishes known as the Chesapeake Fur Wars. The conflict between the two groups of English colonists began in 1635 when a groups of Kent Islanders, in retaliation of Maryland's seizure of a Kent Island pinnance, attacked Thomas Cornwalyes and several Maryland vessels (Fausz 1988:71; Riordan 2004:11). The conflict between the two groups of English colonists lasted until early 1638, when Leonard Calvert, the governor of Maryland, seized Kent Island and expelled the Virginians from the Upper Chesapeake (Fausz 1988:13-16, 69-74; Russo and Russo:14-15).

Jean Russo and J. Elliot Russo (2012:15) have argued that this conflict underscored the critical importance of trade and conflicting views about governmental authority. These themes continued to play out over and over again in the English Atlantic, the Chesapeake, and more specifically within the Potomac River Valley, throughout the 17th century. Similar to their counterparts in the metropole, English colonists in the Potomac River Valley resisted any effort by the government to control their lives and livelihoods and rebelled against any perceived attempt by those in charge to institute absolutist policies several times until the turn of the 18th century.

The Chesapeake Fur Wars appear to have been the major source of immigrants for the second wave of colonization in the Upper Chesapeake and first wave to the Northern Neck of Virginia. Prior to 1648, it was illegal in Virginia to settle north of the York River (with the

notable exception of Claiborne's Kent Island trading post). This prohibition did not stop John Mottrom and other colonists from establishing the Chicacoan settlement along the Coan River, a tributary of the Potomac River, in modern day Northumberland County, Virginia (Hening 1823[1]:352-353; Tyler 1895:28; Rice 2009:121). Mottrom was a successful merchant and Indian trader in southern Virginia who moved to the Northern Neck sometime around 1640 (Norris 1983:43; Rice 2009:121) and was soon joined by several Kent Islanders after their defeat by Calvert (Tyler 1895:28). Many of Claiborne's traders from Kent Island probably chose to move to the unregulated frontier of the Northern Neck where they stood to make a greater profit with no government restrictions and the ability to engage in free trade, rather than submitting to Lord Baltimore's rule (Fausz 1988:74). The Chicacoan community acted as a center for anti-Calvert sentiment on the Potomac prior to 1647 and was visited by Claiborne numerous times in the 1640s and 1650s (Fausz 1988:74, 81; Riordan 2004:174-175, 274).

Hatch's (McMillan and Hatch 2012; Hatch 2015) work on Potomac River Valley migration patterns indicates than many of the people who settled on the Virginia side of the river in the 1640s had pre-existing Kent Island connections. Hatch examined the origins of Northumberland County residents prior to 1652 using Virginia land patents and the 1652 Oath of the Commonwealth for the county, cross-referenced with the Maryland records dating prior to 1652, and discovered that at least one quarter of the population of freedmen in the county were from Maryland. Approximately 35% of these Maryland immigrants arrived in the years from circa 1639 and circa 1645. All but two of these early settlers were originally from Kent Island, likely indicating their involvement with Claiborne and the fur trade, and their desire to move to the unregulated Northern Neck to continue with lucrative trading ventures.

Perhaps these settlers strategically selected Chicacoan as the location for their new homes. By settling directly across the Potomac from St. Mary's City, the former Kent Islanders, and the Virginians from the south that would join them, had easy access to trans-Atlantic trade routes that included the Maryland capital. Additionally, this settlement location meant that a decidedly anti-Calvert community with ties to William Claiborne was mere miles from Maryland's center of government. By 1645, the settlement raised suspicion and fear amongst Calvert loyalists as a haven for rebels and a base for invasion during Ingle's Rebellion, the conflict that led to the second wave of immigration on the Northern Neck.

Ingle's Rebellion, Nomini Bay, and Providence

Many of the political struggles in the Potomac River Valley were a result of the proprietary rule of Maryland. Unlike Virginia, which had been a royal colony with government officials appointed by the king since 1624, its neighbor to the north was ruled by a single proprietor who placed his own friends and family in charge of the colony, often leading to tensions between the government and the colonists. The absolutist rule of Calvert can easily be compared to his benefactor, and Catholic sympathizer, Charles I's governing style. Calvert instituted a manorial system in Maryland that emphasized strict social hierarchy with rule by the landed elite (mainly Catholic) and tenants (mainly Protestant) tied to the land through rent payments and manorial courts. Most of the colonists in Maryland were Protestant, including many Puritans, who resented the rule of a Catholic proprietor and governor. Similar to Charles I and his Parliament, tensions between Governor Calvert and the Maryland Assembly ran high, and many colonists resented the governor's ability to dismiss the representative body whenever he pleased. The frictions between the Protestant tenants and Catholic manor lords erupted in

violence within the first decade of settlement in Maryland (Stone 1982:9-10; Riordan 2004:40-43; Walsh 2010:28-29, 87; Russo and Russo 2012:44-47).

The tensions that arose during the middle of the 17th century between Parliamentarians and Royalists related to the English Civil War in the metropole quickly made their way to the Chesapeake and first manifested in the Potomac River Valley in 1644. In that year, at a court in St. Mary's City, Giles Brent, a Catholic and distant cousin of Calvert, accused Richard Ingle, a Protestant and a merchant, of treason for a political disagreement that had occurred two years earlier concerning the current upheavals in England, in which Ingle insulted the king and proclaimed his loyalty to Parliament. Ingle fled Maryland in the midst of the investigation upset over his own treatment and the political leanings of the colony's proprietary leaders (Riordan 2004:3-4, 185-186; Russo and Russo 2012:52-53).

The exact nature of the relationship between Claiborne and Ingle in unclear and whether they conspired to take over Maryland, or if Claiborne simply took advantage of Calvert's precarious position and the rabble rousing caused by Ingle's actions, but they both called on men from the Chicacoan community to help with the rebellion. Claiborne took a group of Chicacoan men in December 1644 to incite a rebellion on Kent Island, but failed to convince the Marylanders to rise up against Calvert (AOMOL 4:458-459; Fausz 1988:78; Riordan 2004:175). Soon after Claiborne's second defeat at Kent Island, Ingle succeeded in overthrowing the proprietary government.

The next month, Ingle recruited an extra boat and 12 or 15 men from Chicacoan to help with his rebellion at St. Mary's. At least two of whom, Thomas and John Sturman, were former Kent Islanders (Riordan 2004:185-186). The most obvious reason that Ingle garnered so much support from Chicacoan is that many of the people in the settlement had either left what they

considered oppressive conditions on Lord Baltimore's Kent Island or were close allies of William Claiborne. Essentially, the overthrow of the Maryland government could help the people of Chicacoan, and William Claiborne, to regain what they thought was rightfully theirs. Ingle, along with mercenaries he recruited from the Chicocoan settlement on the Northern Neck of Virginia, invaded and captured St. Mary's and the entire colony of Maryland in the name of Parliament in February 1645, though some pro-proprietary forces were able to hold out until spring. The rebels established a fortified stronghold at Calvert's house that was held by Nathaniel Pope in St. Mary's City and began pillaging the property of anyone who would not swear allegiance to the Parliament, mainly Catholic manor lords. This looting led to the uprising's other moniker, "The Plundering Time." Ingle left about a month after the invasion and the rebels maintained control of Maryland for nearly two years, until Calvert recruited a group of loyal Marylanders, who had fled the year before, and reclaimed the colony in December 1646 (Riordan 2004:191-204; Walsh 2010:124-125; Russo and Russo 2012:54, 74-75).

Shortly after Baltimore's supporters reasserted their control over the colony, numerous laws were passed that limited the freedoms of Maryland residents as a way to guard against future conspiracies against the Proprietary. Among other things, the acts forbade people from leaving Maryland without a pass from Calvert and required the surrender of arms by former rebels prior to entering St. Mary's (AOMOL 3:193-194). Clearly, part of the reason for the adoption of these statutes was to make commerce more difficult for the former rebels and to humiliate them. As a result of these laws and Baltimore's reclamation of Maryland, a large faction of former rebels fled the colony and established the next Northern Neck neighborhood-community at Nomini Bay, in Westmoreland County, Virginia.

Hatch (2015) has found that at least 11 different men and their families fled Maryland between 1647 and 1648, eight of whom were known rebels. Several of these former rebels appeared in the oath of fealty administered in St. Mary's in January 1647 (AOMOL 3:174), including Nathaniel Pope, John Hallowes, and Walter Broadhurst. These men and their families, among others, were responsible for the next wave of colonization on the Northern Neck and settled in the Nomini Bay area and west toward Mattox Creek in the area known at the time as Appamattucks (McMillan and Hatch 2012)[3]. The people listed above, Pope, Hallowes, and Broadhurst, in addition to Thomas Speke of Nomini Plantation (who did not sign the oath of fealty, but was a known participant in the uprising), are particularly important in this group because they became commissioners for Northumberland County, and then Westmoreland when it was formed in 1653 (Library of Virginia 1650-1652:49, 67, 76; LOV 1653-1659:36). Hallowes, Speke, and Pope, the founding members of the Nomini Bay community, and their respective families, continued to interact with one another after their migration to the southern shores of the Potomac River, as evidenced by court records and the archaeological record.

The fact that these men, as well as Mottrom in Northumberland County, became the highest-ranking officials in their respective counties further indicates that the population on the southern shore of the Potomac was made up of a significant number of refugees from the Maryland Proprietary and men who had anti-Calvert leanings. The establishment of these two rebel communities on the Northern Neck caused much anxiety within the proprietary government

[3] Although the area bounded by Nomini Bay and Mattox Creek along the shores of the Northern Neck was historically referred to as "Appamatucks," I refer to this wave of settlement by former participants in Ingle's Rebellion as the "Nomini Bay community" because the majority of these failed rebels settled around that inlet. The next wave of immigrants after the late 1650s expanded this community west as people began to settle along the banks of Mattox Creek. I refer to this expanded community, which included newly integrated members who did not participate in Ingle's Rebellion, but did maintain many of the same political ideologies, as the "Appamatucks community." This expanded community is discussed in further detail below.

across the river. In 1647, Thomas Greene, then governor of Maryland, wrote to Governor Berkeley of Virginia declaring that he feared the "unjust and wicked designes of invading this Province by the way of Chicacoan and Appamattucks" (AOMOL 3:190). Lord Baltimore and his representatives in Maryland continued to live in fear of additional rebellion for the rest of the century, with good reason.

In an attempt to quell the fears of the Protestant majority in his colony, Lord Baltimore appointed a new governor in 1647, William Stone, a Protestant merchant from Virginia, replacing Greene, a Catholic; although Greene remained in the colony and served as the deputy governor. In 1649, Stone, acting as Baltimore's representative, invited a group of persecuted Puritans from the Southside of Virginia to Maryland in order to demonstrate his commitment to freedom of religion, hoping to eliminate the rumors of Catholic favoritism in the colony. The Puritans established the settlement of Providence, on the Severn River, in Anne Arundel County and quickly turned against the proprietary government (Carr et al. 1991:19; Hatfield 2004:120; Walsh 2010:125; Russo and Russo 2012:76-77).

In the fall of 1649, news reached the two Chesapeake colonies that Charles I had been beheaded by Parliament. Both Governor Berkeley and Thomas Greene, who was acting as Stone's deputy while the governor was attending to some business in Virginia, declared their loyalty to Charles II. Parliament immediately sent a group of men, including William Claiborne who had fled Maryland after Calvert regained control in 1646, to "reduce" the Chesapeake colonies. Berkeley met with the envoy in 1650 and convinced them that he, and the colony of Virginia, would cooperate with Parliament. Claiborne, who still resented Lord Baltimore and his proprietary government, placed a Protestant council in charge of Maryland, but allowed Stone to

remain in office, although he was essentially powerless (Carr et al. 1991:19; Walsh 2010:125; Russo and Russo 2012:78-79).

In an attempt to regain control of the colony, in 1654, Stone ordered all freemen in Maryland to take an oath of fealty to Lord Baltimore. Most Protestants in the colony were shocked and offended by this declaration, but none more so than the Puritans in Providence. The settlers in Anne Arundel County refused to bow down to the Catholic proprietor, whom they viewed as a mini-king, and responded to this order by ousting Stone and placing their own council in charge. Outraged by these acts of rebellion, Stone gathered a loyal force and sailed up the Chesapeake Bay to the Severn River. Upon landing at Providence, Stone and his forces came under attack from the Puritans, and almost all of his forces were either killed or taken captive. Maryland remained under the control of the Protestant council until 1658 (Carr et al. 1991:19-20; Krugler 2004; Russo and Russo 2012:79-80).

While the Battle of the Severn did not lead to any major changes in migration or community formations in the Potomac River Valley, the loyalties of the Puritans at Providence and their political leanings did play a role in local exchange networks that reached the Potomac River Valley. This violent uprising also illustrates the continued tensions between the government and the people that plagued the Upper Chesapeake until the last quarter of the century; most notably Fendall's Rebellion, a small, failed, non-violent attempt by a Protestant governor in 1660 to establish a Commonwealth-like government with no executive, in Maryland (Carr et al. 1991:20; Walsh 2010:126-127). Additionally, Providence, like the two Northern Neck neighborhood-communities at Chicacoan and Nomini Bay, was founded by a group of people who had fled an oppressive government in hopes of living without regulations (at least

secular); these relational communities existed prior to the establishment of their geographic settlements on the Severn and Potomac Rivers.

Appamattucks and Bacon's Rebellion

The next wave of settlement into the Potomac River Valley began in the late 1650s, and was of a decidedly different nature than the previous three episodes. The final group of immigrants was comprised, not of people who had lived in the Upper Chesapeake for the last two or three decades, but, of people who had migrated either directly from England or from southern Virginia. These people were not seeking political and religious refuge, but were looking for agriculturally productive land to grow tobacco. Unlike the neighborhoods at Chicacoan and Nomini Bay, which were mainly comprised of relational communities that existed prior to their establishment on the Northern Neck as neighborhood communities, this next community did not exist elsewhere in the Chesapeake. The people who settled at Appamattucks had no history of shared experiences. Instead, new settlers were integrated into a previously established community, and an old neighborhood-community (Nomini Bay) expanded and changed.

Soon after the Northern Neck was opened for legal settlement in 1648, the population along the southern banks of the Potomac River exploded. During the third quarter of the 17th century the Northern Neck became the fastest growing area in the Chesapeake (Morgan 1975:244-245). Some new immigrants settled up the river from the Nomini Bay community near Mattox Creek. One of the most prominent of these new settlers was John Washington, a London merchant who arrived in the Potomac River Valley in 1657. Initially, Washington had not planned to settle in the area, but due to circumstances that will be detailed in the next chapter, he ultimately made his home on Mattox Creek after his marriage to Anne Pope, the daughter of Nathaniel Pope, a former leader in Ingle's Rebellion (Norris 1983:149; Blades 1979:8).

Washington was soon integrated into the elite society of Westmoreland County, comprised of local government leaders, many of whom also happened to be the founding members of the Nomini Bay community and failed rebels. After the death of his first wife, Washington remarried several times, and each of his new wives was the daughter or widow of former rebels, solidifying and strengthening his bonds with the Nomini Bay community. He became one of the most wealthy and politically active people on the Northern Neck, served as burgess for Westmoreland County, and was even so popular within the community that the parish was renamed "Washington Parish" from "Appomattox Parish" in 1664 (Henning 1823[2]:250; Hudson 1956; Blades 1979). His rise in power was most certainly related to his familial relationships with the Nomini Bay faction, suggesting that he held common political and economic goals with that community.

Other immigrants into the area included Henry Brooks, whose site will be discussed in the next chapter. These new Northern Neck colonists, all of whom arrived in the area in the last half of the 17th century, had no previous ties to members of the Nomini Bay community, but through economic exchanges, tenancy obligations, and intermarriages they were incorporated into this society. Unlike the Chicacoan and Nomini Bay communities, which were relational communities that predated the establishment of the neighborhoods on the banks of the Potomac, this expanded community, which I refer to as the "Appamattucks community," was a true geographic community; one, in which the members maintained shared beliefs and values that arose due to geographic proximity. While the Chicacoan and Nomini Bay communities were established as a result of political violence, the Appamatucks community became solidified in the face of rebellion.

Bacon's Rebellion, one of the most violent, widespread, and politically important events in Chesapeake history, initially exploded on the Northern Neck. With the huge population influx in the area after 1648, access to fertile land decreased and tensions between English colonists and Native Americans increased, as did friction between the county elite and poor planters and newly freed indentured servants. By the 1670s, elite, wealthy families, like the Popes, Washingtons, and Mottroms, held most of the agriculturally productive land in Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties, forcing newly arrived colonists to move further up the Potomac River into Stafford County. As these new settlers came into contact with Native peoples, who lived in the areas previously uninhabited by Europeans, conflict became increasingly common. Colonists and Indians competed for land and resources, resulting in violent skirmishes and retaliatory destruction of property (Roundtree and Turner 2002:170-176; Rice 2012; Russo and Russo 2012:111).

Poor and middling planters came to resent the elite and ruling classes throughout the third quarter of the 17th century. With little access to land and political representation and no suffrage, these men and women had almost no chance for social and economic advancement. Poor planters and freemen began to protest Berkeley's policies that favored the landed elite (Morgan 1975:229-230, 238; Rice 2012). At the same time, however, newly arrived colonists of the gentry class in the lower Tidewater also contributed to the political unrest of the 1670s. Many wealthy Cavaliers, those loyal to the Stuart monarchy, fled from England to Virginia in the 1650s, followed by additional members of the gentry class in the 1660s, seeking refuge and their fortune in the New World. These immigrants, who had held positions of power and authority in England, expected to be treated with deference and to be raised up above those Virginians who had earned their wealth, not inherited it (Morgan 1975:254).

The event that sparked the rebellion occurred in the summer of 1675 in Stafford County, Virginia. A group of Doeg and Susquehannock Indians crossed the Potomac River from Maryland to trade with an English colonist, Thomas Mathew. The Native Americans believed that Mathew had cheated them, and took some of the Englishman's hogs in payment. Mathew and his servants attacked the Doegs, who in turn, attacked the colonist's plantation, ultimately killing one of his servants, Robert Hen (Morgan 1975:251; Rice 2012:3-9; Russo and Russo 2012:113). News of these events spread, and other colonists on the Northern Neck began to attack and kill Indians who had not been involved in the original encounter on both sides of the Potomac River. The government and citizens of Maryland largely stayed out of this fray. Susquehannock and Doeg Indians began raiding in Maryland and Virginia in response to the unprovoked attacks (Hatfield 2004:34; Rice 2009:147; 2012:6-8; Russo and Russo 2012:113).

With a commission from Berkeley, John Washington and another local colonist, Issac Allerton, sailed across the river to find the Susquehannock Indians who had been raiding. Washington and Allerton killed several Native Americans, but many escaped, and continued to raid up and down Virginia for much of the next year (Morgan 1975:251-253; Rice 2012:18-24). Many colonists in Virginia became fearful of these Indian raids and sought permission from Berkeley to fight the Susquehannocks. The governor denied this request, assuming, rightly as it turned out, that a large band of armed poor planters, freemen, and frontiersmen would attack all Indians, including those with whom Virginia had treaty and trade agreements, not just those responsible for the raids (Morgan 1975:255; Hatfield 2004:34; Russo and Russo 2012:113-114).

Virginians on the frontier, the ones that bore the brunt of most of the attacks, became fed up with Berkeley's inaction and formed their own posse on the banks of the James River in April 1676. The mob was unable to decide who should lead them, until Nathaniel Bacon appeared.

Bacon was one of the gentlemen who had emigrated from England with considerable wealth and political connections in the colony prior to arriving in the Old Dominion. He took over the group of armed men and demanded a commission from Berkeley to fight the Indians. The governor refused, and Bacon and his men attacked a local, friendly Native American group. These actions enraged Berkeley and he declared the group rebels (Morgan 1975:256-260; Russo and Russo 2012:114).

Bacon and his followers continued to attack and fight with local Indian groups until that summer, when they turned their attention to Jamestown. Bacon took the capitol in July and began plundering the estates of wealthy planters that did not support him. For next few months Bacon and Berkeley alternatively gained control of Jamestown until finally in September the rebels burned the city to the ground. Bacon and the other rebels continued to raid and loot both colonial plantations and Native American villages for the next month. On October 26, 1676 Bacon died of the bloody flux, and, with the sudden power vacuum, the rebellion slowly petered out over the next few months until Berkeley was able to regain control of the colony in January 1677 (Morgan 1975:268-269; Hatfield 2004:35; Rice 2012:95-117; Russo and Russo 2012:114-115).

Although Bacon's Rebellion was short lived with apparently little justification, the uprising led to dramatic changes within the Chesapeake. Tensions between English colonists and local Native Americans grew in intensity over the next several decades, ultimately leading to disruptions in local trade, a decrease in the Indian populations, and migrations north and further west of many groups, most notably the Susquehannocks who left for New York to join the Five Nations (Rice 2009:151-160; Hatfield 2004:35-36; Russo and Russo 2012:115-116). Some Chesapeake historians have pointed to Bacon's Rebellion as the impetus for the conversion from

white indentured labor to black chattel slavery, arguing that the planter elite were fearful of a large population of poor freedmen who might rise up against them again (Morgan 1975; Menard 1977). However, recently, some scholars have questioned these assertions, and have pointed out that oronoco areas did not completely convert to slave labor until the 1730s and that the enslaved population in the Potomac River Valley never reached the same levels as those seen in the sweet-scented tobacco region. There were a few notable exceptions to this general trend in the 17th-century Potomac region, as will be discussed in the next chapter. These demographic differences are due to a variety of factors, most notably variation in trade patterns and the lack of interest in oronoco tobacco by English merchants (Rice 2009:176; Walsh 2010:405; Coombs 2011).

What is clear is that this uprising served to alleviate some of the pressure caused by an increasingly large population of poor and freeman who were able to move into the abandoned Indian territory, at least for a short time. Very quickly, the newly available land in the immediate aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion was claimed, and many landless people had to submit to lifelong tenancy, always indebted to their landlord (Walsh 2010:109). Additionally, and more significant to this dissertation, the failed rebellion helped unify the gentry class in the Chesapeake (Morgan 1975; Brown 1996:173-174; Rice 2012:131-132).

Hatch (2015) argues that one of the main causes of Bacon's Rebellion was tensions between those who believed the government should be ruled through birthright and absolutist means (or as Hatch calls it, Filmerian authority) and those who rejected traditional forms of government and believed in rule through social contract (or Proto-Lockean authority). Hatch places Bacon on the side of Filmerian authority, as evidenced by his disdain for members of the Virginian elite who rose up from humble beginnings, and Berkeley on the side of rule through

consent, as evidenced by his support for the House of Burgesses and the local elite[4]. Using this logic, Hatch argues that because John Washington remained loyal to Berkeley, and in fact was commissioned by the governor to deal with the Indian situation in the Potomac River Valley, that Washington, too, supported rule through social contract and that he would have adopted these anti-authoritarian ideas from his father-in-law Nathaniel Pope and other anti-Calvert men who lived in the Nomini Bay area.

The Westmoreland County elite, concentrated in the Appamattucks neighborhood-community, solidified in the face of the landless rabble who perpetrated violent acts against the wealthy class. These men, who served as county commissioners, sheriffs, and as burgesses, resented attempts by the large population of poor planters and recently freed servants to overthrow the government that they helped build and sustain. The irony here is that these same men and women, and their biological and intellectual descendants, supported rebellion in the 1640s in order to gain their own political and economic freedom, and again in the 1670s to protect those freedoms, yet were actively denying landless freemen their own right to political participation and social advancement; not to mention their ownership of indentured servants and enslaved Africans and African-Americans.

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[4] I would add that I demonstrated in the previous chapter that Berkeley was pro-free trade and had close alliances with Dutch merchants, who may have influenced his ideas about populist forms of government. As evidenced by his numerous attempts to resist imperial authority, specifically restrictions to free trade, and his adoption of the concept of liberty of conscience in relation to commerce, it is clear that although Berkeley was from a noble English family, and was a strong supporter of the Stuart monarchy, when it came to his colony, he believed that less absolutist control would benefit Virginia. It is also interesting to point out that John Locke spent several formative years in exile in the Netherlands. It was upon his return to England, after the Glorious Revolution, that Locke wrote his treatises on rule through social contract and religious tolerance (Hamowy 2008:131, 183, 210). It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to investigate the influence of proto-Lockean ideology, particularly the idea that the purpose of government is to protect citizen's rights to property, on the rule of Berkeley via-Dutch traders, but it could certainly be separate research project of its own.

These elite planters, who climbed the social ranks from humble beginnings, also resented Bacon and his disdain for the *nouveau riche*. As Rice (2012:204) has pointed out "Bacon himself indignantly denied having any democratic ("leveling") tendencies. His was a rebellion *for* Charles II." Bacon, the Stuarts, and the Calverts were all viewed the same way by the men and women who rose up against what they viewed as absolutist, divine right authority: the enemy of those who gained their wealth through trade, not through the old system of nobility. The emphasis on economic prosperity through commerce over inherited wealth did not mean the Chesapeake elite wanted everyone to have the same rights as themselves, but it did mean that they would fight to protect their political and economic gains. These same tensions between the newly minted gentry class in the Potomac River Valley and those with authoritarian leanings would culminate in one final rebellion.

Coode's Rebellion and a Potomac Identity

The next decade was marked by fear, rumors, and small attempts at rebellion throughout the Chesapeake. Ever suspicious of Catholics and manor lords, Josias Fendall again tried to overthrow the government in Maryland after news of Charles II's secret alliance with Louis XIV arrived in the colonies. Rumors of the king's "Popish Plot" reached the Chesapeake while tensions and fears were still running high shortly after the conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion, causing panic among the Protestant majority in Maryland. The colonists believed that the Catholic Lord Baltimore had allied himself with the French and was going to attack and destroy all Protestants in the colony, aided by allied Native American groups. Fendall became incensed by these rumors and spent the early fall of 1681 spreading the news of the impending papist massacre and encouraging people to rise up against the proprietary government. His second attempted government overthrow was just as ineffective as his previous rebellion twenty years

earlier and he was quickly arrested, tried, and banished from the colony later that year (Rice 2012:150-160).

There were several other small and unsuccessful rebellions in Virginia, including the Gloucester County tobacco cutting riots in 1682 and yet another attempt by Fendall to incite violence in southern Virginia that same year (Rice 2012:160-163). Fears and rumors of a Catholic invasion, aided by French-allied Indians, continued after Fendall's expulsion from Maryland that would result in the final government overthrown in the Chesapeake (Rice 2012:174-175).

Once news reached the colonies of the Glorious Revolution, Virginia immediately proclaimed their loyalty to William and Mary. Maryland did not. The colony's Protestant majority, still on edge from recent rumors about French Catholic and Indian attacks, became increasingly suspicious of the government throughout the spring and early summer of 1689 (Rice 2012:175-177). As Russo and Russo (2012:119) point out, there was "a persistent concern that the extensive powers exercised by Lord Baltimore and his largely Catholic council undermined" the liberties the English had gained with the expulsion of James II. Just like Parliament's objections to the Stuarts' belief in the divine rights of kings, Marylanders began to protest the absolutist rule of the proprietary government, believing that Baltimore had allied himself with French Catholics (Russo and Russo 2012:120-121).

Fearful that Baltimore would act to gain "unlimited and tyrannicall powers," Maryland's lower house declared that they were "induced... to take up Arms to preserve, vindicate and assert the sovereign Dominion and right of King William and Queen Mary to this Province" and "to defend the Protest Religion" (AOMOL 8:106). John Coode, a former associate of Josias Fendall, began gathering militia troops in the middle of the summer in 1689. By the time he marched on

St. Mary's City in July, he had over 700 men. Coode and his troops were able to take the capitol and statehouse with no bloodshed. The Council and Deputy Governor Henry Darnell, who had been ruling in Calvert's place since the governor returned to England in 1684, had fled St. Mary's upon hearing of the civil unrest. Darnell and his allies garrisoned themselves with 300 provincial troops at Mattapany, Calvert's country estate. After capturing the capitol, Coode turned to Mattapany. The Council, seeing the superior numbers of the rebels, quickly surrendered (Rice 2012:177-182; Russo and Russo 2012:121-122).

King William III approved of Coode's actions and stripped Baltimore of his proprietary charter, placing Maryland under the direct management of the crown. From 1690 to 1694, several different governors presided over Maryland, none of them longer than a year, until the appointment of Francis Nicholson in July 1694. The next year, Nicholson moved the capital of Maryland out of Catholic St. Mary's City and established a new city near the Puritan settlement at Providence; he named the new capitol Annapolis in honor of Queen Mary's sister Princess Anne, who would ascend the throne in 1707 (Rice 2012:185-188; Russo and Russo 2012:123).

This move effectively ended the century-long conflict between absolutist Catholic rule and those who resented the mini-kingdom of the Calverts in which there was little opportunity for social advancement among the new gentry. Just as the Glorious Revolution served to unite the British-Atlantic World, the overthrow of the proprietary government in Maryland unified the Potomac River Valley. The rebel communities established on the southern shores of the Potomac River were no longer needed and instead these geographic communities became neighborhoods in the larger Potomac River Valley community.

In 1697 Governor Nicholson noted the communal identity of the Potomac River Valley, stating "I have endeavored to hinder illegal trade, but have met with great difficulties... People in

these parts have been so used to live separately that it is very difficult to bring them at once to cohabit, especially by restraint" (Fortescue 1904). This quote not only demonstrates the development of a Potomac River Valley community but illustrates the continuation of a "rebel" mindset at the turn of the 18th century. While men like John Hallowes, Nathaniel Pope, and John Washington were long deceased by the time Nicholson came to power, their descendents continued to defy regulations and government interference in their lives, a trend that continued with other men born on the Northern Neck, such as future presidents (George Washington, James Monroe, and James Madison) and signers of the Declaration of Independence (Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee). With the establishment of a unified Potomac identity, rebellion and violence among the county elite ended and conflicts between the two sides of the river ceased, only to be replaced with protests and resentment aimed at the sweet-scented tobacco planters of Southern Virginia

Conclusions

For more than half a century, the Upper Chesapeake was defined by violence and political strife resulting from differing ideas about the best way to govern a colony on the periphery of a budding empire. While people were becoming increasingly individualistic in their economic pursuits, they continued to rely on communities to deal with the chaos of their daily lives; from short life expectancies and instability of tobacco growth and trade, to resistance of absolutist rule, in the New World and across the Atlantic Ocean. Colonists in the Potomac River Valley responded to these uncertainties by forming communities composed of likeminded individuals, and when they encountered political, economic, and religious adversity, they would flee one part of the Chesapeake to another, seek refuge in new homes surrounded by allies and family, and form new neighborhoods in the river valley.

From 1630 until ca. 1690, these neighborhoods were roughly equivalent to geographic communities. The Chicacoan neighborhood-community was populated by individuals who left Kent Island, hoping to find a place in the wilds of the Northern Neck where they could trade and prosper on their own terms. The Nomini Bay neighborhood-community was established by those who fled authoritarian rule in Maryland and sought a refuge from the proprietary government. The Nomini Bay neighborhood expanded and evolved throughout the last half of the 17th century to include new colonists and plantations up the river. With the incorporation of men like John Washington into the community, the Appamattucks neighborhood-community became fully realized. However, with the ever increasing influx of new people who had not experienced the formation of a bond forged in violence and rebellion, the physical and mental boundaries that defined these neighborhood-communities began to erode.

By the turn of the 18th century, these distinct neighborhood-communities became simply neighborhoods, or districts, within the Potomac River Valley community. The solidification of this shared sense of identity throughout the region is best represented with the end of political unrest with the final government overthrow in 1689 and clear historical accounts of an "us" versus "them" mentality in regards to oronoco tobacco of the Upper Chesapeake and sweet-scented tobacco of the lower Tidewater. However, intercolonial trade and migration in and around the region helped maintain contacts and communication among all colonists in the Chesapeake. No one place, including the Potomac River Valley, lived in isolation, either from the region, the empire, or the Atlantic World.

There was a rise in the concept of the individual at this time in relation to the emergence of capitalism as both a cultural phenomenon, as well as an economic system. But, how does this developing sense of individualism correspond with community development? While some

scholars have argued that either colonists were becoming increasingly individualistic, and thus less communal, or that community bonds strengthened as a defense against emerging capitalism, I argue, that both are true. Identity is fluid, and people can choose to perform different aspects of their identity depending on the situation. The 17th-century was a time of rapid change and a transitional period with the roots of modernity just beginning to thrive. Each of these communities were composed of individuals who were fiercely protective of their newly acquired rights, freedoms, and economic prosperity, even if that meant denying others the same access to wealth, freedom, and political involvement.

Colonists' individual identities became tied to their community of oronoco planters at the turn of the 18th century. While mainly discussing planters in the James and York River Basins, Breen (1985) has termed this phenomenon the "tobacco mentality." Because tobacco was so embroiled in the life of a planter, his personal identity was closely associated with the crop he produced and the quality of the leaf became a measure of the quality of the man. When the oronoco tobacco trade came under threat, from the Navigation Acts and the convoy system, their livelihoods, and thus individual planter's identities, were also threatened. They bonded together, as a sub-regional community, to resist mercantilist policies that favored the lower Tidewater. While there might have been an initial loyalty to the Potomac River Valley for sheer geographic reasons, economic and demographic factors - and a shared memory of political agitation - strengthened those bonds.

In their work on the history and society of the 17th-century Middle Peninsula of Virginia, Darrett Rutman and Anita Rutman (1984) made five assumptions about communities. First that people will "inevitably associate in groups" (Rutman and Rutman 1984:26). Second, relationships among people are ordered, not chaotic. Third, relationships among people are

related to landscapes and specifically point to rivers as boundaries (I, of course, reject this notion as I have discussed above). Fourth, associations between people are related to social status. Fifth, relationships between individuals are observable (Rutman and Rutman 1984:26-27). In outlining an archaeological framework for studying communities, Cusick (1995:66) added to the Rutmans' assumptions: "archaeological pattern is also not random, but related to social behavior... it is therefore possible to compare the material patterns of life with reference to the social patterns." In Chapter 7, I will be tracing communities using archaeological material through the distribution of locally-made pipes in reference to the historical foundations developed in this chapter.

Bradburn and Coombs (2006) have urged scholars to tack back and forth between sub-regional studies and the Atlantic World when conducting research in the Chesapeake. While they acknowledge that many historians (and I would add historical archaeologists) have abandoned Menard's and the Southern Maryland perspective for Walsh's methods, Bradburn and Coombs point out that sub-regional studies that lack an Atlantic perspective risk becoming insular without recognition that these locales were not isolated, either domestically within the colonies, or imperially within the English/British Empire (for notable exceptions see Perry 1990 and Hatfield 2004). They argued that although the English/British legal system prohibited contact and trade with foreign merchants, the region was not isolated and continued to be impacted by outside forces after the implementation of many restrictive policies. They contended that researchers who study "the Chesapeake in the broadest possible context, while at the same time emphasizing sub-regional and even local differences in conditions" will provide "a more complex and convincing history" of the region (Bradburn and Coombs 2006:137). Having provided an Atlantic and subregional context for communities in the Potomac River Valley, I next turn to the

household contexts for the archaeological remains used to research the Atlantic, regional, and local tobacco pipe trade.

Chapter 6 : Site Histories

In this chapter I provide the household context of each of the archaeological sites used to study communities within the Potomac River Valley and the development of the British-Atlantic World. Each of these sites, to varying degrees, will figure into interpretations made regarding the trade and exchange of tobacco pipes in Chapters 7 and 8. This chapter provides the individual history and archaeology of each site, including a discussion of inhabitants, occupation spans, and the site's relationship to regional events, and thethe archaeological findings.When discussing archaeological pipe assemblages used in this dissertation, I am referring to only those pipes that fit specific criteria: imported pipes that are marked or decorated, and specific local mold-made pipes. Not all pipes in an archaeological assemblage are marked or decorated, and the samples used in this dissertation represent sub-sets within sites' larger pipe collections. These criteria are outlined in greater detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

It is essential to provide the micro-historical, household level context to this project. By determining who lived at each site, more nuanced interpretations can be made about individual actions and choices regarding what to buy and with whom to exchange goods. It is possible to establish a strong site chronology for most of the sites discussed below; however, there are a few sites where it is impossible to determine who lived at or frequented the property. For some of these sites, all that can be known is that tenants lived there, in which case, assumptions can be made about their lives based on historical studies of tenancy. Other sites, particularly those in St. Mary's City, were not private plantation homes, but instead were used as public places, such as ordinaries. In these cases, site ownership and general use can be determined and discussed in relation to the archaeological material analyzed for this project. The sites are discussed in chronological order.

Old Chapel Field (18ST233), 1637-1660

The Old Chapel Field site is located in St. Mary's County, Maryland, south of the 17th-century colonial capital of St. Mary's City, along the banks of the St. Mary's River, a tributary of the Potomac River. The property on which the site is located was a part of St. Inigoes Manor, the Jesuit headquarters in Maryland during the colony's proprietary rule. Today, the property is located on the Patuxent River Naval Air Station's Webster Field Annex. Excavations of the Jesuit manor have been conducted by professional and amateur archaeologists since the 1930s. The material used in this dissertation was recovered during investigations by Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum staff archaeologists in 2000 (Sperling and Galke 2001).

Site History

Jesuit priests were among the first colonists who arrived aboard the *Ark* and the *Dove* in 1634 and helped found the colony of Maryland. In an attempt to show no religious preference, Lord Baltimore required that all priests and ministers, of any denomination, work as private citizens and earn their own keep, instead of the usual practice of state support of the clergy. There were at least 62 people, 3 priests and 59 servants, associated with the Jesuits when they first arrived, as evidenced by the amount of land to which they were entitled through headrights. They claimed some of their land within St. Mary's City, but they also purchased land outside of the capitol in 1637 that would become known as St. Inigoes Manor. The Catholic brotherhood established a mission on this property and ran a successful tobacco plantation. They also built a small fort to support and protect the priests, their servants and livestock, and any local people who might have sought shelter with the clergy during naval or Indian attacks. It is likely that the majority of the Jesuits' servants lived and worked on the plantation (Sperling and Galke 2001:11, 14-19, 25).

The Jesuits worked to convert the Protestant colonists and local Native American groups. The mission was all but abandoned between 1645 and 1648 after participants in Ingle's Rebellion looted the property, chased off the indentured servants and most of the priests, and arrested the head of the brotherhood, Thomas Copley. After the end of the rebellion, Copley was released and he returned to St. Inigoes Manor to run the mission until his death in 1652. The Jesuits remained active in the area well into the 18th century, and St. Inigoes served as the center of the brotherhood's activities in the 19th century (Sperling and Galle 2001:17-19).

The historical record suggests that there were several buildings located on the property during the colonial period. Initially, there would likely have been a main manor house, several outbuildings, and the fort, which were all built around 1637. It is unclear if there was a chapel located there in the 17th century (AOMOL 3:107, 177-178). The main manor house, referred to as "St. Inigeos House" was likely built of brick, and was large enough to hold all the freemen in the area (AOMOL 1:28). In 1704, the colonial government passed a law that banned the construction of freestanding Catholic churches. In order to avoid prosecution, Catholics began building chapels attached to private residences; this is likely what occurred on the property in the 18th century. Throughout the 17th century, land associated with the mission was rented to tenants. The Jesuits maintained ownership of St. Inigoes Manor until 1942 (Sperling and Galke 2001:17, 20-25).

Archaeology

There have been several professional and avocational archaeological investigations of the St. Inigoes property (Pogue and Leeper 1984:31; Sperling and Galle 2001:27). In 1996, a shovel test pit survey was conducted across the property, including an intense focus on the "Old Chapel Field" site (18ST233). An early- to mid-17th-century component of 18ST233 was identified and

rough boundaries were outlined (Galke and Loney 2000). Archaeologists from Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum, directed by Julia King and Edward Cheney, returned to the Old Chapel Field site in 2001 to explore the 17th-century component. They excavated twenty 5 x 5 ft. test units, and removed and screened plow zone. They uncovered a number of features, including a kiln, three postholes, three graves, and a borrow pit; King and Cheney partially excavated the borrow pit (Sperling and Galke 2001:35-37).

Over 356,000 artifacts, not including brick and oyster shell, were recovered from Old Chapel Field during the 2001 investigation. Contact-period Native American artifacts made up a large percentage of the assemblage, including pottery and tobacco pipes. There were also several artifacts that were related the Indian trade, such as European glass and copper beads. European pottery was also recovered from the site, all of which points to an early- to mid-17th-century domestic occupation (Sperling and Galke 2001:41-54). Three-hundred and eighty-seven artifacts, not including faunal remains, brick, oyster shell, and daub, were recovered in the partially excavated pit, all of which indicate the pit was filled in the early-17th century (Sperling and Galke 2001:59-61). All evidence suggests that 18ST233 is a ca. 1637-1660 domestic site associated with the Jesuit mission plantation at St. Inigoes Manor. The large amount of brick recovered at the site indicates that there was at least one, if not two, brick structures located at the site. The presence of structural postholes and the distribution of wrought nails suggests that there was at least one earthfast building, as well. The Old Chapel Field site could represent the remains the St. Inigoes House, or if not the main house, a related group of buildings (Sperling and Galke 2001:96-100).

A total of 554 clay tobacco pipes was recovered from 18ST233, of which 350 were locally-made. In this dissertation, five imported pipes and one locally-made pipe from Old Chapel Field are used. All six of the pipes used were recovered from plow zone.

St. John's (18ST1-23), 1638-1715

The St. John's site is located in Historic St. Mary's City, the first city and capitol in Maryland and a 1500-acre National Historic Landmark. The site served in various capacities during its nearly century-long occupation, including as a private dwelling, an ordinary, and as an official government meeting hall. The site was first discovered in the 1960s and underwent intensive excavations in the 1970s by archaeologists from Historic St. Mary's City (HSMC). In 2008, a large archaeology museum was built over the remains of the main dwelling and detached kitchen with the brick and stone foundations exposed for visitors along with displays housing artifacts recovered from the site (Hurry and Bodeman 2007:53; Miller n.d.).

Site History

The manor house at St. John's was first built in 1638 and occupied by John Lewger, the colony's first government administrator, until 1647. John, his wife Anne, and their three children, John Jr., Cecilia, and Anne, along with a number of free men and women and white indentured servants lived and worked on the nearly self-sufficient 1,000 acre plantation just outside of the city core. From 15 to 20 people lived at St. John's, the majority of whom were indentured servants, including specialized craftsmen, such as a tailor, and leather worker, carpenters, and a blacksmith. Lewger employed a few free men, such as Thomas Speke, who established Nomini Plantation in Westmoreland County, Virginia in 1647. Speke served as one of Lewger's free overseers from about 1639 until 1644 (Stone 1982:117-121; Hurry and Keeler 1991:37).

Lewger was one of the wealthiest men in the colony during the first two decades of European settlement in Maryland. His house at St. John's was one of the largest buildings in St. Mary's, not only demonstrated in the archaeological evidence, but also reflected in the fact that Lewger hosted meetings of the Maryland Assembly several times during the 1640s. Additionally, Governor Calvert held Lewger in such high esteem that he placed Lewger in charge of the official colonial records, which were housed at St. John's (Miller n.d.).

In 1646 Anne Lewger died and John Sr. returned to England the next year to become a priest. John Jr. took over the management of the property, but soon sold St. John's to Henry Fox, a planter and merchant, in 1650. Fox was appointed the jail keeper in early 1654 and St. John's housed the colony's official prison. However, Fox ran into some financial trouble and sold the property to Simon Overzee in late 1654 (Stone 1982:118, 301).

Overzee was a Dutch merchant who moved to Maryland from the Puritan settlement of Lynnhaven in the Southside of Virginia. Overzee had strong familial and mercantile connections to Lynnhaven. He was married to Sarah Thoroughgood, daughter of Thomas Thoroughgood, one of the most powerful men in the Southside; Overzee's marriage to Sarah helped his own commercial activities and allowed him access to the strong and far-reaching intercolonial trade networks fostered by Thomas Thoroughgood and other Puritans in Lynnhaven. Overzee's role as a merchant is reflected in the archaeological record, as it appears that he built a large 20 x 40 ft. storehouse at St. John's (Stone 1982:302; Hatfield 2004:114; Miller n.d.). The Overzee household numbered at least 10, including Simon, Sarah, his overseer's family, indentured servants, one enslaved African, and two enslaved Native Americans (Stone 1982:304).

Sarah Overzee died in childbirth in 1658, and the next year Simon married Elizabeth Willoughby of Elizabeth City (originally Kecoughtan and modern day Hampton, Virginia).

Members of the Willoughby family were also great traders, and would have helped foster Overzee's commercial activities. In 1660, Overzee died and Elizabeth married George Colclough of Chicacoan (who will be discussed below in the Coan Hall section) and moved to the Northern Neck (Stone 1982:302; Hatfield 2004:114; Billings 2007:237).

In 1661, Charles Calvert, Governor of Maryland and the future third Baron of Baltimore, purchased St. John's from Elizabeth Willoughby-Overzee-Colclough. The property served both as Calvert's personal residence and as a meeting place for the Assembly and the governor's private council. The governor enlarged the main dwelling and added a quarter to the property in 1662. Calvert lived there until either 1666 or 1667, when he married Jane Sewell and moved to her house at Mattapany (discussed below). Calvert continued to farm at St. John's during his residence there and after he moved; however, unlike all of the previous occupants, he did not primarily grow tobacco. Lord Baltimore wanted his colonists in Maryland to diversify their economy, and Charles Calvert tried to lead by example, and grew wheat, oats, flax, and barley (Stone 1982:303).

After he moved to Mattapany, Calvert leased St. John's to a series of inn keepers and the main dwelling served as an ordinary for people visiting the capital on official government business. Calvert continued to frequent St. John's until he returned to England in 1676 after his father's death. By the time he left Maryland, St. John's had fallen into disrepair, and in 1677, a long term lease was signed by Henry Exon, who made considerable repairs to the dwelling and dependencies. Exon's lease expired in 1684. Throughout the 1680s and early 1690s, St. John's housed the office of Prerogative Court and the Assembly and Council met there several times. After the capital of Maryland moved to Annapolis in 1695, St. John's was likely rented to an

unknown tenant. The property was abandoned within the first two decades of the 18th century (Stone 1982:310-312; Hurry and Keeler 1991:37).

Archaeology

The St. John's site was first identified in 1962 and investigated in the late 1960s by Henry Chandlee Forman, an architectural historian who had worked at Jamestown in the 1930s. The majority of the excavations at St. John's took place from 1972 until 1976 under the direction of Gary Wheeler Stone. Smaller sampling projects occurred periodically in the 1980s and then again from 2000 until 2005 under the direction of Henry Miller prior to the construction of the archaeology museum in 2008 (Hurry and Bodeman 2007:54-55; Miller n.d.).

The excavations at St. John's revealed a large plantation core with several buildings. The manor house was a 52 x 20 ft. hall-and-parlor structure with a cobblestone foundation and a stone lined cellar with a brick floor. The main dwelling had a central brick H-shaped chimney base. A small 10 x 10 ft. earthfast dairy and a 20 x 15 ft. post-in-ground storage building were also built sometime in the 1640s by Lewger. In the 1650s, either Fox, or more likely Overzee, added a chimney to the storehouse in order to convert it to a detached kitchen. Calvert enlarged and improved on the manor house and added a nursery to the northwest corner and a shed porch to the east façade. Calvert also had a 20 x 30 ft. earthfast quarter built in the 1660s to the south of the manor house. St. John's was modified in the 1670s, likely during the tenancy of Exon. The chimney was replaced with another chimney with an H-shaped brick base placed against the north wall of the building in order to enlarge the entryway and a porch was added to the front door (Stone 1982:305-317; King 1988:20-21).

Nearly 1.4 million artifacts have been recovered from St. John's (Miller n.d.), with approximately 350,000 recovered during the Stone excavations (Hurry and Bodeman 2007:55).

The 1970s study area was approximately 120 x 130 ft. Approximately 29% of the plow zone was sampled and screened through 3/8 in. mesh; the majority of the artifacts from St. John's were recovered from the plow zone (King 1988:22; Hurry and Keeler 1991:37).

Almost all of the pipes used in this dissertation were recovered during the 1970s excavations, except 10 pipes that were found in Foreman's personal collection. The St. John's assemblage is the largest used in this dissertation, with 356 white clay pipes and 30 locally-made pipes. The overwhelming majority (248) of the imported pipes cataloged for this project were made ca. 1665-1690. There are 93 pipe fragments that date to the first half of the 17th century and 16 pieces that date to the turn of the 18th century.

Pope's Fort (18ST1-13), 1645-1655

The Pope's Fort site is located in the center of Historic St. Mary's City, the 17th-century capital of Maryland. The fort site consists of a ditch complex that was dug around Calvert's personal home, known as the Country's House, in the mid-1640s during Ingle's Rebellion by the Protestant agitators who took over the colony. Pope's Fort served as the central command of the rebels during the Plundering Time. The site was excavated in the early 1980s under the direction of Henry Miller.

Site History

Sometime in 1634 or 1635, colonists in St. Mary's City built a manor house for Lord Baltimore. The Lord Proprietor never came to his colony, so his brother, Governor Leonard Calvert, took up residence in the proprietor's home. Calvert's house was the largest building in Maryland at 18 x 50 ft., and was the center of a 100-acre tobacco plantation in the city's core (Miller 1986:13, 20).

In February 1645, Richard Ingle and a group of men from Chicacoan invaded Maryland and took St. Mary's City, causing Governor Calvert to flee to Virginia, abandoning the capital and his personal home. Ingle took up residence at Calvert's plantation and directed the looting and pillaging of the surrounding countryside from the governor's home during the period known as the Plundering Time. Over the next three months, he oversaw the construction of a ditch fortification surrounding his base of operations. When Ingle departed for England in May, he left Nathaniel Pope in charge, and Pope brought his servants and an unknown number of loyal Protestants to garrison the fort during the remainder of the uprising (Miller 1986:47; 1991:73).

In December 1646, Calvert took back Maryland and his house in St. Mary's City. He did not enjoy his victory for long, and died in early 1647. Nathaniel Pope, like several other failed rebels, fled across the Potomac River in 1647 and established the Nomini Bay community in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The next two governors of Maryland, Thomas Greene and William Stone, took up residence at Calvert's house. Archaeological evidence suggests that the ditch complex built in the 1640s remained in use into the middle of the 1650s. Governor Stone appears to have altered and expanded the fortifications, likely in response to the Puritan rebellion at Providence that led to the Battle of the Severn in 1655 (Miller 1986:48). References to the defensive structure, called “Popes ffort,” appear in the Maryland Archives several times.[5]

After William Stone died in 1658, the Calvert family sold the property to Hugh Lee, an innkeeper. Lee's widow sold the property to the colonial government in 1662, and the house then

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[5] Twice, Nathaniel Pope was ordered to pay for a cow that was slaughtered by the rebels garrisoned "at his Master Popes ffort" during the uprising (AOMOL 4:423, 424). Thomas Sturman, one of the former Kent Islanders who came with Ingle from Chicacoan, was accused of altering the branding on a calf in "Popes ffort somtime tht summer" and ordered to replace the livestock (AOMOL 4:383). Pope also held prisoners loyal to Calvert and the Jesuits from St. Inigoes in his fort (AOMOL 4:415). It is unclear, but unlikely, that Pope or Sturman ever paid for the cows, given that these cases were brought against them in 1648, after they had already left Maryland for the Northern Neck.

served as the first Statehouse of Maryland, and came to be known as the "Country's House." Because the Assembly, Courts, and Council only met periodically, the proprietary government leased the Country's House to a series of innkeepers until the end of the century. The government continued to use the property several times each year, until the new brick Statehouse was built in 1676, though the Country's House continued to be used as an ordinary until it was abandoned at the end of the 17th century. Throughout the next several decades the building was expanded and upgraded several times so that by ca. 1695 it measured 40 x 67.5 ft. (Miller 1986:13-14, 18).

Archaeology

The ditch of Pope's Fort was first discovered in 1981 when the septic tank from a mid-19th-century house that was still standing in the middle of town failed and had to be removed. During removal, it was revealed that the tank had been placed in the middle of a 6ft wide ditch filled with mid-17th-century artifacts. Archaeologists began excavating around the artifact- rich feature and found a line of post holes on the outside curve of the ditch related to the palisade. As Miller and archaeologists from HSMC followed the ditch throughout the next year, excavations revealed that that it varied in width from 6ft to 12ft, indicating two separate construction and maintenance phases; one likely related to the 1645 rebellion and one related to the 1650s uprising. The palisaded ditch complex completely surrounds the Country's House (Miller 1986:49-56).

Only approximately 15% of the ditch has been excavated, and most artifacts found associated witht the site were recovered from the septic tank area. However, the artifacts that were discovered in the ditch do indicate that the fort was abandoned and filled rather quickly in the middle of the 1650s (Miller 1986:57, 1991:73). Almost all of the pipes used here are from the 1981 excavation of the septic tank or from plow zone units above the ditch. As a result, the white

clay pipes used in this dissertation vary in date from the first half of the 17th-century to the third quarter of the 17th century. These pipes could be related to any of the occupations of the Country's House, including Calvert's private home, Pope's Fort, the Statehouse, or during its use as an ordinary. A total of 61 imported pipes and 48 locally-made pipes from Pope's Fort are used in this project.

The John Hallowes Site (44WM6), 1647-1681

The John Hallowes Site is located on Currioman Bay, at the juncture of Nomini Bay and the Potomac River in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The site, which was excavated in the late 1960s, yielded over four thousand artifacts, not including faunal remains (Sherman 1969; Buchanan and Heite 1971). A comprehensive report on the site was never written by the original excavation team due to the lack of funding for the excavation and subsequent analysis. The most detailed analysis and interpretation of the site, until recently, was an article by the site's excavators' William Buchanan and Edward Heite (1971) in *Historical Archaeology* in which the authors dated the site from 1687 to 1716. Despite the lack of comprehensive analysis, the site has been used by many scholars to discuss fortified house plans. The fortifications at Hallowes have previously been interpreted as a response to Susquehannock raids that preceded Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 (Neiman 1980:75; Carson et al. 1981:191; Hodges 1993:205-208, 2003:509; Carson 2013:96-97).

From 2010 to 2012, Barbara Heath in the Department of Anthropology, in collaboration with students at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, initiated a reanalysis of the site (Hatch 2012; Hatch et al. 2013; Hatch et al. 2014; McMillan et al. 2014; McMillan 2015). By combining detailed historical documentation relating to site residents with the analysis and reanalysis of material culture from the excavations, new and significantly different interpretations of the site

have emerged. Based upon this recent work, the Hallowes Site is now interpreted to have been occupied from 1647 to 1681 and the fortifications built at the site as related to Ingle's Rebellion, not Bacon's Rebellion.

Site History

The site derives its name from the original owner of the property, John Hallowes, who was born in Lancashire, England and immigrated to Maryland in 1634 at the age of 19 as an indentured servant to Thomas Cornwalyes, one of the richest and most powerful men in the proprietary government. Hallowes completed his term of indenture in 1639 and married his first wife, Restitute Tew, that same year. John and Restitute continued to live in Maryland for another eight years. During his time in Maryland, Hallowes was referred to as many things, including a carpenter, mariner, planter, privateer, and trader (AOMOL 3:67, 83, 186, 214, 259; Buchanan and Heite 1971:38-39).

Hallowes was no stranger to violence and fighting; he had participated in the Chesapeake Fur Wars, fought at Kent Island for his master, Cornwalyes, and Baltimore (AOMOL 4:22; Fausz 1988:71) and was a participant in Ingle's Rebellion. As a freeman, he helped lead raids on Susquehannock villages in 1642 (AOMOL 3:119-120), although he was a well known Indian trader (AOMOL 4:186, 259, 534; LOV 1653-1659:15). Hallowes likely participated in the failed uprising because of his position as a newly-wealthy Protestant freeman who resented the limits placed on him by the manor lords and proprietary government. After Baltimore quelled Ingle's Rebellion, Hallowes and other failed rebels were forced to take an oath of fealty to the governor of Maryland in 1647 (AOMOL 3:174).

Shortly after he was forced to bow down to Baltimore and his proprietary rule, Hallowes, and several other former rebels, fled Maryland to the southern shores of the Potomac River

forming the Nomini Bay community. He soon became a prominent trader and member of the gentry along the Potomac River and was one of the wealthiest men in the county, owning over 5,000 acres of land (LOV 1650-1652:49; Nugent 1934:207, 252). Hallowes served as a county commissioner from 1653 to 1657 and was named sheriff of Westmoreland County in 1657, the year that he died (LOV 1653-1659:80; Hening 1809:286-387).

His first wife, Restitute, died in 1655, and Hallowes married Elizabeth Sturman, the widow of John Sturman, a former Kent Islander who moved to Chicacoan in the early 1640s and had helped Ingle take Maryland in February 1645 (LOV 1653-1671:16; Nicklin 1938:444; Riordan 2004:186). After her husband's death in 1657, Elizabeth married another nearby landowner, David Anderson; the two likely lived at the Hallowes house until 1666, when they moved up the river to Stafford County, Virginia (Nicklin 1938:440). The property then passed to Hallowes' daughter, Restitute, and her husband John Whiston, who re-patented the land in 1667. The Whistons probably lived elsewhere. The site was likely occupied by tenants from 1666 until the house was abandoned in 1681. Upon the death of the Whistons in 1674, their daughter (John Hallowes' granddaughter), Restitute, and her husband Mathew Steele inherited the property (Buchanan and Heite 1979:39)

In 1681, John Manley, Restitute Whiston Steele's second husband, evicted the tenants from the property, ending the occupation of the Hallowes site (LOV 1675-1689:22; Buchanan and Heite 1871:39). The Manley family retained ownership of the property until Samuel Hallowes, John's distant cousin, sued for and won the property in 1722. He never came to Virginia and sold the land to Thomas Lee of Stratford Hall in 1733; the Lee's continued to own and occupy Stratford Hall until 1838, when the family was forced to sell the property due to debts. It went through a series of subsequent owners before being acquired by the Stratford

Harbour development in the 1960s, which led to the archaeological investigation of the property in the late 1960s (Buchanan and Heite 1971:39).

Archaeology

In 1968, prior to the construction of the planned community, a survey was conducted of the area by Virginia Sherman and William T. Buchanan, Jr. resulting in the discovery of the Hallowes site (Buchanan and Heite 1971:38). From July 1968 to August 1969, the site was excavated by William Buchanan Jr. and Edward Heite and crew of volunteers on the weekends (Buchanan and Heite 1971:40). The archaeological investigation of the site revealed a single earthfast dwelling with an off- center chimney, several fence lines, two large pit features, and numerous smaller features located in the building's yard. Two ditch-set bastions were located at the northeast and southwest corners of the house.

The excavations followed standard practices of the time, including mechanical and manual stripping of the plow zone and no screening. Based on field photographs, it appears that the features were excavated by hand using trowels but no screens. The majority of the artifacts recovered from the site were designated "surface collected," and based on the fact that most of artifacts are rather large, appear to have been picked out of the stripped plow zone and collected as they eroded out of the stripped surface, by volunteers working at the site. Some of the larger features were recorded in some detail, including the two large pits; however, many of the post holes and post molds of the structure and fences were combined in excavation (Hatch et al. 2013).

Historical research allowed for the creation of a hypothesized date range of occupation of 1647 to 1681. This date range is bracketed on one end by John Hallowes's arrival in Virginia, and on the other by the eviction of the tenants from the property by John Manley. The

hypothesized date range yielded a mean occupation date of 1664 that is consistent with the dates arrived at through the analysis of the archaeological assemblage, including a *terminus post quem* of 1675, an adjusted mean ceramic date (South 1977) of 1667, a Binford (1962b) pipe stem date of 1660, and a Hanson (1971) pipe stem date of 1665. For a detailed explanation of the dating methods used in the interpretation of this site, see Hatch et al. 2013 and McMillan et al. 2014.

There were two phases of occupation at the site. The first phase of the site dates from 1647 to 1666 when the site was occupied by John Hallowes, Restitute Tew, Elizabeth Sturman, and David Anderson. During this time period, the main house was built and the bastions that fortified the house were erected. These bastions have been interpreted as a response by Hallowes to perceived threats from across the Potomac River by Calvert and his proprietary government (Hatch et al. 2014; Hatch 2015). The site was occupied by tenants from 1666 to the abandonment of the property in 1681. Sometime during this second phase, the bastions were removed and the ditch-set fences were built (Hatch et al. 2013:23, 29-31).

The Hallowes site produced an assemblage of 4,581 artifacts and 3,675 faunal remains, excluding nine artifacts on loan to the Westmoreland County Museum that were unavailable for study. These diagnostic pieces were previously reported on in Buchanan and Heite's 1971 article in *Historical Archaeology*; based upon their descriptions, the unavailability of these artifacts did not significantly impact the interpretations. Additionally, eight boxes of brick were excluded from the reanalysis. Historical ceramics and clay tobacco pipes comprised the majority of the artifact assemblage: 34% (n=1,599) and 22% (n=1,021), respectively, of the total number of artifacts. Of the 1,021 pipes found at the Hallowes site, 34 are used in this dissertation, including 21 imported pipes and 13 locally-made pipes. Only seven pipes (four imported and three local) were from features.

Nomini Plantation (44WM12), 1647-1722

Nomini Plantation is located near the Hallowes Site on the shores of Nomini Bay in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The site was excavated in the 1970s by a group of avocational archaeologists led by Vivian Mitchell of the Archeological Society of Virginia (ASV). There were two sub-sites at Nomini Plantation; an 18th-century brick mansion and a 17th-century refuse midden and associated brick foundation. I will only outline the 17th-century occupation and the excavation of the midden area, because only artifacts recovered from the midden were used in this dissertation. Similar to the Hallowes site, no formal report was written on the excavations at Nomini Plantation, although Mitchell did publish several articles on the artifacts recovered from the site (Mitchell 1975; 1976; 1978; 1983; Mitchell and Mitchell 1982). Recently completed historical research and analysis of the 17th-century midden by Brad Hatch and me indicate that there were three distinct phases of use: 1647-1679, 1679-1700, and 1700-1720 (McMillan and Hatch 2013). Nomini Plantation, similar to the Hallowes site, was established by a former participant in Ingle's Rebellion, Thomas Speke.

Site History

Nomini Plantation was first patented in 1649 by Speke (LOV 1643-1651:207), but was likely occupied as early as 1647 when he and his wife, Anne, left Maryland to travel across the Potomac River and establish a new home in Virginia, helping to form the Nomini Bay community. Speke had been living in Maryland for at least eight years prior to this move, when he arrived in St. Mary’s City as a free overseer for John Lewger, the Secretary of Maryland (Stone 1982:121; Norris 1983:105). Similar to John Hallowes, Thomas Speke was an active member of Maryland society and politics, and also participated in the 1642 raids on the Susquehannock Indians as a member of Lewger's household (AOMOL 3:119; Stone 1982:121).

There is no direct evidence that Speke participated in Ingle's Rebellion and he does not appear on the list of those who took the oath of fealty at the end of the uprising, but there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that he was one of the failed rebels, or at least held similar political beliefs. Speke left Maryland at the same time and to the same area, Nomini Bay, as other men who had participated in the rebellion, including John Hallowes, Walter Broadhurst, and Nathaniel Pope. After emigrating to Virginia, historical and archaeological evidence show that Speke continued to interact with these men, in addition to John Mottrom of Chicacoan, who had sold ammunition to Ingle and his men (LOV 1652-1665:79, 96).

Speke, like other former rebels and members of the Nomini Bay community, was socially and politically active in Westmoreland County politics. He served as a county commissioner, a burgess, and a militia colonel (LOV 1650-1652:72-73, 1652-1665:1, 1653-1659:36). Sometime around 1655, his first wife died and Speke married Frances Gerrard, the daughter of Thomas Gerrard, who participated in both Ingle's Rebellion in 1645 and Fendall's Rebellion in 1660 (AOMOL 3:174, 407; LOV 1653-1659:53). Upon Speke's death in 1659, the majority of his property passed to Frances, who was given a life interest in the plantation. Speke's probate inventory and will illustrates his wealth and standing. Listed among his belongings were 11 servants, including three Africans; a large retinue of workers for the time (LOV 1653-1671:103-105, 1661-1662:4a-6a). The fact that the servants listed as "negroe" did not have their remaining time to serve recorded, like the other eight, suggests that Tom, Mary, and Frances were in lifelong enslavement and were not indentured servants. Coombs (2011) has argued that only members of the gentry class owned enslaved Africans and African Americans prior to the 1670s. Coombs also found that slavery did not become prominent on the Northern Neck until after the 1730s, suggesting that Speke had high social and economic status with enough wealth and

political clout, and access to exclusive trade networks, to find and purchase enslaved people in the middle of the 17th century.

Frances married four more times to Valentine Peyton (1659), John Appleton (1676), John Washington (1677), and, finally, William Hardidge II in 1679. Each of these men were also politically active in Westmoreland County politics. Frances and her various husbands likely lived at Nomini Plantation, with the exception of John Washington, who will be discussed in further detail below (LOV 1665-1677:127, 1675-1689:53, 90, 151). Frances' marriages to Washington and Hardidge strengthens the interpretation of the Appamattucks community as a political extension of the Nomini Bay community of former rebels. With the marriage of Frances, the daughter and widow of failed rebels, and Washington, the son-in-law of a former rebel, Nomini Plantation and the Mattox Creek properties were shortly unified.

William Hardidge II was the son of William Hardidge I, who participated in Ingle's Rebellion, and Elizabeth Sturman, the daughter of Thomas Sturman, a former Kent Islander and one of the Chicacoan men who crossed the Potomac with Ingle and helped garrison Pope's Fort (Riordan 20014:132-140; Carr 2009). William Hardidge II was also the nephew of Elizabeth Sturman-Hallowes-Anderson of the Hallowes site, further strengthening the familial ties within Westmoreland County. The union between Hardidge and Frances not only made political sense, but also geographic, since the Hardidge property abutted Nomini Plantation (LOV 1653-1671:11-12).

Frances and William II lived at Nomini Plantation until their deaths in the late-17th century. It is unclear when Frances died, but it was likely sometime around 1691, as indicated by Hardidge's trip to England to purchase the property from the Speke family (Sherman and Mitchell 1983:107). Hardidge died in 1694 and the property passed to his and Frances' daughter,

Elizabeth (LOV 1690-1698:129). Elizabeth continued to live at Nomini Plantation, first under the guardianship of her aunt and uncle Temperance Gerrard and Benjamin Blanchflower, and then with her husband Henry Ashton (LOV 1690-1698: 87, 197). Like all of the other men who occupied Nomini Plantation, Ashton was involved in county politics and served as a commissioner, a burgess, and a militia colonel (Anonymous 1898:116; McIlwaine 1912:iv). It appears, based upon the archaeological evidence, that the Ashton family lived in or near the original 17th-century structure at the top of the hill above the midden, and continued to dispose of their refuse down the hill until about 1720. The termination of the midden's use likely corresponded with Elizabeth's death in 1722 and the abandonment of the original home site for the large brick manor house located to the east (Mitchell 1975:204).

Archaeology

From 1970 to 1982, the Nomini Plantation site was excavated by Vivienne Mitchell and a group of volunteers from the ASV. The main focus of the excavation was a large 18th-century brick house. During the course of her excavations, Mitchell discovered a trash midden that represented the remains of a much earlier occupation; the artifacts recovered from that 17th-century feature are the main focus on this section. No site report was written for Mitchell's excavations; however, the artifacts were labeled with provenience information and there were some maps of the site, unit profile drawings, and a few lab notes that helped determine the integrity of the midden feature. The midden was located next to a shallow ravine on a hillside approximately 25ft from a brick chimney base that was uncovered but not investigated. The chimney is believe to be what remains of Thomas Speke's mid-17th-century home. The current analysis of the archaeological material indicates that the midden remained relatively intact with good stratigraphic integrity (McMillan and Hatch 2013).

Based upon the field notes, it appears that the midden was excavated by three different groups of people, all with slightly different systems of labeling and designating layers. First, Vivienne Mitchell cut two exploratory trenches into the midden, revealing five layers, designated by Roman numerals. Second, William Kelso excavated on the site for one day with his crew, utilizing a recording system, that designated layers with letters. This method was quickly adopted by Mitchell. Finally, on the northern portion of the midden site, separated by a balk, Bob and Janet Curts, two avocational archaeologists, excavated units using the Roman numeral method. However, based upon profile drawings and comparison to the Mitchell/Kelso excavation, the Curts appear to have conflated or not recognized certain layer changes. Fortunately, profile drawings were made for the majority of units on both sides of the balk and layers were able to be compared and grouped with one another. Similar to other sites excavated in the middle of the 20th century, it does not appear that Mitchell and her colleagues screened the dirt at Nomini Plantation.

All of the artifacts recovered from the site indicate that the midden was in use from ca. 1650 to 1720, which fits well with the historically known occupation of the site. The overall TPQ of the site is 1675 and a MCD of 1678 was calculated. The Harrington histogram of pipe stem bore diameters indicates an occupation of 1650-1680, and the Heighton and Deagan pipe stem formula produced a mean date of 1674. Three distinct strata were identified during this analysis using profile drawings, field notes, and ceramic data, including cross mends, in addition to ceramic presence or absence, and abundance of certain diagnostic ceramic types. Stratum III/ Phase I represents the occupation of Thomas Speke, Frances, and three of her husbands from circa 1647 to 1679. Stratum II/Phase II consists of the Hardidge occupation from circa 1679 to 1700. Stratum I/Phase III contains the refuse of Elizabeth Hardidge and her husband Henry

Ashton from circa 1700 to 1722.. Three hundred and twenty two pipes from Nomini Plantation were used in this dissertation, and of those 315 were imported and 7 were made locally.

Compton (18CV279), 1651-1685

The Compton site is located on Solomons Island, in Calvert County, at the mouth of the Patuxent River. The site was excavated in the summer of 1988 by Louis Berger and Associates prior to the construction of the Patuxent Point residential development. Although the architectural and landscape features of the site have been analyzed and reanalyzed several times, the general consensus is that the Compton site was the location of a typical mid-17th-century yeoman and then tenant tobacco plantation (LBA 1989; Gibb 1994, 1996; MAC Lab 2009a; Rivers-Cofield 2007).

Site History

The Compton site is located on a 100-acre tract of land that was patented by the Stephens family in August 1651. William and Magdelen Stephens, and their two sons John and William, were members of the Society of Friends and helped establish "one of two centers of Protestant power during the interregnum," in Maryland (Gibb 1996:129); the other was in Providence, the community of Puritans on the Severn River. The Stephens family had four indentured servants, and both William and William Jr. held political office in Calvert County (Gibb 1996:127, 214).

Although none of the other landholders in this community at the mouth of the Patuxent River were Quakers, except perhaps those who lived at the Patuxent Point site discussed below, they all held staunch anti-Calvert sentiments and were Protestant. Most of the families who had initially established this community in the 1650s moved to the Eastern Shore in the 1660s, after the Stuart Restoration, effectively transplanting their community further away from Baltimore's sphere of influence and among many English and Dutch Puritans and merchants who lived

across the Chesapeake Bay (Gibb 1996:129). Perhaps they fled this area in response to the establishment of the Mattapany plantation directly across the river in 1663. Mattapany was first occupied by Maryland's Secretary, Henry Sewall, and then by Charles Calvert, the governor of Maryland; this site is discussed in further detail below. Flick et al. (n.d.) argue that in 1679 Calvert placed his son-in-law, William Digges, at Notley Hall on the Wicomoco River (a tributary of the Potomac River) in order to monitor the activities of Josias Fendall and Thomas Gerrard (participants in the failed 1660s rebellion) who lived nearby. Baltimore, fearful of another uprising after two rebellions in as many decades, may have placed his colonial secretary at the mouth of the Patuxent River at Mattapany in order to keep an eye on the activities of the Protestant community with known anti-proprietary leanings.

The Stephens family left Compton for the Eastern Shore sometime in the early 1660s, likely before 1665, due to a combination of political discontent and the inability to expand their 100-acre plantation because of overcrowding on the peninsula. The site was occupied until about 1685, presumably by tenants, but their identities are unknown (Gibb 1996:214, MAC Lab 2009a). William Stephens died in 1684, and it is unclear to whom the Compton property passed, but it appears as though the occupation ended with his death (Gibb 1996:132).

Archaeology

The Compton site was identified during a Phase I survey conducted by Thunderbird Archaeological Associates in 1987, ahead of construction of a residential subdivision (Gardner 1988). A Phase III open area excavation was conducted by Louis Berger and Associates the next year that uncovered a multi-structural, mid-17th-century tobacco plantation home lot (LBA 1989). There is much debate about the layout of the buildings and the site's landscape (Rivers-Cofield 2007). There were 75 post holes/molds identified during the 1988 project. The original

excavators interpreted the post hole layout as representative of five structures: a 16 x 16 ft. dwelling with an end chimney, two barns, and two small outbuildings (LBA 1989).

Jim Gibb (1994, 1996) re-analyzed Compton, and the Patuxent Point site, for his dissertation, and reinterpreted the structural features. He argued that all three of the larger buildings were dwellings, one for the family and two for servants, and no large barns. Archaeologists from Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum and architectural historians from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation reanalyzed the Compton site in the early 2000s. They interpret the post holes as representative of two earthfast structures: one large 18 x 20 ft. dwelling and a smaller 16 x 16 ft. quarter (MAC Lab 2009a).

Over 27,800 artifacts were recovered from the Compton site. Large quantities of Dutch material culture, including ceramics, bricks, and tobacco pipes, were recovered from the site. All of the artifacts suggest an occupation from 1651, when the land was patented, to roughly 1685. A total of 2,699 clay tobacco pipes were recovered from the site, including 218 locally-made pipes (Gibb 1996:146-147; MAC Lab 2009a). In this dissertation, I used 84 white ball clay pipes and 4 locally-made pipes from the site. The majority of the pipes, 64 white pipes and 1 locally-made pipe, were recovered in a series of borrow pits, which were dated to the middle of the 17th century. The remaining fragments were recovered in plowzone. There are no pipes identified that date after ca. 1680.

Patuxent Point (18CV271), 1658-1690

The Patuxent Point site is located on Solomons Island in Calvert County, Maryland on the north shore of the Patuxent River. Although originally patented in 1651, the property was likely not occupied until 1658. The site was excavated in 1989 and 1990 by Julia A. King of the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum prior to the construction of the Patuxent Point residential

development. The Patuxent Point site consists of a home lot containing one earthfast building, several pit features, and eighteen human graves (Gibb 1994, 1996; King and Ubelaker 1996; MAC Lab 2009b).

Site History

Very little is known historically of the Patuxent Point site. It is located on a 100-acre tract of land that was patented by John Hodgins in 1651. John and his wife Mary appear to have taken up residence somewhere on their property, but not at the Patuxent Point site; there is no archaeological evidence of the location of their house. Hodgins died in April 1655 and by August Mary had remarried and left the property. The Hodgins tract was signed over to Captain John Obder by Mary in 1658. Historical evidence indicates that Obder moved to the Hodgins tract in 1658 and archaeological evidence suggests that he built and occupied the house found at the Patuxent Point site. Obder moved to the Eastern Shore either in 1662 or 1663. It is likely that tenants lived on the property from 1662/3 until it was abandoned around 1690. The property does not appear in the historical record again until 1707, when John Landerkin was listed as a tenant (King 1996:20-22).

By the time that Obder left for the Eastern Shore in the early 1660s, tenancy had become common in the Chesapeake. Tenants were responsible for the maintenance and improvement of the property and tending to crops in addition to paying rent to the landowner, usually in form of shared crops (500-1,000 pounds tobacco per year). By the mid-17th-century, tenants made up as much as half the population of freemen in the Chesapeake. Prior to the 1680s, tenancy served as a way for newly freed men and women to earn enough money to purchase their own land. Tenants would lease land and any buildings previously erected on the property for 7 to 21 years (Walsh 1985:374-376, 2010:108-110).

Throughout the middle of the 17th century, land became concentrated within the hands of a few families as the gentry class become solidified, and it became nearly impossible for new arrivals and newly freed indentured servants to become land owners, at least below the fall line and along rivers where the most agriculturally productive land was located with access to navigable water ways. Most tenants were white free men and women who had come to the colonies as indentured servants and were hoping to become freeholders one day. This dream was realized by some colonists, such as John Hallowes, but as the century progressed, land ownership became harder to accomplish. After the 1680s, tenancy became semi-permanent, and leases would typically last three lifetimes: the life of the planter, his wife, and his child who inherited the property and tenancy leases. Rent was higher after 1680, typically between 650 and 1,200 pounds tobacco a year, which essentially made it impossible for a tenant to improve his socio-economic status (Walsh 1985:375-376).

The occupants of the Patuxent Point site fell into the first category of tenants, during a time when economic status was more flexible and social mobility was possible. They were likely recently freed, white indentured servants who rented the property, including land and a possibly previously built dwelling, from Obder in the third quarter of the 17th century. As discussed below, archaeological evidence suggests that the tenants at Patuxent Point were fairly well off economically. However, their social and political status must not have been very high, as they never held a position in the government and they are invisible in the surviving historical documents.

Archaeology

The Patuxent Point site was identified during a Phase I survey conducted by Thunderbird Archaeological Associates in 1987, ahead of construction of a residential subdivision (Gardner

1988). In 1989 and 1990, archaeologists from the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum conducted Phase II and III investigations at the site, including a pedestrian survey and the excavation of 72 5 x 5 ft. test units; all soil was screened through 1/4 in. mesh. Because the Patuxent Point site was threatened by eminent destruction due to development, after the 72 units were excavated to obtain a sample, the plow zone was stripped in order to reveal sub-surface features (Gibb 1996:171-174; King 1996:24; MAC Lab 2009b).

Many historic and prehistoric features were uncovered, including the remains of a 20.5 x 40 ft. post-in-ground dwelling, several pits, and 18 human graves. Extensive research has been conducted on the human remains found at Patuxent Point. There were 19 individuals in the 18 graves, including one fetus or newborn buried with a female. The graves were clustered into two groups, perhaps indicating social distinctions between freemen and women and servants. All of the individuals buried at the site were of European ancestry, except one man who may have been of African ancestry (Gibb 1996:196-202; King and Ubelaker 1996; MAC Lab 2009b).

Yard use at Patuxent Point was fairly clearly delineated. The east of the dwelling was clean, with no refuse midden and a very few, small yard features. Juxtaposed to this, the west side of the building contained large sheet middens, one large borrow pit and several smaller pits. The west yard appears to have served as the main working space for the occupants of the site. Early artifacts, such as North Italian Marbled Slipware and large bored pipes indicates that the site was first occupied in the late 1650s, while the lack of artifacts such as British Brown stoneware indicates that the site was abandoned prior to 1690 (King 1996:26-27, 29-30).

Archaeological evidence suggests that the residents of the Patuxent Point site were of middling economic status. The people who lived there from the early 1660s until the end of the 1680s were tenants during the first stage of Chesapeake tenancy, described by Walsh (1985),

during a time when social mobility was still possible. The dwelling was larger than the typical 16 x 16 ft. or 20 x 16 ft. tenant houses (Walsh 1985:384). The spacious home was well furnished with fine table glass and silver washed spoons (King and Ubelaker 1996:120). The tenants owned several indentured servants and possibly one slave. Slave ownership was still uncommon among all but the gentry until the late 17th century, suggesting that although the occupants of the Patuxent Point site were not landowners, they were not poor (Coombs 2011).

Over 124,600 artifacts were recovered from the Patuxent Point site, including over 1900 clay pipe fragments. Fifty-one white clay pipes and thirteen locally-made pipes are used in this dissertation. Twenty-six of the imported pipes were found either in the plow zone or on the surface. The remaining were 25 white pipes were recovered from the series of pits in the west yard of the building, including 15 from the large borrow pit, that has a TPQ of the mid-1660s based upon two trade tokens that bear the date "166[?]" (Gibb 1996:181). All but three of the white clay pipes from Patuxent Point were made sometime between ca.1660 and 1700. One John Fox (1651-1669) pipe and one Robert Tippett II (1678-1713) pipe were found on the surface of the site, and one John Hunt (1694-1715) was found in the plow zone. Six of the 13 locally made pipes were recovered in plow zone or from the surface. The remaining seven were found in the series of small pits in the west yard.

Coan Hall (44NB11), 1662-1727

The Coan Hall site is located along the Coan River, a tributary of the Potomac River, in Northumberland County, Virginia. The site was first identified and assigned a state designation number in 1966, and then more fully explored ten years later by Stephen Potter, who identified the site as the location of John Mottrom's ca. 1640 house, based on artifacts that he collected during a pedestrian survey for his dissertation that focused on prehistoric and contact period

Native American sites in the Potomac River Valley (Potter 1982; Potter and Waselkov 1994). Mottrom is well known as one of the earliest settlers on the Northern Neck of Virginia and as a founding member of the Chicacoan community.

Beyond the initial interpretations made by Potter after his survey, no real investigation had occurred at the site until 2011. In 2010, Potter gave the artifact collection and notes associated with 44NB11 (which he had acquired during survey with the permission of the landowner), to the University of Tennessee, Knoxville with the intention of generating new work at the site. Students in Barbara Heath's graduate seminar on the archaeology of the Chesapeake analyzed the artifacts and related documentation during the fall semester of 2011. Since the initial analysis of the surface collected artifacts, Heath, and a group of volunteers from several different institutions, have conducted fieldwork at Coan Hall for one week a year from December of 2011 to December 2014. Heath and some of her graduate students have processed and analyzed the artifacts recovered from the site. Currently, the site's date and occupation is unclear. There is a strong ca. 1660-1730 component on the site; however, it is possible that the site dates as early as 1640 (McMillan et al. 2012; McMillan and Heath 2013; Heath 2014).

Site History

John Mottrom, contrary to traditionally held beliefs that he was from Maryland (Rice 2009:121; Norris 1983:43; Anonymous 1908:53, 1915:183), actually moved to the Northern Neck from the Piankatank River, in modern-day Middlesex County, Virginia sometime around 1640 (LOV 1623-1666:719; Nugent 1934:122). It appears that he was from Charles River County prior to this time (VLP 1:719). Besides establishing himself as an accomplished Indian trader (Rice 2009:121), John Mottrom became Chicacoan's representative in the House of Burgesses in 1645, served as a county justice, and as a colonel in the militia, ensuring his

position as a member of the county elite (Tyler 1895:28; Stanard and Stanard 1902:65; Norris 1983:43).

Mottrom, like many of the European men and women who moved to the Northern Neck prior to 1649, had ties to rebellious factions in Maryland. Mottrom was associated with the Kent Islanders who moved to the Chicacoan settlement after Baltimore took the Upper Chesapeake, as represented by his marriage to Ursula Bysshe, the widow of one of Claiborne's Kent Island men, Richard Thompson (Anonymous 1908:54, 58; Nicklin 1938:445). Mottrom, though not one of the invaders during Ingle's Rebellion, did aid in the Maryland uprising by selling powder and shot to the rebels (AOMOL 10:157). In early 1647, Mottrom was also accused of plotting with former Kent Islanders against Leonard Calvert and planning to pillage and burn parts of Maryland after the colony had been re-taken by proprietary forces (Riordan 2004:274).

Mottrom lived in the Chicacoan community until his death in 1655 (Tyler 1895:39; Anonymous 1908:54). He was survived by his second wife Ursula and his three children, Anne, John Jr., and Frances (Beale 1897; Anonymous 1908:54). Mottrom is probably best known, outside of the Northern Neck, as the owner of Elizabeth Key, the first woman of African descent who, while living at Coan Hall, successfully sued for her freedom in British North America (Banks 2008).

Upon John Mottrom's death in 1655 his property passed to his son John Mottrom Jr. However, because Mottrom Jr. was only 14 at the time, the estate was placed in the care of Mottrom's widow's new husband, John Colclough in that year (Beale 1897; Tyler 1895:39). Like Mottrom, Colclough was an established Indian trader (Rice 2009:121) and a key player in Northumberland County, as seen by his election to the House of Burgesses in 1658 (Stanard and Stanard 1902:65). It is unclear who, if anyone, lived on the Mottrom property during the

Colclough custody, because shortly after John Sr.'s death, his eldest daughter Anne left the property when she married Richard Wright, and the two younger children appear to have been sent to Westmoreland County to live with their guardian, Thomas Speke of Nomini Plantation (Beale 1897; Anonymous 1908:54). Colclough improved the property for John Jr. during his seven year guardianship, a common practice in the 17th-century Chesapeake (Carr et al. 1991:43). Sometime between 1655 and his death in 1662 (Tyler 1895:39), Colclough had a new house (or perhaps updated the original ca. 1640 dwelling), a store, and a brew-house built on the Mottrom property; it appears these improvements were made near the end of his life (Beale 1897).

In 1662, when he came of age, John Jr. gained custody of the Mottrom estate and moved to the newly built complex (Beale 1897). It appears that John Jr. had three wives, the first of whom he married sometime around 1663. His first wife's name is unknown, other than that she was from the Spencer family of Westmoreland County (Beale 1897). His second wife was Hannah Fox of Lancaster County, whom he married in 1675 (Anonymous 1908:54). Following her death, he married Ruth Griggs by 1683 (Anonymous 1908:54). His first marriage produced his heir, Spencer Mottrom (Beale 1897; Anonymous 1908:54). In the same year that he married his second wife, John Jr. was elected a burgess of Northumberland County (Anonymous 1908:54).

The Mottrom property passed to John Mottrom Jr.'s son, Spencer Mottrom, in 1690 (Beale 1897; Anonymous 1908:54). During the ten years that Spencer Mottrom owned the estate, he added a warehouse to the property's buildings. Unlike his father and grandfather, it appears that Spencer Mottrom did not seek political office. His daughter, Mary, inherited the property and moved there with her husband, Joseph Ball, sometime after 1703, when Ball completed his

service as a burgess for Lancaster County (Stanard and Stanard 1902:94). Ball added to the Mottrom estate and by his death in 1727, he owned 1,500 acres. The property passed to Mary and Joseph's son, Spencer Ball in 1727, who built a new mansion on the property sometime between 1727 and his death in 1767 which he named Coan Hall (Beale 1897).

Archaeology

The Coan Hall site was first designated the home of John Mottrom by Stephen Potter while investigating Native American occupation around the Coan River. In the summer of 1975 Potter conducted a pedestrian survey of plowed fields near Heathsville, Virginia and surface collected all artifacts he encountered. He identified multiple historic and prehistoric sites in the area, including Coan Hall (Potter 1982). A total of 585 ceramic sherds and 575 tobacco pipes were collected by Potter and analyzed at the University of Tennessee (UTK) in 2011 (McMillan et al. 2012; McMillan and Heath 2013).

Several different dating techniques were calculated using the artifacts collected by Potter. The Binford pipe stem formula produced a mean date of 1686, the Heighton and Deagan (1972) formula a date of 1699, and the Colono-pipe stem formula (Monroe and Mallios 2005) produced a date of 1683. A Mean Ceramic Date of 1696 was calculated. All of these formula dates coincide well with the median date of 1695 derived from the historical record, assuming an occupation of 1662-1727. These dates suggest that the Coan Hall site was occupied primarily by John Mottrom Jr., Spencer Mottrom, and Mary and Joseph Ball. However, it should be noted that there were several pre-1650 artifacts recovered from the site, including early Dutch pipes, North Italian Marbled Slipware, Merida, Frechen stoneware, and Venetian glass (McMillan et al. 2012; McMillan and Heath 2013; Heath 2014).

In December 2011, Heath led a group of graduate students from UTK and volunteers from the University of Mary Washington, St. Mary's College of Maryland, and Mount Vernon in a week long shovel test survey of the property. In December 2012, 2013, and 2014, archaeologists associated with UTK, the Archeology Society of Virginia, the University of Mary Washington, Monticello, Mt. Vernon, Historic St. Mary's City, and St. Mary's College of Maryland returned to the site and excavated test units with the assistance of the landowners. All plow zone was excavated using shovels and trowels and all soil was screened using 1/4 in. screens. Floatation samples were collected from some plow zone contexts, but have not yet been analyzed.

During the University of Tennessee investigations, two sub-sites were identified at the Coan Hall site: the dwelling site and a pit complex. Although no features have been excavated to date, preliminary interpretations can be made regarding the nature of the site based on the several thousand artifacts recovered and building foundations uncovered. Utilitarian ceramics, such as milk pans, dominated the assemblage from the pit complex, suggesting that some sort of outbuilding, such as a dairy, was located there (McMillan and Heath 2013). The foundations at the dwelling site indicate that the Mottrom/Ball house was quite large, with a central 12 x 12 ft. H-shaped brick and stone chimney. Several postholes, an intact brick foundation on the east side of the house, and a brick-filled robbers' trench indicate that the manor house was approximately 20 x 55 ft. Almost all of the early-17th-century artifacts recovered at Coan Hall were found near the foundations of the house, and until sub-surface features are excavated, the site's date cannot be fully determined (McMillan and Heath 2013; Heath 2014).

All of the pipes used in this dissertation were either collected during Potter's 1975 field survey or from plow zone during the course of the UTK investigations. A total of 13 pipes are used in this project, 12 of which are white ball clay pipes and one is a locally-made pipe.

Mattapany (18ST390), 1663-1689

The Mattapany site is located on the southern shores of the Patuxent River in St. Mary's County, Maryland on the Naval Air Station Patuxent River. Mattapany was the home of Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore, and the only Baron of Baltimore who visited Maryland while serving as proprietor. He was governor of Maryland from 1661 to 1684, resided at Mattapany from 1666 until his return to England in 1684, and served as the colony's proprietor from 1675 until King William III placed Maryland under crown control in 1690 (Krugler 2004:221, 249-250). The colony's official armory was located at Calvert's Patuxent River estate from 1671 until it was taken in 1689 during Coode's Rebellion. There have been two archaeological investigations of Mattapany. In the early 1980s, the colonial arms magazine was partially investigated (Pogue 1983, 1991) and the manor house was investigated in the 1990s (Chaney and King 1999).

Site History

The Mattapany property first appears in the historical record in 1637, when the Jesuits who owned Old Chapel Field were given, or sold, a piece of property called "Metapanian" or "Metapanneyen" at the mouth of the Patuxent River by the Patuxent Indians (Chaney and King 1999:20-21). Lord Baltimore rejected the Jesuits' claim, and declared that he personally owned the land along the river (Chaney and King 1999:26). The land on which the Mattapany manor house would be built was granted to Henry Sewall by Baltimore in May 1663. Sewall served as the Secretary of Maryland from 1661 until 1664; he died shortly after retiring from public office

in 1665. His property, including the large brick house he had built at Mattapany, passed to his wife Jane (Chaney and King 1999:68-70). In 1666, Charles Calvert married Jane and left his home at St. John's in St. Mary's City for Mattapany. Charles and Jane lived at Mattapany until they returned to England for good in 1684 (Stone 1982:303; Chaney and King 1999:72-73).

There is very little historical evidence about the Mattapany house, other than Sewell's probate inventory, which lists several rooms, including a dining room, a nursery, and chambers on the second floor. Sewell, as one of the most politically powerful men in the colony, was quite wealthy; at his death, he owned 21 servants, and his house was well furnished with four beds, eight leather chairs, and several other items, such as guns. The inventory also lists livestock, horses, a quarter, a kitchen, a still, and a mill (Chaney and King 1999:71-72).

As the governor and the Lord Proprietor, Calvert would have maintained Mattapany up to reflect his social and political station. He was one of the first people to own enslaved Africans in Maryland, and at least one "Negro Boy Peter" lived at Mattapany (AOMOL 15:227). Mattapany also served as a port of entry in the Patuxent River and Calvert kept his personal ships at his country estate. During Calvert's occupation of the house, Mattapany served a public function, as an official government building. The colonial council met there several times, and Josias Fendall was held there after his second failed rebellion in 1681 (AOMOL 5:333). Even after the Calvert family left Maryland in 1684, Mattapany continued to serve as a second meeting place for the colony's council and other members of the government (Chaney and King 1999:74-84; Flick et al. n.d.).

Mattapany also served as the colony's official armory and housed the arms magazine from the early 1670s until 1689. The historical evidence of a military occupation at Mattapany is scarce prior to 1676 when, in response to Bacon's Rebellion, Baltimore ordered that a militia

troop should be stationed there to protect the plantation and the magazine (AOMOL 15:99). The militia was dismissed later that year, but troops were called to protect, or muster at, the Proprietor's house several more times throughout the 1670s and 1680s (Chaney and King 1999:86-90). In January 1689, in response to the news that the Stuart monarchy had been overthrown in England, the colony's council dismissed all county militias and recalled their weapons in order to suppress any rebellion before it started. The council then bunkered down and called on the official provincial militia to muster at Mattapany. John Coode led a group of anti-proprietary men first to St. Mary's City and then the Mattapany that summer. On August 1, 1689, Coode took Mattapany and the magazine. The colony's arms were moved to St. Mary's City to be stored at the State House, and it appears as though the magazine at Mattapany was abandoned shortly after the 1689 uprising (Chaney and King 1999:91-94, 97).

The Sewall-Calvert family maintained ownership of Mattapany until the 19th century. It is unclear who, or if anyone, lived in the house after Coode left in 1691. There is a reference that suggests that William Josephs, a former governor of Maryland, was living there in 1695, but it is unknown for how long. It appears that several former associates of Calvert's stayed at Mattapany for brief periods until 1725, when Nicholas Sewell, grandson of Henry and Jane Sewell, took up residence. It is likely that an overseer and tenants continued to live on the property, though not in the manor house, throughout this time. His nephew, Nicholas Lewis Sewell, built a new manor house in the 1740s, ending the occupation of the 17th-century structure (Chaney and King 1999:100-106).

Archaeology

Two archaeological investigations have been conducted at Mattapany. First, in 1981 and 1982, Dennis Pogue conducted a Phase I shovel test pit survey and pedestrian survey across the

Naval Air Station Patuxent River to determine the location and integrity of any cultural resources on the base. One of the areas identified was as a 17th-century site given the designation number 18ST390. A Phase II survey was conducted on the site, consisting of the excavation of 25 5 x 5 ft. test units and several large features, mainly borrow pits. Approximately 2,200 artifacts were recovered during Pogue's work. The results of the 1980s work concluded that 18ST390 was occupied between 1660 and 1700 and was likely part of the 17th-century Mattapany home lot; however, no architectural features were uncovered and the manor house was not found (Pogue 1983; Chaney and King 1999:134-136).

In 1991 archaeologists returned to Mattapanty in order to expand Pogue's excavation area and search for the Sewall-Calvert house. Between 1991 and 1997, Julia King and Edward Chaney of Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum conducted intensive excavations of 18ST390. Chaney and King carried out another shovel test pit survey across the site, and in addition to gaining more information regarding the area previously excavated by Pogue, they also identified a large concentration of artifacts and brick rubble 100 yards away. They placed 12 new units in the area indentified by Pogue and 715 units near the brick rubble (Chaney and King 1999:138-140).

Chaney and King determined that the area first excavated by Pogue was the late 17th century magazine, based upon the recovery of a number of arms-related artifacts, such as lead shot and gun fragments (Chaney and King 1999:161). Brick foundations measuring 50 x 25 ft. and a brick lined cellar were uncovered in the newly identified area. Many unique architectural artifacts were recovered, including yellow Dutch bricks, Delft fireplace tiles, and ceramic flooring tiles, all of which suggest that Mattapany was a large, well furnished house. A ditch-set palisade enclosed the yard behind the manor house; it appears to have been hastily erected, and

was likely built in 1689, in response to threats of a Protestant uprising (Chaney and King 1999:160). Artifacts from the site suggest that the manor house and the surrounding areas were in use from ca. 1660 to around 1720 (Chaney and King 1999:189).

Twenty-five white clay pipes from Mattapany are used in this dissertation; eight were recovered by Pogue and seventeen were recovered by Chaney and King. All but two of the fragments were manufactured sometime between ca. 1660 and 1690; one English and one Dutch pipe were made in the first half of the 17th century. No pipes post-dating 1690 were identified in the Mattapany assemblage, from either the 1980s or the 1990s projects. All but three of the pipes were recovered in plow zone. Two English pipes, one with Bristol-style decoration and one made by Llewellin Evans, were found in the cellar of the manor house and one Dutch pipe was found in a layer on top of the palisade.

The John Washington Site (44WM204), 1664-1704

The John Washington site is located on the southern shores of the Potomac River near Mattox Creek on the George Washington Birthplace National Monument in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The site was occupied by John Washington, the great-grandfather of George Washington, in the third quarter of the 17th century, and by his son, and his daughter-in-law until the turn of the 18th century. The site was first identified in the 1930s and excavated in 1970s by National Park Service (NPS) archaeologists (Blades 1979).

Site History

The land on which the John Washington site is located was first patented in 1655 by Richard Cole and David Anderson, who built a house somewhere on the property within the next year. Cole never took up residence on the property. By 1657, Anderson moved to Currioman Bay to live with his new wife Elizabeth Sturnam, the widow of John Hallowes (LOV 1655-1664:23;

Blades 1979:6). He sold the property to John Washington in 1664, who built a new house on the banks of Bridges Creek, just south of Mattox Creek (Hatch 1979:25).

Washington had arrived in Westmoreland County several years before he purchased the Bridges Creek land. At the age of 22, he left England in 1656 aboard the *Sea Horse*, bound for the Chesapeake colonies. He had commissioned as the second master aboard the London merchant vessel in search of wealth via the tobacco trade. In early 1657, the ship ran aground and sank on the southern shores of the Potomac River near Nathaniel Pope's property in Westmoreland County (Norris 1983:149; GWF 2012). There was some sort of disagreement between Washington and the ship's master, Edward Prescott, regarding wages and fault over the ship's wreck. Pope helped Washington end his relationship with the mariner; it is unclear what this help entailed, but presumably, it included some financial assistance (Hudson 1956; GWF 2012).

The relationship between Pope and Washington strengthened and within the next year John married Anne Pope, Nathaniel's daughter. Pope gave the newlyweds 700 acres of land along Mattox Creek in Westmoreland. It is unclear if the Washingtons lived with Pope at his home along Pope's Creek (just south of Mattox Creek and north of Nomini Bay) or if they built a house on their newly-gifted property, but the records do indicate that they had their first child, Lawrence, in September 1659 (Blades 1979:8; Norris 1983:150; AOMOL 41:328).

Washington soon became a prominent member of the Westmoreland County elite. By the time he purchased the 600 acres of land associated with the Bridges Creek property in 1664, he had already served as a vestryman for the county and had been appointed a county commissioner and coroner (Hudson 1956). John and Anne, and their three children, Lawrence, John Jr., and Anne, all moved to the newly built house within a year of acquiring the land (Hatch 1979:27).

Anne died in 1668 and Washington married Anne Broadhurst that same year. His second wife was also associated with the anti-Calvert factions living along the southern shores of the Potomac River. Anne Broadhurst was the daughter of Thomas Gerrard, who had participated in Ingle's and Fendall's Rebellions, and the widow of Walter Broadhurst, another one of Ingle's failed rebels (AOMOL 3:174; Tyler 1895:36; Blades 1979:8; Hatch 1979:26).

Anne died in 1675 and Washington married Frances Appleton in 1676 (Blades 1979:8). Frances was Anne's sister, the daughter of Thomas Gerrard, and the widow of Thomas Speke of Nomini Plantation. It is unclear if Frances and John cohabitated after their marriage, but it appears that Frances stayed at Nomini Plantation, at least part of the time, and John at his Bridge's Creek property.

Washington and Isaac Allerton, Jr., another Westmoreland County resident, enflamed the embers of violence and revolt when, in 1675, they killed five Susquehannock leaders and took their fort in Maryland. These actions by Washington and Allerton led to the series of raids by the Susquehannocks and Doegs on European colonists that ultimately led to Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 (Rice 2009:147-148). The historical record is a bit vague in regards to Washington's whereabouts during the rebellion, but he was not at his Bridge's Creek property when it was taken by Baconites, or when it was re-captured by troops loyal to Berkeley later that year (Blades 1979:9).

He returned to his house in late 1676. The next year, Washington died at his Bridges Creek home, and was buried in the family cemetery nearby; his grave can be seen at the George Washington Birthplace National Monument. At the time of his death, Washington owned over 6,000 acres of land along the Potomac River. Lawrence Washington inherited most of his father's property, including the land further up the Potomac River known as Little Hunting Creek

Plantation, the eventual location of George Washington's Mt. Vernon. The Bridges Creek property went to his youngest son, John Washington, Jr. (Toner 1891:200-202; GWF 2012).

John Jr. was still a minor when his father died, so he and the Bridges Creek plantation were placed under the guardianship of his uncle Thomas Pope, who owned Clifts Plantation (discussed below). John Jr. reached the age of maturity sometime around 1680 and moved into his inherited house (Toner 1891:202). Within the next decade John married Anne Wickliffe and they had four sons: Lawrence, John, Nathaniel, and Henry. John Washington, Jr. passed away in 1698 and Anne continued to live on the Bridges Creek Plantation until her death in 1704. The land then passed on John Washington III. Archaeological evidence indicates that the property was abandoned sometime around 1700, likely with Anne's death (Anonymous 1905:146-148; Hatch 1979:27).

Archaeology

In 1930, 600 acres of land associated with the Washington family, including the Bridges Creek property, were designated a National Monument. In preparation for the 1932 opening of the park, architectural historian James Latane and engineer O.G. Taylor dug trenches across the property in search of the house where George Washington was born. During the course of the 1930s project, Latane uncovered the remains of a structure with a brick-lined cellar that was later identified as an outbuilding associated with the home of John Washington the immigrant. The site was opened and the cellar within the brick building was completely excavated. It is unclear how much, or if any, of the soil was screened during this project and there is no provienence information regarding the artifacts recovered during this excavation. No report was written on the early 20th-century archaeology of the site (Blades 1979:11).

In 1977, Brooke Blades, under the direction of John Cotter, returned to the John Washington site. The plow zone at the site was completely removed via mechanical stripping. The plow zone was not screened, but it does appear as though feature soils were screened through 1/4 in. mesh. Blades discovered the remains of two new structures, including a 40 x 20 ft. post-in-ground dwelling with a chimney on either gable end. Blades also uncovered the structure first excavated in the 1930s, located 48 ft. south of the house. This building appears to have been a 20.5 x 15 ft. post-in-ground building with a brick-lined cellar that encompassed the entire structure, as the brick walls did not meet in the corners, but stopped at four corner post holes. A second earthfast outbuilding with a brick-lined cellar was discovered 42ft west of the dwelling; this building measured 20 x 11.5 ft. The cellar in the second building was tested, but not fully excavated (Blades 1979).

Several thousand artifacts were recovered from the John Washington site. It is currently unknown exactly how many were found in the 1930s, as the collection has not been completely analyzed, but 2,258 artifacts were recovered during the 1970s (Blades 1979:77). Brad Hatch (2015) has analyzed the ceramics from this site and calculated a MCD of 1686, with a TPQ of 1720, and a ceramic intersection range of 1660 to 1720. However, the majority of the artifacts date ca. 1660-1700 with a very few that date after 1700. Hatch cataloged and photographed the pipes in the summer of 2013 as a part of a National Endowment for the Humanities funded project to recatalog, or catalog for the first time, 33 Native American and European sites in the Potomac River Valley (King 2011; McMillan 2014). Fifty white pipes and two locally-made pipes from the John Washington site are used in this dissertation. Forty-four of the white pipes and one of the local pipes were recovered during the 1930s excavations and are unprovienenced.

The remaining six white pipes and one locally-made pipe were surface collected in the 1970s after the site was mechanically stripped.

Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13), 1666-1678

The Smith's Ordinary site is located in the old town center of St. Mary's City, Maryland. The inn was only occupied for a short time, a little over a decade, until it completely burned in 1678. Although named for the original owner of the patented land, the ordinary was actually run by Garrett van Sweringen, a Dutchman who arrived in Maryland in 1667. The site was excavated by archaeologists from Historic St. Mary's City in the early 1980s (Miller 1986:67-68; Riordan 1991:89-90).

Site History

The Smith's Townland tract was originally a part of Governor Leonard Calvert's 100-acre plantation surrounding his large manor house, renamed the Country's House in the late-17th century. In 1666 William Smith was given a 31-year lease by the proprietary government on a 3-acre tract of land approximately 200 ft. south of the Country's House. Smith immediately began construction on the public inn complex but died two years later without completing the project. His will indicates that he had built a stable, an orchard, a hog house, and an incomplete dwelling. In 1668, Smith's widow married Daniel Jennifer who completed the construction project. It is unclear if Jennifer operated the ordinary or if the main house was used as a private home. Jennifer also built another dwelling approximately 120 ft. east of the ordinary and rented the building to lawyers in town on business (Miller 1986:67, 72, 99; Riordan 1991:89).

Garrett van Sweringen, a Dutch merchant, rented the public inn from Jennifer in 1669 and made improvements on the main dwelling. His business running the ordinary was profitable enough that he was able to purchase the government lease from Jennifer in 1672 (Miller

1986:67-68; Riordan 1991:89). Van Sweringen emigrated from Amsterdam to New Amstel in 1657. After the English captured the Dutch colony and renamed New Amstel to New Castle in 1664, he moved to Maryland, and established residency in St. Mary's City in 1667. Van Sweringen owned two additional properties in town other than Smith's Ordinary, including his dwelling which also served as a private lodging house for wealthy guests and as the Council Chambers for the provincial courts, and a second public ordinary that also doubled as a print shop. The Dutchman lived in St. Mary's City until his death in 1698 (King and Miller 1987; Miller 2008).

People who had business with the courts, Assembly, or Council could stay at Smith's Ordinary, which was conveniently located only 200 ft. away from the Country's House/Statehouse (Miller 1986:67-68). Unlike van Sweringen's house, which catered to a wealthy clientele, Smith's Ordinary was for poor and middling visitors. In 1677, van Sweringen opened his second public ordinary/print shop in town and rented the Smith's property to John Deery. Deery operated the ordinary for only a few short months before he died. Early the next year the entire building and all of its contents burned down, which cost van Sweringen over 60,000 pounds of tobacco. The ordinary was never rebuilt, but archaeological evidence suggests that the dependencies and the lawyers' lodge continued to be used into the late-17th century (Miller 1986:68-72; Riordan 1991:89).

Archaeology

Smith's Ordinary was discovered in 1981 during a survey of the historic Town Center core of St. Mary's City. The site was investigated over the next three years. Excavations uncovered five buildings and related features. One building and related fence line were located at the northern-most edge of the Smith's Townland tract that dates to the first half of the 17th

century; this building was likely used as a livestock shelter on Calvert's plantation. The remaining structures were built after the mid-1660s and were a part of the Smith's Townland tract (Miller 1986:69-70).

Smith's Ordinary consisted of two 20 x 30 ft. earthfast buildings with clapboard sides and plastered walls that were attached by a covered passageway. The large amount of burned glass recovered from the site indicates that at least some of the windows were glazed. The public inn possessed a unique architectural feature, known as a firehood. This feature consisted of internal posts surrounding a 10 x 12 ft area of brick tiles, essentially creating a heated room inside of the building. The firehood was constructed sometime in the 1670s, likely by van Sweringen (Miller 1986:70-72).

An outbuilding, likely a kitchen/quarter was located 25 ft. east of the main dwelling. It was first encountered in 1940 by Forman while he was searching for the Country's House. Forman dug part of a refuse-filled feature he assumed was a trash-pit. The 1980s excavations revealed that the Forman pit was actually a 4 x 9 ft. cellar in an 11 x 21 ft. post-in-ground building. The kitchen was likely built by Jennifer in the late 1660s (Miller 1986:77-79).

A ditch/gutter was discovered running north-south between Smith's Ordinary and the kitchen. The ditch is a V-shaped feature approximately 5 ft in width and 2.5 ft in depth. The gutter is referenced in the 1672 documents related to van Sweringen's purchase of the Smith's Ordinary lease from Jennifer. It likely indicated a property boundary between the inn and the land Jennifer continued to manage related to the dwelling he rented to lawyers. This suggests that the kitchen was not a part of the Smith's Ordinary property, but served the lawyers. There were few artifacts in the ditch besides burned architectural debris, indicating that it was filled after 1678 (Miller 1986:75-76).

The lawyers' lodge that was built by Jennifer in the late 1660s is located approximately 70 ft. east of the kitchen. The exact size of the building could not be determined because of 19th-century intrusions, including an icehouse and a privy. Artifacts suggest that the building had at least one brick chimney and hearth and some glazed windows (Miller 1986:79). Another building was found to the south of the main dwelling. Only two post holes were found related to this building, but it may have been the stable associated with the inn (Miller 1986:80).

The artifacts found across the Smith's Townland tract indicate an occupation of ca. 1660 to 1690 (Miller 1986:80). Two sets of pipe assemblages were used from the "Smith's Ordinary site." The first set of pipes, consisting of 67 white pipes and 2 locally-made pipes, is directly related to the public inn. Fifty-nine imported pipes and two locally-made pipes were found in the plow zone above the ordinary, two imported pipes were found in a rubble layer associated with the burning episode, and six imported pipes were found in the ditch. The second assemblage from this site consists of 24 imported pipes related to the eastern half of the tract associated with the land owned by Jennifer throughout the second half of the 17th century. Forman found nine imported pipes in the kitchen cellar, and four more were recovered from the cellar in the 1980s. Six pipes were found in a small pit just north of the kitchen. Five pipes were found in the plow zone near the lawyers lodge.

The Big Pit Site (18ST1-13), 1669-1670

The Big Pit site is located on the far northeast corner of the Smith's Townland tract in St. Mary's City, Maryland. The site is located approximately in the middle between the Country's House and Smith's Ordinary. The site was excavated during the Smith's Ordinary project in the early 1980s, and consists of seven closely dug borrow pits. The pits have been interpreted as related to van Sweringen's repairs of the ordinary and may be where he retrieved clay to fix the

plaster and chimney on the dwelling. Based on ceramic analysis from the pits, it appears as if they were filled in rapidly around ca. 1670 (O'Conner 1985:19; Riordan 1991:90).

Ninety-one white clay pipes from the Big Pit site were used in this dissertation, of which 44 were recovered from the pit features and 47 were found in the plow zone above the features. There are no pipes in the collection that date after ca. 1680. The majority of the pipes date prior to circa 1665, and are likely related to refuse from the Country's House while it served as a private dwelling for governors Calvert and Stone, or perhaps Pope's Fort. The pipes that date from ca. 1665 to 1680 are likely related to Smith's Ordinary and were discarded by people who had stayed at the inn; the pipes could also be related to the Country's House while it served as the colony's Statehouse.

Clift's Plantation (44WM33), 1670-1730

The Clifts Plantation site is located on the property of Stratford Hall Plantation, a historic site preserved in honor of the Lee family, in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The property on which the site is located was owned by the Pope family from the 1650s until 1713, when the Lee family purchased the land and incorporated it into their large plantation. The erection of the Stratford Hall mansion around 1730 coincides with the abandonment of the Clifts site. The site was occupied by tenants throughout the last quarter of the 17th century until its abandonment in the second quarter of the 18th century. The Clifts site was excavated by Fraser Neiman in the mid-1970s (Neiman 1980).

Site History

The property on which the Clifts Plantation site is located was first patented by Nathaniel Pope in 1651. When Nathaniel died in 1660, his son Thomas inherited "that land and plantation situated upon the clifts," in addition to some property along Pope's Creek (LOV 1661-1662:10).

Thomas was still a minor in 1660, and was placed under the guardianship of John Washington, his brother-in-law, until Thomas came of age, likely in 1662 or 1663 (he begins appearing in county court records, suing neighbors, in 1663). Historical evidence indicates that he built a new house on property he inherited along Pope's Creek; the exact location of his home is unknown. Archaeological evidence suggests that around 1670, Thomas leased the Clifts property to unnamed tenants (Neiman 1980:4).

As soon as he turned 21, Thomas began to build his shipping and commercial business and in 1663 he went to Bristol, England to meet with potential business partners. For the next twenty years, until his death in 1685, Thomas split his time between his plantation in Westmoreland County and his home in Bristol; he was alternatively referred to as a "planter of Westmoreland" and a "merchant of Bristol" (Neiman 1980:4). While in England, Thomas married Joanna Gotley, purchased a house in Bristol, and all of his children were born in the city. He served as a burgess in Bristol, indicating his high social status in England. He ran a successful commercial business, in which he would ship goods to Virginia to sell to his neighbors in exchange for tobacco that he shipped back to England (Neiman 1980:4-5).

Despite his frequent travels across the Atlantic Ocean, Thomas Pope maintained close ties in Westmoreland County. He served as the guardian to his nephew, John Washington, Jr. in the late 1670s (Toner 1891:202). Pope appeared in court several times, and when he died in 1685 at his house in Virginia, John Washington, Jr. (of Bridges Creek) and William Hardidge, Jr. (of Nomini Plantation) served as trustees of his estate (Neiman 1980:5-6). Pope's Westmoreland County properties were divided among his sons. Thomas Pope, Jr. inherited his father's Pope's Creek plantation, but spent most of his time in England. Richard and John Pope, and their mother Joanna, inherited the Clifts Plantation property. All three of the Clifts owners remained in Bristol

and managed the property from England. In the early 18th-century Thomas Pope, Sr.'s youngest son, Nathaniel Pope, came to Virginia and took over the family business (Neiman 1980:6-8).

By 1704, Nathaniel had made his home in Westmoreland County, and took up residence on Pope's Creek. Nathaniel began to manage the Clifts Plantation for his family, and in 1708, his mother, Joanna, ceded her management of the property to him. Nathaniel was also a merchant, and appears to have taken over his father's shipping business. Nathaniel was referred to as a "merchant" and "mariner" in the records, and in one case "merchant, now in England," suggesting that he, too, split his time between Bristol and Westmoreland County. During Nathaniel's management of Clifts Plantation, the first evidence that enslaved Africans or African Americans lived on the property appears in the court records, when in 1706, one slave belonging to "Joanna Pope of the city of Bristol" was sentenced to death for burglary (Neiman 1980:8-10).

In 1716, Thomas Lee purchased the Clifts Plantation property from Nathaniel Pope; Lee continued to live at his family's home at Machodoc Plantation down the river in Westmoreland County. In 1729, the Machadoc manor house was burned to the ground by arsonists. The Clifts site appears to have stayed in tenancy until around 1730, when the Lee family began to build their large H-shaped Georgian mansion a quarter of a mile away. Lee and his family likely lived on one of their other properties, or stayed with his brother Henry Lee at Lee Hall, after the fire and until Stratford Hall was completed around 1738 (Neiman 1980:10-12).

Archaeological evidence at Clifts Plantation suggests that the Pope's tenants were quite unusual for the time. By the time the Clifts Plantation domestic core was constructed, around 1670, tenancy was becoming lifelong and it was nearly impossible to become a freeholder, unless one moved to the frontier to become a small planter. It appears that the tenants at the Clifts had an agreement that lasted for three of the owners' lifetimes given the long occupancy of

the site and evidence that the manor house and its outbuildings were improved and added to several times (Walsh 1985:375; Neiman 1980; Heath 2016). Unlike many tenant sites, all archaeological evidence indicates that the occupants of the Clifts were economically well off, or at least, did not want materially. This evidence will be discussed below.

Archaeology

The Clifts Plantation site was first identified in the 1960s when members from the Archeological Society of Virginia surface collected the area. In 1972 a group of avocational archaeologists excavated parts of the site, including the manor house's brick lined cellar and several trash pits, with little to no attention paid to provenience. They also dug trenches across the site in search of structural foundations. The Robert E. Lee Memorial Association hired Fraser Neiman to fully investigate the site in 1976. Neiman and his crew excavated the Clifts site intensively during two field seasons between June 1976 and January 1978 (Neiman 1980:21-22).

Neiman and his crew excavated 124 10 x 10 ft. plow zone units over the core of the site and an additional 8 10 x 10 ft. test units randomly to sample the outlying portions of the site. All excavated plow zone was screened through 1/4 in. mesh. After the plow zone was sampled, the remainder of the site was mechanically stripped to expose features. All features were recorded, mapped, and excavated by hand; all feature soil was screened through 1/4 in. mesh and soil samples were taken for flotation and chemical analysis. Neiman (1980) conducted the majority of the artifact analysis; Lawrence Angel (1980) conducted the bioarchaeological analysis and Joanne Bowen (1980) conducted the faunal analysis.

Neiman's investigations revealed a large domestic core consisting of 15 structures, several landscape features, trash pits, and a cemetery. Neiman phased the site into four time periods based on TPQs and presence/absence analysis of ceramics. The phases calculated by

Neiman were: Phase I: 1670-1685, Phase II: 1685-1705, Phase III: 1705-1715, and Phase IV: 1720-1730 (Neiman 1980:26-28).

During the initial phase of occupation, the main domestic complex was erected, including an earthfast dwelling measuring 41 x 18 ft. with a 15 x 12.5 ft. backroom addition on the north, a 9.5 x 8.5 ft. porch on the front/south façade, and a 9.5 x 8.5 ft. closet on the eastern side of the building (Neiman 1980:39). The main dwelling had a central chimney that divided the house into three parts: a hall, chamber, and cross passage. A 25 x 18.5 ft. post-in-ground servants' quarter was located 40 ft. southwest of the dwelling. The manor house was surrounded by a ditch-set palisade with two bastions on the northwest and southeast corners. The palisade line extended off the southwest corner and connected to the quarter. The defensive structure was likely erected in response to raids by Susquehannock and Doeg Indians preceding and during Bacon's Rebellion. The palisade did not stand long and was dismantled at the end of Phase I/start of Phase II. One or two other outbuildings, likely a smokehouses, were also standing during Phase I. The cemetery was established to the east of the main dwelling during Phase I; the burial ground continued to be used into the 18th century. People were buried in two groups, those of European descent to the north and those of African descent to the south, indicating that distinctions were made between free and enslaved occupants of Clifts Plantation (Neiman 1980:39-82; Aufderheide et al. 1981; Heath 2016).

During Phase II the manor house was repaired and updated. The original smokehouses were replaced with two new outbuildings. The palisade had been taken down and a worm fence was erected, encircling the manor house and quarter. A 16.6 x 20.3 ft. cellared building located to the south of the manor house was built during Phase II (Neiman 1980:109-113, 312; Heath 2016).

The landscape at Clifts Plantation was dramatically altered at the turn of the century. During Phase III, the layout of the manor house shifted from a cross-passage to front entrance style home. A new 36 x 19 ft. slave quarter was built, in addition to five other outbuildings including a diary. An orchard and garden were planted to the east of the house. A number of ditch-set fences were erected, subdividing the home lot into discrete activity areas (Neiman 1980:92-121; Heath 2016). During Phase IV, the ditch-set fences were replaced with post-and-rail fences, and the fence lines became increasingly more complex. Additionally, three more buildings were constructed (Neiman 1980:103-105, 125-127; Heath 2016).

Over 100,000 artifacts were recovered from Clifts Plantation, of which approximately 43,000 were recovered from phased features. A total of 31,434 pipes were found at the Clifts site during Neiman's excavations, of which 216 were locally-made. Three hundred and twenty-two imported pipes recovered by Neiman were used in this dissertation, of which 187 were found either in the plow zone or on the surface of the site. The remaining 135 marked white clay pipes were found in various features across the site. Only two features had more than three fragments. Trash Pit #1 (255B-T) is a Phase III feature and contained 49 marked or decorated pipes (Neiman 1980:101). The Second Quarter Cellar was filled at the end of Phase IV (Neiman 1980:92) and contained 41 marked or decorated pipes. No locally-made pipes recovered from Clifts were used in this dissertation.

Newman's Neck (44WB180), 1672-1747

The Newman's Neck site is located on the southern shores of the Potomac River in Northumberland County, Virginia. The site is named for Robert Newman, who originally patented the land in 1651, and his wife Elizabeth, but the domestic complex used in this dissertation was never occupied by the Newmans. The Newman's Neck site was first identified in

1978 by Stephen Potter during the same survey in which Coan Hall was identified. The site was excavated in 1989 by Charles Hodges and an initial site report was produced. Heath and students from the University of Tennessee reanalyzed the entire collection in 2008 and 2009 (Hodges 1990; Heath et al. 2009).

Site History

Robert and Elizabeth Newman arrived on the Northern Neck from Elizabeth City sometime before 1649 and patented 814 acres of land in 1651 in the Chicacoan settlement near John Mottrom's Coan Hall property. The location of the Newman's home is currently unknown, but presumably somewhere on their property. Robert died in 1656 and Elizabeth remained on the property until 1658, when it was sold to Daniel Holland. At this point, it appears that Elizabeth joined the household of William Presley; the Presley site (44NB12) is located nearby and was also identified by Stephen Potter. Elizabeth died the next year. The purchase of the Newman property expanded the Holland's holdings, and it is likely that they continued to live in their original home, and did not move into the Newman's house, nor did they occupy the site under study. Daniel died in 1672 and the majority of his property went to his daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, Daniel Neale (Heath et al. 2009:14-17).

Elizabeth and Daniel Neale built a new house and moved onto the Newman's Neck property around 1672. The Neales had a large family, including four sons and two daughters. They also owned at least three indentured servants. Elizabeth died sometime in the late 1680s or early 1690s, and Daniel married Patience Downing; Daniel and Patience had two more children. Daniel died in 1700 and the property went to his and Elizabeth's son, Ebenezer. He died ten years later. The Neales were not members of the county elite, as they never held political office, like the Washingtons and Hardidges, and were not nearly as wealthy as their neighbors, such as the

Mottrom and Ball families. They were middling freeholders who did own their own land, indentured servants, and slaves; court records indicate that Ebenezer owned five enslaved Africans (Heath et al. 2009:17-19, 23).

It is clear that the Neales were much better off than the Newman's had been fifty years before. Ebenezer's probate inventory indicates that he had begun diversifying his economic pursuits beyond tobacco cultivation to include grain agriculture and cider production (Heath et al. 2009:24, 26). Economic diversification was common in the non-sweet scented tobacco areas of the Chesapeake in the early 18th century (Walsh 2010:264-265). During the Neale occupation of the site, dramatic shifts in the labor force were occurring in the Chesapeake, from mainly white indentured servants to a system based on chattel slavery. In the 17th century, only the wealthiest members of the county elite were able to purchase captured Africans, but by the time Ebenezer Neale inherited Newman's Neck in the early-18th century, slavery had become much more common (Walsh 2001; Coombs 2011).

After Ebenezer Neale's death in 1710 his property was divided between his two sisters, Lucretia and Hannah. Hannah and her husband, John Haynie, inherited the parcel of land with the Neale family home. Archaeological evidence suggests that they moved into the house on Newman's Neck; although, it is possible that tenants occupied the site. Either way, the Newman's Neck site was occupied into the 1740s. Hannah and John had two children and owned six enslaved Africans. John died in 1725 and his son William inherited the property. Archaeological evidence suggests that William continued to live on the Newman's Neck property until he married Ann Edwards in 1747, at which time the site was abandoned. John and William both pursued a strategy of agricultural diversification in the early 18th century. John's probate inventory indicates that the plantation was producing wool, honey, cider, and flax (Heath et al.

2009:27). William expanded the size of the plantation, grew wheat at Newman's Neck, and acquired additional land elsewhere in Virginia and Maryland. Although he never held political office, by the time he died in 1761 or 1762 William Haynie was a wealthy man who owned at least 10 African and African American slaves and several pieces of property that were rented to tenants (Heath et al. 2009:26-29).

Archaeology

Stephen Potter first identified the Newman's Neck site in 1978. The site was excavated from May 1989 to January 1990 by Charles Hodges as a salvage project funded by the Threatened Sites Program of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources prior to development (Hodges 1990:1-2; Heath et al. 2009:12). Hodges' work revealed the remains of a large plantation domestic core, including the main dwelling, several outbuildings, and landscape features. Over 9,000 artifacts were recovered during the project, including faunal remains. Due to a lack of funding for analysis, only a short report was produced by Hodges in 1990. In 2008 and 2009, Barbara Heath and others from the University of Tennessee completely reanalyzed the site (Heath et al. 2009).

An initial shovel test survey was conducted at the site and then the plow zone was mechanically stripped once construction had begun. There is no evidence that the plow zone was sampled or screened. After the site was stripped, features were mapped and partially excavated, and feature soil was screened through 1/4 in. and 1/16 in. mesh (Hodges 1990:16-19; Heath et al. 2009:30). Between the pedestrian survey conducted by Potter and the excavations led by Hodges, 6,488 (non-faunal) artifacts were recovered from Newman's Neck. Ceramic analysis was used to determine a TPQ of 1740 and to calculated a MCD of 1717; a ceramic intersection of 1675-1740 was also determined, all of which corresponds well with the hypothesized date

range of 1672-1747 derived from the historical records (Heath et al. 2009:83, 127). Seven earthfast buildings, one cellar-set structure, several pit features, and fence lines were uncovered.

Heath and her students determined that there were two distinct phases of occupation at the site, based on the site's landscape and artifact dates. The first phase of occupation (ca. 1670-1725) corresponds with the construction of the house by Daniel Neale, and the occupations of Ebenezer Neale, and John Haynie (Heath et al. 2009:129). During this time the main dwelling was erected; this was a 40 x 20 ft. earthfast hall and chamber building with a central chimney and a 21 x 12 ft. addition (Heath et al 2009:36). A 4 x 7.5 ft. root cellar was located in the southern half of the manor house that was filled before 1720 (Heath et al. 2009:38-39). There was also a kitchen/quarter structure to the south of the dwelling that measured 21 x 21 ft. Two additional outbuildings were standing during the first phase of occupation, including a tobacco barn and a well. Fence lines divided the yard east of the dwelling into roughly equal rectangles (Heath 2016).

During the second phase of occupation (ca. 1725-1747) during William Haynie's ownership of Newman's Neck, the original barn and well were abandoned. Three new structures were built, including a cellar-set building, a large barn, and a new quarter. The landscape and yard use became more complex during this period, with fences subdividing the area around the manor house in a purposefully designed landscape (Heath et al. 2009:130; Heath 2016)

Of the 6,488 artifacts recovered from the Newman's Neck site there were 593 clay tobacco pipe fragments (Heath et al. 2009:96). Dustin Lawson, an undergraduate student at the University of Tennessee, analyzed these pipes. I used the digital photographs of marked pipes that he took for my project (Heath et al. 2009:97-99). Eight imported pipes were used in this

dissertation, of which one was found on the surface, and the remaining were found in features associated with the second phase of the site.

King's Reach (18CV83), 1690-1711

The King's Reach plantation site is located on the northern shores of the Patuxent River in Calvert County, Maryland at the mouth of St. Leonard Creek on land owned by the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum. The site was occupied for a short period of time at the turn of the 18th century by Richard Smith Jr., his family, and servants and slaves that worked on the tobacco plantation. Smith was a wealthy planter and a close associate of Charles Calvert, the governor of Maryland. The site was excavated by Dennis Pogue and archaeologists from the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum in the late 1980s (Pogue 1997; MAC Lab 2009c).

Site History

Similar to Mattapany, the first historical reference to the land that would house King's Reach, known as St. Leonard's, was by Jesuit missionaries who claimed land north of the Patuxent River in the 1630s. By 1645, the St. Leonard's district had been claimed by Lord Baltimore. Robert Taylor patented the land on the north shore of St. Leonard's Creek, where the tributary meets the Patuxent River, in 1651. Sometime in the early 1660s, Taylor sold the land to Richard Smith, Sr., who took up residence at St. Leonard's. Richard Smith, Sr. was a wealthy man and politically active. He served as the first Attorney General for the province, a colonel in the militia, and as a Burgess for Calvert County. Richard Sr. died in 1689, and his son Richard Smith, Jr. inherited the property. Archaeological and historical evidence suggests that the younger Smith abandoned his father's house and established a new home nearby (Pogue 1997:98-100).

A late 18th-century court case over disputed land discusses two different houses built and occupied by the Smith family on the St. Leonard property. The first was established by Richard Smith, Sr.; this site (18CV92) was excavated in the early 1990s. The results of the investigation indicate that the original Smith property was first occupied in the late 1650s and abandoned in the late 1680s (King and Winnik 1994). The second house indicated in the court case was a partial brick building with one brick incised with the date "1711," signifying when it was built. This early 18th-century dwelling was constructed by Richard Smith, Jr. prior to his death in 1714. This site, known as Smith's St. Leonard (18CV91), is currently under investigation (Chaney 2003; MAC Lab n.d.). The 18th-century court case does not indicate where the Smith family lived between the abandonment of the original Taylor/Smith house (18CV92) in 1689 and the establishment of Smith's St. Leonard (18CV91) in 1711. Archaeological evidence suggests that King's Reach is the location of Richard Smith, Jr.'s first home (Pogue 1997:101-105).

Richard Smith, Jr. was a captain in the colonial militia and served as the Surveyor General for the colony. He was also a close associate of Calvert's and visited Mattapany several times prior to Coode's Rebellion (Pogue 1997:107; Chaney and King 1999:79, 95). Smith was one of the men who helped garrison Mattapany in 1689 and was arrested twice after the rebellion due to his political alliances (AOMOL 8:147-149). Richard Smith, Jr. was one of the wealthiest men in Maryland when he died in 1714. He owned more than 15,000 acres along St. Leonard's Creek, including six working plantations and a mill (Pogue 1997:107).

Archaeology

The King's Reach site was first identified in 1981 during a survey of Calvert County, prior to the establishment of the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum. In 1984, Dennis Pogue led a pedestrian survey of the area which helped define the site boundaries prior to the Phase III

excavations that took place from 1985 until 1987. One hundred and forty-four 2mx2m plow zone units were excavated; all plowzone was screened through 3/8 in. mesh. Most feature fill was screened through 1/4 in. mesh, with some samples fine screened through 1/16" mesh. Excavations revealed a home lot complex consisting of a large, 20 x 30 ft. earthfast hall-and-parlor house with two shed additions, a 20 x 10 ft. servant or slave quarter, possibly a third post-in-ground building, and a large refuse filled borrow pit. The main dwelling and the quarter were attached by a ditch-set fence that enclosed a shared foreyard. Another quarter site (18CV84) and a large tobacco barn (18CV85) located nearby were associated with this plantation core (Pogue 1997:108-112; MAC Lab 2009c; Samford n.d.).

Over 66,300 artifacts were recovered from King's Reach, including a number of items that reflect the high socio-economic status of the Smith household (MAC Lab 2009c). Such items include fragments of a glass mirror, pewter buttons, a copper ring, copper cuff-links, part of a copper tobacco box, coins, many pieces of horse furniture, and an intact iron padlock. All artifacts indicate that the site was occupied during the fourth quarter of the 17th century into the first quarter of the 18th century (Pogue 1997:112-118; MAC Lab 2009c; Samford n.d.). A total of 7,125 tobacco pipe fragments were recovered from Kings Reach, of which only 19 were locally-made. Thirty-two pipes are used in this dissertation; however, no locally-made pipes fit the criteria outlined in the next chapter to be included in this project.

The Henry Brooks Site (44WM205), 1700-1725

The Henry Brooks site is located on Bridge's Creek, a tributary on the southern shores of the Potomac River, in Westmoreland County, VA. The site is approximately 1,500 ft. northeast of the John Washington site on the property of the George Washington Birthplace National Memorial. The site is named for the first European colonist to own the land, but the

archaeological remains are likely associated with a tenancy occupation during Brooks' granddaughter's ownership of the property. Similar to the John Washington site, the Henry Brooks site was first identified in the 1930s and more fully excavated in the 1970s (Blades 1979).

Site History

Henry Brooks immigrated to Maryland as a freeman within the first decade of the colony's establishment (AOMOL 1:145). Brooks was one of the participants in Ingle's Rebellion and fled to Virginia, along with a number of other former rebels, to the Nomini Bay community. Henry and his wife, Jane Wickliffe, moved to Westmoreland County sometime between 1647 and 1650, and patented the land on which the site is located in 1651. Brooks died in 1662, survived by his wife and their three daughters, Jane, Liddia, and Dorothy (AOMOL 10:24; Blades 1979:3). The site was originally believed to have been occupied by Henry Brooks and his family (Blades 1979), but current reanalysis of the site indicates that it was not established until the early 18th century (Hatch 2015). The location of Henry Brooks' home is currently unknown, but likely close to the site bearing his name.

Brooks' wife, Jane, inherited all of his property, including 1,000 acres of land along Bridges Creek. Jane died around 1683. Most of the Brooks estate, including the parcel of land on which the site is located, went to their daughter Jane Brooks, and her husband, Original Brown. Brown died in 1698, followed shortly by his wife around 1700 (Blades 1979:4). The property passed to their daughter Jane, and her husband, Nathaniel Pope, the grandson of Nathaniel Pope of Pope's Fort and the father-in-law of John Washington (LOV 1691-1699:142-144; Beale 1904:193-194). Archaeological evidence suggests that Jane and Nathaniel Pope owned the property when the site was occupied. The Popes lived elsewhere, and this site was likely the

home of tenants whose identities remain unknown (Blades 1979:4; Hatch 2015). Nathaniel Pope died in 1719, and in 1726 Augustine Washington, grandson of John Washington and father of George Washington, purchased the land from Jane (Blades 1979:4). The acquisition of the property by Washington appears to coincide with the abandonment of the site.

Archaeology

The Henry Brooks site was first identified during the same 1930s project in which the John Washington site was found. The trenches dug across the property by James Latane revealed the remains of one structure with brick foundations, later identified as an outbuilding in the domestic core of the farm. Latane excavated the cellar of the building and recovered over 1,000 artifacts. It is unlikely that any of the soil was screened or that the plow zone was sampled during the 1930s project (Blades 1979:38).

In 1977, Brooke Blades, under the direction of John Cotter, returned to the Henry Brooks site. The plow zone at the site was completely removed via mechanical stripping. The plow zone was not screened, but it does appear as though feature soils were screened through 1/4 in. mesh; 1,131 artifacts were recovered during the 1970s project (Blades 1979:77). Blades discovered the remains of a new structure; a 20 x 19 ft. dwelling. The house was built in sill set construction on top of a brick-lined cellar (Blades 1979:23). He also uncovered the 13.5 x 15.5 ft. brick lined cellar first excavated in the 1930s. This was an outbuilding located 48 ft. northwest of the dwelling (Blades 1979:38). Archaeological evidence suggests that the people who lived on this site were typical tenants who lived in a fairly small house with minimal access to expensive consumer goods.

Brad Hatch (2015) has analyzed the ceramics from this site. He calculated a TPQ of 1725, a MCD of 1718, and a ceramic intersection of 1700-1725. Hatch cataloged and

photographed the pipes in the summer of 2013 as a part of a National Endowment for the Humanities funded project to recatalog, or catalog for the first time, 33 Native American and European sites in the Potomac River Valley (King 2011; McMillan 2014). Three imported pipes from this site were used in this dissertation, all of which were recovered in the 1930s.

Conclusions

Many of the sites that contributed data to this project were associated with major colonial conflicts of the Upper Chesapeake. Agitators during Ingle's Rebellion (1645-1646) were entrenched in Pope's Fort. Two of the failed rebels, John Hallowes, the eponymous founder of the Hallowes site, and Thomas Speke of Nomini Plantation, fled Maryland in 1647 to establish new homes on the southern shores of the Potomac. There may be some connections to Ingle's Rebellion at Coan Hall, given that many men from the Chicacoan settlement participated in the uprising, John Mottrom sold ammunition to the rebels, and the occupation dates of the site, which is currently under investigation, are still unclear (McMillan and Hatch 2012; McMillan and Heath 2013, Heath 2014). St. John's, while not directly associated with the Plundering Time, was located near the epicenter of the conflict in St. Mary's City, Maryland and was the home of Governor Charles Calvert. John Washington's house was seized during Bacon's Rebellion (1676) and the Clift's Plantation site was fortified in response to the uprising and fear of resulting Indian attacks (Neiman 1980; Rice 2012). The arsenal at Mattapany was seized during the Coode's Rebellion in 1689 and Richard Smith, Jr., the owner of King's Reach, was the target of social and political retribution after the uprising due to his support of the proprietary government (Chaney and King 1999; Rivers-Cofield 2007).

Four of the sites used in this project are not located directly on the Potomac River, but to the north on the Patuxent River. These sites were included in order to provide geographic

comparisons from examples not directly on the Potomac River. However, these sites can easily be considered within the Potomac River Valley sphere of influence, given their proximity and known social and political connections to St. Mary's City. For example, Mattapany on the Patuxent and St. John's on the Potomac were owned by the same person in the 1660s, Charles Calvert, the governor of Maryland (Miller 1986; Chaney and King 1999). A comparison of these two sites can provide insights into differences in trading practices and behaviors of the same person while as a government official within the colonial capital and as a wealthy private citizen outside of the city. Additionally, the owners and occupants of the Compton and Patuxent Point sites were known to harbor anti-Calvert sentiments but never participated in rebellion (Gibb 1996:129). Did they engage in similar exchange networks as men who took up arms against the government? Were there geographical constraints that impacted their access to trade, or, did their distance from the capital allow them greater freedom? Comparing assemblages from these two close, but distinct rivers, allows for a better understanding of how social and political networks were formed and how individuals reacted to mercantilist policies.

The variety of sites included in this study allow for other detailed comparisons. The four sites at St. Mary's City (St. John's, Pope's Fort, Smith's Ordinary, and the Big Pit Complex) are unique in that they are within a bounded city and all four had explicitly public uses at one point, as inns and government buildings. Old Chapel Field, while not located within a city, did serve a public function as a Jesuit mission. The remaining eleven sites were used as private dwellings on individual plantations spread apart and were not located within public areas associated with town life. There may have been different forces acting on the sites located within the colonial capital than those located in the countryside. The four sites within St. Mary's City will be compared to

the remaining plantation sites in order to understand differences between urban and rural settings and the impacts of public verses private function of a site.

There are also sites representing people of many different social statuses. Mattapany and St. John's were both owned by the governor of Maryland at one point. John Hallowes, John Washington, Thomas Speke, and the Mottrom family were some of the most wealthy and politically active men on the Northern Neck during the 17th century, whereas, the occupants of the Clifts Plantation and the Henry Brooks site in Virginia and Patuxent Point in Maryland were occupied by tenants. There are middling yeomen assemblages as well, such as Newman's Neck and Compton.

The manufacture dates of the pipes examined from each of these 16 sites all correspond well with the historically known occupations. There does not appear to be any issues of time lag or any evidence to suggest that the curation effect impacted these assemblages. At sites that were occupied for a short amount of time, such as the Hallowes site, all the pipes analyzed were made during that short 34 year time period. The few assemblages from sealed features I was able to examine also support the assertion that there were no significant time lags in the manufacture, use, and discard of pipes. For example, Trash Pit 1 from Clifts Plantation appears to have been filled rapidly, and based on ceramic seration, dates to Phase III at the site (1705-1715). The earliest pipe found in the feature was made by Robert Tippet II, who was working in Bristol from 1678 until 1713, and the lasted dated pipe was made by Jacob Jenkins, who manufactured pipes in Bristol from 1707-1739. All of the pipes found in this feature fall within the 1705-1715 time period. Previous research I have conducted on pipe stem dating also supports the assertion that the curation effect does not have a significant impact on pipe assemblages (McMillan 2010, in review). I found, using sealed features that were dated with methods other than pipes, that in the

Chesapeake pipe stem dates on average fall between < 1 year and 16 years from the hypothesized mean date, depending on the formula used. Locally-made pipes further support this assertion. For example, Bookbinder pipes, which were produced at the Chesopean site in the 1640s (discussed in detail in the next chapter), were not found on any site with an occupation start date after 1650. All evidence indicates that the pipes studied were manufactured, used, and discarded during the occupation of each of these sites, and were not made before the sites were occupied, stored, and then used later in any significant amount of time.

The variety of sites used in this project allows for a broad understanding of early English colonial life in the Potomac River Valley. Not all people experienced the New World the same way, and many different factors impacted their daily lives. Insights into the histories and experiences of the people who occupied each site allows for comparisons among different sectors of colonial society and in-depth explorations into the decisions people made regarding with whom they interacted and with whom they chose to trade goods. In the next chapter I will outline the methods used to examine and analyze locally-made and imported clay tobacco pipes found in the Potomac River Valley.

Chapter 7 : Locally-Made Pipe Analysis

Historical archaeologists have been fascinated by locally produced tobacco pipes since J.C. Harrington (1951:2) noted, “there are a great many pipes of similar shape [to European pipes], but of yellow clay…It has usually been assumed that these 'yellow bowls' were made in Virginia.” The sheer variation in style, form, and decoration used by 17th-century pipe makers in the Chesapeake has intrigued archaeologists for many years as they attempt to understand the meaning behind these choices. In this chapter, I focus on one kind of pipe produced in the 17th-century Chesapeake, mold-made pipes, to trace social and political affiliations throughout the Potomac River Valley.

I use Alfred Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:197) ideas about the social demensions of exchange and Agbe-Davies (2015:28) emphases on pipes' role in social relationships and social identites as foundations to the following analyses as a way to understand the formation and maintenance of communities that were geographically separated but were comprised of people with similar ideas and to examine decorative motifs in relation to types identified and their distribution in the Potomac River Valley. The majority of this chapter will focus on the identification, description, and distribution of the mold-made pipes. While discussing each type, I explore why people at specific sites chose to consume certain pipe types, and what the motifs that adorned the little ladles could mean to those who smoked the pipes.

Methods

The interpretations made by Henry (1979), Mouer et al. (1999), and Luckenbach and Kiser (2006) that most hand-made pipes are assumed to be of Native American origin and mold-made pipes are assumed to have been made by European colonists and accepted here. However, I am not primarily interested in who *made* the pipes, but who *acquired* them. Through an analysis

of the decorative motifs, I make interpretations about the social-symbolic importance of the pipes to those who consumed them. Additionally, this research draws on Agbe-Davies' (2004a, 2004b, 2010, 2015) assertion that pipes can be used to understand trade and interaction between individuals and groups of people.

In order to address these questions regarding distribution networks and social-symbolic meaning behind consumption, I had to first identify and delineate specific categories to analyze, and employed the type-variety method to do so (Gifford 1960; Sabloff and Smith 1969). I identified pipe types based on clusters of distinct attributes, including decoration, paste (color, texture, and inclusions), bowl form, and surface treatment. Decoration is the most important of these attributes in determining if a fragment should be included in a type. Variations on one of the traits, mainly bowl form, helped in the determination of varieties within the larger types. Jeremy Sabloff and Robert Smith (1969:283) argued that the main strength of the type-variety method is its utility in intersite comparisons, a task which I undertake in the following pages.

The locally-made pipe data set consists of 121 tobacco pipes of 9 distinct types, including 8 mold-made types and 1 handmade type (Table 7.1). With one exception, handmade pipes were not included because there is so much variation in decorative motifs and manufacturing techniques that it is extremely difficult to assign specific makers or types to these pipes (Agbe-Davies 2004a, 2004b, 2006). Additionally, there is much debate about who manufactured handmade pipes, with the usual conclusion that they were made by Native Americans or Africans, whereas, mold-made pipes are interpreted to have been mainly produced and consumed by Europeans (Henry 1979; Emerson 1988, 1999; Mouer 1993; Mouer et al. 1999; Luckenbach and Kiser 2006), and are thus more useful in a discussion of English colonial exchange networks based on colonial political and social alliances. Additionally, it is much easier to assign types to

mold-made pipes because they tend to be less decorative than handmade examples, so when decorations do appear on mold-made pipes, they are much more distinctive.

The types used in this dissertation were determined based on makers' marks and identifiable decorative motifs. Many of these workshop groups have been previously identified (Henry 1979; H. Miller 1991; Luckenbach et al. 2002; Luckenbach 2004; Luckenbach and Kiser 2006; Strickland and King 2011), although, several of the previously identified types have not been discussed in great detail and have not been compared to examples from other sites. Three types have been newly defined by this research. I also consulted articles, dissertations, and monographs in order to compare the types I found to similar finds on other archaeological sites in the Chesapeake (Pawson 1969; Noël Hume 1979; Henry 1979; Crass 1988; Emerson 1988; Davey and Pogue 1991; Luckenbach et al. 2002; Monroe 2002; Agbe-Davies 2004a; Bottoms and Hansen 2006).

The types are discussed below. Given the very small sample size of 121 specimens, no statistical tests are performed on the locally-made data set. Instead, I employ a qualitative presence/absence analysis tracing the distribution of the types identified. The distribution of the pipes is compared to known social and political alliances and is used to make inferences about affiliations and political leanings of the sites' occupants where the pipes were found. I will also explore the symbolic meaning of decorative motifs found on certain types in relation to social and political factions in the Potomac River Valley. Both the distribution networks and the symbolic meaning of the pipe decorations will be used to discuss relational communities and group affiliations established in Chapter 5.

There are six sites that do not have any identifiable types and will not be used in the local exchange network analysis; these include: the Big Pit, Mattapany, Clifts Plantation, Newman's

Table 7.1: Locally-made Pipe Count by Type and Site

	Bookbinder	Ingle's Rebellion	Emmanuel Drue	Broadneck	Tudor Rose 1	Tudor Rose 2	Richard Pimmer	WD	Bristol	Total
Old Chapel Field 1637-1660	2									**2**
St. John's 1638-1715	8			4	2	3	12	1		**30**
Pope's Fort 1645-1655	24	4		15	4					**47**
Hallowes 1647-1681	7	4	1		1					**13**
Nomini 1647-1722	1	3			2				1	**7**
Compton 1651-1685				3		1				**4**
Patuxent Point 1658-1690			2	9	1		1			**13**
Coan Hall 1662-1727			1							**1**
John Washington 1664-1704								1	1	**2**
Smith's Ordinary 1666-1678			1					1		**2**
Total	**42**	**11**	**5**	**31**	**10**	**4**	**13**	**3**	**2**	**121**

Neck, King's Reach, and the Henry Brooks site. These sites do have some locally-made pipes, just none that fit the parameters of this analysis (i.e. mold-made and distinctly decorated or marked). No mold-made pipes were observed in the Big Pit assemblage, although there were some handmade pipes. Three mold-made pipes were recovered from Mattapany, but none of them were decorated or marked. The remaining four sites were occupied from the last quarter of the 17th century into the early 18th century, which likely accounts for the lack of pipes that fit my criteria (Cox et al. 2005). The Clifts Plantation's assemblage contained 221 locally-made pipes all of which were either handmade or too fragmentary to determine the manufacturing process. Newman's Neck contained three handmade pipes, King's Reach one, and none were recovered from the Henry Brooks site. Of the remaining ten sites that will be used for the locally-made pipe analysis, the sample sizes vary greatly from one at Coan Hall to forty-five at Pope's Fort. Since the discussions of the locally-made pipes will consist of a presence/absence analysis, and will not be based on statistical tests, the differences in numbers will not impact the results of the qualitative study.

Bookbinder Type

The Bookbinder type is the earliest of the mold-made pipe types identified in the Potomac River Valley and were likely produced in the 1640s (Figure 7.1, Figure 7.2). Taft Kiser named this type "Bookbinder" because the agatized clay and the elaborate stamps resembled decoration seen on leather books (Luckenbach and Kiser 2006:165). These pipes are the most widely distributed locally-made material culture found archaeologically from 17th-century Virginia and have been found on sites all over the Chesapeake region, and as far north as Newfoundland, Canada. The center of production for these elaborate pipes was in Virginia

Beach, Virginia based upon the large quantity of Bookbinder pipes and pipe making waste found at the Chesopean site (44VB48).

In the Potomac River Valley, Bookbinder pipes were recovered from five different sites, all of which were first occupied prior to 1650. These pipes were not found on any site with a start date after 1650. These sites include the John Hallowes site (n=7) and Nomini Plantation (n=1) in Virginia, St. John's (n=8) and Pope's Fort (n=24) in St. Mary's City, Maryland, and Old Chapel Field (n=2), just outside the city limits of the first capital of Maryland.

Most Bookbinder examples follow a fairly rigid grammar of shape and decoration. The pipes were made in elbow-shaped molds using agatized clays of several different colors. The colors vary from pipe to pipe. The decorative stamps and rouletting are the same on every pipe: there is a line of decorative rouletting along the rim of the bowl consisting of Xs, grids, dots, and five-petaled flowers, and below the rim there is a series of eight-petaled flowers stamped in a line around the bowl. On the stem, below the bowl/stem juncture, there are two rows of milled rouletting. Further down on the stem, the same eight-petaled flowers are stamped randomly, broken by three lines of rouletting: the top line consists of dentate milling, followed by the same rouletting seen along the bowl rim in the middle, and lastly, on the bottom, the same dentate milling as the top line. Of the 42 Bookbinder pipes found in the Potomac River Valley, all but one followed this strict decorative pattern of agatized clay with stamped decoration on agatized elbow-shaped pipes.

One pipe from the St. John's site did not. It is a buff colored belly-bowl with the Bookbinder decoration around the rim, but does not have the stamped petals on the bowl (Figure 7.3, Figure 7.4). No other Bookbinder belly-bowl pipe has been found, or is at least discussed in

Figure 7.1: Bookbinder Type stem from the John Hallowes site (44WM6). Photo by the author, 2011. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Figure 7.2: Bookbinder Type bowl from Pope's Fort (18ST1-13). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

the relevant literature, in the Chesapeake (Painter 1959; Pawson 1969; Noël Hume 1979; Crass 1988; Emerson 1988; Davey and Pogue 1991; Luckenbach et al. 2002; Agbe-Davies 2004a; Luckenbach and Kiser 2006; Taft Kiser elec. comm. 2013).

Was this pipe made at the same workshop as the typical Bookbinder pipes? Did someone leave the workshop and take the tools with him, and if so, why change the form and decoration? Is this an imitation of the popular pipe type? This last explanation seems unlikely for a number of reasons. This pipe appears to have been decorated using the same tools as every other Bookbinder-type pipe. Agbe-Davies (2004a) found imitation Bookbinder pipes at Green Spring Plantation near Jamestown, and it is obvious that these counterfeit stems were not made by the same person or persons, given the sloppy nature of the decorations and the fact they were produced using different tools. This one belly-bowl pipe with Bookbinder decoration may indicate that the maker was producing two varieties of pipes; this possibility will be discussed further below in the Broadneck type section.

The Chesopean site, where Bookbinder pipes were produced, was one of Adam Thoroughgood's properties in the Puritan settlement of Lynnhaven. It is possible that the pipe maker was indentured to Thoroughgood in the 1640s (Luckenbach and Kiser 2006:165-167). Bookbinder pipes may have had such a wide distribution due to strong trade networks fostered by the Puritans on the Southside of Virginia. Historian April Lee Hatfield writes that there was a "strong link between nonconformist religion and intercolonial trade," drawing a connection between merchant activities and the three areas in Virginia that did not grow sweet-scented tobacco: the Eastern Shore, the Southside, and the counties bordering the Potomac on the Northern Neck (Hatfield 2004:114).

Figure 7.3: Belly-bowl pipe with Bookbinder decoration from St. John's (18ST1-23). Photo by Donald Winter 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Figure 7.4: Detail of belly-bowl pipe with Bookbinder decoration, St. John's (18ST1-23). Photo by Donald Winter, 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Many of the Virginia Puritans emigrated from English enclaves in the Netherlands, the trade capital of the 17th-century Atlantic World (Hatfield 2004:115). It is possible that the Puritans who settled in Virginia in the first half of the 17th-century learned how to be expert merchants and value freedom of trade while residing in the Netherlands. Additionally, given how elaborately decorated the pipes were, it is conceivable that the pipe maker who produced the Bookbinder pipes was a Dutch immigrant or English Puritan who learned his or her craft while in exile in the Netherlands. Dutch pipes were more decorative than English pipes from the same time, a point which will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

Ingle's Rebellion Type

Eleven belly-bowl pipes with reduced heels and a single band of rouletted decoration along the bowl/stem juncture at the back of the bowl and around the bowl rim were recovered from three sites: the Hallowes site and Nomini Plantation in Virginia, and Pope's Fort in St. Mary's City, Maryland (Figure 7.5, Figure 7.6). The rouletting is located low on the juncture, closer to the stem than the bowl, and terminates on the side in the middle of the low elongated heel. I have termed this pipe-type the "Ingle's Rebellion" type based on the association of all three sites' occupants with the failed uprising (McMillan 2015). Pope's Fort was the center of the rebellion and both John Hallowes and Thomas Speke of Nomini Plantation participated in the rebellion before fleeing to Virginia in 1647.

Three of these pipes from Hallowes were found on the surface and one was found in a structural post hole associated with the construction of the house. At Nomini, two of the Ingle's Rebellion pipes were found in Stratum III and one was found in Stratum I. At Pope's Fort, I was only able to examine two of the pipes, both of which were found within the sealed ditch. The other two examples were on display; however, they were illustrated by Henry Miller (1991), and

were also found within the sealed ditch of the fort. The pipes are buff to light red in color. All have the same rouletted decoration on the top of the bowl/stem juncture. One pipe from Pope's Fort was decorated with three additional treatments: a rouletted "X" on the heel, rouletting encircling the heel, and V-shaped grooves cut into the stem. However, given the shape of the heel and the juncture decoration, this pipe is likely the same type as the others, and may represent a variety within the Ingle's Rebellion type.

This style of pipe has not been found on any of the other 13 sites used in this dissertation, and it has not been reported on by archaeologists at the Lost Town's Project in Anne Arundel County, Maryland (Luckenbach et al. 2002). There have been pipes found near Jamestown with rouletting along the juncture, but the Southern Chesapeake examples have smaller, less bulbous bowls compared to those found in the Potomac River Valley and have a double band of rouletting that does not reach the heel instead of the single band that touches the base of the heel. Additionally, the bowls from the Jamestown area are more angled away from the smoker and the heels are tilted toward the smoker so that the pipes would not stand up if placed on their heels, or have no heels at all (H. Miller 1991; Agbe-Davies 2010:73; 2015:99).

There is no evidence that pipes were manufactured at the Hallowes Site. Based on the recovery of pipe-making waste at Pope's Fort, these pipes were most likely made there after it served as the main garrison for the Protestant agitators during Ingle's Rebellion from 1645 to 1646 (Figure 7.7; H. Miller 1991:86). However, as noted in Chapter 5, there was an Indian pipe maker who lived at Nomini Plantation, although the majority of the pipes that appear to have been produced at Nomini were handmade, heavily polished, and decorated with geometric designs and boxy/angular "running deer" (Figure 7.8; McMillan and Hatch 2013).

These distinctly decorated pipes indicate that the occupants of the Hallowes, Pope's Fort, and Nomini Plantation sites were engaged in similar local trade networks that may have been influenced by their political alliances. Ingle's Rebellion was centered on Pope's Fort, likely where the pipes were made. Both John Hallowes and Thomas Speke participated in Ingle's Rebellion and were key players in the revolt. The eleven Ingle's Rebellion type pipes were likely manufactured circa 1647 near the time of the fall of Pope's Fort and the migration of John Hallowes and Thomas Speke across the Potomac River to Westmoreland County, Virginia.

Perhaps the defeated rebels brought the pipes with them to Virginia, or the pipes were traded to Virginia from Pope's Fort shortly after the two men fled Maryland. That one of the pipes is the only historic artifact associated with the construction of the Hallowes house, found in a structural post hole, strongly suggests that the pipes were exchanged around 1647. These pipes may not have been manufactured by the same person; although they do appear to have been made in the same mold, given the heel shape and bowl shape. The bore diameters vary from 8/64 in. to 10/64 in. However, bore diameters on pipes manufactured in Europe by the same maker varied one to two sizes as well (McMillan in review), and differences in bore diameters do not necessarily indicate that different people were making the pipes. What is more important is the decoration applied to these pipes.

The rouletting along the juncture of the pipe is not a common motif that would have been recognizable to most Europeans, unlike the Tudor Rose design discussed below. Instead, a specialized understanding of the decoration, within a specific context, was needed to interpret its meaning. In his discussion of codes and the use of symbols throughout history, Paul Lunde (2009:41) argues that often, people who lived "under authoritarian political or religious regimes" would invent "disguised ways of communicating a shared belief or activity that would conceal

Figure 7.5: Ingle's Rebellion Type pipe from Pope's Fort (18ST1-13). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Figure 7.6: Ingle's Rebellion Type Stem from the John Hallowes site (44WM6). Photo by the author 2011. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Figure 7.7: Pipe making waste from Pope's Fort (18ST1-13). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Figure 7.8: Running Deer pipe from Nomini Plantation (44WM12). Photo by the author 2014. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

their activities from society at large." The rouletted decoration on these eleven pipes could have served as secret communications among the community of former rebels; a way of signaling a shared commitment to life free from Calvert's control.

Lilith Mahumud, in her discussion of the use of symbols within the Freemasons, argues "objects had the power to radiate beyond their material limits to suggest a thickness of interpretation for those 'in the know'...Symbols are everywhere...but only the correctly conjured public has the knowledge necessary...to decipher, to participate, to see" (Mahumud 2012:431). The Ingle's Rebellion pipes served as symbols to a group of people who participated in the overthrow of the government; only those who had served in the trenches in Maryland would have understood this symbol. An outsider could see the decoration and not understand its meaning. Its presence could have also indicated in-group membership. Both Hallowes and Speke served in the Westmoreland County government after they fled to Virginia and would have hosted political gatherings at their homes. Smoking one of these pipes in public could have acted as a signal to others of their motivations, political leanings, and intentions, but only to those who knew how to interpret their meaning.

The decoration on the Ingles Rebellion pipes could also be covered by wrapping a finger around the bowl/stem juncture. In this way, the rouletting would only be revealed if desired by the smoker. Even if specialized knowledge was needed to decipher the motif, perhaps the smoker would not have wanted everyone who understood the decoration to see it. The physical act of concealment might have fostered a kind of closeness with the pipe and the symbol that served in the production and reproduction of individual and community identity. The intimate act of viewing the motif and choosing whether to reveal or conceal it helped maintain the individual's commitment to the cause of liberty in the face of authoritarian rule. The secrecy related to

concealment and the need for in-group membership to understand the symbol helped reinforce community boundaries. Mahamud (2012:434) argues concealment "is crucial to the building of communities, to their claims to traditional and to historical continuity." The secret nature of these symbols heightened their meaning and importance to the community members. To men like Hallowes and Speke, the Ingle's Rebellion pipes may have acted as focal points for their memories of past struggles and hopes for the future.

Emmanuel Drue Type

In addition to the maker or makers of the Bookbinder pipes, there was one other pipe maker in the 17th-century Chesapeake who produced agatized mold-made pipes, Emmanuel Drue of the Puritan settlement at Providence, Maryland. The Swan Cove site (18AN934), situated on a tributary of the Severn River, was the location of Drue's tobacco pipe kiln from ca. 1650 until his death in 1669, where he produced two styles of molded pipes: solid colored belly-bowls and multicolored and elaborately decorated elbow pipes (Luckenbach 2004). The only form of decoration applied to the belly-bowl pipes was rouletting around the bowl rim. Drue's elbow pipes were decorated with stamps and milled rouletting. Unlike the Bookbinder maker, who followed a strict decorative grammar, Drue decorated his elbow pipes with at least eight different tools in different patterns. Not all of the elbow pipes were decorated; some have only simple rim rouletting. The clays used in Drue's elbow pipes appear less purposefully mixed than the clays of Bookbinder pipes, which look similar to barber-poles.

The excavators of the Swan Cove site have previously stated that there is little evidence that Drue's pipes were traded outside of the Providence settlement (Luckenbach and Cox 2002; Luckenbach 2004; Luckenbach and Kiser 2006). However, almost all of the 17th-century sites

on the Northern Neck of Virginia and many sites in Southern Maryland were excavated prior to the discovery of Drue's kiln, and any possible Drue pipes would not have been identified as such.

At least one marked agatized pipe that is definitively from Drue's kiln was found during 2013 excavations by Historic St. Mary's City at the Country's House, near Pope's Fort in St. Mary's City, Maryland (Riordan 2013). I contend that several other examples of these pipes have been recovered in the Potomac River Valley (Figure 7.9, Figure 7.10). I should note that none of the other possible Drue pipes are marked like the most recently discovered stem. Two stems from Pautuxent Point and one from Smith's Ordinary in Maryland, and one each from the Hallowes site and Coan Hall in Virginia, have been identified. All five of these pipes were found either on the surface or in plow zone.

Since Drue did not mark his belly-bowls, it is possible that some are present in the Potomac River Valley assemblages. Without performing metric-trait analyses, as proposed by Agbe-Davies (2004a), on all of Drue's known pipes from his Providence kiln to determine the exact dimensions of his molds, or perhaps geochemical analyses, it is near to impossible to determine if any other pipes were manufactured in Drue's kiln.

Additionally, only agated pipe stems have been found and attributed to Drue in the Potomac River Valley. No bowls have been found in the Potomac River Valley that could be compared to the known, marked examples from along the Severn River. However, it is quite possible that these five pipe stems are from Drue, given their similarity in appearance and the specific distribution of the fragments.

Drue operated his kiln in the 1650s, around the time of the Battle of the Severn in 1655, and during the brief Protestant rule of the colony in the aftermath of the skirmish. The pipe from Smith's Ordinary was likely brought there by someone visiting the capital, and cannot be directly

Figure 7.9: Emmanuel Drue Type pipe stem from Coan Hall (44NB11). Photo by the author 2011. Courtesy of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Figure 7.10: Emmanuel Drue Type pipe stem from Patuxent Point (18CV271). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory.

linked to any one person living at or visiting the inn. There is no documentary evidence that any of the occupants of Patuxent Point, Coan Hall, or the Hallowes site visited Providence or knew Emmanuel Drue. However, these pipes could have made their way south from Providence to the Patuxent and Potomac Rivers because of local social exchange networks.

It is possible that John Hallowes traveled to the area, based on his political and social leanings and his work as an Indian trader. As a political agitator himself, a Protestant, and someone who was decidedly anti-Baltimore, Hallowes would have known about the uprising and most likely would have supported the Puritans' refusal to take the oath of fealty, as he was made to do at the end of Ingle's rebellion (Krugler 2004). It is also likely that Hallowes traded in the area around Providence, if not in the settlement itself. Emmanuel Drue's kiln site is located approximately five miles away from Kent Island across the Chesapeake Bay (Figure 1.1). Kent Island was the center of the 17th-century Susquehannock Indian fur trade, in the northern part of the Chesapeake Bay (Fausz 1988). One Susquehannock-style pipe fragment was found at the site (Figure 1.5) suggesting that Hallowes visited Kent Island to conduct trade with the Native Americans in the northern part of the Chesapeake Bay. It is conceivable that he could sail the five miles across the bay to Providence to exchange goods and information with people of similar social and political leanings.

The Pautuxent Point site was established and initially owned by Protestants and men (John Hodgins and Captain John Obder) who were known to have held anti-proprietary sentiments. After Obder left for the Eastern Shore around 1662, it is unclear who lived there, but likely a family of recently freed, fairly well-off, white tenants (Gibb 1996). Given that the community established on the northern banks of the Patuxent River in the late 1650s was populated by men who disliked Calvert and held nonconformist religious beliefs, such as the

Stephens family of Compton, who were Quakers, it is likely that the tenants at Patuxent Point held similar religious and political opinions as their neighbors and landlord. The presence of two pipes from Drue's kiln at Patuxent Point could indicate that there were social and economic ties between members of the Patuxent community and the Providence settlement to the north based on shared religious and political leanings.

The Drue style agatized stem from Coan Hall was found during Potter's pedestrian survey on the hill in the southern most part of the site, known as "Area A," just south of the manor house. Most of the early, pre-1650s, artifacts were recovered in this area. This pipe may very well date to the time of John Mottrom. Although not a rebel himself, he was known to have associated with "delinquents" with "hostile dessigns," who fled Maryland "and assembled themselves together at the house of one John Mottrom, and with others of the Checkacoan, notorious enemies to the Lord Propriary and his government" (AOMOL 3:208-209). Mottrom was also a county leader who hosted gatherings of the elite members of society. Additionally, Mottrom was a great trader with economic connections all over the Chesapeake. The pipe from Drue's kiln could have been brought from Providence in any number of ways and could be associated with the anti-Calvert leanings of the Chicacoan community.

This pipe could also be related to John Mottrom, Jr.'s occupation of the Coan Hall site. During his guardianship of the Mottrom estate in the late 1650s, George Colclough had a store built somewhere on the property. When John Jr. took control of the property in 1662, he likely ran the store as a central place for local planters to bring their tobacco to ships waiting on the Coan River. As a local meeting place, the Mottrom store and nearby wharf could have hosted many people passing through to sell their crop, or simply to "drink" a bit of smoke and gossip. Whether this pipe was brought to Coan Hall in the 1650s during John Mottrom's lifetime or in

the 1660s during his son's ownership of the property, its presence clearly indicated interaction between the Puritan rebels in Providence and the rebels and their children at Chicacoan.

Broadneck Type

Thirty-one pipes of the Broadneck type were recovered from four sites in Maryland: St. John's (n=4) and Pope's Fort (n=15) in St. Mary's City, and Pautuxent Point (n=9) and Compton (n=3). This type was identified by Luckenbach and Kiser and was made ca. 1640-1660. Broadneck pipes are belly-bowl pipes decorated with a unique rouletted design around the bowl lip consisting of a double chevron motif. The original typology of the Broadneck pipes describes them as having unusually thick bowl walls and a short, weak, oval-shaped heels (Figure 7.11; Luckenbach and Kiser 2006:167-168). However, six of the pipes identified with Broadneck decorations for this dissertation have fairly thin walls, are more bulbous, and have tall, round heels (Figure 7.12). This indicates that there were at least two different molds used at the Broadneck maker's workshop.

A number of these pipes were found at the Broadneck Site in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, thus its given moniker (Luckenbach and Mitz 2002). However, it has been hypothesized that this type was actually made in the Southside of Virginia, perhaps at the same workshop as the Bookbinder, given the large quantities that have been recovered from the Chesopean site and Martin's Hundred. Broadneck pipes may actually represent a second variety of Bookbinder and are the belly-bowl variety of that maker, similar to how Emmanuel Drue produced both elbow and belly-bowl varieties. One Broadneck pipe was recovered from Jamestown with the initials "ID" stamped on the heel. Luckenbach and Kiser hypothesize that the Broadneck maker may actually be a member of the Drue family who lived in Lynnhaven (Luckenbach and Kiser 2006:168). Given that Providence, where Drue lived, was settled by

Figure 7.11: Broadneck Type pipe from Pope's Fort (18ST1-13). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Figure 7.12: Broadneck Type pipe from Compton (18CV279). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory.

Puritans who emigrated from the Southside, this is plausible, in addition to the fact that the Bookbinder maker and Emmanuel Drue are the only two known makers in the Chesapeake who utilized agatized clays to produced their pipes. The one belly-bowl pipe with Bookbinder decoration on the rim found at St. John's also supports the assertion that the Bookbinder maker was producing two pipe varieties.

If this hypothesis is correct, and Broadneck pipes are a Bookbinder vareity 2, it is odd that the distribution of the Broadneck pipes is vastly different than the Bookbinder pipes, if they were produced at the same location by the same workshop. Why were no Broadneck pipes recovered from the John Hallowes site, Nomini Plantation, or Old Chapel Field? Compton and Pautuxent Point were not occupied until after production of the elaborately decorated pipes had ceased, so it makes sense that no Bookbinder pipes were found at either site. The distribution of Broadneck pipes was less widespread than the ubiquitous Bookbinder pipes. If the two styles are the products of a single workshop, why do Bookbinder pipes disappear around 1650 but Broadneck pipes continue into the 1650s?

If Broadneck pipes were indeed manufactured at the Chesopean site in Virginia Beach, then perhaps a different maker took over the workshop whose connections and trade networks differed from the previous pipe maker. Broadneck pipes could be the products of a former apprentice of the Bookbinder, and the belly-bowl with Bookbinder decoration at St. John's could represent a transition piece that was manufactured during the maker's apprenticeship. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the one Bookbinder belly-bowl pipe (Figure 7.3) resembles the typical Broadneck variety (Figure 7.11), especially in the almost non-existent heel and the thick body; the Bookbinder belly-bowl may have been made in the same mold as the Broadneck pipes.

There is also the question of whether there are two Broadneck varieties as represented by the two different mold shapes identified. The second variety consisting of thinner bowls with tall heels, was only identified at Compton and Patuxent Point. Do these different bowl shapes indicate that there were two different makers at the Broadneck workshop? Was one maker producing two differently shaped belly-bowl pipes? Could the second variety be an imitation type, similar to the imitation Bookbinder pipes that Agbe-Davies (2004a) described from Green Spring? There is no indication that pipes were made at either Compton or Patuxent Point. Most likely, both varieties of Broadneck pipes were manufactured at the same workshop, whether by one maker with two molds or a master maker and his or her apprentice given the consistency of the decoration. The answers to all the questions raised here must await the results of further excavations or further research in collections not consulted for this project.

Tudor Rose Type

Fourteen belly-bowl pipes with a Tudor Rose stamped on the heel were analyzed for this project. There are two different versions of this motif found on the heel of locally-made pipes. Variety 1 consists of the six-petaled rose made of raised dots stamped on the reduced, oval heel of exclusively buff to light gray colored pipes (Figure 7.13, Figure 7.14). Variety 2 consists of a stylized, more traditional form of the Tudor Rose stamped on a slightly higher, round heel. This type is found on dark red, highly polished pipes (Figure 7.15, Figure 7.16). The Tudor Rose variety 1 and variety 2 pipes were likely manufactured by different makers given the differences in clay colors, surface treatment, tools to produce the rim decoration, bowl shape, and motif form.

The Tudor Rose motif was typically used to decorate pipes made in the Netherlands in the middle of the 17th century and perhaps these locally-made examples with this design

represent imitation Dutch pipes or some sort of affiliation with Dutch ideals. The fact that variety 1 pipes were produced exclusively out of buff colored clay suggests that the maker or makers were trying to imitate white ball clay pipes. The highly polished nature of variety 2 pipes may also indicate an imitation of Dutch pipes, which were often similarly treated.

The Tudor Rose became synonymous in Europe with Protestant resistance to the Stuart monarchy and when placed on pipes by Dutch and exiled English makers symbolized the freedom and prosperity that they enjoyed under the Netherlands' liberal government (Duco 1981:397; Dallal 2004:212-214). Similar interpretations can be made of the locally-made pipes marked with the Tudor Rose motif. In the Potomac River Valley, the Tudor Rose may have also represented resistance to Calvert, Catholicism, and proprietary restrictions to civil liberties.

The Tudor Rose was a symbol that most European colonists recognized and understood. The flower served as a reminder to Protestant colonists, many of whom lived on plantations far from other settlers, that there were other people living in the Potomac River Valley who held the same beliefs and supported the same ideas as they did, even if they were, or had been, living under Calvert's rule. Even if they never met other members of this relational community, the Tudor Rose symbolized their membership within the group, to themselves and to others who saw the pipes.

The Tudor Rose motif on these 14 pipes is located on the base of the heel and would not be visible to anyone while the pipe was being smoked. The smoker would have to deliberately turn the pipe over in order to reveal the symbol. Mahumud (2012:431) argues that people conceal symbols for two reasons. First, as a defensive tactic, to protect the symbol's user against dominant groups and state regulation that may oppose the symbol's meaning and the use of it by groups who resist government rule. Secondly, she argues people use concealment "as a source of

Figure 7.13: Tudor Rose variety 1 from Nomini Plantation (44WM12). Photo by the author 2014. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Figure 7.14: Detail of Tudor Rose variety 1 mark from St. John's (18ST1-23). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Figure 7.15: Tudor Rose variety 2 from St. John's (18ST1-23). Photo by the author 2013. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Figure 7.16: Detail of Tudor Rose variety 2 mark from St. John's (18ST1-23). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

power, a meaning-making technique" which endows "their social world with a sense of meaning and purpose" (Mahmud 2012:431). By keeping the symbolically charged motif secret, its meaning intensifies for the users. The decision to reveal the Tudor Rose was a powerful one. The smoker had to contemplate and determine the alliances of those around him or her, before making it. The act of pondering the symbol and deciding to reveal it or keep it hidden served to reinforce the smoker's commitment to the causes the Tudor Rose represented.

Variety 1

Ten pipes with a dotted version were recovered from Patuxent Point, St. John's, and Pope's Fort in Maryland, and the Hallowes site and Nomini Plantation in Virginia. The one pipe found from Patuxent Point was recovered in the plowzone. Two pipes from St. John's were recovered from the plowzone. Two of the pipes from Pope's Fort were found in the ditch, one was found in plowzone, and one was found in the septic tank trench. The one example from Hallowes was found on the surface of the site. The two pipes from Nomini were found in Stratum III of the midden. Given the bowl shape of these pipes and the contexts in which they were found, these pipes were likely manufactured in the late 1640s and into the late 1650s.

Agbe-Davies (2010:83) discussed a pipe from Green Spring with this motif. Miller (1991:83) also illustrated this motif on the examples from Pope's Fort; although he does not identify these pipes as a type. The maker of these pipes has not been identified, and it is unclear where the center of production was located, but given the large number of examples found in Southern Maryland and on the Northern Neck, it is likely that the workshop was based in the Upper Chesapeake in the middle of the 17th century, and that the pipes were traded south into the James River area. The distribution of the Tudor Rose variety 1 pipes appears to be similar to the circulation networks of the Drue pipes and Ingle's Rebellion pipes.

St. John's was owned by Simon Overzee in the 1650s. Overzee, a Dutchman, an entrepreneur, and merchant, may have felt some affinity to the symbol of the Tudor Rose, given its use in his homeland, and to the people who were employing the flower to represent their anti-proprietary feelings, especially considering his strong relationship with the Puritan community in the Southside of Virginia via his two marriages and his previous residence in Lynnhaven. Particularly important to Overzee would have been the Tudor Rose's symbolic representation of prosperity in the face of authoritarian rule; as a merchant with strong commercial connections throughout the Chesapeake, he would have supported any group of people who resisted government regulation and absolutism.

The one pipe from Patuxent Point was likely brought to the property by John and Mary Hodgins or John Obder. There is circumstantial evidence that the Hodgins may have been Quakers, and it is safe to assume that they were Protestant, as was Obder. The community on the north shores of the Patuxent River was established by anti-Proprietary colonists who were seeking a place far from Calvert's reach in St. Mary's City. Soon after Calvert placed his secretary, Henry Sewell, at Mattapany across the river from them in 1663, many of the original settlers fled the Patuxent River for the less regulated Eastern Shore to live among the Dutch merchants and English Puritans who resided across the Chesapeake Bay. The Hodgins or John Obder may have brought this pipe marked with a Tudor Rose with them when they first settled on the Patuxent River, or purchased it shortly after, to remind themselves why they settled on the frontier, far from capital and other colonists: in order to escape Lord Baltimore, his Catholicism, and his authoritarian rule. This pipe may also have served as a signal to others in the area, whom they may not have initially known, that they too rejected the proprietary rule and were members of the Protestant community seeking refuge away from St. Mary's City.

Two of the pipes from Pope's Fort were recovered from the sealed ca. 1645-1655 ditch feature. These pipes were likely used by the dissenters who occupied the fort during Ingle's Rebellion. The meaning behind the use of pipes with the Tudor Rose motif is easily recognized in the context of the uprising against Lord Baltimore. All of the rebels were Protestants who resented the strict rule of a Catholic mini-monarch. Many of the rebellion's participants were *nouveau riche*, who saw no advancement within the manorial system in Maryland that favored nobles and the landed elite. The Tudor Rose on these pipes could have been seen a symbol of their Protestant cause and signaled to others their membership within the group. These pipes, when the flower was viewed, might have also served to reinforce their commitment to the cause and a reminder of their prospects if they succeeded in overthrowing the Proprietary government.

Tudor Rose pipes of this type were also found at the homes of John Hallowes and Thomas Speke. To the failed rebels, these pipes may have had a slightly different meaning. Although they did not succeed in removing Baltimore and his government from Maryland, their lives in Virginia were profitable. Just as the Tudor Rose became a symbol of freedom from Stuart rule and prosperity due to religious and economic liberty among the exiled English in the Netherlands, it came to represent the success Hallowes and Speke achieved free of the rule of Baltimore (a close ally of the Stuart family) and proprietary regulations that restricted their rights. They were able to flourish and become leaders on the Northern Neck partly due to the social and political ties formed in the heat of battle and reinforced through close economic and familial networks fostered in the Nomini Bay community. The Tudor Rose on the pipes found at Nomini Plantation and at the Hallowes site could have served to signal to newcomers or visitors to the community their political, religious, and economic sentiments, and as a symbol that helped

produce and maintain the communal boundaries within the Potomac River Valley among members who resisted authoritarian rule.

Variety 2

Three pipes from St. John's and one pipe from Compton were stamped with the more traditional Tudor Rose design (Variety 2). Two of the St. John's pipes were found on the top of the large cellar in post-destruction midden wash and one was found in a post hole with no datable artifacts. The one pipe from Compton was recovered from the plowzone. Three of these pipes were highly polished; one pipe from St. John's appears to have been under-fired, but contains the same mica and ochre inclusions as the other three examples. It is unclear exactly when these pipes were made, but based on the bowl shape of the one complete example and that fact that Compton was not occupied until after 1650, theses pipes were likely produced in the 1650s. I have not found any other recorded examples of locally-made pipes with this version of the Tudor Rose elsewhere in the Chesapeake, which suggests that the Tudor Rose variety 2 was a Potomac River Valley phenomenon.

The Stephens family who lived at Compton were Quakers and thus would not have advocated or supported violent rebellion against the government. They were, however, strongly opposed to Calvert, his religion, and his government and were some of the first colonists to move to the unsettled region of the Patuxent River in the early 1650s to escape the Proprietary government. They moved again to the Eastern Shore in the early 1660s to escape the Calvert's direct control, in the form of his friend and secretary Henry Sewell across the river at Mattapany. The Tudor Rose pipe at Compton could have served as a symbol to other members of the community living around Solomons Island in the 1650s that, even though they were members of a nonconformist religious denomination, the Society of Friends, they held many of the same

social and political principles as their neighbors. Protestantism, as represented by the Tudor Rose motif, united these people who moved to the frontier in the middle of the 17th century, but also helped maintain connections outside of their immediate geographical surroundings. The Tudor Rose motif served to remind smokers that they were members of a larger community within the Chesapeake.

The pipes recovered from St. John’s were likely acquired during Simon Overzee’s occupation of the site, whether by him or one of the nine other people who lived at the plantation. These pipes might have also been brought to St. John's by visitors, especially given that Overzee's lucrative intercolonial importation busines attracted diverse customers. While Overzee himself might not have smoked these pipes, their presence on his property might indicate that he, or someone who lived at St. John's, understood the symbolic importance of the Tudor Rose in relation to freedom and prosperity. A similar argument could be made of the Tudor Rose variety 1 pipes found at St. John's discussed above.

Given the Tudor Rose's symbolic representation of the concept of liberty, rejection of authoritarian rule, and prosperity, it is not surprising that this pipe type has been found mainly on sites in Southern Maryland and on the Northern Neck of Virginia associated with anti-Proprietary men and those who improved their socio-economic status through trade and the tobacco economy (Hallowes, Nomini, Compton, Patuxent Point, Pope's Fort, St. John's). These pipes, including both varieties of the Tudor Rose motif, illustrate the far-reaching networks that linked like-minded people within the Potomac River Valley and beyond into the rest of the Chesapeake, and perhaps within the Atlantic World. Unlike the Ingle's Rebellion decoration, which was not a universally known motif, the Tudor Rose was familiar to most European colonists and thus specialized knowledge or experience was not needed to communicate the

smoker's affiliations. However, because the motif was stamped on the bottom of the pipe, it could be hidden if need be. The concealment of the Tudor Rose could have served to protect the smoker if he or she were among people with unknown allegiances, such as within St. Mary's City. At the same time, the motif could have easily been revealed as a silent signal to others nearby.

Richard Pimmer Type

Twelve pipes from the St. John's site and one from Patuxent Point were manufactured by a pipe maker named Richard Pimmer (Figure 7.17; Figure 7.18). These belly-bowl pipes have rouletting around the bowl lip and a reduced, almost non-existent heart-shaped heel and are stamped with the initials RP. The initials of the mark are encircled by a feathered heart. All of the examples identified in this project are pale brown to light red in color.

Taft Kiser, working with John Coombs, identified this maker, who was likely working in the late 1650s and into the 1660s in the Southside of Virginia. Richard Pimmer sued his neighbor and was awarded two pipe molds and pipe clay in 1659 in the Lower Norfolk district (Bradburn and Coombs 2011:145-146). Many pipes marked with the initials RP encircled by a heart have been found at Nansemond Fort (44SK192) in Suffolk, Virginia and Emerson also illustrates this mark from a pipe recovered from the Chesopian site (Emerson 1988:309; Luckenbach and Kiser 2006:164-165).

It is unclear if there is any political or symbolic significance associated with the RP pipes. They could simply represent the vast and vibrant intercolonial trade networks that existed in the middle of the 17th century illustrating that no place, including the Patuxent River in the far reaches of the Upper Chesapeake, was isolated from other areas of the region. The large number of these pipes that were found at St. John's could have been brought to the site at the end of

Figure 7.17: Richard Pimmer pipe from St. John's (18ST1-23). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Figure 7.18: Detail of Richard Pimmer's maker's mark. Photo by the author 2013. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Overzee's life as a result of his mercantile business. These pipes may also be related to the Calvert occupation of the site, when it served not only as the governor's personal home but also a meeting place for the Maryland Assembly and the Privy Council in the 1660s. These pipes could have been brought to St. John's by someone who was visiting the governor on official business. However Richard Pimmer's pipes were brought brought to Southern Maryland, they are tangible evidence of interaction between the Southside of the Virginia and the Potomac River Valley.

WD Type

Three red pipe stems from St. John's, Smith's Ordinary, and the Washington site were recovered that were stamped with an interesting maker's mark, and an encirled "WD" on the stem (Figure 7.19, Figure 7.20, Figure 7.21). Unfortunately, the pipes recovered from St. John's and the Washington site have no contextual information available, and the one piece from Smith's Ordinary was found in the plowzone above a destruction layer associated with the main house. Three other examples of this type of pipe were found in Charles County, Maryland on the Wicomico River, a tributary of the Potomac River. One of these was at Fendall's Plantation (18CH805) and two at the Fair Fountain site (18CH04). I did not examine these three other examples personally, but they were analyzed and cataloged by archaeologists at St. Mary's College of Maryland for a research grant on the Potomac River Valley at contact (King 2011; Strickland and King 2011:24-25; McMillan 2014). All three of the Charles County examples were found in plowzone contexts. There was also one example of this pipe found at Notley Hall in St. Mary's County, Maryland, also on the Wicomico River; however, this assemblage is in a private collection, and has only been described to me (Bauer et al. 2013:29; Skylar Bauer elec. comm. 2014).

All of the pipes were manufactured the same way out of red clay with a bore diameter of 6/64ths of an inch. The mark varies slightly from pipe to pipe. The pipe from the John Washington site consists of an encircled WD with a stylized motif above the initials, perhaps a crown or a tobacco leaf, and three dots below the initials (Figure 7.19). The pipe from Smith's Ordinary is marked with a crowned "W/D" with three dots above the initials and nothing below (Figure 7.20). The pipes from St. John's, Fendall, Fair Fountain, and Notley are all marked simply "WD" with no other decorations (Figure 7.21).

Although none of the WD pipes were found in sealed features, an approximate date of manufacture can be determined. St. John's was occupied from ca. 1638 to 1715. Smith's Ordinary was occupied from 1666 to 1678. The John Washington site was occupied from 1664 to 1704. Fair Fountain was occupied from 1660 to 1695 (King 2011). Fendall's was occupied from 1674-1715 (King 2011; Strickland and King 2011:iii). Notley Hall was occupied from 1664 to 1700 (Bauer et al. 2013:i). Given the contexts in which these pipes have been found, whoever WD was, he or she was likely working in the 1660s or 1670s somewhere in Southern Maryland.

Interestingly, the Fendall site was the home of Josias Fendall, former governor of Maryland who led two unsuccessful rebellions against proprietary rule in 1660 and 1681. Fendall also owned Fair Fountain from 1660 to 1682 (Strickland and King 2011:1, 24). Notley Hall was the home of Thomas Notley, who was governor of Maryland from 1676 to 1679, and then to William Digges, son-in-law to Charles Calvert (Bauer et al. 2013:1). During Notley's term as governor, the Maryland Council met regularly at his house along the Wicomico River. St. John's and Smith's Ordinary also have connections to the Maryland government, as both served as public inns for those visiting the capital of St. Mary's City in the 1670s.

Figure 7.19: WD marked stem from St. John's (18ST1-23). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

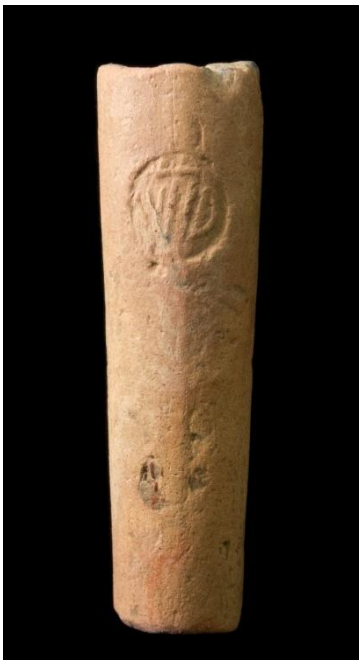

Figure 7.20: WD marked stem from Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13). Photo by Donald Winter 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Figure 7.21: WD Type pipe from the John Washington (44WM204). Photo by D. Brad Hatch 2014. Courtesy of St. Mary's College of Maryland and the George Washington Birthplace National Park.

The obvious interpretation of the "WD" mark is that they represent William Digges; perhaps manufactured for him by an indentured servant or enslaved maker he owned, or commissioned by Digges from a free pipe maker. However, this is unlikely. If he was the sponsor of these pipes, more examples would have been found at Notley Hall; additionally, all of the WD pipes were probably manufactured before Calvert gave the property to his son-in-law. It is tempting to suggest that these pipes were directly related to Fendall, given that these pipes have been found at two properties that he owned (Fendall's and Fair Fountain), another nearby site (Notely Hall), and a site he would have frequented as governor and then as a private citizen (St. John's). However, it is more likely that these WD pipes were related to government business and interactions.

With the exception of the Washington site, these pipes were found in association with governmental activities in Maryland. Even after Fendall was ousted from the provincial government, he continued to be active in politics and was even elected to the county assembly in 1678, although Calvert refused to let him serve (Strickland and King 2011:1). During his tenure as governor, the Maryland Council met at Notley's home. Both St. John's and Smith's Ordinary served as inns for people visiting the capital. It appears that these pipes were manufactured somewhere in Southern Maryland, likely in Charles City County, and then distributed along political networks as people gathered at Notely Hall or Fendall's Plantation or met in St. Mary's City.

The Washington pipe could be related to Bacon's Rebellion. In 1675, John Washington, along with Issac Allerton, led a militia to raid and laid siege against a Susquehannock fort along the Potomac River in Southern Maryland. This pipe could have been brought back with Washington after killing several Indians and sparking violence in the Chesapeake. After his foray

to Maryland, Native Americans and then Bacon's supporters began raiding up and down the Virginia coast. Washington sent his household across the river to Maryland for protection in 1676; perhaps someone in Washington's family brought the pipe home with them after the end of the rebellion. The WD pipe could have also been traded to the Bridges Creek plantation in relation to Washington's successful importation business. However the pipe arrived in Westmoreland County, it illustrates the permeable nature of colonial boundaries and the networks and connections that were not hampered by the river's presence.

Imitation Bristol Type

The one type of locally-made pipe discussed in this dissertation that was not mold-made is the Imitation Bristol type. This type, represented by two handmade stems, one from Nomini Plantation and one from the John Washington site, were decorated with very elaborate rouletting and white infill that looks very similar to pipes manufactured in Bristol, England ca. 1660-1700 (Figure 7.22). Both of these pipe stems are light brown, polished with visible smooth lines, and have bore diameters of 11/64 in. Unfortunately, there is no contextual information associated with the pipe found at the John Washington site, but the Nomini pipe was recovered in Stratum II of the large refuse midden. Hatch and I have dated Stratum II to ca. 1679-1700 (McMillan and Hatch 2013). However, this pipe was found in a "Curts" unit; as discussed in Chapter 6, the Curts' often conflated or completely missed stratigraphic layer changes. Additionally, almost all of the locally-made pipes and pipe making waste recovered from Nomini Plantation were found in Stratum III, which dates to about 1647-1679. Either way, these pipes were likely produced in the fourth quarter of the 17th century.

Through historical records, we know that there was a pipe maker, likely a local Algonquian Indian, at Nomini Plantation in the 1650s, 1660s, and perhaps as late of the 1670s. It

Figure 7.22: Two English pipes with Bristol Diamond rouletting decoration (top) and a locally-made Imitation Bristol Diamond Type (bottom) from Nomini Plantation (44WM12). Photo by the author 2014. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

is unclear if these pipes were manufactured by the Indian pipe maker, by someone else at Nomini, or at some other location altogether. It is interesting to point out that Frances Gerrard, the widow of Thomas Speke, married John Washington in 1676 but remained at Nomini Plantation (Toner 1891:202). Did Washington and Gerrard obtain pipes from the same place after their union? Were these pipes manufactured at Nomini and then one was brought to the Washington site after their marriage? Were these pipes traded between these two sites before the union? Unfortunately, there is not enough contextual information to determine when exactly these pipes were made and exchanged, but they were likely traded between these two sites due to the tight-knit nature of the Appamattucks community.

What is more interesting about this pipe type is that it represents the creolization process that was taking place and may indicate changes that were occurring in the Potomac River Valley at the end of the 17th century. During a time of increased violence against Native Americans and when they were being pushed to the edges of the settled land and into the frontier, perhaps one of the only ways to survive below the fall line was for this local Algonquin Indian to live under the protection of a strong planter, such as Speke and those who inherited Nomini after his death in 1659. No Indian was listed in Speke's will, or in the wills of any other owners of Nomini, but, given the decorative patterns found on most of the pipes and the historical reference to an Indian pipe maker (discussed in Chapter 3), a Native American was living on the property producing pipes, likely as a wage working freeman.

The enslaved African Americans that Speke owned, Tom, Mary, and Frances, were inherited by his wife Frances Gerrard and likely continued to live at Nomini after 1659. These pipes represent a confluence of these three groups, Native Americans, Africans, and Europeans, coming together to influence the designs on these pipes. The creolization process that was

occurring at Nomini may also account for why the running deer pipes produced there were often more abstract than most other versions of this type.

But why the Bristol Diamond motif? Why, when during the 1640s, 1650s, and 1660s European colonial pipe makers were producing Dutch-influenced pipes in the form of the Bookbinder type and Tudor Rose marked pipes, was someone at Nomini making pipes decorated with an English motif in the last quarter of the 17th century? Could these pipes be related to John Washington's successful shipping business with England, or John Jr.'s uncle and guardian, Thomas Pope's, Bristol trade? Were they simply copying a popular style? The Bristol Diamond motif was by far the most common decoration found on imported pipes in the Potomac River Valley. Or, do these two pipe stems represent a transition? Do these pipes symbolically signal a rejection of isolated communities, such as Chicacoan, Nomini Bay, and Appamattucks, for a Potomac River Valley identity? Do these pipes illustrate an abandonment of the Dutch and their illegally purchased goods for English goods and the English Empire at the end of the 17th century?

I argue that these pipes are all of these things. These two pipe stems represent the end of the chaos of early settlement and the beginning a stable Chesapeake society at the turn of the 18th century. People began abandoning hidden symbols of subversive activities, such as the Ingle's Rebellion type and the Tudor Rose pipes, for outward displays of unity and cohesion. Instead of consuming items with Dutch motifs or those that represented separatist communities, they chose instead to acquire goods that displayed a common decorative design, visible to all, that indicated that they had chosen to accept membership into wider communities, that of the Potomac River Valley and the English Atlantic World.

Conclusions

Each of these locally-made pipe types speak to different aspects of community reproduction and demonstrate the complex and multilevel exchange networks that existed in the 17th-century Chesapeake. There were exchange networks that were directly related to social alliances: some that illustrate that communities of the mind and were not necessarily dependent on geographic proximity, and some that spoke to far-reaching economic ties. The various motifs used to decorate the pipes could have been interpreted differently by different people and could have been used in various ways, depending on the audience and context in which the pipes were smoked.

The physical presence of the pipes themselves was also important to individual and community identity formation and maintenance, particularly in regards to the motifs of the Ingle's Rebellion and Tudor Rose pipes. How one held the pipe, whether to reveal or conceal the marks, impacted the way the smoker moved, and this manipulation of the body served to remind him or her of the motif, even if it was not shown. This constant reminder, through close contact with a powerfully charged symbol, facilitated the reproduction of individual identity. The knowledge that others smoked the same pipes helped reinforce community boundaries by aiding the individual in remembering the meaning behind the motif. The symbols did not have to be seen by the smoker while consuming tobacco to be acknowledged and understood, simply existing on the pipes impacted the people who knew how to decipher them.

The three sites directly related to Ingle's Rebellion, Pope's Fort, Nomini Plantation, and the Hallowes site, engaged in similar trade networks in the late 1640s and early 1650s. The fact that Ingle's Rebellion type, Bookbinder, and Tudor Rose variety 1 pipes were found at all three sites suggests that Post-Plundering Time commercial connections between the garrison and

homes associated with men allied to the rebel faction existed after the uprising was squashed. The Ingle's Rebellion pipes in particular represent the close-knit nature of the Nomini Bay community that was fostered in the face of violence and political unrest. These pipes were only found on Ingle's Rebellion-related sites and likely served as in-group symbols. The eleven Ingle's Rebellion-type pipes were reminders as to why men rebelled in the first place and acted as ballast to the community of former rebels who were forced to disperse and establish new homes in territory that was legally forbidden. The exchange of these pipes, and their mere presence, helped maintain community connections in the face of social upheaval by reminding the smokers of the past and the struggles they survived together.

Like the Ingle's Rebellion pipes, the Drue and Tudor Rose pipes all helped develop and maintain a relational community within the Potomac River Valley, and additionally, reached more broadly to include members elsewhere in the Chesapeake. These pipes were all representations of a mindset. While Ingle's Rebellion pipes were restricted to those who actually participated in a political uprising, the Drue and Tudor Rose pipes were spread among like-minded individuals who may or may not have known one another. This community of the mind could have meant something different to different people, but was based on the rejection of absolutism and restriction and the embrace of freedom and prosperity. These pipes were all found on sites occupied by self-made men and women who improved, or were attempting to improve, their lives through trade, tobacco cultivation, and other economic pursuits. These pipes, and those marked with the Tudor Rose in particular, served as bridges to connect people all over the Chesapeake, though these pipes were most popular in the Upper Chesapeake and may be related to Protestant resistance to Catholic rule in Maryland, a notion that would not have had much traction in Southern Virginia.

Hidden symbols hold a special significance to the consumers of the information. McCracken (1988:69) argued that inconspicuous messages concealed on everyday objects "carry meaning that could not be put more explicitly without the danger of controversy, protest, or refusal. Particularly when the message is a political one...material culture can speak sotto voice. Political statements can therefore be undertaken with diminished risk of counter-statement." The Ingle's Rebellion and Tudor Rose pipes served to communicate seditious ideas in the Potomac River Valley. These motifs were made all the more powerful because of the need to conceal them in the face of Proprietary rule in the area and helped the transition from several small communities located along the banks of the Potomac River to a solidified regional community made up neighborhoods and districts by connecting people who were not in close geographic proximity to one another.

Locally-made tobacco pipes had all but vanished from the Chesapeake at the turn of the 18th century. Several scholars have argued that handmade pipe production declined in relation to the decrease in Native American population in the region (Mouer 1993; Mouer et al. 1999; Cox et al. 2005) and others have noted the general disappearance of locally-made pipes in relation to increased European shipping in the last half of the 17th century (Henry 1979; H. Miller 1991). All of these explanations are correct, but do not explain the whole picture. I contend that there were additional forces acting on the local pipe industry in the Upper Chesapeake, mainly the end of small, relational communities based on anti-Calvert and anti-government sentiments. Once a Potomac River Valley identity became solidified, these outward displays of group membership were no longer needed and their popularity declined and European colonists stopped seeking out specific pipe types.

The distribution of locally-made mold-made pipes sheds light on a variety of exchanges that took place among European colonists during the 17th century, both locally along the Potomac River and regionally within the Chesapeake. By adopting a multiscalar view of the Chesapeake, many different levels of exchange can be observed. For example, networks that reach to the Southside of Virginia, with Bookbinder, Broadneck, and Richard Pimmer pipes manufactured in the Lower Chesapeake that were then traded north into the Potomac River Valley are evident. Or, conversely, Tudor Rose variety 1 pipes that were produced in the Upper Chesapeake and then made their way south into the James River area also illustrate intercolonial connections. Interactions can be traced between colonists in the Potomac River Valley and those further north using Emmanuel Drue's elaborate pipes. Very local spheres of exchange can be seen with the distribution of the WD, Ingle's Rebellion type, and the imitation Bristol pipes. Tobacco pipes provide tangible evidence of intercolonial trade networks that often followed the political, social, and familial relationships of the occupants. By tracing the circulation of these pipes, I have illustrated the complex networks of exchange that existed during the 17th century; exchange networks not based solely on the market economy, but on the formation and reinforcement of communities and alliances within the Potomac River Valley.

Chapter 8 : Imported Pipe Analysis

This chapter summarizes the results of my analysis of marked and decorated white clay pipes imported from England and the Netherlands to explore Anglo-Dutch trade and interaction in the Potomac River Valley. In the following analysis, when I use the word imported, I refer specifically to pipes with marks or decoration, not to all imported ball clay pipes. Not all pipes in an archaeological assemblage are marked or decorated, and the samples used in this dissertation represent sub-sets within sites' larger pipe collections. Drawing on several archaeological interaction models that call for a multiscalar approach with an emphasis on historical context (Hall 2000a, 2000b; Johnson 2000; Stein 2002; Hall et al. 2010; Orser 2009; Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010; Hughes 2012), I examine exchange practices at several different scales, including the Potomac River Valley and the household level, taking into account site histories.

In my analysis of individual consumption practices, I draw on Gardner's (2004, 2008) assertion that the appearance of non-normative artifacts, such as illegally traded goods, in an assemblage are the by-products of people materializing their agency and manipulating the structure within a specific context. I interpret the results of my analysis in relation to the idea that consumption is a political act, not a purely economic choice (Appadurai 1986; Mullins 2004). Before I present my results and interpretations, I will outline the methods used to analyze imported pipes from the Potomac River Valley and how I organized my data.

Methods

Unlike most previous studies that have used imported white clay pipes, I do not examine decorative motifs in relation to their symbolic meaning (Cook 1989; Beaudry et al. 1991; Dallal and Reckner 1995; Dallal 2000; Reckner 2001, 2004; Janowitz 2013) as these themes have been explored in depth by Don Duco (1981) and Diane Dallal (2004) for 17th-century pipes. Instead, I

use the presence and frequency of imported pipes from England and the Netherlands to understand how inter-imperial conflicts affected trade into the colonies of Virginia and Maryland. Specifically, I am interested in whether, and to what extent, Dutch trade rose and fell before, during, and after the passage of the Navigation Acts in 1651, 1660, and 1663. Dutch pipes found on archaeological sites that were manufactured after these laws were enacted would indicate which colonists chose to engage in illicit trade.

The time period from production, to use, to discard (and deposition in the archaeological record) of a pipe is fairly short—Noël Hume (1969:296) estimates between one and two years. It is therefore possible to identify where a marked or decorated pipe was made and to date, with a high degree of accuracy, when it was used and discarded. Pipes can therefore be used as a proxy for most European trade in the Chesapeake because their origin is easily determined and they are found in large quantities on colonial sites. Based on the marks and decoration, I have determined the manufacturing origin of all the pipe bowls and stems. Most are from Bristol, England and Gouda, Netherlands; small portions of the collection are from London, Leeds, Somerset, and Amsterdam.

I consulted commonly used sources to identify the origins of the white ball clay pipes. For English pipes I used Adrian Oswald's seminal 1975 book *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*. In this book, Oswald used guild rolls to compile the most comprehensive list of makers from all over England. He also included information about production dates for each maker, a list of apprentices that a master maker had, and provided many illustrations for marks and decorative motifs used by English pipe makers. I used Iain Walker's (1977) volume on white ball clay pipes for discussions of manufacturing differences within the British Isles and within Europe. To supplement Oswald and Walker, I also consulted Jackson and Price's 1974 monograph *Bristol*

Clay Pipes, in which the authors explored the 17th- and early-18th-century Bristol industry in depth. Jackson and Price also illustrated many of the marks of the most prolific pipe makers from that time.

For Dutch pipes I relied heavily on the work of Don Duco (1981, 2003). Duco's illustrated monographs of decorations and maker's marks and guild lists from all major production centers in the Netherlands proved extremely useful. I also used J. van der Meulen's (2003) guide to marked pipes from Gouda, John McCashion's (1979) monograph on Dutch pipes in New York, and Atkinson and Oswald's (1972) work on Dutch pipes found in England. I consulted various other works for comparisons of English and Dutch marks or decoration found on other archaeological sites (Oswald 1969; Muldoon 1979; Faulkner and Faulkner 1987; Davey and Pogue 1991; Luckenbach et al. 2002; Cavallo 2004), online maker's mark databases (Gaulton 1999; MoLAS n.d.), and David Higgin's (2013) work on molded pipes.

I divided the data into three time periods based on manufacturing dates: Phase I (1630-1664), Phase II (1665-1689), and Phase III (1690-1730), discussed below. I will use these time periods to trace the persistence of Dutch trade in the Potomac Valley over the course of the long 17th century. The data set consists of 1,526 marked or decorated imported clay tobacco pipe fragments.

The imported pipes were phased based on their known date of manufacture. Many of the pipes fit within a phased time period with little to no overlap. For example, Amsterdam maker Edward Bird produced pipes from 1635 to 1665 (Figure 8.1; McCashion 1979:92), and his pipes were placed in Phase I. Similarly, Bristol maker James Bull made pipes from 1690 to 1694 (Figure 8.2; Oswald 1975:150); these pipes were placed in Phase III. Other motifs were a little more difficult to place within a phase. For example, one common Dutch motif, sometimes

referred to as "V milling" (Figure 8.3), does not have an exact date of manufacture. Instead, it is illustrated on several pipes marked in some other way or from contexts that date from ca. 1660 to 1700 (Duco 1981:246, 250, 455, 458; Hurry and Keeler 1991:64). Since most pipes with this motif were manufactured within Phase II (1665-1689), they were placed in the middle time period, despite the slight overlap on either end of the date range.

One potential problem with this data set is that Dutch pipes tend to have more decorations than English pipes, especially from the first half of the 17th century (Huey 2008). In order to account for the possibility that Dutch decorated pipes may be overwhelming the sample, I have analyzed the data in three ways. One set is examined with all of the pipes, the second set is examined with only makers' marks (with both English and Dutch decorated pipes removed), and the final set is examined with only decorations; these comparisons are discussed below, but briefly, while the numbers and percentages changed slightly, the overall trends did not.

Another possible issue is the presence of a decorative type known as "Pikeman and Minerva" or "Crusader and Huntress" that were manufactured in the last quarter of the 17th century (Figure 8.4, Figure 8.5, Figure 8.6). Traditionally, these pipes were assumed to be of Dutch origin (Oswald 1975:117-118; Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:169-170; Hurry and Keeler 1991:62-63); however, these interpretations have recently been called into question (Gibb 1996:191-192; Higgins 2013). The elaborately decorated Crusader and Huntress pipes vary slightly in regards to rim treatment and floral motifs surrounding the main figures, but always illustrate a woman on the left side of the bowl, and man holding a spear or pike on the right, and two dogs facing the two humans.

Given the detailed decoration on these pipes, most archaeologists have assumed they were manufactured in the Netherlands, as Dutch pipes tended to be more elaborate and of higher

Figure 8.1: Dutch pipe with Edward Bird's maker's mark on the heel. Compton (18CV279). Photo by author 2015, Courtesy of Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory.

Figure 8.2: English pipe with James Bull's maker's mark. Clifts Plantation (44WM33). Photo by the author 2015. Courtesy of the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association.

Figure 8.3: Dutch pipe stem with "V-milling." St. John's (18ST1-23). Photo by author 2015. Courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Figure 8.4: Detail of a Crusader and Huntress pipe from Compton (18CV279) showing the female figure. Photo by the author 2013. Courtesy of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory.

Figure 8.5: Detail of a Crusader and Huntress pipe from Compton (18CV279) showing the male figure. Photo by the author 2013. Courtesy of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory.

Figure 8.6: Detail of a Crusader and Huntress pipe from Compton (18CV279) showing the two dogs. Photo by the author 2013. Courtesy of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory.

quality than English pipes. Gibb (1996:192-193) argued that the Crusader and Huntress pipes found at Compton and Patuxent Point could not be Dutch because the sites were occupied after 1650 and after the passage of the Navigation Acts, and thus the pipes must be English. However, these laws to restrict trade were not uniformly enforced, and do not automatically eliminate the possibility that these pipes are Dutch. Higgins (2013:156-157) questions whether the Crusader and Huntress pipes are Dutch, as well. He argues that these pipes are French because they have been found on several French colonial sites in North America, particularly at Fort Pentagoet, Maine (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:169-170). Higgins also states that because these pipes have not been found in the Netherlands, they must not have originated there; however, he also states that no examples have been found in France and that they must have been produced exclusively for the colonial export market (Higgins 2013:159).

I contend that most of the evidence suggests that the Crusader and Huntress pipes are Dutch, not French. To suggest that because they were found on French sites and thus must be French ignores all evidence that there was vibrant and active trans-national trade in the 17th-century Atlantic World. Additionally, many other Dutch pipes, such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Tudor Rose pipes, were found at Pentagoet (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:169-170). By this logic, since Crusader and Huntress pipes were found in the Potomac River Valley, then there must have been French colonists living at these sites, despite no evidence to suggest this possibility. Another piece of evidence that suggests that these pipes were not manufactured in France is that French pipes tend to be of poor quality, not pure white (more buff), and contain numerous hematite inclusions (Duguay 2012). The Crusader and Huntress pipes are made with white ball clay, are highly fired, and contain no more inclusions than typical Dutch and English pipes. However, even if these pipes were produced in France, and not in the Netherlands, they were still

traded into the Potomac River Valley illegally and illustrate colonists' willingness to ignore imperial mercantilist policies. There are 34 examples of the Crusader and Huntress pipes in the data set, and they do not significantly impact the results of the study.

My data sets from each site vary considerably in size from 3 at Henry Brooks to 358 from St. John's. Of the 16 sites used for the imported pipe analysis, four have small sample sizes (defined in this dissertation as less than 20 fragments). The results from these four sites (Old Chapel Field, Coan Hall, Newman's Neck, and Henry Brooks) are used in the overall analysis but are not be used for individual discussion of consumption choices. These sites were included for several reasons, including the fact that I wanted to study every available 17th-century collection in the Potomac River Valley. Additionally, locally-made pipes that were used in the regional network analysis in Chapter 7 were recovered from two of the sites (Old Chapel Field and Coan Hall).

Drawing on other multiscalar archaeological studies of consumer behavior in which household level data sets are combined for comparisons (Henry 1991; Cook et al. 1996; Gibb 1996; Hughes 2012), I compare percentages of Dutch and English pipes over time, at individual sites, and between sites. For select results, I also use a chi-square test to compare sites and phases in order to determine if there were significant differences between these variables. Often there was no need to run a statistical test when the results were obviously different or if sample sizes were vastly dissimilar or too small to be comparable. Through these analyses, I discuss the overall results of the temporal comparisons in order to trace the persistence of Dutch trade in the Potomac River Valley throughout the 17th century. I also examine individual consumption patterns in relation to known occupants and their life histories as a way to discuss personal choice in regards to trading within or outside the bounds of imperial law.

Phases

Drawing on the history of mercantilism, the Atlantic World, and the Chesapeake outlined in Chapters 4 and 5, I phased my imported pipe data set. Phase I (1630-1664) encompasses the time during initial colonization, the English Civil War, and the passage of the Navigation Acts. Phase I was a time of upheaval within the core and the periphery, and England was unable to compete with Dutch merchants within the Chesapeake due to political crises at home. Phase II (1665-1689) starts after the Stuart Restoration in 1660, and the passage of the fourth, and last major, Navigation Act in 1663. During this time period, the English government was more stable than it was during the first half of the century and trans-Atlantic trade from England had resumed. At the same time, England was embroiled in a number of short wars with the Netherlands over control of the seas and trade, forcing the government to more strictly enforce trade restrictions against its enemy. Phase II is the crucial time period for determining illicit trade and strong relationships between Chesapeake colonists and Dutch merchants. Phase III dates from 1690 to 1730. During this time, the Bank of England was established, Anglo-Dutch Wars came to an end, and William and Mary were crowned king and queen of the British Empire. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, England's commercial and financial sectors grew, often emulating Dutch practices, and English merchants were soon able to out-compete the Dutch, breaking down their hegemonic hold over the Atlantic World. England was stable at the turn of the 18th century, and this is the time that several historians have recently pointed to as the rise of a somewhat tentative mercantilist consensus due to the stabilization of the empire and the formation of a unified British-Atlantic identity (McCusker and Menard 1985:46-50; Armitage 2000; Ormrod 2003:31-49; Appleby 2010:111-114; Koot 2011:184-185).

Most of the site occupations fall within one of the three phases used in this study. However, sites with long date ranges, such as St. John's, Clifts, Newman's Neck, and Nomini, have been phased either by the original excavators or by those who have recently reanalyzed the collections (King 1988; Neiman 1980; Heath et al. 2009; McMillan and Hatch 2013). For sites that straddle two of my phases or that have not been phased by the excavators, given the limited dates for manufacture of pipes based on maker's marks and decorative motifs and the average lifespan of one to two years between manufacture, purchase, use, and discard of a pipe, the depositional range of most pipes can be determined without tight archaeological context, especially given that acquisition is the main question asked of the pipe assemblages. As some of the archaeological sites were excavated using methods that are now considered outdated, such as grouping all plowzone artifacts together rather than collecting them within spatially-defined units, or excavating stratified features as single contexts, precise contextual data for many of the pipes is lacking.

Old Chapel Field, Pope's Fort, and the first phase of St. John's all fit into Phase I. These sites date to before the restoration of the Stuart monarchy when England was embroiled in an internal civil war, which prevented many English merchants from sailing to the colonies, and the passage of the last Navigation Act, which effectively made it illegal for colonists to trade with the Dutch (McCusker and Menard 1985:46-50). Compton, Patuxent Point, Hallowes, Nomini's first phase, and the Big Pit sites all straddle Phases I and II.

Mattapany, Smith's Ordinary, the first phase of Clifts, the second phase of Nomini, the second and third phase of St. John's, and the John Washington sites date during the Anglo-Dutch Wars, after the implementation of the Navigations Acts, but prior to the ascension of William of Orange to the British throne, and all fall within Phase II. The second phase is the crucial period

for determining illicit trade and strong relationships between Chesapeake colonists and merchants from the Netherlands because it was illegal to trade with the Dutch. Coan Hall, the second phase of Clifts, and the first phase of Newman's Neck straddle Phases II and III. King's Reach, the last phases of Newman's Neck, Clifts, Nomini, and the Henry Brooks site all fall within Phase III, during the establishment of Great Britain, implementation of new financial and industrial policies, and the strengthening of the British-Atlantic World.

Due to the fact that the majority of the pipes used in this dissertation were recovered from the plow zone or from contexts that cannot be assigned a specific date, for the most part the pipes are phased based on the known dates of manufacture. There are a few cases in which features can be separated from the entire assemblage, and when this is possible, I have discussed those contexts individually.

Results

When the data are combined, an overall trend of decreased Dutch trade can be seen from Phase I to Phase III (Figure 8.7). When the data are modified to only include pipes with maker's marks, and no decoration, such as Bristol Diamond rouletting (Figure 7.22) and Dutch fleur-de-lis motifs (Figure 3.8), the same trend is apparent (Figure 8.9). When only decorated pipes are plotted, the same trend is seen; there are no decorated pipes in the last phase (Figure 8.8). Given the differences in English and Dutch manufacturing techniques, I have decided to combine the two treatments, because a data set made up only of marks favors English pipes while a data set consisting only of decoration favors Dutch pipes. The combined data set demonstrates the overall trends and provides as much information as possible (Figure 8.7).

During Phase I, Dutch pipes comprised 95% of the pipes included in the study. While it is not unexpected that Dutch-made pipes make up a large percentage of the data set— it is known

through historical documents that the Dutch monopolized commerce in the Chesapeake during the first half of the 17th century— it is quite striking that nearly 100% of the marked pipes from this time are from the Netherlands. This result speaks to the overwhelming disarray and chaos caused by the English Civil War and the Commonwealth government. It also serves to illustrate the ample opportunities that were available for Dutch merchants and Chesapeake colonists to interact and exchange ideas and information.

Phase II marks a drop in Dutch pipes, which only comprise 31% of the assemblage. This decrease is likely due in part to the increased presence of the Royal navy in the Chesapeake, but also to the influx of new immigrants into the region who had not had the opportunity to form close economic and personal relationships with Dutch traders during the first half of the 17th century. While this is a large decrease, it still shows that during the 25-year period after the passage of the last Navigation Act, illicit trade continued in the Chesapeake. Colonists were not willing to give up free trade, even after the end of the English Civil War and the ability of English merchants to reestablish shipping routes to the New World.

There was a dramatic drop in Dutch trade during Phase III. The bar graph for the third phase is nearly a mirror image of the Phase I, illustrating the almost complete lack of Dutch trade at the turn of the 18th century. There are several explanations for this occurrence. The first, and most cited reason, is the increased ability of the imperial government to enforce the statutes because of the re-establishment of a stable English government. Secondly, and most importantly, colonists were choosing to abandon Dutch trade.

In a study of Dutch trade in the Caribbean Koot (2011) argues that English colonists began to abandon illicit trade at the turn of the 18th century for personal, individualistic reasons, not solely due to imperial policy. After English merchants were able to outcompete the Dutch in

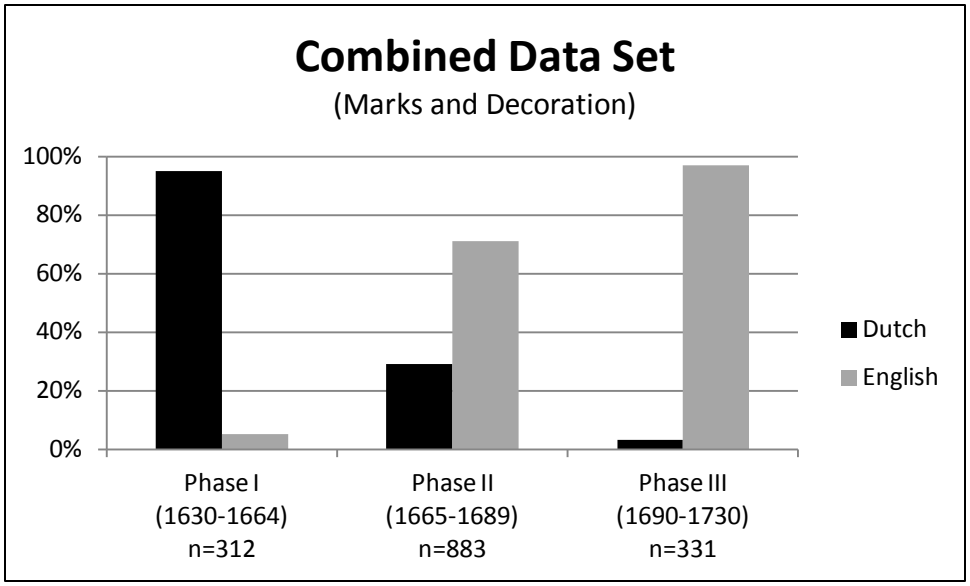

Figure 8.7: Combined data set from all 16 sites by phase.

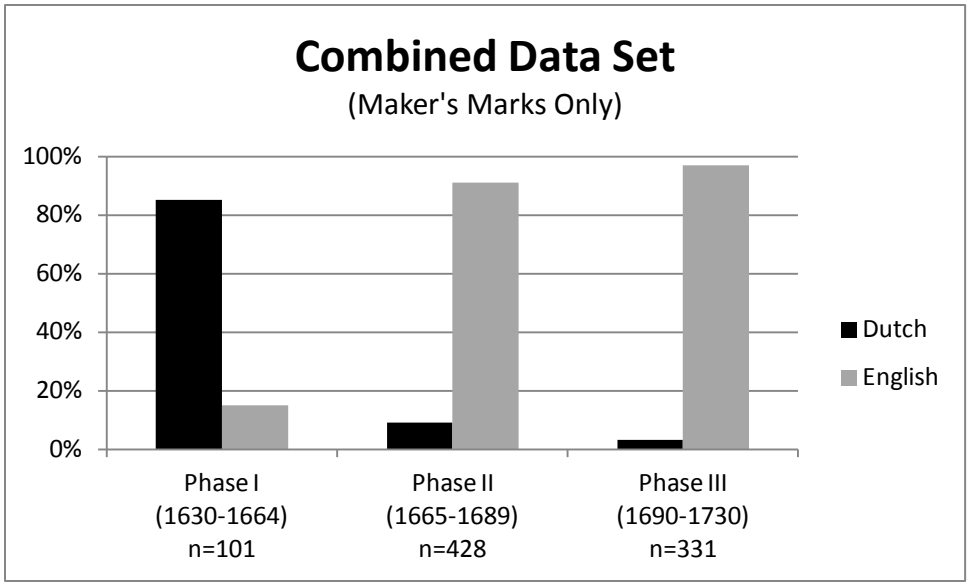

Figure 8.9: Data set with only maker's marks from all 16 sites by phase.

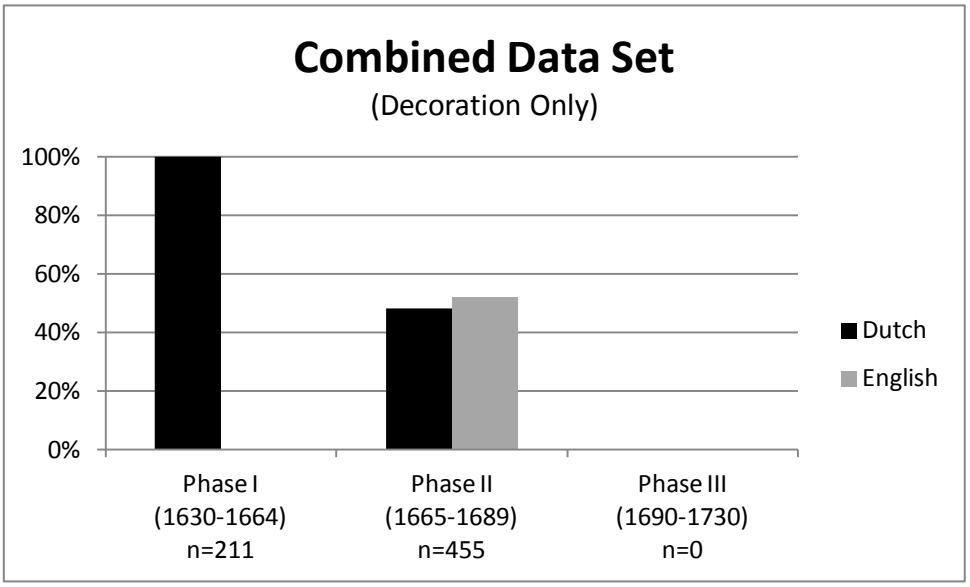

Figure 8.8: Data set with only decorated pipes from all 16 sites by phase.

regards to quality of goods and prices, colonists chose to trade within the bounds of the law. Koot's study shows that individuals living and working in the periphery had a say in how they were incorporated into the system.

I similarly argue that Chesapeake colonists at the turn of the 18th century chose to follow the law, and compliance was not due solely to imperial enforcement. Colonists continued to smuggle goods from the Netherlands when it was beneficial to them, showing that the idea of liberty of conscience adopted from Dutch merchants remained essential to colonial identity. The overall results of this study demonstrate that colonists in the Chesapeake continued to trade with the Dutch after the passage of the three Navigations Acts in the middle of the 17th century, illustrating how people in the periphery were active in the system, and not passive to core domination.

The continued participation in illegal trade by the Chesapeake colonists was one of the ways that people on the periphery negotiated their new place within the early modern world. However, not everyone made the same choices of trading partners. By adopting a multiscalar approach to the study of the Potomac River Valley, differences in choices and social connections among the English colonists during the first century of settlement can be traced. Such a study allows for a nuanced examination of trade at the household, community, regional, and Atlantic levels; a discussion of why individuals chose to interact with specific people or groups; and an exploration of differences among the colonists.

Differences in trade patterns at the local level can be observed. Specifically, it appears that colonists in Maryland were more willing, or had a greater desire, to trade with merchants from the Netherlands (Figure 8.10, Figure 8.11). Sites in Maryland had a greater percentage of Dutch pipes compared to sites in Virginia for all three phases. The sample sizes in Phase I and

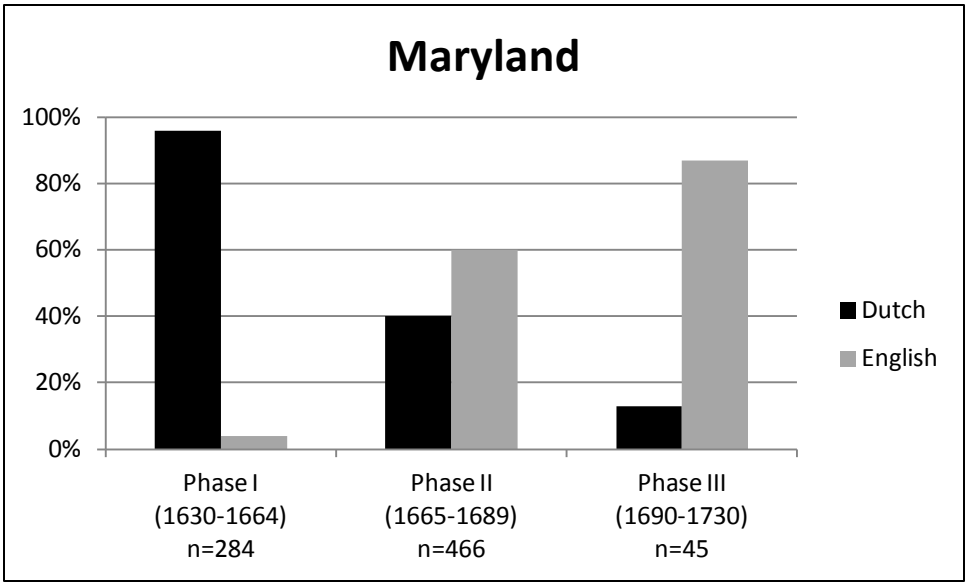

Figure 8.10: Data set from the nine sites located within Maryland by phase.

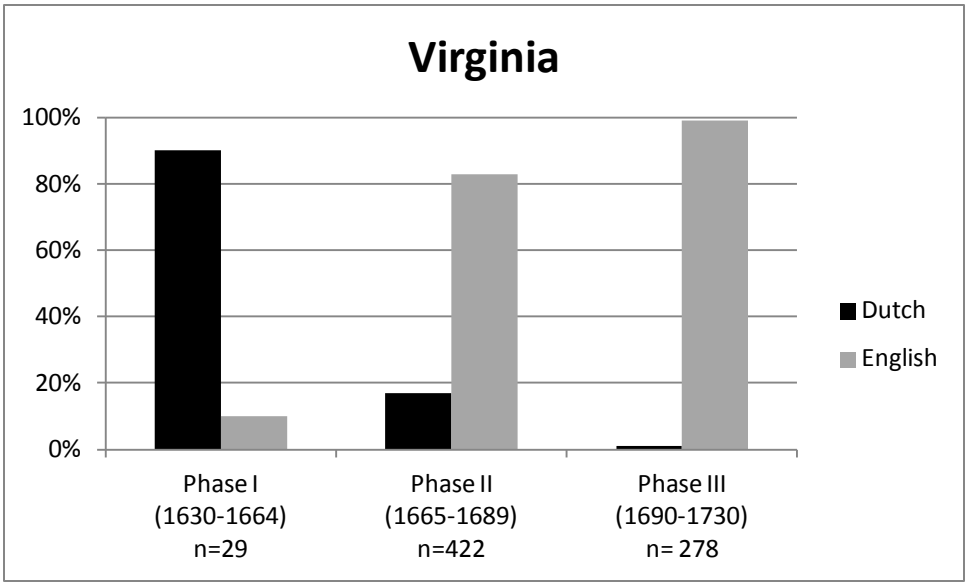

Figure 8.11: Data set from the seven sites located within Virginia by phase.

Phase III were too different to test for significance. The difference between Maryland and Virginia during Phase II is highly significant with a p-value of <0.0001 (See Appendix 2: Table 1). There are many avenues to explore in order to determine why these differences existed in trade patterns.

Perhaps one explanation for the variation seen in Phase II, during the middle of the 17th century, is related to settlement patterns in the Potomac Valley. There were four distinct waves of migration of British colonists into Southern Maryland and the Northern Neck of Virginia during the 17th century. The first wave was comprised of the first Englishmen into the Upper Chesapeake, starting with the arrival William Claiborne at Kent Island in 1630, and the establishment of St. Mary's City in 1634. The second wave of migration was from Maryland and Southern Virginia to what is today Northumberland County, Virginia, partially as a result of the Chesapeake Fur Wars in the late 1630s/early 1640s. The next wave of migration occurred after Ingles' Rebellion in 1645, when several colonists who had lived in the Chesapeake for at least ten years fled Maryland to settle in what is today Westmoreland County, Virginia. The final wave of immigrantion started in the late 1650s and 1660s, and was comprised once again of colonists emigrating directly from England.

Many of the sites from Virginia in Phase II are related to colonists who immigrated to the Chesapeake during the last phase, such as John Washington and tenants who lived at Clifts Plantation. Contemporary sites in Maryland included in this study served some sort of public function, or were occupied by people who had migrated to the Chesapeake prior to the 1660s. Those colonists who had not lived in the Potomac River Valley in the 1640s and 1650s had not had the opportunities to form trading relationships with Dutch merchants, or come to value Dutch goods and ideas, in the same way that earlier immigrants had.

A micro-historical approach to the study of individual residents at each site, focusing on actions and decisions made at the household level, allows for an understanding how individuals reacted to the passage of laws restricting trade. Archaeology is in a unique position to illuminate how different people engaged in smuggling depending on their social, political, and economic position. Instead of just supporting or contradicting the documents, an archaeological focus at the household level can provide new information on trade (Deagan 2007). The results are presented in chronological order.

St. John's

The St. John's assemblage, with 356 imported pipes, is the largest data set used in this dissertation (Figure 8.12). The St. John's data set is likely so large because it was the longest occupied site, is located within the capital of Maryland, and served many public functions, so many people would have visited the site during its use. The overall results of the St. John's data analysis show that during Phase I, the overwhelming majority of pipes smoked on the site were manufactured in the Netherlands. During this period, the site was owned and occupied by the Lewger and Overzee families. During Lewger's ownership of the property (1638-1650), Dutch merchants were common in the Chesapeake and it is unsurprising that many of the pipes from the first half of the 17th century were manufactured in the Netherlands. It is also unsurprising that Overzee purchased Dutch pipes in the 1650s, given his nationality and the fact that the historical records indicate that the 1651 Navigation Act was largely ignored by colonists. Additionally, Overzee might have purchased the pipes as a reminder of home and because he had a bond with merchants from the Netherlands based on shared cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The percentage of Dutch pipes drops dramatically to 22% during Phase II when the site was

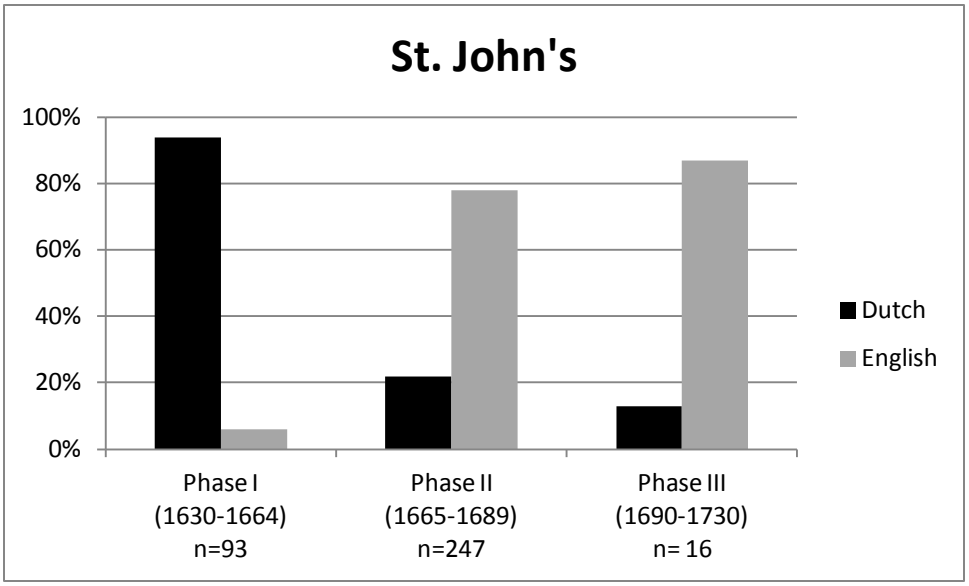

Figure 8.12: St. John's (18ST1-23) data set by phase.

owned Charles Calvert, who was the governor of Maryland and then the Third Baron Baltimore. Calvert lived at St. John's in the 1660s and his Privy Council and the colony's Assembly met there during his occupation. After he left for England 1676, the site served as a public ordinary and as a meeting place for various government organizations. Given that the site hosted several official provincial functions in the last half of the century, sometimes under the direct eye of the governor, it is unremarkable that the majority of the pipes from this time period were manufactured in England. As government officials, the people meeting at St. John's would have had to outwardly display their obedience to imperial policy.

The presence of Dutch pipes decreased, but did not completely disappear, during Phase III. It does not appear as though anyone lived at St. John's from circa 1684 until 1695, and instead it served as the meeting place for the Prerogative Court and Maryland Assembly. After the capital of Maryland moved to Annapolis, the site was occupied by unknown tenants until roughly 1715. The number of pipes from Phase III is small (n=16), and it is hard to make any meaningful interpretations from these data; however the results from St. John's at the turn of the century support the overall interpretation that Dutch trade significantly decreased in the 18th century, but did not completely disappear.

Pope's Fort

Sixty imported pipes from Pope's Fort were used in this analysis (Figure 8.13). All 35 pipes from Phase I at Pope's Fort were imported from the Netherlands. Phase I of Pope's Fort is related to Governor Leonard Calvert's occupation of the Country's House, the seizure of St. Mary's City during Ingle's Rebellion, the occupation of Governors Thomas Green and William Stone, and Stone's modifications to the ditch complex during the second Protestant uprising in the 1650s. It is interesting that all of the marked and decorated pipes from the site during its use

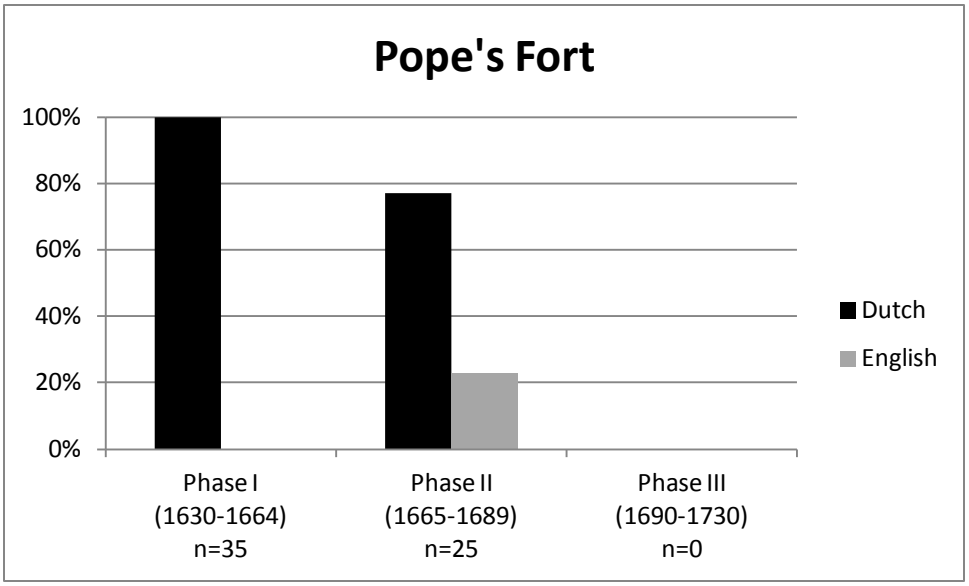

Figure 8.13: Pope's Fort (18ST1-13) data set by phase.

as the home of three Proprietary governors are from the Netherlands, even those pipes that were made in the 1650s and early 1660s. These results from Phase I illustrate the ubiquity of Dutch merchants in the Potomac River Valley during the first half of the 17th century; the fact that governors were purchasing Dutch goods, even after 1651, shows that the English empire was not able to support her colonies during the English Civil War and under Cromwell's leadership. However, some of the pipes manufactured before 1650 could have been disgarded by rebels during the fortification of the Country's House during Ingle's Rebellion.

The percentage of Dutch pipes at Pope's Fort decreased to 76% during Phase II, while the Country's House served as the Colonial Statehouse and as a public ordinary. These pipes could have been brought to the Country's House by anyone visiting the colonial capital. It is interesting that people chose to use and discard illegally purchased pipes at the Statehouse, the seat of Proprietary government. Perhaps colonists were smoking Dutch pipes as a signal to others of their allegiances and political leanings. However, it is impossible to determine who exactly consumed these pipes from Pope's Fort.

The John Hallowes Site

There are 21 imported pipes in the John Hallowes assemblage. Although the sample sizes for the two phases are small once the assemblage is divided, I chose to graphically illustrate the results for continuity with the other sites discussed (Figure 8.14). All four of the marked and decorated pipes from Phase I at the Hallowes site were imported from the Netherlands. During this time, John Hallowes and his two wives, Restitute and Elizabeth, lived on the property. After his death, Elizabeth and her new husband David Anderson inherited the property, followed by Hallowes' daughter and son-in-law, Restitute and John Whiston. Given that this site was not occupied before 1647, only four years prior to the enactment of the first law to restrict trade in

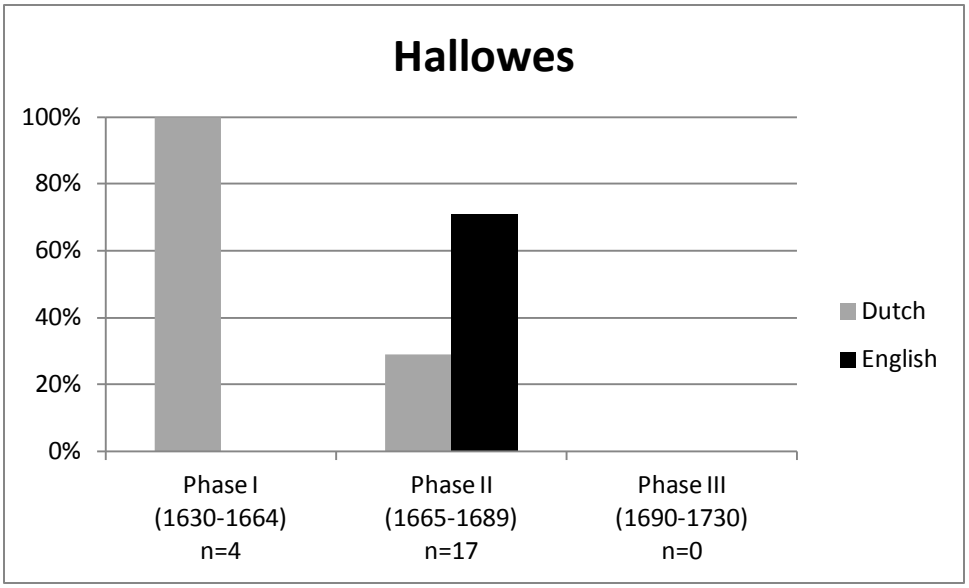

Figure 8.14: Data set from the John Hallowes site (44WM6) by phase.

1651, some, if not the majority, of the pipes from the Netherlands were likely purchased illegally in the 1650s and 1660s.

The historical record provides evidence of two possible sources of these Dutch pipes. The first is a record of an account with Abraham Jansen, a Dutch sea captain. The account shows that Hallowes purchased shoes, alcohol, silk, and hose from the Dutch merchant. There are two references concerning the account between the two men. Hallowes was taken to court on September 13, 1652 by Jansen for payment and again on October 1, 1655 (LOV 1653-1659:41-42). This exchange happened after the passage of the first Navigation Act in 1651, meaning that Hallowes was engaging in illicit trade. An additional source for the illegally purchased pipes could be Simon Overzee, the Dutch merchant who lived across the river in St. Mary's City. The records indicate that the two men were acquainted as evidenced by the fact that Overzee paid for Hallowes' funeral (LOV 1653-1659:103-104). It is unsurprising that John Hallowes would choose to engage in illicit trade after 1651, given his propensity for resisting government rules and regulations as illustrated by his participation in the uprising in 1645, his subsequent immigration to Virginia, and the fortifying of his house. Hallowes had also previously been reprimanded in 1643 for trading illegally with local Native Americans. He was fined 500 pounds of tobacco for providing guns to Indians (AOMOL 3:259).

Phase II dates to the tenancy occupation of the Hallowes site. These data show that the unknown tenants mainly traded within the bounds of imperial mercantilist policy, as 71% of the pipes from the middle time period were manufactured in England. However, the presence of nine Dutch pipes at the site also demonstrates that the site's occupants were interacting with merchants from the Netherlands in the third quarter of the 17th century, but not often. It is quite likely that the tenants who lived at the Hallowes site from 1666 to 1681 were recently freed

indentured servants who would not have had the opportunity to form strong social and economic relationships with Dutch traders in the 1650s and early 1660s, and thus would not have had any loyalty to any one merchant, nor would they have had any pre-existing networks in place on which to rely for imported merchandise. Instead, they chose not risk the consequences of violating the Navigation Acts and mainly traded their tobacco for English goods.

Nomini Plantation

The results from Nomini Plantation illustrate the same trends observed in the combined data set and in the data for individual plantation sites (Figure 8.15). Phase I of Nomini encompasses the Speke and Peyton occupations of the property. Although the sample size is rather small from this time period, it does show that the majority of European imported pipes used at the site were manufactured in the Netherlands. By the time Thomas Speke fled Maryland and established his new home in Virginia in 1647, he would have been used to trading almost exclusively with the Dutch given that merchants from the Netherlands had controlled the Chesapeake trade since his arrival in the New World in the late 1630s. Speke, and others like him in the Chesapeake, would have been loath to give up their free trade they had enjoyed during the first several decades of their lives in Virginia and Maryland, and likely rejected the mercantilist policies of the metropole. As Speke and Francis Gerrard were intimately involved in more than one colonial uprising against Proprietary rule in Maryland and held anti-government sentiments, it is unsurprising that they would continue to illegally purchase Dutch goods after 1651.

What is more surprising is the dramatic drop in Dutch pipes during Phase II, during the Hardidge occupation of the site. William Hardidge II's father participated in Ingle's Rebellion and his grandfather, Thomas Sturman, helped Ingle take St. Mary's City, and before that, fought

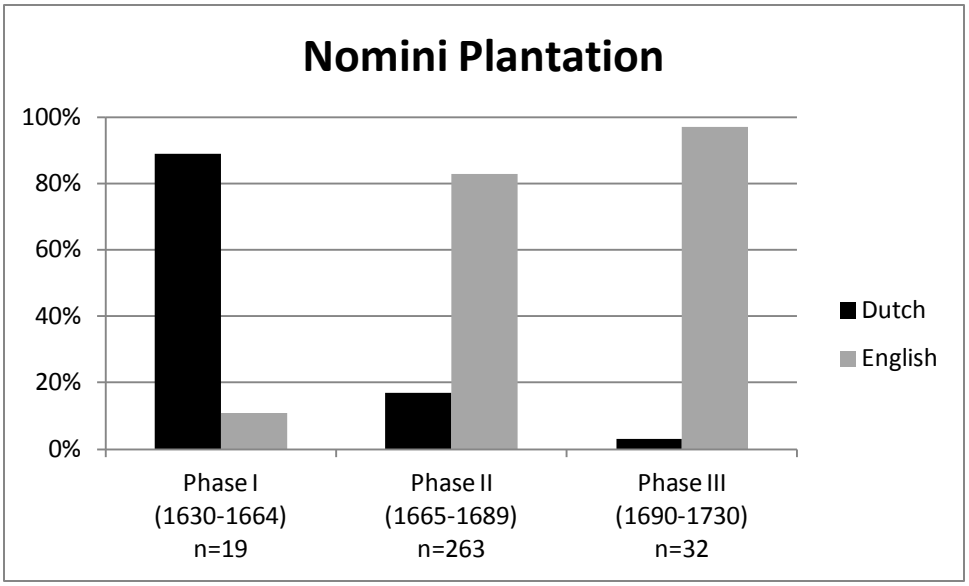

Figure 8.15: Data set from Nomini Plantation (44WM12) by phase.

with Claiborne on Kent Island. At 17%, Dutch pipes make up a small proportion of the Phase II assemblage at Nomini. One potential source of these pipes could be from Thomas Pope, a merchant with strong ties to the Bristol market. Hardidge was close to Pope, as evidenced by the fact that he served as a trustee for Pope's estate in 1685 (Neiman 1980:5-6). As will be discussed below, English pipes made up the majority of the assemblage at Clifts Plantation, one of Pope's properties just a few short miles up the river from Nomini. It is possible that Hardidge mainly traded with Pope and transported his tobacco on his neighbor's ships to Bristol in exchange for English goods.

Another possible contributing factor to the dramatic decrease in Dutch pipes during Phase II is William Hardidge II's age; he was too young to have formed strong ties with the Dutch in the 1650s and early 1660s and the small percentage of Dutch pipes at Nomini after 1665 could illustrate the remnants of networking relationships formed by Speke and perhaps even Hardidge's father on his nearby plantation. These relationships were not strong or personal enough to guarantee that Hardidge would exclusively seek out Dutch merchants, but the 44 pipes from the Netherlands in Phase II shows that the Dutch were present in the Chesapeake and that someone on the property chose to consume illegally traded goods, perhaps indicating that his wife Frances had some say in which goods were purchased and from whom.

Frances was older than her last husband and could have formed social and economic relationships with Dutch traders long before she married Hardidge. She had resided at Nomini longer than anyone else, from 1655 until around 1691, and likely had a hand in running the plantation, especially during her marriage to Washington when it appears as though they lived separately on their own respective properties. Additionally, as the daughter of a twice-failed rebel, the widow of another rebel, and someone who had likely used Dutch pipes and interacted

with mariners from the Netherlands for most of her life, Frances may have preferred the more elaborately decorated continental pipes and the freedom of choice they represented.

The last phase at Nomini represents the trash of the Ashton family. By the time Elizabeth Hardidge and her husband Henry Ashton inherited the property, Dutch dominion over the seas had begun to wane and English industry and shipping had begun to increase. That 3% of the imported pipes at Nomini were manufactured in the Netherlands could illustrate that Ashton family engaged in opportunistic smuggling but that they did not primarily rely on the Dutch for their imported goods. They had both been born after the height of Dutch hegemony and did not value the traders in the same way their grandparents had. Additionally, they did not have to seek out illicit goods because by the early 18th century the British Empire was able to provide for her colonies.

Compton

The majority of the 84 imported pipes recovered from Compton were manufactured in the Netherlands (Figure 8.16). The Stephens family occupied the site during Phase I when 98% of the white clay pipes smoked and discarded at Compton were imported by Dutch traders. Since William and Magdelen Stephens did not patent their land until 1651, all of the Dutch pipes present on the site were purchased illegally after the passage of the first Navigation Act. Given the state of the English shipping industry after the political instability of the 1640s and during Cromwell's reign, it is unsurprising that Dutch pipes dominate the assemblage at Compton in the 1650s; it is however notable that only 2% of the marked or decorated pipes were manufactured in England from this time period. The Stephens family appears to have traded almost exclusively with merchants from the Netherlands, as demonstrated by the number of Dutch pipes present in assemblage and that the majority of ceramics found at Compton were Dutch in origin (Gibb

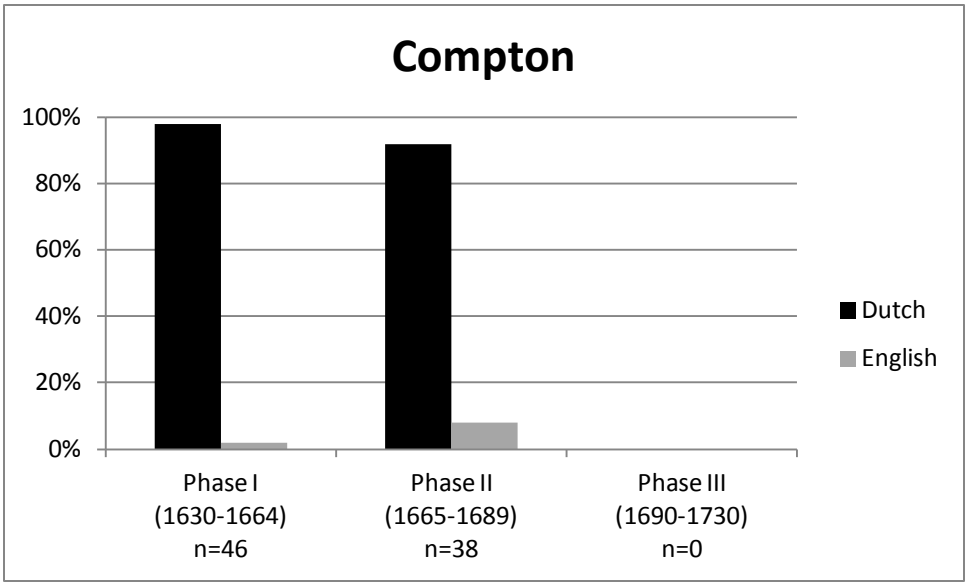

Figure 8.16: Data set from the Compton site (18CV279) by phase.

1996:196).

The intensity of Anglo-Dutch interaction at the Compton site is unsurprising, not only due to temporal considerations and the site's location far from the capital of Maryland, but also to the Stephens family's political and religious identities. As members of a non-conformist religion, the Society of Friends, the Stephens family disliked and rejected the authoritarian rule of Calvert and the English Empire. Murphy (2001:170-173) argues that Quakers were democratic and individualistic because of their rejection of formalized clergy and their belief that individuals could have a personal relationship with God. They believed strongly in the tenants of liberty of conscience and rejected government attempts at control over their daily religious and economic lives, and refused to take any oaths to a government so as to not put anyone or anything above God. William Penn argued in 1679 (not long after the Stephens family's occupation of Compton) that "property, that is, right and title to your own lives, liberties, and estates" was a fundamental right to all and that the government could not pass laws or collect taxes without the consent of the people. Given these religious beliefs, the Stephens family would have resented any imperial or colonial laws that restricted their rights to property and trade, especially any policies imposed, or enforced, by a Catholic Proprietor.

The tenants at Compton continued to actively trade with Dutch merchants during Phase II. The Stephens family had clearly formed trading connections with Dutch merchants during their initial settlement on the Patuxent River, as demonstrated by the high percentage of pipes from the Netherlands during Phase I. These partnerships were likely continued not only by the tenants at the Compton site after 1665, but also by the Stephens family themselves on the Eastern Shore, a place that was known to have been a hotbed of Dutch activity during the 17th century (Hatfield 2004). Dutch traders continued to frequent Compton after the Stephens immigrated to

the Eastern Shore in the early 1660s out of familiarity with the plantation and perhaps even the tenants, who may have lived there with the Stephens family prior to their departure.

Patuxent Point

The Patuxent Point assemblage consists of 51 white ball clay pipes. All but three English pipes were initially placed in Phase II; one pipe manufactured by James Fox (1651-1669) has been assigned to Phase I in all other sites. Additionally, one pipe made by Robert Tippett II (1678-1713) and one pipe made by John Hunt (1694-1715) fall into Phase III. Given the small sample size of the Phase I and Phase III pipes, I have combined them to discuss the entire assemblage (Figure 8.17). The majority of these pipes were likely purchased by Obder's unknown tenants after he moved to the Eastern Shore in the early 1660s. Most of the pipes from Patuxent Point were manufactured in England, and specifically in Bristol.

However, a t-test indicates that there is no significant difference between the Dutch (n=22) and English (n=26) assemblages with a p-value of 0.674. While the tenants at Patuxent Point relied more on English traders than Dutch merchants, the difference is not statistically meaningful. However, there is some evidence that the site's occupants may have been a part of a diverse trade network. There are two pipes in the collection that were manufactured by Ambrose Ambler, who registered with the Leeds guild in 1669; only one other Ambler pipe was identified in this project, at St. John's. Interestingly, Patuxent Point has the most diverse local pipe assemblage from any plantation site in the 1650s and 1660s. St. John's and Patuxent Point are the only two sites with pipes produced by Richard Pimmer from the Southside of Virginia. Patuxent Point's assemblage also contains two pipes made by Emmanuel Drue in Providence and nine Broadneck-type pipes from Lynnhaven. These four pipe types, Ambler, Pimmer, Drue, and

Broadneck, may indicate that the occupants of Patuxent Point were entangled in atypical and diverse trans-Atlantic and intercolonial mercantile networks

The two pipes from Leeds found at Patuxent Point are interesting outliers as they indicate wider and stronger connections with English merchants than many of the other contemporary and similar sites in the region that relied almost exclusively on pipes from Bristol, when interacting with English traders. Perhaps the tenants at the site had familial ties to Northern England and the pipes were shipped from the Liverpool port, or the pipes could have been brought by a trader with connections outside of Bristol. However, the overall results from Patuxent Point illustrate the continued presence of Dutch traders in the Chesapeake into the mid- to late-17th century, even if the site's residents chose to mainly trade within the bounds of the law.

The Compton site and Patuxent Point are only approximately 800 ft. apart on Solomons Island but have vastly different pipe assemblages (Figure 8.18). These differences between Phase II at Compton and Patuxent Point, when both sites were occupied by tenants, is statistically significant (p-value=<0.0001) with the majority of the Compton site's assemblage comprised of Dutch pipes, whereas, Patuxent Point's pipe assemblage was mainly English in origin (See Appendix 2: Table 2). Since the Stephens family had lived at Compton for 10 to 15 years before leaving the site, they may have felt a greater responsibility to their tenants, whom they may have known well, than Obder had towards his tenants. Obder had only occupied the Patuxent Point site for less than five years and probably did not know his tenants well and may have served as an absentee landlord during the third quarter of the 17th century. That Compton was abandoned upon William Stephens' death in 1684 further suggests that the Stephens family had some say in the management of their Solomons Island plantation.

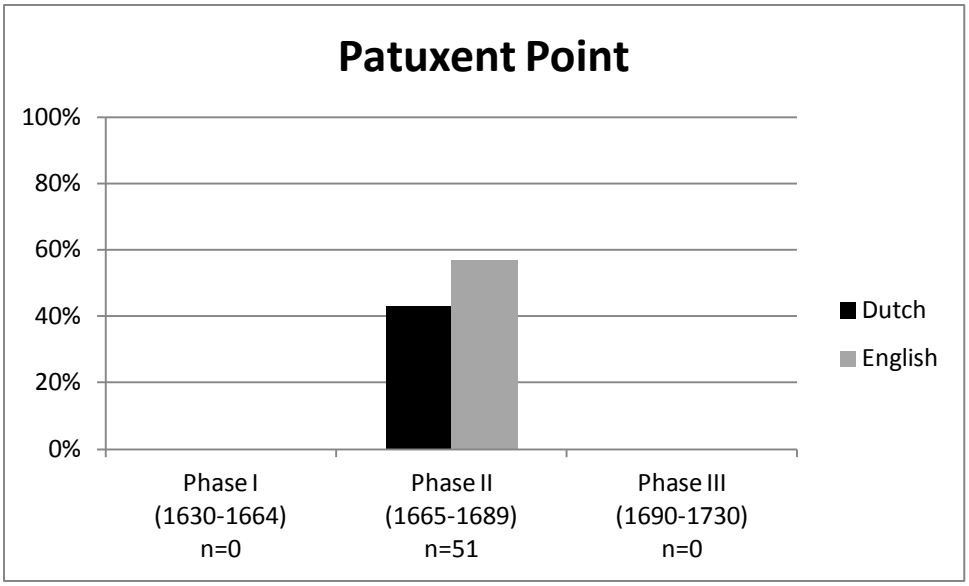

Figure 8.17: Data set from Patuxent Point (18CV271) in Phase II.

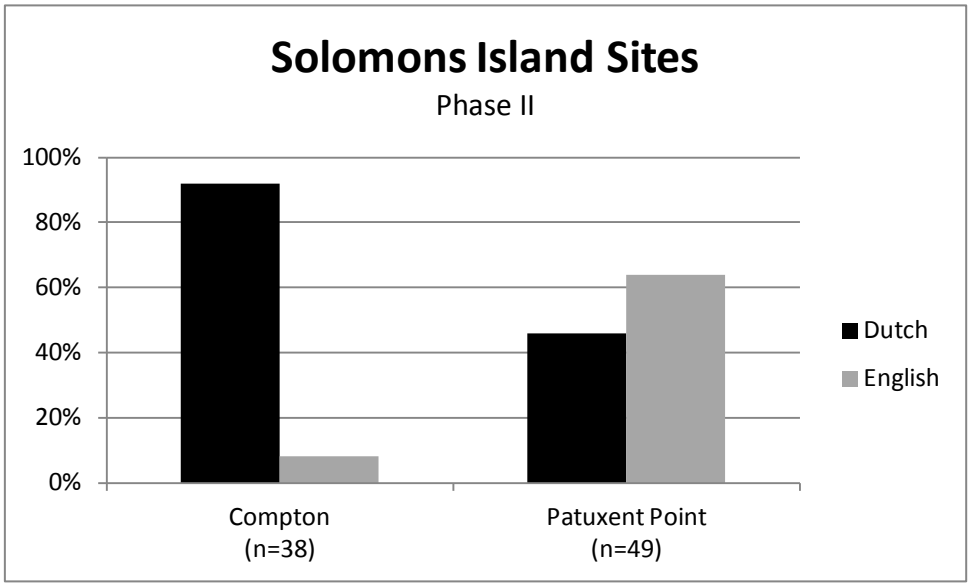

Figure 8.18: Comparison of Phase II at Compton (18CV279) and Patuxent Point (18CV291).

However, these interpretations may attribute too much control to the landowners and run the risk of disregarding the choices of the tenants who occupied these sites. Obder's tenants appear to have been economically well off and to have had wider trade connections than most colonists in the region, as illustrated by the presence of two non-Bristol English pipes at the site, in addition to the diversity of locally-made pipes at the site. The pipe assemblage at Patuxent Point may be due to a variety of factors, including Obder's lack of involvement and the occupants' personal choices regarding with whom to trade. Tenant agency is further supported by comparisons to Compton. These two geographically close sites, which were occupied at the same time by people of similar social status, illustrate very different consumption patterns demonstrating the role of personal choice. Clearly each household sought out different trade partners, whether they were influenced by their landlords or not.

Mattapany

Twenty-five marked and decorated white ball clay pipes were identified in the Mattapany collection, all of which fall into Phase II (Figure 8.19). Most of these pipes would have been brought to the site during Calvert's ownership and occupation of the site. There is no real difference between the numbers of English and Dutch pipes found at Mattapany, and a t-test comparing the Dutch (n=13) and English (n=12) assemblages produced a p-value of 0.187. As the governor and then Lord Proprietor of Maryland, Calvert would have had to outwardly appear to have been following imperially imposed trade policies in public; however, while at his private home at Mattapany, he may have chosen to engage in some opportunistic smuggling, which may account for the slightly larger percentage of Dutch pipes in the assemblage.

Although the sample sizes are very small, the manor house sub-site and the magazine sub-site assemblages can be compared (Figure 8.20). The graph comparing the two sub-sites

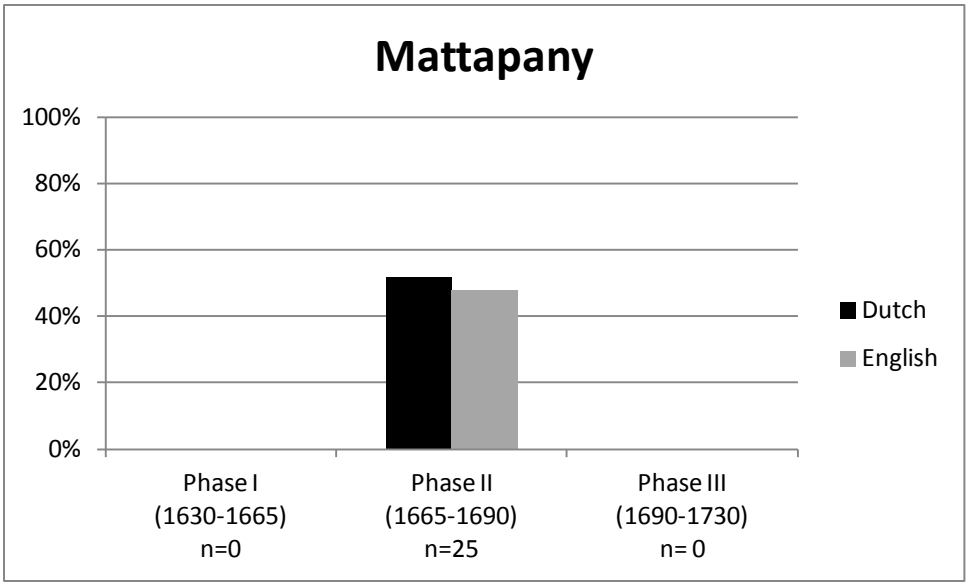

Figure 8.19: Data set from Mattapany (18ST390) in Phase II.

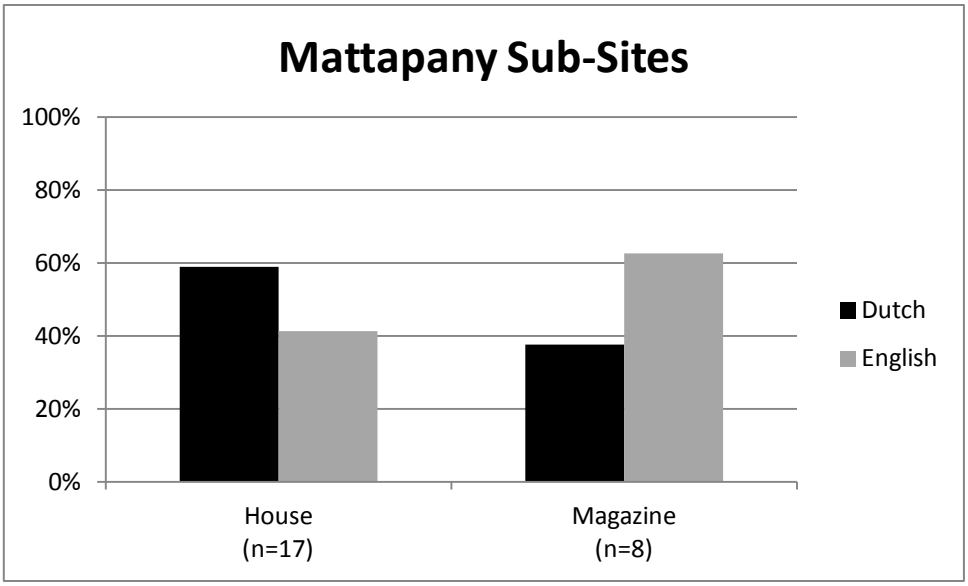

Figure 8.20: Mattapany (18ST390) data set by sub-sites.

shows an inverse relationship with the manor house area with majority Dutch pipes and the magazine area with a majority English pipes. These sample sizes are very small, and any interpretations made based on the sub-sites can only be tentative and descriptive, but the differences between these two areas are interesting. The logical expectation in comparing these two assemblages is that the magazine, which was frequented by members of the colonial militia, would have more illegal pipes and the home of the governor would show that he traded within the bounds of the law.

However, a comparison of these areas indicates that the opposite is true. The men who periodically stayed at the magazine perhaps felt as though they needed to smoke only legally purchased pipes while in the presence of Calvert, whereas, the governor was free to do as he pleased while at his private country home. Another explanation could be that Calvert, or the colonial government, purchased and provided pipes for the militia during their stay at the magazine. Hatch's (2014) analysis of the faunal remains from Mattapany indicates that there were differing subsistence strategies between the manor house and the magazine and that the militia men were likely provisioned beef and pork whereas the governor additionally dined on chicken and wild game. Furthermore, in 1676 the Council of Maryland ordered that the militia at Mattapany be given "Out of the publique for provisions and drinke...nine pounds of tobacco p day for each Soldier" (AOMOL 15:125). The soldiers may have also been provisioned pipes in addition to tobacco. If the government purchased the pipes, presumably there would have to have been some record kept of such exchanges, and thus the Council would not have acquired illegally imported pipes for the militia.

The John Washington Site

The John Washington site's assemblage consists of 50 imported pipes. The majority of the pipes were manufactured in England during Phase II. However, there are two Dutch pipes that are typically dated to Phase I: one pipe manufactured by Edward Bird, an exiled Englishman who produced pipes from 1635-1665 in Amsterdam, and one Sir Walter Raleigh pipe stem. Although Raleigh pipes were mainly produced prior to 1650, they are sometimes found in post-1660s contexts (Faulkner and Faulkner 1984:169; Dallal 2004). Similarly, Robert Tippet II (1678-1713) pipes correspond in date to Phase III, but given that there are only three of these pipes and they could have been imported during Phase II, I have combined the entire assemblage (Figure 8.21).

It is unsurprising that Washington assemblage is comprised primarily of English pipes. John Washington did not immigrate to the colonies until the late 1650s, after the passage of the first Navigation Act to restrict trade and after Dutch presence began to wane in the Chesapeake. Washington would not have been familiar with the Dutch and their goods since he was not in Virginia in the 1640s and 1650s to form strong trans-national relationships before it was illegal to do so. Additionally, Washington was a merchant from London who remained active in trans-Atlantic commerce throughout his life. Three pipes produced by Isaac Prance (circa 1660) of Somerset were recovered from the Washington site; no other Prance pipes have been found at the other 15 sites used in this dissertation, nor have they been reported by other archaeologists working in the region. Perhaps these pipes were brought to the site as a result of Washington's mercantilist endeavors and may indicate that he had a trading relationship with another merchant in Somerset who brought his or her pipes to port at Bristol.

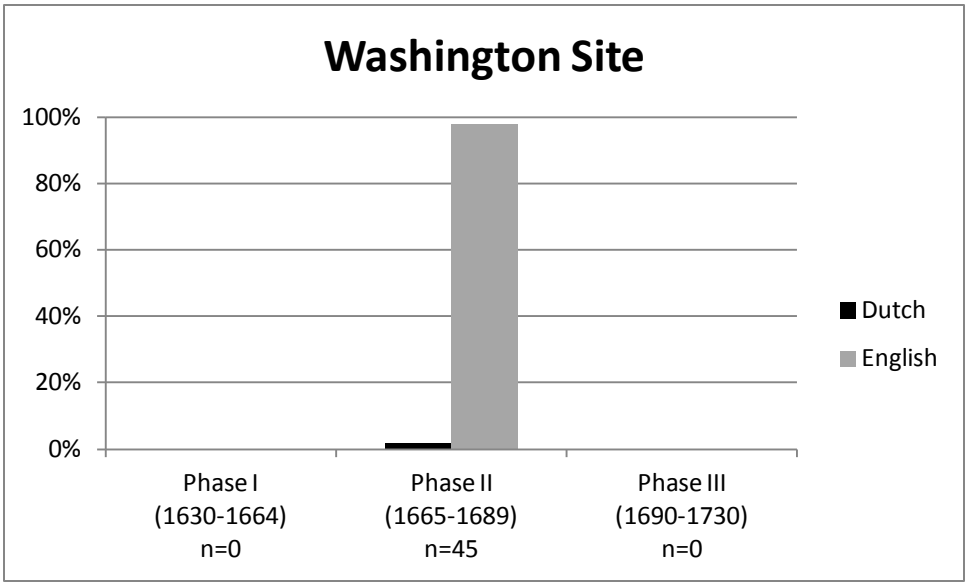

Figure 8.21: Data set from Phase II at the John Washington site (44WM204).

John Washington, Jr. also mainly traded with English merchants. The lack of Dutch pipes at the site in the late 17th century indicates that John, Jr. maintained his father's trading practices. Additionally, John, Jr. was under the guardianship of his uncle, Thomas Pope, until around 1680. Pope, a Bristol merchant, spent much of his adult life in England in order to strengthen the economic ties between his Virginia properties and the rapidly growing industry in England during the late 17th century. John Washington, Jr. may have been one of Pope's clients in Westmoreland County, accounting for the large numbers of Bristol pipes in the assemblage.

The fact that only three Dutch pipes were recovered indicates that occupants of the Washington site did not actively seek out Dutch merchants. The Washington family chose to trade within the bounds of the law, likely not because they approved of government regulation in general, as indicated by John, Sr.'s marriage into several prominent rebel families, but because in their specific case the family benefited from mercantilist policies. As traders with strong connections in England, it was more advantageous for the Washingtons and Popes to ship their tobacco to Bristol and London than it would have been to risk violating imperial policy to trade with merchants from the Netherlands.

Smith's Ordinary

A total of 90 marked and decorated white ball clay pipes were identified in the Smith's Ordinary assemblage (Figure 8.22). All 44 imported pipes from the site that date to Phase I were imported from the Netherlands; since the ordinary was not established until 1666, all of the pipes from the first half of the century are likely associated with the Country's House or Pope's Fort given the land's proximity to the governor's house and that the land was originally part of Calvert's property. The three pipes from Phase III appear to be temporal outliers and are

disregarded in the following discussion because they were recovered in the plow zone on the Ordinary side of the ditch and no Phase III pipes were found on the other side.

The Smith's Ordinary tract consists of two sub-sites: the public inn owned and operated by Garrett Van Sweringen and the lawyers' lodge owned by Daniel Jennifer. Phase II at each site illustrates different consumption patterns (Figure 8.23). Fifty percent of the pipes found at the ordinary owned by the Dutchman were produced in the Netherlands, whereas, only 31% of the pipes found on the Englishman's property were Dutch in origin. These results indicate that both van Sweringen and Daniel's tenants purchased pipes from their respective homelands. The lawyers who rented the lodge from Daniel were unlikely to seek out Dutch merchants due not only to the fact that they were Englishmen who probably did not own a plantation which would have been frequented by seamen from the Netherlands in the previous few decades, but also because they were lawyers who worked within the colonial government and had to conform to the laws which they were tasked to enforce and defend.

Van Sweringen appears to have sought out merchants from his home country, or at least was willing to trade with other Dutchmen when the opportunity arose. Pipes from the Netherlands may have acted as balast to van Swerigen, and helped remind him of home. He owned a 1,500 acre plantation south of St. Mary's City (Miller 2008), which could be where he was able to meet traders and smuggle goods. He may have been providing or selling the pipes to his clients at the inn. The data from the Smith's Ordinary tract indicate that colonists in St. Mary's City were continuing to purchase Dutch goods well into the third quarter of the 17th century, despite the site's location within the capital of Maryland and its close proximity to the Statehouse, the seat of provincial power.

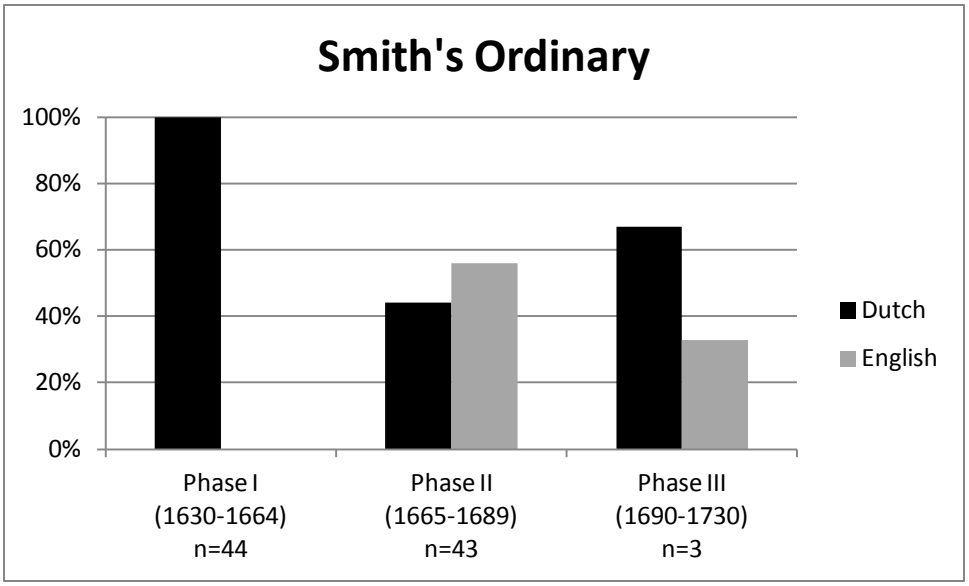

Figure 8.22: Data set from Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) by phase.

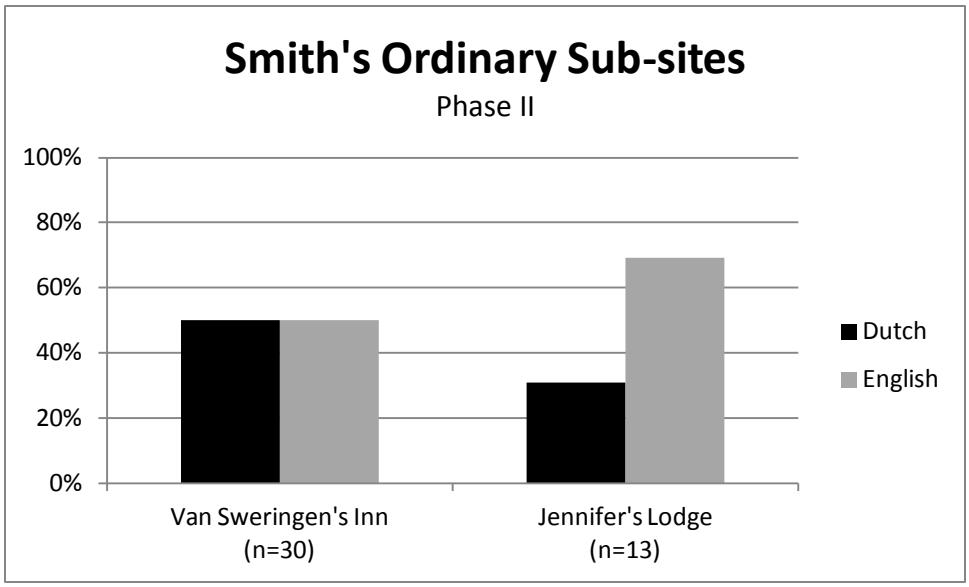

Figure 8.23: Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) Phase II data set by sub-site.

The Big Pit Site

The Big Pit assemblage consists of 91 imported clay pipes (Figure 8.24). All 55 of the pipes from Phase I were imported from the Netherlands. These pipes are likely associated with the Country's House when it was owned by Calvert and then occupied by Governors Stone and Green. The remaining 36 pipes from the Big Pit site are likely associated with Smith's Ordinary and perhaps the Country's House when it was in use as the colonial Statehouse. The majority of the Phase II pipes were produced in the Netherlands, as well. However, once the data set from Phase II is separated by context, differences are apparent (Figure 8.25; See Appendix 2: Table 3).

The plow zone and the feature assemblages illustrate differing consumption patterns (See Appendix 2: Table 3. Eighty-one percent of the pipes from the pit features were manufactured in the Netherlands, whereas, only 33% of the pipes recovered from the plow zone in the pit complex area were imported illegally. The feature fill is directly associated with renovations to Smith's Ordinary undertaken by van Sweringen around 1669 and is likely refuse related to the public inn's occupation. The plow zone artifacts could be associated with Smith's Ordinary or the Country's House and could have been discarded by anyone visiting the capital. It is difficult to make strong interpretations about the Big Pit assemblage because of the ambiguous nature of the site's relationship to any one location or any specific occupation. However, the results support the interpretations that van Sweringen purchased pipes from his home country to sell or distribute to the patrons of his inn. Additionally, the Big Pit assemblage provides another line of evidence that some colonists in the Potomac River Valley were continuing to interact and trade with merchants from the Netherlands well into the middle of the 17th century.

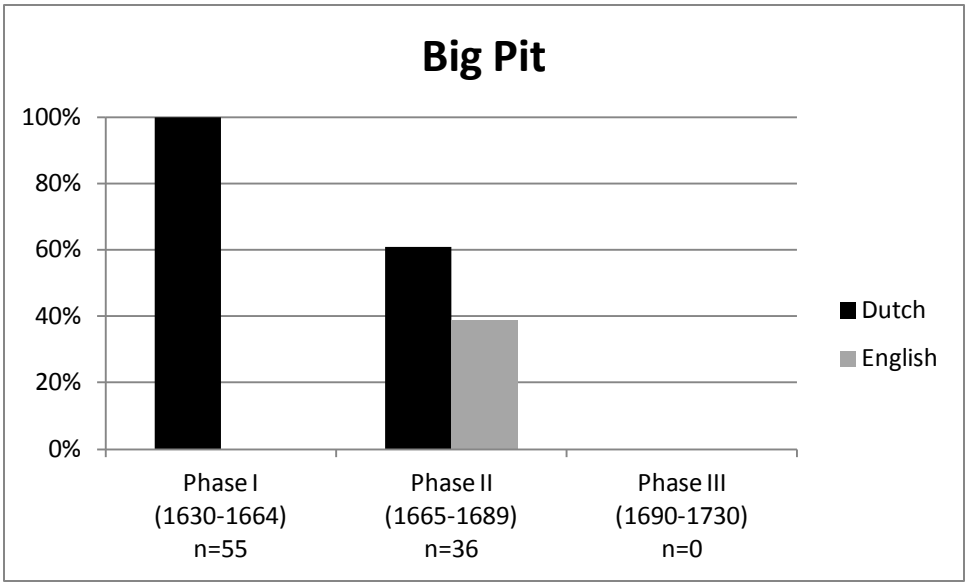

Figure 8.24: Data set from the Big Pit site (18ST1-13) by phase.

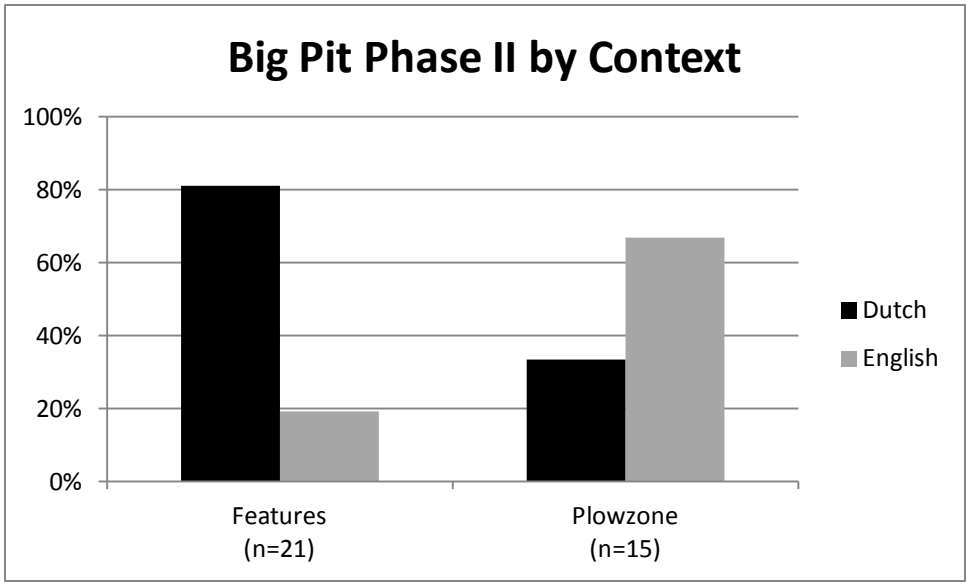

Figure 8.25: Data set from the Big Pit site (18ST1-13) by context.

Clifts Plantation

The Clifts assemblage consists of 322 white clay pipes, 95% of which were imported from England. During both Phase II and Phase III, English pipes dominate the assemblage at Clifts Plantation (Figure 8.26). The high proportion of English pipes found at Clifts is likely related to the site's ownership by Thomas Pope, a successful merchant who transported goods and tobacco to and from Virginia and England, and his son, Nathaniel Pope, who took over his father's Bristol based shipping business. Thomas and Nathaniel lived a short distance up the Potomac River from the Clifts plantation, and likely oversaw and supervised the trans-Atlantic trade at their tenancy. Four English pipes were recovered from Clifts Plantation that illustrate the wide trade network to which the site's tenants had access due to the Popes' commercial endeavors.

Three pipes that were manufactured in London, one by William Manby (1681-1696) and two by Benjamin Stephenson (circa 1713), suggest that Thomas and Nathaniel had business ties in London at the turn of the 18th century. One pipe that was made by Richard Tyler of Somerset around 1700 also suggests that the occupants at Clifts had greater access to diverse trade networks than many other colonists in the Potomac River Valley. These pipes wer likely shipped to the New World via Bristol. Two Richard Tyler pipes were also found at Nomini Plantation, strengthening the interpretation that these two sites were engaged in similar trade networks in the late 17th century and early 18th century.

Two features from Clifts can be isolated and discussed (Figure 8.27). Trash Pit 1 dates to circa 1705 to1715 and contained 49 marked pipes. All but two of the pipes found in the pit were manufactured after circa 1690; one of the earlier pipes (Phase II) was Dutch in origin. The Second Quarter cellar dates to circa 1720 to 1730 and contained 41 marked or decorated pipes.

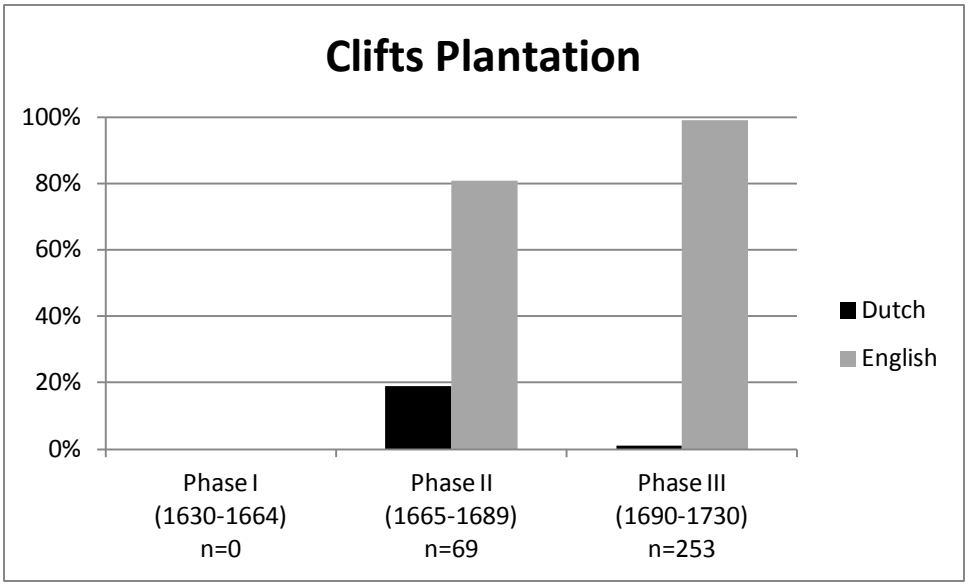

Figure 8.26: Data set from Clifts Plantation (44WM33) by phase.

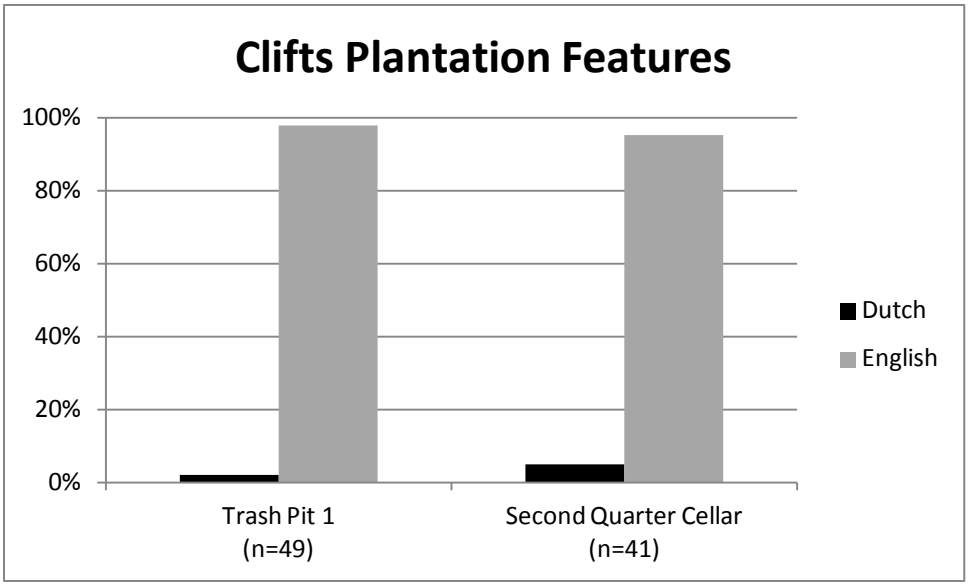

Figure 8.27: Data set from Clifts Plantation (44WM33) features.

Five of the pipes found in cellar were manufactured in the mid-to late-17th century, of which two were Dutch, while the remaining 36 pipes were made after circa 1700. That the cellar, which dates to the end of the site's occupation, contained a wider variety of pipes in regards to temporal and geographic origin than the earlier pit, suggests that Trash Pit 1 was rapidly and purposefully filled, whereas, the cellar was likely filled with yard midden after the site was abandoned. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that 25 of the pipes (more than half) found in Trash Pit 1 were manufactured by Edward Reed (1706-1723). Many of the Reed pipe bowls are whole or nearly whole and found in the same layer, suggesting that they were purposefully discarded (Figure 8.28).

The overall results of the analysis of the Clifts' assemblage supports the trend of decreased reliance on Dutch merchants at the end of the 17th century and into the early 18th century. Although pipes produced in the Netherlands were recovered from Clifts, the low percentage of Dutch goods suggests that the tenants at the site purchased smuggled goods when the opportunity arose, but they did not seek out Dutch merchants. Instead, the site's occupants relied mainly on goods from Bristol and occasionally obtained pipes from elsewhere in England. These trade patterns could be a result of several factors, including the Popes' ownership of the plantation. The pipe assemblage could also indicate that the tenants at Clifts were newly arrived immigrants who had not been trading with Dutch merchants for many years prior to the establishment of their Westmoreland County home.

King's Reach

The majority of the 32 imported pipes recovered from King's Reach were manufactured in England (Figure 8.29). Six of the pipes pre-date the site's establishment around 1690. These pipes were likely imported by the Smith family while they were still living at the original

Figure 8.28: Edward Reed (1706-1723) pipes from Trash Pit 1 at Clifts Plantation (44WM33). Photo by the author 2013. Courtesy of the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association.

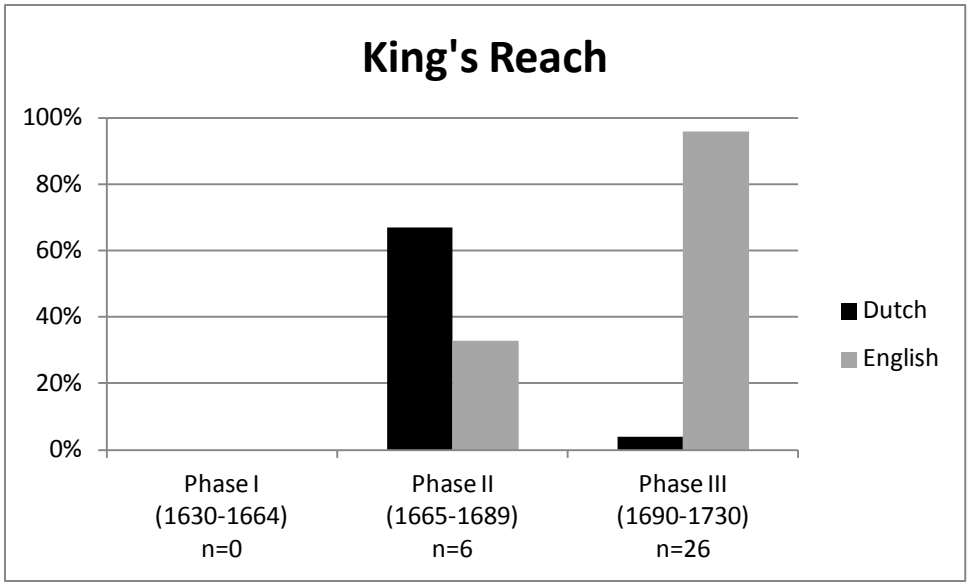

Figure 8.29: Data set from King's Reach (18CV83) by phase.

Taylor/Smith house (18CV92). The original home site and King's Reach are within walking distance of one another and it is conceivable that people frequented the area prior to the erection of Richard Smith, Jr.'s home. Although the sample size is very small from Phase II, it is surprising that more than half of the pipes during this time period are of Dutch origin, especially considering that Richard Smith, Sr. was a high ranking member of the Provincial government. These Phase II data may speak to the ubiquity of Dutch merchants in the Patuxent River and illustrate the difficulty in regulating an area far from the colonial capital. Additionally, the results could indicate that Smith, as Maryland's first Attorney General, purposefully flouted the law while on his private property simply because he could with the knowledge that no one would prosecute him.

Only one Phase III pipe from King's Reach was manufactured in the Netherlands, demonstrating the substantial decline in Anglo-Dutch interactions in the early 18th century. Richard Jr. likely chose to trade within the bounds of the law for several reasons. He was a close confidant and ally of Calvert's and may have avoided smuggled goods out of respect for his friend. Smith was also probably too young and was not alive or of age to have had the opportunity to trade with Dutch merchants before their presence waned at the turn of the century. Additionally, after Governor Francis Nichols moved the colonial capital to Annapolis in 1695, more naval ships frequented the waterways north of the Potomac River, decreasing the ability of merchants to smuggle goods into the area. Nevertheless, the presence of one Dutch pipe from this time period indicates that someone at King's Reach was willing to break the law when illegally imported goods were available.

Rural versus Urban

The results from each site illustrate the variety of choices made by individuals living at each of the sites studied. Each group of people made decisions whether to trade within the bounds of the law based on ethnic backgrounds, amount of time spent in the Chesapeake, political leanings, social status, and position within colonial government. Individual life histories greatly impacted consumer choice and not everyone complied with imperial policy immediately, or even within a few decades. Although each site differed slightly and micro-level investigations have provided nuanced insights into each household's choices, some patterns can be observed when the data are considered at a sub-regional level.

An analysis of sites located within St. Mary's City compared to sites located outside of the city illustrates differences in trade patterns between urban and rural sites (Figure 8.30, Figure 8.31). Only sites within Maryland were used for this comparison because there are no urban contexts on the Virginia side of the Potomac River and the results would be the same as those discussed above contrasting Maryland and Virginia.

Phase I for both urban and rural sites is similar with a high percentage of Dutch pipes. A chi-squared test for Phase I produced a p-value of 0.027 (See Appendix 2: Table 4); however, this result should be viewed skeptically given the vastly different sample sizes between the two assemblages (urban=226, rural=55). A comparison of Phase II between sites within St. Mary's City and those outside of the capital produced highly significant results ($p=<0.0001$) showing that colonists outside of the city were much more willing to smuggle Dutch goods than their counterparts in an urban setting (See Appendix 2: Table 5). These results indicate that individuals located on private plantations not only had greater access to Dutch merchants and their merchandise but felt that they had greater liberty to chose with whom to trade, whereas,

colonists within the city were restricted by imperial regulation and the fear of government sanctions. While in the capital, often in public settings, people chose to outwardly display their compliance with mercantilist policies. Phase III from both assemblages illustrates decreased Dutch presence in the Chesapeake; there is no meaningful difference (p=0.219) between urban and rural sites at the turn of the 18th century (See Appendix 2: Table 6).

The differences between urban and rural consumption patterns can also be observed through a comparison of two households in the Potomac River Valley: St. John's and Mattapany. From 1661 to 1667, Charles Calvert, the governor of Maryland, lived at St. John's, after which time it appears that he leased the property as an ordinary for wealthy men on official business to the capital, while continuing to use it on occasion for governmental activities (King 1988:20-21; Hurry and Keeler 1991:37). In 1667, Calvert moved to Mattapany where he resided until the plantation was captured by Protestant rebels in 1689. There are some issues with the overall sample sizes when comparing the Phase II results from both sites; there are 247 marked pipes from St. John's during this time period and 25 from Mattapany. However, the large cellar at St. John's provides a good sample to compare to Mattapany; all 37 pipes recovered from the cellar were manufactured from circa 1660 to 1685, during Calvert's ownership of St. John's. The majority of the pipes in the St. John's cellar were manufactured in England, compared to a near equal split of illegal and legal pipes at the governor's private plantation (Figure 8.32). The differences between the Mattapany and St. John's assemblages are statistically significant at the 0.05 level with a p-value of 0.025 (See Appendix 2: Table 7).

Perhaps similar processes were occurring in Maryland during the 17th century that Deagan (2007) observed nearly 100 years later in Spanish Florida. She found that members of the elite purchased very few English (i.e. illegal) goods because they had

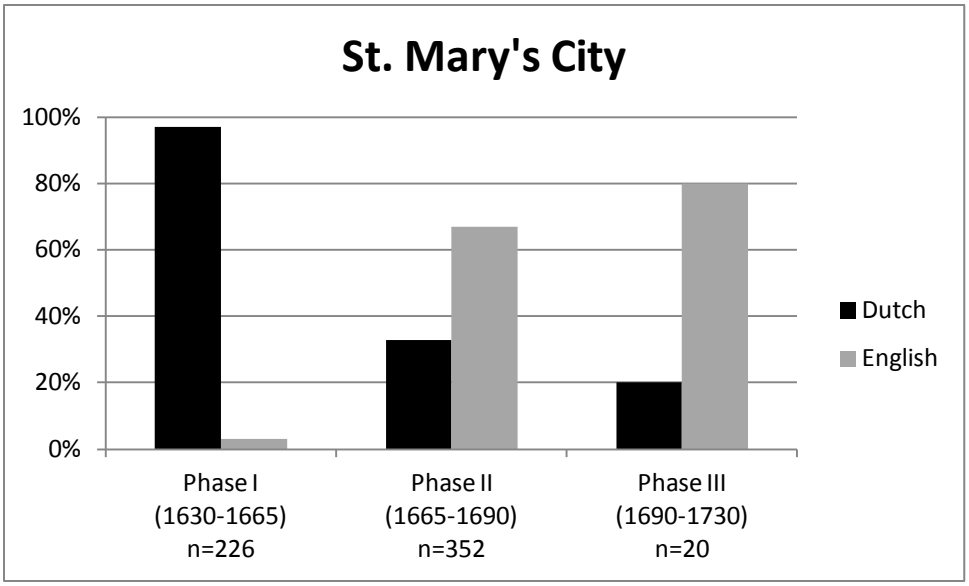

Figure 8.30: Data set from the four sites within St. Mary's City by phase.

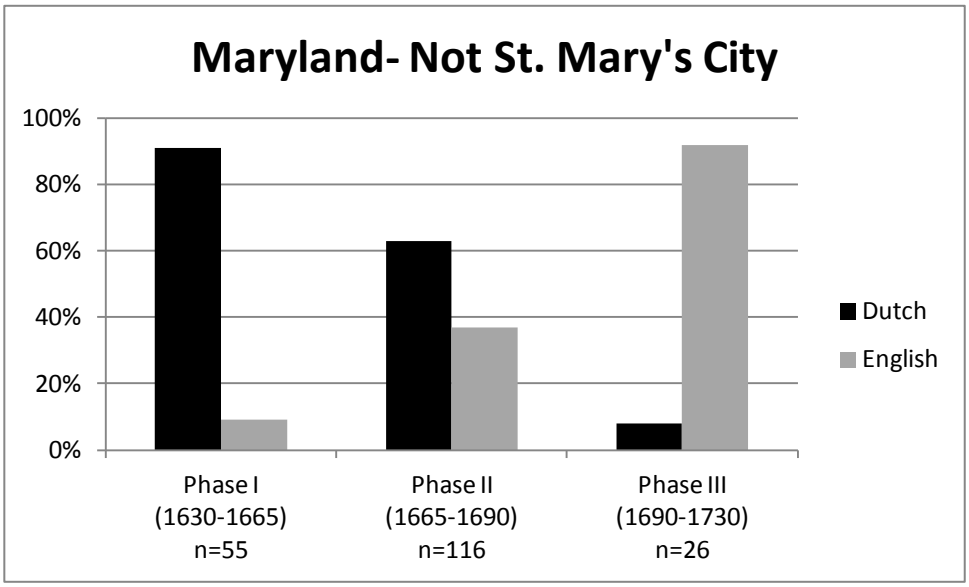

Figure 8.31: Data set from the five rural sites within Maryland by phase.

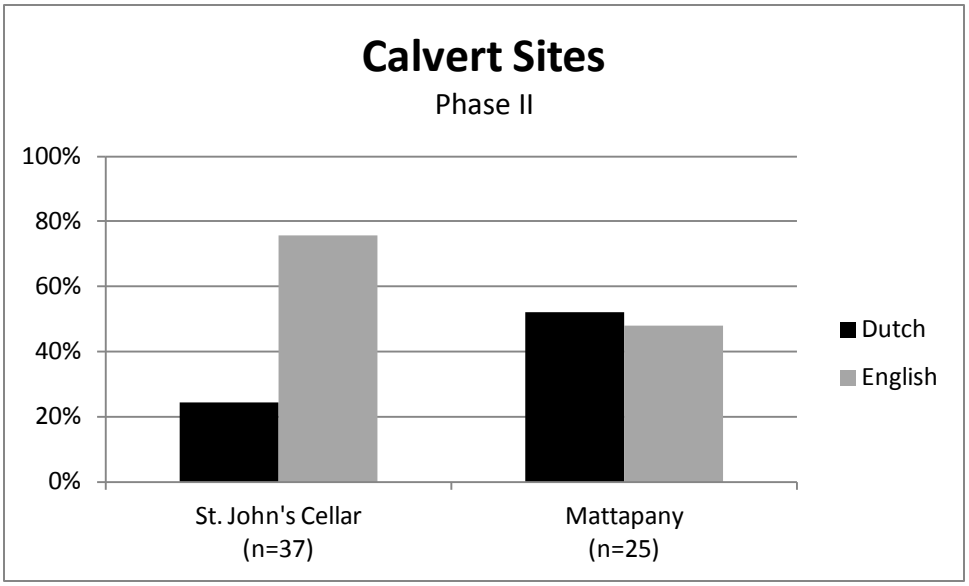

Figure 8.32: Comparison of Calvert's urban and rural home sites' assemblages.

to appear as though they were following the laws they were enforcing, and used only Spanish goods to demonstrate their shared values as members of the ruling class. Calvert may have engaged in consumption patterns that were dependent upon the identity on his intended audience. While he was in the public eye in the colonial capital, he had to demonstrate to others that not only could he afford the more expensive English goods, but that he was trading within the bounds of the law. While he was at his private home in the country, however, the same pressures were not applied, and he was free to trade with whomever he chose. Mattapany served as a point of entry into the Patuxent River, where ships were required to stop and pay fees, before journeying deeper into the colony (Flick et al. n.d.). Similar to the harbor-guard in St. Augustine, Calvert had increased access to ships and their goods, leading to an increase in his acquisition of smuggled items at Mattapany.

Conclusions

The sites used in this study provide a unique case study of the effectiveness of mercantilist policies and the willingness of colonists to engage in illicit trade. All of the sites used in this project are located within the oronoco tobacco region of the Chesapeake colonies. As discussed in Chapter 5, no previous study has examined the impacts of Dutch trade and English commercial policies in the Potomac River Valley. That the Dutch preferred oronoco tobacco to sweet-scented suggests that colonists in the Potomac River Valley were more likely to seek out Dutch merchants and more willing to engage in illicit trade than their southern neighbors (Walsh 1999; Enthoven and Klooster 2011:114-115).

The results of the imported pipe analysis illustrate the variety of choices that colonists in the Potomac River Valley made. No single model can account for the behaviors of the people studied; only highly contextualized interpretations provide insights into the motivations behind

specific consumption patterns at each site. There was no one monolithic trans-Atlantic trade network structured around English imperial policy in which every Chesapeake colonist participated; instead, individuals made choices based on their own background, personal taste, and worldview.

Individual circumstances resulted in a variety of consumption patterns. By examining trade patterns at many different levels, from the household to the regional level, I have been able to explore the "tension between human agency and structural dominance" in the Potomac River Valley (Mullins 2004:204). I argue that colonists materialized their agency in different ways. Some did so by continuing to trade with their fellow countrymen, following imperial policy, and strengthening their ties to their homeland. Others, by resisting attempts by the government in the core to control the lives of those in the periphery, through the overtly political act of choosing to engage in illicit trade and consume pipes imported from the Netherlands and acted in direct violation to imperial policy. Similar to Kardalias' (1999, 2000) concept of "negotiated peripheries," the people in the Potomac River Valley negotiated their place within the emerging capitalist world-system by actively advocating for and engaging in free trade.

Daniel Hughes (2012) argues that sites with a diversity of goods (particularly smuggled goods) illustrates that the occupants were developing "nascent cosmopolitan" identities. Nascent cosmopolitanism developed within contested peripheries and occurred in early-modern societies when "individuals may have multiple identities, citizenships" and are "open to some ideas" that "will benefit themselves" (Hughes 2012:8). Interference by other core countries within a colony facilitated the incorporation of the site and its occupants into the world-system. However, the continued presence of goods from the mother country helped maintain cultural continuity between the colony and metropole. These same processes that Hughes observed in 18th-century

St. Augustine were occurring in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley. Interactions with Dutch merchants led to the exchange of goods and ideas regarding trade and the government's role in regulating trade. Colonists began to assume multiple identities: members of the broad Atlantic World and relational communities within the Upper Chesapeake. With the increased presence of English merchants and their goods and the decline in imperial and colonial conflicts, colonists began to identify with the Potomac River Valley community and the British-Atlantic World.

Imperial mercantilist policy was not the only factor in determining imported pipe assemblages at sites in the mid- to late-17th century; colonists on the periphery were actively resisting the policies of the core, and instead were renegotiating the law for their own benefit based on their own preferences. Individuals made the decision whether or not to trade within the bounds of the law. Membership within relational communities, comprised of like-minded people, contributed to individual choices and helped shape personal identity. The people who actively and subversively resisted absolutist colonial government, such as the occupants of the Hallowes site, Nomini Plantation, and Compton, exchanged locally-produced pipes marked with imagery representing their political leanings, specifically the Tudor Rose symbol, in the 1650s. These same people also chose to continue to interact and trade with Dutch merchants after it had become illegal to do so in 1651.

In the late 1650s and into the 1660s, the first wave of immigrants into the Potomac River Valley began to die and community lines began to shift. The social memory of the violence, political upheaval, and economic hardship related to the English Civil War and Ingle's Rebellion in the first half of the century began to fade to be replaced with new fears and concerns with the Stuart Restoration, Bacon's Rebellion, and shifting demographics within the Chesapeake. Some people were old enough to personally remember the adversities of the previous decades, others

may have been told about these events, and newly arrived immigrants would have no personal knowledge of the hardships that colonists in the Chesapeake had faced. These different groups of people made different consumption decisions based on their background and previous experiences; some people traded within the bounds of the law and others did not.

The people who mainly consumed English pipes from the l660s and into the 1680s were often newly arrived settlers such as John Washington, had direct ties to traders in England like the tenants at Clifts Plantation, had diverse mercantile connections like the tenants at Patuxent Point, or were too young to have formed social and commercial relationships with the Dutch such as William Hardidge of Nomini. Everyone in the Potomac River Valley continued to trade with the Dutch to varying degrees. Whether they sought out merchants from the Netherlands or only purchased smuggled goods when it was convenient depended on individual circumstances. What is most interesting is that the majority of the illegally purchased pipes were recovered from sites within the colonial capital of St. Mary's City. Dutch pipes are much more decorative than their English counterparts and thus much more detectable in a public setting. Perhaps, Dutch pipes served as visible manifestations of the smoker's political and economic leanings.

I argue that colonists in the Chesapeake were using the highly decorative Dutch pipes to signal their support of free trade. While initially colonists were trading with the Dutch out of necessity and convenience in the 1630s and 1640s when the English were unable to send supplies to the colonies, by the third quarter of the 17th century Anglo-Dutch interactions and smuggled goods had begun to shape the community, reinforce the way the colonists understood themselves as individuals, and strengthen their political ideas surrounding their rights to free trade. I contend that the colonists who mainly traded within the bounds of the law did so not because core imposed regulations forced them to purchase goods from English merchants, but

because they chose to do so based on their own personal history and connections; they did so out of self interest. Even at sites in which English pipes made up the majority of the assemblage, Dutch pipes were still present, illustrating individual choice to break the law. Colonists had the right as individuals to consume Dutch goods if they wanted, and Dutch pipes were a highly visible way of indicating resistance to imperial policy.

Drawing on Douglas and Isherwood (1979) and McCracken (1988), Elizabeth Kellar (2004) used the concept of ballast and bridges in her study of the enslaved villages on St. Johns in the Virgin Islands. She argued that Dutch pipes served as anchors among the enslaved African and Afro-Caribbean people, and helped maintain group cohesion during times of social upheaval, such as during the capture and enslavement of individuals. Dutch pipes helped link people from many different ethno-linguistic backgrounds who were forced to live and work together in a cohesive group. Dutch pipes would have been more familiar than English pipes to recently captured Africans because the Dutch variety were more available in West Africa resulting from the numerous Dutch colonies in the area and because the Dutch controlled the majority of the slave trade. Kellar argued that by using Dutch pipes, and not the English pipes, enslaved people on St. Johns were preventing “cultural drift” through the consumption of goods that were familiar to all residents of the villages.

In the 1650s, the consumption of Dutch pipes served to anchor communities comprised of anti-government individuals, such as at the occupants of Hallowes and Nomini, similar to the Ingle's Rebellion pipes. After 1648, the Northern Neck was legally opened for settlement and the southern shores of the Potomac River saw a dramatic influx of new immigrants in the third quarter of the 17th century. These new people had not experienced the same chaos that the first settlers had survived, and the consumption of illegally purchased pipes helped reproduce

community boundaries by reminding individuals, and those who could see the pipes while being smoked, of their political identities. In the 1660s and 1670s, like the Tudor Rose type locally-made pipes, Dutch pipes acted to connect various groups of people, many of whom probably never met, throughout the Potomac River Valley. The subversive act of purchasing illegal goods helped unite people who had not bonded through the turmoil and violence of rebellion; in this way, they all shared in the knowledge that others were resisting imperial policies as well.

Drawing on McCracken's (1988:130) argument that consumer goods "are important and ubiquitous agents of change," Kellar (2004:175) stated, "material items help groups create a new definition of self, a new identity, and the revision of their cultural world." I argue that pipes acted as agents of change and aided in the cohesion of a Potomac River Valley community and British-Atlantic identity. The Potomac River Valley community was a community of individuals united by a shared economic interest in the cultivation of oronoco tobacco. Members of this community remained staunchly individualistic as illustrated by the fact that no one site in the Potomac River Valley had a pipe assemblage comprised of 100% English-made pipes at the turn of the 18th century; self-interest and the willingness to engage in illicit trade for financial gain remained a core tenet in the region. With the increased presence of English merchants and quality of English goods at the turn of the 18th century, colonists began to rely on their homeland more. Increasingly, colonists consumed greater amounts of English merchandise and the act of smoking English pipes helped reinforce the idea that colonists were members of an empire and served to unify the British-Atlantic World.

Laura Galke (2015) has similarly argued that colonists in Southern Maryland and on the Northern Neck of Virginia used consumer goods to demonstrate their commitment to the English Empire after the crowning of William and Mary, focusing on late 17th- and early-18th-century

stoneware ceramics decorated with the monarchs' images. She states, "exhibiting these vessels was an unequivocal political statement, during a politically unstable period, in a politically unstable region" (Galke 2015:5). Galke contends that people who resisted Lord Baltimore and the Stuart monarchy displayed stoneware jugs with the portraits of William and Mary as a way to coalesce Protestant group identity.

Some scholars have pointed to the turn of the 18th century as the time when people in the colonies and the metropole began to feel a common Britishness and that violence, political upheaval, and ideological debates over the Navigation Acts in the mid-17th century produced a unified British-Atlantic World (McCusker and Menard 1985; Bliss 1990; Armitage 2000; Pestana 2004). Koot (2011) argued that colonists abandoned illegal trade and conformed (mostly) to English mercantilist policy only once Dutch merchants no longer benefited the colonists in the beginning of the 18th century. Once the Dutch were no longer able to offer better credit, and the English economy was more stable, the colonists chose to abandon smuggling. He says that economic development and self interest succeeded where the Navigation Acts failed. Sites from Phase III support the assertions of historians that Anglo-Dutch relations began to break down during this time period and a shared British identity developed which encouraged increase trade between English merchants and Chesapeake colonists.

By the turn of the 18th century, many of the economic and political hardships of the 1640s and 1650s during the English Civil War and the Commonwealth government would have been forgotten. The fear of Catholic and absolutist rule had recently been eliminated after the Glorious Revolution and Coode's Rebellion in Maryland. There was no longer a need to argue for free trade policies out of economic self-interest because English industry and shipping had broken Dutch hegemonic control on trade. People did not need rebel communities to survive on

the periphery because the British Empire was rapidly growing and able to support her colonies. While colonists continued to engage in opportunistic smuggling in the early 18th century, the presence of Dutch merchants had seriously declined and the Chesapeake had all but abandoned its former saviors. Colonists in the Potomac River Valley turned to their mother country in the early 18th century for goods as a reflection of their newly formed British-Atlantic identity

Chapter 9 : Conclusions

Trade in goods, and the exchange of information and ideas that resulted, was the backbone and lifeblood of early colonial life in the Chesapeake colonies. Any attempt to control trade will eventually result in conflict, because as one 17th-century colonist in Maryland observed, “If Trade should once cease, the Custom-house would soon miss her hundreds and thousands Hogs-heads of Tobacco… and the Gentry and Commonalty their Pipes” because “Trafque is Earth's great Atlas, that supports The pay of Armies, and the height of Courts” (Alsop 1666). In this dissertation, I have examined the importance of trade and exchange for creating and maintaining community in the 17th-century Atlantic World, and specifically to colonists in the Potomac River Valley.

Stylistic differences can be viewed as symbols used by group members to communicate with one another and for determining in-group membership. Thus, the construction of these identities, whether personal or communal, will be reflected in the material world of the individuals and group. Clay pipes are one such tangible reality of identity construction and social/economic relationships that can be found in the archaeological record.

The multiscalar approach I used to study trade and exchange has allowed me to explore many different aspects of identity formation within the 17th-century Potomac River Valley. The Potomac River Valley as unit of analysis allows for sub-regional comparisons, and because each site was a unique place, nuanced histories of individuals can be understood. Starting at the level of the English Atlantic I examined the impacts of events and policies enacted within the core on the New World colonies. By contextualizing the locally-made pipe trade within the political and social upheaval that defined the Potomac River Valley in the 17th century, I investigated the multi-layered networks of local and regional exchange, focusing on the social-symbolic

importance of pipes that were manufactured in the Chesapeake. Household level analyses allowed for an exploration of individuals' motivations in regards to consumption choices, both of imported and locally-made pipes.

The running theme throughout this dissertation has been the importance of Anglo-Dutch interaction in the formation of both a Potomac River Valley community and a British-Atlantic identity. The Dutch were influential in English imperial trade policy, colonial ideas regarding political economy, and symbols used by colonists to resist authoritarian rule.

Dutch cultural values of liberty, emphasis on the rights of the individual, and focus on commerce as the main avenue for success paved the way for the Netherlands to become the first nation with capitalistic tendencies. Throughout the 17th century, Englishmen observed Dutch prosperity and jealously wanted to follow in their footsteps. However, there were debates throughout the century on the best way to gain the wealth the Dutch seemingly came to so easily. First, the English implemented a number of laws and regulations to restrict trade and commerce, believing that because the world's wealth was finite, if they took away goods and bullion from the Netherlands, then England could hoard it all. These mercantilist policies reinforced the idea that trade was a zero-sum game. Near the end of the 17th century, many English merchants recognized Dutch ideological links between liberty and commerce, and began to agitate for English adoption of these free trade policies, rejecting government control of manufacturing and navigation. It was not until the turn of the 18th century that the English implemented new policies that opened up English shipping and trade, breaking down old royal monopolies on commerce. England's emulation of Dutch practices led to the development of the British Empire and a shared British identity around the Atlantic World.

At the same time England, and then Britain, was emerging as a fully capitalistic state at the end of the 17th century, the Dutch were losing their hegemonic control of the Atlantic World. England's new political economic policies that encouraged the free flow of goods and people to and from the country encouraged the growth of all industry. England's manufacturing and shipping industries were able to outcompete the Dutch in the early-18th century. The Netherlands no longer served as a haven for fleeing religious and political dissenters after the crowning of William and Mary due to England's new religious policies of toleration and new government strategies that emphasized representative rule, giving Parliament more direct power and control over the state. Changes in Britain's economic, political, and religious policies led to a rise in British populations and wealth around the Atlantic World and a decline in Dutch power and prestige. Britain's growth as a maritime commercial empire, coupled with a number of wars in which the Netherlands were engaged, devastated the Dutch economy and largely removed them from the Atlantic World.

Anglo-Dutch trade was most intense during times of political strife in England. Throughout the reign of the Stuarts, England's monarchy and Parliament were in direct opposition, and for the duration of the Commonwealth period, Cromwell's hold over the colonies was tentative. It was during these political upheavals that the Dutch had the opportunity to enter the Chesapeake and influence English colonists. Dutch commercial activities provided much-needed relief to colonists in Virginia and Maryland when their mother country could not, allowing the struggling colonies to survive. Colonists agitated for their rights to free trade, using Dutch inspired rhetoric, during times of intense absolutist control over trans-Atlantic commerce, particularly under Cromwell and Charles II. After 1688, the English government began to adopt Dutch economic and political practices, including free trade. Colonists no longer needed Dutch

trade, because English merchants could offer similarly competitive prices and quality of goods. Once economic conditions changed, and the British Empire could fully support her colonies, planters in the Chesapeake mostly abandoned the Dutch. With the establishment of a British-Atlantic identity based on liberty and free trade, there was no longer a need to argue for commercial policies based on Dutch political economy.

The imported ball clay pipes show the tangible realities of how the colonists were impacted by, and reacted to, events and policies enacted in Europe. The presence of pipes manufactured in the Netherlands in the Potomac River Valley after 1665, during a time when it was illegal to trade with the Dutch, supports the assertion that colonists negotiated their place within the system to their own benefit, and were not always dominated by the core. However, they not only negotiated their place within the Atlantic World, but stimulated debate within the world-system on the best way to rule a vast empire. Although the Navigation Acts were ultimately passed in the mid-to late-17th century, peripheral protests and actions impacted the way politicians in the core discussed and implemented these laws.

Although a generalized model cannot account for the variety of consumption practices examined, some broad interpretations can be made. The archaeological data illustrate the changes in imperial political economic policy and colonial reaction to trade restrictions. The results of this study indicate that there was an overall reliance on Dutch goods in the early 17th century, continued trade with merchants from the Netherlands after the passage of the Navigation Acts, and a decreased, but still apparent, engagement in smuggling into the early 18th century. However, there are clear differences between the two Chesapeake colonies and variation among the 16 sites examined for this project.

These differences speak to agency and consumer choice, rather than pure economic or geographic constraints. Individual actions and histories played key roles in decisions about whether to engage in illicit trade or to trade within the bounds of law. Particularly important to an individual's decisions were relationships that were formed during the 1640s, 1650s, and early 1660s with Dutch merchants. It was through these trade interactions that Dutch cultural ideas surrounding free trade were introduced to the English settlers. These ideologies clearly influenced some of the Chesapeake colonists, as indicated by their continued reliance on illegal Dutch goods well into the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Individuals made these choices; the English government had very little control over these interactions and relationships, especially in the Upper Chesapeake where imperial regulations were less strictly enforced. The Dutch become almost impossible to find in the historical and archaeological records in the Chesapeake by the 1730s, not simply because the government in the core was better able to enforce the empire's mercantilist policies, but also because, for various reasons, the people on the periphery chose to consume English goods.

The political uprisings that occurred in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley discussed in this dissertation were the results of many factors, including individual self interest. Capitalistic notions of individual rights and liberty colonists adopted from Dutch traders helped stimulate debates about government control in the Chesapeake and led to several violent uprisings. While people still needed community bonds, reinforced through many different types of interactions, they also resented any government control over themselves or their economic prospects. Relational communities, based on shared political and economic interests and religious affiliations, existed prior to the formation of distinct geographic communities, or neighborhoods, on the Virginia side of the Potomac River. However, these communities of the mind were not

solely restricted to neighborhoods on the Northern Neck. Many people fled St. Mary's City and Lord Baltimore in the middle of the 17th century, including those who lived on Solomons Island along the Patuxent River and the Puritans at Providence. The distribution of locally-made pipes, specifically the Tudor Rose and Drue types, illustrates the connections between these diverse groups of people who may or may not have personally known one another and the influence of political and religious thought on local and regional exchange networks. The exchange of the Ingle's Rebellion type pipes demonstrates the importance of shared events and mindsets on community formation and interaction.

It is important to understand these connections in order to better interpret archaeological assemblages in the Potomac River Valley. The history of the Northern Neck will not be fully understood until archaeologists and historians working in the area recognize the importance of a broader view of history that goes beyond the site and the modern-day political boundaries and until many more sites have been excavated and examined. People who lived on the Northern Neck were not influenced solely by Jamestown politics and policy, nor were they only products of St. Mary's City. The close geographical proximity and relationships, both friendly and hostile, fostered between the residents of southern Maryland and the Northern Neck certainly played a much larger role in the lives of the 17th- and- 18th-century residents of the area than has previously been acknowledged.

The three neighborhood-communities I traced in this dissertation were all founded by people who fought for their rights as individuals in the face of government control. The Chicacoan community was established by John Mottrom, the first Englishman to settle on the Northern Neck, illegally, and by Kent Islanders who fled Baltimore's attempts to control their commercial interests. Men like John Hallowes, Thomas Speke, and Nathaniel Pope all rebelled

against Calvert's absolutist rule and formed the Nomini Bay community. The Appamattucks community was solidified in the face of rebellion. Men like John Washington resented attempts to restrict their newly found political and economic power, both by those they deemed socially below them, who were increasing in number every year, and others, like Bacon, who were disdainful of the *nouveau riche*. Each of these communities was composed of individuals who were fiercely protective of their newly acquired rights and freedoms, even if that protection meant denying others the same access to wealth, freedom, and political involvement.

The neighborhood-communities that were formed in the middle of the 17th century as a result of armed conflict soon transformed into a coherent Potomac River Valley community at the turn of the 18th century. This new community was comprised of individuals with shared economic interests, mainly the cultivation and trade of oronoco tobacco as opposed to the sweet-scented variety, and a shared memory of resistance to absolutism, Catholic rule, and mercantilist policies. With the breakdown of several distinct communities, the strengthening of the Potomac River Valley community, and the rise of a British-Atlantic identity, English colonists in the Chesapeake all began to consume similar goods, such as English pipes, and visible manifestations of subversive communities, such as local pipes marked with the Tudor Rose, disappeared.

The importance of Dutch commercial thought and the influence it had on stimulating debates regarding the legitimacy of government-control cannot be overstated. From the moment the first Dutch man-of-war entered Virginia in 1619 to sell tobacco planters 20 Africans, capitalistic concepts of free trade were being transplanted from the Netherlands to the Chesapeake. Dutch credit and capital were all available to the English settlers, along with ideologies such as liberty of conscience and *mare liberum*, which directly opposed the English

concept of *mare clausum* with which they and their peers in England would have been familiar. They continued to smuggle goods from the Netherlands when it was beneficial to them, showing that the idea of liberty of conscience adopted from Dutch merchants remained essential to colonial identity. The overall results of this study demonstrate that colonists in the Chesapeake continued to trade with the Dutch after the passage of the Navigations Acts in the middle of the 17th century, illustrating how people in the periphery were active in the system, and not passive to core domination. These capitalistic ideas surrounding the rights of the individual were also influential in resistance to absolutism within colonial governments, which led to rebellion, political struggles, and helped shape the nature and character of the Potomac River Valley.

The influence of Dutch political thought on colonial resistance to absolutism is best illustrated by two examples. The first is Governor Berkeley's reaction to mercantilist policies in which he directly linked the concept liberty on conscience and free trade. The second is the colonial adoption of a symbol used in the Netherlands to resist the absolute monarchy of Stuart England, the Tudor Rose, on locally-made pipes made in the Upper Chesapeake and used by colonists who resented the rule of Lord Baltimore. The influence of the Dutch on local industry and intercolonial trade networks is visible in the production and distribution of the elaborately decorated Bookbinder pipes, likely resulting from a pipe maker who was from or had been trained in the Netherlands prior to immigrating to Virginia.

This dissertation has explored the impacts of trade, exchange, violence, and political ideology on community formation and the development of a British-Atlantic identity in the Potomac River Valley during the long 17th century. This project is a study in the usefulness of the multiscalar approach, starting at the level of the Atlantic World, and narrowing to the regional, community, and household levels. My engagement with archaeological and historical

records adds to discussions of economic development, individualism, and processes of cultural contact and change. Particularly important is my examination of the use of everyday objects, tobacco pipes, in shaping the relationship between agents and structure. The colonists studied in this dissertation created, inhabited, and helped transform colonial and English society into coherent Potomac River Valley and British-Atlantic identities partially through their interactions with new groups of people and the social and economic choices they made regarding trade and exchange.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 : Marks and Decorations from each Site

Table A1 : Marks and Decorations from each Site

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Old Chapel Field (18ST233) 1637-1660	Raised-dot Tudor Rose on bowl	1	Dutch
Old Chapel Field (18ST233) 1637-1660	Misc. stem decoration	2	Dutch
Old Chapel Field (18ST233) 1637-1660	"IF"	1	English
Old Chapel Field (18ST233) 1637-1660	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	1	English
Old Chapel Field (18ST233) 1637-1660	Bookbinder	2	Local
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"EB"	2	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"A"	1	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"NB" with fleur de lis	2	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"IP" with crown	1	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"LS"	1	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Knight maker's mark	1	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"ID"	1	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Tulip maker's mark	1	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Tudor Rose maker's mark	4	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Raised-dot Tudor Rose on bowl	6	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Mulberry on bowl	8	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Pikeman and Minerva	1	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Chain rouletting on stem	8	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Misc. stem decoration	19	Dutch

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	V-milling on stem	4	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Repeat fleur-de-lis on stem	44	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Four-on-diamond fleur-de-lis on stem	24	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Fleur-de-lis with scrolls on stem	3	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Pinched stem	1	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	Fleur-de-lis and floral decoration on stem	10	Dutch
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"IR"	3	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"ER"	1	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"FR"	1	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"IT"	1	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"PE"	1	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"RT" II	6	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"N"	1	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	27	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	91	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"AA"	1	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"CHRIS ATHARTON"	4	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"IF"	3	English
St. John's (18ST1-23) 1638-1715	"IP"	3	English

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Pope's Fort (18ST1-13) 1645-1655	"SV"	1	Dutch
Pope's Fort (18ST1-13) 1645-1655	Chain rouletting on stem	1	Dutch
Pope's Fort (18ST1-13) 1645-1655	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	5	English
Pope's Fort (18ST1-13) 1645-1655	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	1	English
Pope's Fort (18ST1-13) 1645-1655	Bookbinder	24	Local
Pope's Fort (18ST1-13) 1645-1655	Ingle's Rebellion	4	Local
Pope's Fort (18ST1-13) 1645-1655	Broadneck	15	Local
Pope's Fort (18ST1-13) 1645-1655	Tudor Rose Variety 1	4	Local
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	Tudor Rose maker's mark	2	Dutch
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	Fleur-de-lis stem decoration	1	Dutch
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	Misc. stem decoration	4	Dutch
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	"WT" with fleur-de-lis	2	Dutch
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	Bristol diamond stem decoration	8	English
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	3	English
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	1	English
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	Bookbinder	7	Local
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	Ingle's Rebellion	4	Local
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	Drue	1	Local
Hallowes (44WM6) 1647-1681	Tudor Rose Variety 1	1	Local

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Molded Floral	2	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Misc. stem decoration	37	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"AB"	1	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Tudor Rose maker's mark	2	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"EB"	1	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Fleur-de-lis stem decoration	3	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"W"	1	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Four-on-diamond fleur-de-lis on stem	4	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Repeat fleur-de-lis on stem	2	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Chain rouletting on stem	4	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"SV"	1	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	V-milling on stem	1	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"NH"	1	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Pinched stem	1	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"A"	1	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"IC" with star	1	Dutch
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	52	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	16	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Bristol diamond stem decoration	98	English

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"RN"	10	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"IS"	18	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"IP" with Bristol diamond on stem	18	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"IA"	2	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"I ABBOT"	2	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"IA" with Bristol diamond on stem	3	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"AG"	1	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"RB"	1	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"RT" II	11	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"IP"	6	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"II"	3	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	TO	2	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"FR"	3	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"RA"	1	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"RICH TYLEE"	2	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"WS"	1	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	"IF"	2	English
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Bookbinder	1	Local
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Ingle's Rebellion	3	Local

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Tudor Rose Variety 1	2	Local
Nomini Plantation (44WM12) 1647-1722	Imitation Bristol	1	Local
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	"EB"	42	Dutch
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	Pikeman and Minerva	20	Dutch
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	Misc. stem decoration	11	Dutch
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	Four-on-diamond fleur-de-lis on stem	2	Dutch
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	Fleur-de-lis with scrolls on stem	2	Dutch
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	Molded Floral	2	Dutch
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	V-milling on stem	1	Dutch
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	"FLOWER HUNT"	1	English
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	"PE"	1	English
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	1	English
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	1	English
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	Broadneck	3	Local
Compton (18CV279) 1651-1685	Tudor Rose Variety 2	1	Local
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Pikeman and Minerva	9	Dutch
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Chain rouletting on stem	4	Dutch
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Mulberry on bowl	2	Dutch
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Misc. stem decoration	5	Dutch

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"SF"	1	Dutch
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"MB" with fleur-de-lis	1	Dutch
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	14	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"IF"	1	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"W"	1	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"IS"	2	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Bristol diamond stem decoration	3	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	3	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"IH"	1	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"AA"	2	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Tippet	1	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	"PE"	1	English
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Drue	2	Local
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Broadneck	9	Local
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Tudor Rose Variety 1	1	Local
Patuxent Point (18CV271) 1658-1690	Richard Pimmer	1	Local
Coan Hall (44NB11) 1662-1727	Raised-dot Tudor Rose on bowl	1	Dutch
Coan Hall (44NB11) 1662-1727	Misc. stem decoration	1	Dutch
Coan Hall (44NB11) 1662-1727	Chain rouletting on stem	1	Dutch

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Coan Hall (44NB11) 1662-1727	Bristol diamond stem decoration	8	English
Coan Hall (44NB11) 1662-1727	"RH"	1	English
Coan Hall (44NB11) 1662-1727	Drue	1	Local
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	Chain rouletting on stem	2	Dutch
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	"X"	2	Dutch
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	"SV"	1	Dutch
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	Misc. stem decoration	3	Dutch
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	V-milling on stem	1	Dutch
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	Mulberry on bowl	1	Dutch
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	"RB"	1	Dutch
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	Fleur-de-lis stem decoration	2	Dutch
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	3	English
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	4	English
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	Bristol diamond stem decoration	3	English
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	Coat of Arms	1	English
Mattapany (18ST390) 1663-1689	"H"	1	English
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	"EB"	1	Dutch
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	Misc. stem decoration	1	Dutch
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	V-milling on stem	1	Dutch

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	"IP"	3	English
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	"RT" I	3	English
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	7	English
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	Bristol diamond stem decoration	21	English
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	9	English
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	"RT" II	3	English
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	"IS"	1	English
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	"WD"	1	Local
Washington (44WM204) 1664-1704	Imitation Bristol	1	Local
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Fleur-de-lis stem decoration	38	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	"IC" with star	1	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Four-on-diamond fleur-de-lis on stem	1	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Fleur-de-lis maker's mark	1	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Fleur-de-lis and floral decoration on stem	2	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Raised-dot Tudor Rose on bowl	7	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Misc. stem decoration	4	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Fleur-de-lis on bowl	1	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	V-milling on stem	2	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Pikeman and Minerva	1	Dutch

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Mulberry on bowl	1	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Chain rouletting on stem	1	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Molded Floral	2	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	"82"	2	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Tudor Rose maker's mark	1	Dutch
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Bristol diamond stem decoration	9	English
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	12	English
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	3	English
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	"IT"	1	English
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	"WD"	1	Local
Smith's Ordinary (18ST1-13) 1666-1678	Drue	1	Local
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Molded Floral	2	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Crowned Tudor Rose	5	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Fleur-de-lis stem decoration	42	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Fleur-de-lis maker's mark	1	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Tudor Rose maker's mark	1	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Four-on-diamond fleur-de-lis on stem	4	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	V-milling on stem	1	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	"A"	3	Dutch

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	"OA"	2	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Misc. stem decoration	1	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	"WW"	4	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Raised-dot Tudor Rose on bowl	10	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Globe maker's mark	1	Dutch
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	"W"	1	English
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	3	English
Bit Pit (18ST1-13) 1669-1670	Bristol diamond stem decoration	10	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	V-milling on stem	1	Dutch
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	Misc. stem decoration	5	Dutch
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	Fleur-de-lis with scrolls on stem	1	Dutch
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"D"	1	Dutch
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	Pinched stem	1	Dutch
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IT" with star	2	Dutch
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IP" on elbow	1	Dutch
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	Chain rouletting on stem	1	Dutch
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IS" with star	3	Dutch
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"ISSAC EVANS"	2	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IB"	23	English

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IM"	2	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	13	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"RT" I	6	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"RT" II	61	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"RT" III	6	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	Bristol diamond stem decoration	14	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"FR"	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"AS"	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	17	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"ER"	81	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"II"	15	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"TH"	4	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IP"	6	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"WM"	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IP" with Bristol diamond on stem	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"RICH TYLEE"	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"RW"	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"RC"	2	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"I ABBOT"	1	English

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IC"	11	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"DC"	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IS"	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"CH"	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"BS"	2	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"WR"	1	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IA"	13	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"T"	8	English
Clifts Plantation (44WM33) 1670-1730	"IH"	6	English
Newman's Neck (44NB180) 1672-1747	Chain rouletting on stem	2	Dutch
Newman's Neck (44NB180) 1672-1747	"WT" with fleur-de-lis	1	Dutch
Newman's Neck (44NB180) 1672-1747	"LE"/ other Llewellin Evans mark	3	English
Newman's Neck (44NB180) 1672-1747	"WE"/ other William Evans mark	1	English
Newman's Neck (44NB180) 1672-1747	"RT" I	1	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	Pinched stem	3	Dutch
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	Mulberry on bowl	1	Dutch
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	Bucket maker's mark	1	Dutch
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"RT"	3	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"IF"	2	English

Table A1 Continued

Site and Date Range	Mark or decoration	Number	Origin
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"IM"	1	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"ER"	1	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"IE"	6	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"AI"	1	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"WM"	2	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"WG"	3	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"WT"	1	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"IP"	1	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"TO"	4	English
King's Reach (18CV83) 1690-1711	"RS"	2	English
Brooks (44WM205) 1700-1725	Misc. stem decoration	1	Dutch
Brooks (44WM205) 1700-1725	Bristol diamond stem decoration	1	English
Brooks (44WM205) 1700-1725	"CH"	1	English

Appendix 2 : Chi-squared Contingency Tables

Table A2.1: Chi-squared results from Maryland vs. Virginia Phase II.

Type * Site Crosstabulation

Count

		Site		
		Maryland	Virginia	Total
Type	Dutch	186	73	259
	English	280	353	633
Total		466	426	892

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	56.039[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	54.939	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	57.641	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	892				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 123.69.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table A2.2: Chi-squared results from Compton vs. Patuxent Point Phase II.

Type * Site Crosstabulation

Count

		Site		
		Compton	Patuxent	Total
Type	Dutch	35	22	57
	English	3	27	30
Total		38	49	87

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.112[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	19.074	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	23.680	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	87				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.10.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table A2.3: Chi-squared results from Big Pit features vs. Big Pit plow zone.

Type * Site Crosstabulation

Count

		Site		
		BP Feat	BP PZ	Total
Type	Dutch	17	5	22
	English	4	10	14
Total		21	15	36

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.349[a]	1	.004	.006	.005
Continuity Correction[b]	6.465	1	.011		
Likelihood Ratio	8.568	1	.003	.006	.005
Fisher's Exact Test				.006	.005
N of Valid Cases	36				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.83.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table A2.4: Chi-squared results from urban vs. rural Phase I.

Type * Site Crosstabulation

Count

		Site		
		Urban I	Rural I	Total
Type	Dutch	220	50	270
	English	6	5	11
Total		226	55	281

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.871[a]	1	.027	.043	.043
Continuity Correction[b]	3.311	1	.069		
Likelihood Ratio	3.959	1	.047	.130	.043
Fisher's Exact Test				.043	.043
N of Valid Cases	281				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.15.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table A2.5: Chi-squared results from Urban vs. Rural Phase II.

Type * Site Crosstabulation

Count

		Site		
		Urban II	Rural II	Total
Type	Dutch	115	72	187
	English	237	43	280
Total		352	115	467

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	32.360[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	31.125	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	31.922	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	467				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 46.05.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table A2.6: Chi-squared results from Urban vs. Rural Phase III.

Type * Site Crosstabulation

Count

		Site		
		Urban III	Rur III	Total
Type	Dutch	4	2	6
	English	16	24	40
Total		20	26	46

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.510[a]	1	.219	.380	.215
Continuity Correction[b]	.620	1	.431		
Likelihood Ratio	1.506	1	.220	.380	.215
Fisher's Exact Test				.380	.215
N of Valid Cases	46				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.61.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table A2.7: Chi-squared results from Mattapany vs. St. John's cellar.

Type * Site Crosstabulation

Count

		Site		
		Mattapany	St. J's Cell	Total
Type	Dutch	13	9	22
	English	12	28	40
Total		25	37	62

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.992[a]	1	.025	.033	.025
Continuity Correction[b]	3.856	1	.050		
Likelihood Ratio	4.977	1	.026	.033	.025
Fisher's Exact Test				.033	.025
N of Valid Cases	62				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.87.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Vita

Lauren McMillan was born and raised in the Southside of Virginia. She visited many historic and archaeological sites throughout her childhood, which led to her fascination with the past and inspired her to pursue a career in archaeology. Lauren attended the University of Mary Washington where she received a B.A. in Historic Preservation. While in college, she got her first real taste of archaeology when she took a field school at Stratford Hall Plantation and then interned for two years in the archaeology lab at Ferry Farm. Lauren earned her M.A. degree in Anthropology from East Carolina University. Her Master's thesis examined the utility and accuracy of pipe stem dating formulas. While in North Carolina, she worked on several projects, including as a laboratory assistant on the Queen Anne's Revenge Shipwreck Project and supervised excavations in Historic Bath and at Foscue Plantation. Lauren then moved to Tennessee to pursue her Ph.D. While attending the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Lauren taught and assisted with undergraduate courses in the Department of Anthropology. She has also worked on several projects in the Commonwealth of Virginia, including establishing an archaeology laboratory for the Eastern Shore of Virginia Historical Society and assisting Dr. Barbara Heath on archaeological projects in search of 18th-century slave quarters in Bedford and Powhatan Counties and on the excavation of a mid-17th-century manor house in Northumberland County. In fourth grade Lauren wrote a letter to her future self in which she stated that she was going to be an arch(a)eologist who dug up castles in England, drove a black truck, and owned a black Labrador retriever. Although not a perfect replication, her life has turned out pretty close to her nine-year-old self's ideal: she is now an archaeologist who drives a black hatchback and owns a black Chihuahua-mix.